

MURRAY E. KING, Managing Editor; EUGENE V. DEBS, Founder; WILLIAM H. HENRY, Business Manager

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1927 May Day Manifesto, Socialist International

To the Workers of all countries: At a time of momentous historic happenings...

Hands off China! One third of the earth's surface separates London from Shanghai...

Down with Militarism! Neither the devastations of the war we have experienced nor the new threats to peace...

Defend 8 Hour Day! Since the last May-Day celebrations a slight progress has been achieved in the struggle for the defence of the Eight Hour Day...

Fight for the Unemployed! Year after year passes, but capitalism still proves incapable of removing the unemployment created by its great war...

THE GREATER MAY DAY George R. Kirkpatrick May means life, up-leaping life. In the May-time nature's supreme urge is life, more life...



Another Springtime and Mankind still floundering in the muck of ignorance, vulgarity, parasitism, religious and race prejudice...

LABOR EVER FORWARD By James O Neal (Editor, New Leader; member of National Executive Committee, Socialist Party) In a series of lectures delivered by the late Carroll D. Wright...

SAVE SACCO AND VANZETTI! The whole fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti from an unjust and horrible fate on the tenth of July, 1927...

May Day And The Revolution By Eugene V. Debs

We are again about to celebrate the annual holiday of the International Socialist Movement. The thrill of May Day is even now in our veins and our hearts beat faster as we contemplate the glad tidings of this day of days to the workers of the world...

WHY THE AMERICAN APPEAL? To the New Reader: This is a special May Day number of the American Appeal. Perhaps you will want to see more of this paper in the future...

May Day Tocsin By J. C. Frost The flag that stands for labor on every land and sea. Where wage-slaves band together and struggle to be free...

Let workers rally 'round it, here on the firing line. And fight to win their freedom in factory, farm and mine...

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? The primary purpose of the American Appeal is TO TEACH SOCIALISM—TO MAKE SOCIALISTS. What is Socialism? Socialism is Democracy in industry—it is industrial democracy...

The Problem of Unemployment and A Remedy

By Darwin J. Meserole
(President of the National Unemployment League)

The record of one year of business depression—1921: 5,000,000 idle workers, with a loss of \$7,000,000,000 in wages; \$51,000,000,000 decrease in gross business done, with a \$36,000,000,000 loss in manufactured products; and on the human side, economic distress and poverty of the workers; more bankruptcies in business; suicide, insanity and crime in all classes.

estimate of 5,750,000 out of work and other estimates ranged from 3,000,000 to 10,000,000. It is regrettable that today we are no better equipped to ascertain the present state of unemployment in the United States, nor the approximate number of idle workers in our next industrial depression.

Four to Five Million Unemployed on Average

The Russell Sage Foundation has recently published an extensive work on Public Employment Offices in which, in the opening pages, the startling statement is made that in what we call normal or prosperous times 5 per cent, or about 2,000,000 of the workers are unemployed; this number in a year of business depression, running as high as 20 per cent, or 8,000,000; and then estimating that, taking good and bad years together, there are in our Nation constantly unemployed an average of 10 percent to 12 percent, or 4,000,000 to 5,000,000.

The Economic Cost of Unemployment

Assuming that we had, in each of these industrial crises, from 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 workers idle for from three months in a year, the loss in gross business done, at the economic cost of such a condition; and second, inquire whether such catastrophes can be averted in the future by planning now in comparatively normal times.

showed a decrease of \$16,000,000,000. Wages decreased \$7,000,000,000, or the equivalent of 5,000,000 workers idle for one year at an average wage of \$5.00 per day. Net income of the corporations of the United States for the three years, 1919, 1920 and 1921, was as follows:

1919 (from a gross business of \$100,000,000,000) \$4,416,000,000, or better than 8 per cent;
1920 (from a gross business of \$118,000,000,000) \$4,873,000,000, or something over 4 per cent;
1921 (from a gross business of \$55,200,000,000) \$458,000,000, or less than 1 per cent.

Loss of Human Element

In the above comparatively small figure of \$7,000,000,000—loss in wages—lies the greatest cost, not only in human misery and suffering, but to industry itself and, therefore, to our national wealth. Profits in the form of dividends and interest on investments may be forgone without great hardship for a few months or a year; the machinery of production, such as manufacturing plants, mills, mines, and all operating machinery, may be maintained in good condition, all held in readiness for the certain resumption of business on the former scale, so far as the owners' outlay is concerned; but with that most important part of the process of production, the human element, the skilled and unskilled worker, a swift and sure deterioration takes place, more costly to the nation than the temporary and transient loss to business, huge as that sum is seen to be. In this human loss is not only to be reckoned the physical suffering through the ill-health of the worker and his family because of under-nourishment, insufficient clothing and bad housing, but that which is even more serious—the mental and spiritual deterioration or derangement, leading often to suicide, desertion of the home and a pauperization of the entire family. Here is the most appalling loss of all, and not only from a humanitarian standpoint, but in an economic sense as well.

reaching all States and large cities. Construct Public Works During Periods of Unemployment

It is certainly possible, at the first signs of over-production and business recession, to have the Federal and State Governments, acting together, inaugurate at once such public works, as roads, reclamation of waste lands, irrigation projects, and development of water power, so that workers no longer laboring for private employers could be employed on public works until such time as private industry revives and calls for their services.

By such action on the part of government—the whole people—the production of wealth is not curtailed, but simply transferred to much needed public works; the misery and deterioration of the workers prevented; capital is employed; and the cycle of depression is checked by the use of the continued wage-purchasing power of those employed on public works, together with other employed in the normal industries providing for the wants of the public workers.

It would mean employing only one-third, or possibly one-fifth, of the idle public works; the misery and deterioration of the workers prevented; capital is employed; and the cycle of depression is checked by the use of the continued wage-purchasing power of those employed on public works, together with other employed in the normal industries providing for the wants of the public workers.

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Eighty Years of Labor Progress

By Harry W. Laidler

Less than eighty years ago, early in 1847, two brilliant young German intellectuals, Dr. Karl Marx, graduate of the University of Jena, and Friedrich Engels, a socially visionary young business man—twenty-nine and twenty-seven years old respectively—issued from London a manifesto which was destined powerfully to affect the destinies of the world. At the time of the Communist Manifesto

that they had "nothing to lose but their chains"; they had "a world to gain."

Cooperative Movement in Infancy

The same thing was true with the consumers' cooperative movement. A few stores sprung up in the thirties of the last century only to fail, and it was only in 1844, four years prior to the Manifesto, that the famous flannel weavers of Rochdale started their store which later developed into the great Rochdale cooperative movement.

As for the education of the masses, there was practically no free, compulsory education in any country of the world in the late forties, when practically the whole system of education was given over to profiteering schoolmasters who charged the parents of the children all that the traffic would bear. Profound ignorance of even the A. B. C.'s of education existed among the masses.

Era of Ruthless Exploitation

The lives of the workers were indeed pathetic. Of factory legislation there was little. The most ruthless exploitation of women and child labor existed. Twelve hours was the universal workday and the wage was unbelievably low. Engels depicted this condition in letters of fire in his Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844, as did Marx later in the first volume of Capital.

Present Labor Control on Political Field

Eighty years have passed since that famous Manifesto was prepared for the Communist League. Since then—and some are still living who can remember—a profound change has taken place in the direction of the goal that Marx and Engels had in mind. The goal has not been reached. By no means. But no one can look over the development of the working class of the world during the last four score years without a sense of amazement at its progress. Throughout Europe labor has organized powerfully on the political field. In Russia, which covers one-sixth of the surface of the earth, the industrial workers and peasants—of whom a militant portion of them are in the saddle, while the day of monarchy has passed never to return. It is the non-worker, not the worker, who is deprived of the franchise, and all efforts are being made to transform the capitalist order into an order based on production for use, not for profit. It will be years before Russia reaches the socialist goal, even though the republic is named the Soviet Socialist Republic, but the existence of the proletarian dictatorship intent on traveling the cooperative road of no small significance. In most of the western nations the socialists are a powerful minority party. In Great Britain the Labor party possesses some 250 representatives, is the chief opposition party, has already served as a minority government for the space of 9 months, while in late April we find the So-

cialist ex-premier of England, Ramsay MacDonald, received in America as one of the really great men of contemporary history.

In Denmark, under the minority Socialist government, the nation has made great strides toward disarmament and has begun the sale of its rifles and cartridges to the nations with a less wise leadership.

In Sweden, many times during the last decade the people have entrusted their government to the socialist, the late Hjalmar Branting, the outstanding statesman of Sweden of the first quarter of the twentieth century, while in Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and other countries, the socialist and communist movements, as representative of the workers, are among the most important opposition parties in their respective countries. Savel Zimant wrote an article for the Survey a while ago entitled, "Where are the Wild Men of Yesterday?" He told of a meeting of the International Socialist movement way back before the war. He then met MacDonald, Lenin, Branting, Vandervelde, Stauning, Ebert, etc., all men great to some of them, but all men of their own land. He contrasted their standing at that time on the political life of their respective nations with their standing in the days before the world war. The difference was significant.

Thirty-Six Million Trade Unionists

On the trade union field, the growth of the organized labor movement since the late forties has been such that no less than thirty-six million members are reported as now connected with the various national unions. The trade union movement, which, in Europe, adheres pretty definitely to a socialist or a communist philosophy, has a recognized place in well nigh all of the countries, and is assuming ever more functions in the control of the modern workshop.

Labor Ever Forward

There has been likewise an astounding growth of the consumers' cooperative movement. The democratic movement of working-class consumers—and it is now estimated that over 50,000,000 men and women belong to the International Cooperative Alliance in 1926.

And in education, the workers have made similar strides. Labor therefore approaches May Day, 1927, with a remarkable record of past progress. And, no matter what temporary checks it may have in its onward march toward a labor republic, it must never forget that its march, in terms of democracy, has been ever onward toward the light.

The Work Ahead

In the United States a great task remains before labor—the task of organization in the great industries where mass production prevails; the task of mobilizing its efforts on the political field into an independent political party consecrated to the ushering in of a new and nobler social order; the task of opposing the cruel militarism and the crushing imperialism that is eating at our very vitals and that may soon involve us into another and a more serious international conflict, the task of converting its aims from those of a mere quest for a "full dinner pail" to those of economic justice, full equality of opportunity, the enrichment of personality and the attainment of human brotherhood.

Let us, then, take courage from the progress of the past; let us in the name of the countless thousands who have paid for that progress with their very lives, resolve this May Day to consecrate ourselves anew to the ideal of a free and happy commonwealth, joining hands with a commonwealth of nations toward the emancipation of human kind.

Socialism will give the industrial worker the full social value of what he produces, and will give him what he consumes at the labor cost of production.

MAY DAY THOUGHTS

Judge Jacob Panken

(Judge of the Municipal Court, New York City, Elected on Socialist Party Ticket)

May Day! The First of May. It is the beginning of a new year for the laboring men of the world. It is more, it is the beginning of new life. The Spring of Life is struggling with the decay that the Winter has left. The look that the Winter frost has put upon the spirit of man must be broken and man again set free.

The Winter's debris that has accumulated must be cleared away. Life is beginning and with Spring, hope is awakening, crying for realization.

The Thaw has set in. The icebound Chinese have been released from centuries of bondage. The sleeping giant, four hundred million strong, has stirred and the thong with which he was fettered by the powers of the world are being rent asunder.

The East is awakening! Labor in the East as elsewhere, is not satisfied to remain in bondage to the master capitalists.

The Orient, profiting by the lessons of the Occident is not satisfied with mere political privileges. It insists upon economic freedom as well.

Man came from the East and moved westward, toward the setting sun. He slowly learned his lessons on the way.

His progress was checked by those he left behind; he now turns to bestir the lagards to catch up with him and finds that the East is moving rapidly to join hands in a concerted movement to set the World free.

The West fattened upon the East. We in America have grown prosperous, fat and bloated. Two hundred and seven of us have each incomes of more than a million dollars annually. We have become prosperous and fat and bloated, 207 of us.

But there are 120 million of us. Less than 1 per cent of us pay 95 per cent of the income tax. Seven of us pay 92 million dollars a year. We are very prosperous, the seven of us.

82 per cent of us are relieved of taxes. We do not earn enough to pay. We are becoming fat and fatter, bloated and more so. But two million more of us are relieved from tax payment.

We are richer than ever. Our income is greater. Our income tax returns have increased over the last year 56 per cent but ever more of us cannot pay any tax and ever less of us pay more.

The West is fattening. The few in the West are fattening. They fatten upon the West as well as upon the East. They do not discriminate. That is not the whole story. The West is also profiting by the lessons of the East. We have our torturous jails, we have our scaffolds upon which we hang those that disagree with the 207 of us. We have our hidden treasures. We have our steel coffers that hide a matter of billions.

Our United States Steel Co. learned the lessons from the politicians of the Orient. It has its hundreds of thousands of slaves. It is a lone in the ownership of slaves of old it has set them to build pyramids, pyramids of gold.

The flow is so great that billions of dollars have to be concealed to escape a possible awakening of the slaves that pyramided it for us. A system under which 1 per cent of the people pay 95 per cent of the income tax, the 1 per cent becomes the masters of the 99 per cent. A great people will not submit for a long time to slavery.

Our people will not submit to this economic inequality. The inequality which rests upon the few the masters of the whole.

The facts if known to the masses would waken them to resentment and action.

The 1 per cent to entrench their power have usurped the Social Agencies. They have turned the government into the handmaiden of their corporations. They have captured the public officials to make the public well subservient to their private interests. The American people are in a state of coma. They have been chloroformed by the reiteration of prosperity.

Let the windows be thrown open. Let the light of knowledge and the breeze of truth come in.

May 1st. May Day. The Harbinger of Life, the messenger of hope and joy.

Be heartened, ye men of toil! The Winter is past! Labor the World over is joining hands for peace, justice, liberty, equality, the brotherhood of man.

Labor Ever Forward

(Continued from Page 1)

"monopoly." Courts outlawed the union. Leaders were sent to jail for "conspiracy." We fought on. Masters, economists, editors and courts gave way. The struggle was won for the union.

What next? Shorter hours and more wages. Health safeguards. More security of employment. Rules against discrimination, against unjust discharges, against imposition, against tyranny of bosses, foremen and managers. Always, day by day, adding more to our rights of citizenship in industry. Each conquest is merely a step to another conquest and so the descendants of the slaves of antiquity and of the serfs of yesterday advance to more and more democracy in industry.

The end? The full enfranchisement of the workers in industry. Autocratic management is first curtailed and then penetrated. Then it will be democratized. Autocracy of ownership itself must then give way to the universal ethic of all industry for all men, no power to the idle, no useless survivors. AND HE WILL WIN THIS TOO. PRODUCTION, EXCHANGE, DISTRIBUTION, ALL ECONOMIC STRIVING WILL BE MASTERED BY MEN INSTEAD OF BEING USED TO MASTER THEM.

THIS IS MAY DAY. THE LABOR GIANT STIFFS ALL OVER THE WORLD. WHAT OTHER CONQUEST IS THERE FOR HIM? EXCEPT THAT OF INDUSTRY, WHICH STATUS TO ANOTHER, WINNING CITIZENSHIP SURVIVES? AND HE WILL WIN THIS TOO. PRODUCTION, EXCHANGE, DISTRIBUTION, ALL ECONOMIC STRIVING WILL BE MASTERED BY MEN INSTEAD OF BEING USED TO MASTER THEM. THIS IS THE VISION OF MAY DAY. RENEW YOUR PLEDGE TO ITS IDEAL AND ITS PROMISE, A WORLD OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, THE COOPERATIVE FREEDOM OF ALL HUMANITY.

MAY DAY GREETINGS
COOK COUNTY SOCIALISTS
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Schoenhofen Hall
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MUSIC, PLAYS, SINGING, SPEECHES
Sponsors: Socialist Party and Y. P. S. L.

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History of SOCIALIST THOUGHT
By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.
Executive Director League for Industrial Democracy
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THIS BOOK presents the history of socialist thought and of movements for its practical application. Major emphasis is given to the period beginning with the rise of so-called scientific socialism, and especially to developments during and since the World War. The various contemporary doctrines and movements are expounded with particular thoroughness and insight. The treatment is based on a thorough examination of the source materials on the history of socialism. By virtue of these and other features, the book is easily the best single source of information on this important subject published in the English language.—Prof. SEBA ELDRIDGE, University of Kansas.

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One of the longest novels ever published in America, "Oil" might have been made into three volumes and so! for \$7.50. The price is \$2.50.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR, LONG BEACH, CALIF.

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Achievements of Victor Berger in Congress

Editor's Note

The extent of the work of our lone socialist congressman, the genial Victor L. Berger, in fighting the reaction, in proposing constructive legislation and in educating the people in behalf of the socialist ideal, will never be fully realized. To many Socialists and liberals it is not remotely realized. It is thus fitting that, every so often, we in the party take stock of the activities of this dynamic representative of the new order in our national legislature. Max Lewis, Congressman Berger's secretary, has here set forth in brief form some of these activities. They have not brought about the revolution, but they indicate that if we had not one but fifty Bergeries in our House of Representatives the country would be a safer place for democracy and peace than at present. More power to our congressman's elbow.

—H. W. L.

By Marx Lewis

On the closing day of a Congressional session, it is customary for the leader of the majority party to either present to the Congress or to incorporate into the Congressional Record, a statement of the alleged accomplishments of the session that is about to expire.

Such statements are seldom taken seriously, even by the members of the majority party. They generally include a list of bills which were enacted into law, most of which were unknown to the average member of Congress, and the desirability of which they may allege but would rather not undertake to establish.

A summary of the record of the Socialist member of Congress, Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin, cannot, of course, include an enumeration of proposals incorporated into law. As a member of a minority of one he could not hope and did not hope to get his proposals enacted into law. As a Socialist member of Congress, he will disclose that it is only the leading members of the majority party,

chairmen of committees and others who have shown their unwavering fidelity to the powers that rule, who succeed in having their measures considered at all.

An Interpreter of Socialism

His purpose in Congress, as he explained in the course of an address in which he enumerated some of the measures he offered, is to serve as an interpreter—to show to the people, most of whom know nothing about the socialist or Socialist theory, what the Socialists would do if they had the power to do it. This function, he explained, becomes exceedingly important in view of the economic trend in our country and the rapidly growing concentration of wealth, on the one hand, and the decline of the independence of the farmer and the workman, on the other.

A Critic of the Old Parties

In addition to presenting bills and resolutions setting forth the Socialist position on current problems, it is wise, to criticize the work of the majority, but to criticize constructively; not to condemn merely because a certain measure originates from the opposing political camp, but to discover its shortcomings, if it has any, and to suggest improvements if there be any. To discover shortcomings, without being able to suggest improvements, has been a favorite political practice with some political minorities, aiming for votes only.

A Champion of Civil Liberties

A number of these measures, and the ones that must be considered as of primary importance, since they deal with rights and liberties the preservation of which is essential to the very existence of the Republic, relate to the vindication of our constitutional and political rights.

They include a resolution enabling Congress to call a constitutional convention for the purpose of revising and bringing up to date our antiquated Federal Constitution; a bill repealing the Espionage Act, still on the statute books to be revived the moment war is declared, and making it a crime punishable by 20 years imprisonment to disagree with the Government in time of war; a bill to provide for the enforcement of the first amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech and the press; an amendment which prohibits, in all others, all ways lose sight of when demanding that the Constitution be enforced; and a bill to punish individuals who participate in lynchings and officials who permit lynchings to occur in their communities, making such individuals liable to be fined and imprisoned, and making communities in which lynchings occur liable to a forfeiture of \$10,000.

Urge Recognition of Russia

Another resolution directed the President to recognize the present Government of Russia. The third called upon the President to use his good offices with the Government of Italy to obtain humane treatment for the racial and political minorities being persecuted by the Mussolini dictatorship.

For Minimum Wage—Old Age Pensions

Another category into which the measures proposed by Comrade Berger fall may be said to deal with our domestic economic, social and industrial conditions. Among them are bills providing for the establishment of a minimum wage of \$10.00 for all federal employees; for the retirement law, that those in the Federal service may, after having attained the age of 65, retire with an assurance that they will not become objects of public charity; an old age pension system, so that men and women who have labored a lifetime for the benefit of others, may not be obliged to depend on charity or go to the poorhouse when they are too old to work; to combat illiteracy in the various states by having the Federal government make an appropriation to each state, these appropriations to be retained by the states desiring to take advantage of it.

A More Liberal Immigration Policy

He offered three bills amending the immigration act, so that the provision may be made more humane, and so that the bureaucracy here may not exclude people whose views they do not like. Incidentally, he opposed the present immigration restriction measures, based, as most of them are, on the idea that we must cater to the Nordic, who are superior, and exclude the others, because they are considered inferior by our 100 per centers.

Revise the Treaty of Versailles

Three of the resolutions Comrade Berger introduced dealt with foreign affairs. The first proposed the calling of an international conference for the purpose of revising the Treaty of Versailles so that the promise made to the Germans in the terms of the armistice be adhered to, and to cease those governments still concealing their war records to open

their archives so that the guilt of the belligerents starting the war might be determined.

Justice played in convicting Sacco and Vanzetti may be mentioned.

There were other bills and resolutions along the same lines, all of them attempting to focus attention on some of the problems with which the people are contending, each of them proposing a method by which the problems may be solved and the evils with which the people are afflicted abolished.

Nationalize the Mines

Particular indication of the Socialist's consideration of the people's problems is the bill Berger introduced, and the efforts he made to have the Government seize the anthracite coal mines during the strike of last year. No one dared seriously to suggest a step so radical, and yet, in the absence of such action there was no way of meeting the coal famine and the profiteering to which the strike led. The old party politicians had no solution, and they offered none. While they were sitting back, permitting events to take their course, to the satisfaction of the mine owners, and to the distress of the mine workers and the users of coal, Berger continued to plead for government acquisition and operation of the mines. Besides offering the bill, he saw the President and wired Governor Pinchot, of Pennsylvania, suggesting such action steps be taken to relieve the situation.

Socializing The Food Trust

Socialist measures for the government acquisition and operation of the food products monopoly was proposed by Berger when it became known that a \$2,000,000,000 food products corporation controlling food products from the time they leave the farm until they enter the home of the consumer had been organized. Here, again, it was possible to show the trend of economic evolution, and to point out the fallacy of endeavoring through anti-trust laws to stay the forces that tend to monopoly production. Among the measures he introduced dealing with the industrial conditions, his resolution to investigate the causes of the strike in the textile mills of Passaic, and another to investigate the part the Federal Department of

Justice played in convicting Sacco and Vanzetti may be mentioned.

Reaching the American Public

Each time a resolution or a bill was introduced, a statement was issued to the press outlining the reasons for the proposal. While the press cannot be expected to be too sympathetic, the timeliness of some of the measures gave them a certain news value which some of the newspapers had to take into consideration. That the "stories" went across was evident from the letters that came into the office after the introduction of each of these measures, approving or disapproving them. In this way, the primary object of a Socialist's work in Congress was achieved.

Notable Addresses

In addition to bills and resolutions, Comrade Berger delivered a number of important speeches on questions which came before Congress. On the bill reducing the income taxes paid by the millionaires he called attention to the fact that the amount of the interest he has been able to arouse in his work, in the favorable response that is shown to it by people who are not of the same political faith, and by the amount of misunderstanding he is able to lay to rest.

A Foundation for the Future

If these be the measurements, the work of Victor L. Berger in the 60th Congress can be said to have been eminently successful. The letters that have come in from various parts of the country praising his work, the publicity he was able to get for the Socialist movement, and the appreciation expressed by those to whom the activities of the Socialist Congressman were made known for the first time, and the distribution in all parts of the country, of the speeches he made, bear testimony to the effectiveness of the work. They do not include laws enacted, but laws to be enacted will in years to come be found to have had their origin in the days when Victor L. Berger fought single-handedly the battle for workers and farmers.

The Forward, Socialist Daily, Celebrates 30 Years of Triumph

Editor's Note

With almost a quarter of a million circulation; with branch offices in the main industrial centers of the United States, the Jewish Daily Forward in New York City is the most powerful Socialist paper on the Western Hemisphere.

In addition to its immense circulation, power and downright financial success, it has voluntarily constituted itself a sort of commissary for the whole Socialist movement in the United States. Few Socialists understand to what extent the Forward Association is financially assisting the Socialist press, the Socialist Party and various Socialist enterprises. IT HAS PAID THE DEFICIT OF THE AMERICAN APPEAL EVER SINCE THE JOURNAL STARTED SIXTEEN MONTHS AGO!

In the following article, William M. Feigenbaum, of the Forward editorial staff, tells a most interesting story of the rise of this great publication. The achievement he describes is the greatest feat of the Socialist paper in the United States. It can be duplicated if as wise and able methods and as persistent efforts are pursued elsewhere in building up the American Socialist press.

—M. E. K.

By Wm. M. Feigenbaum

The entire Socialist and labor movement is today celebrating the Thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Jewish Daily Forward. The greatest Jewish newspaper in the world and the greatest and most powerful newspaper in the United States in any language except English was founded on April 22nd, 1897, solely to advance the cause of labor and Socialism, and for thirty years it has been engaged in the great task.

The Forward has been a most successful in that work. Not only is the paper itself a remarkable success, but it has been for thirty years not merely the spokesman of the Socialist movement and the advocate of the labor movement, but in a very real sense it has been a part of the movement. There has been great progress, almost unbelievable progress among the Jewish workers during the past thirty years. It is impossible to conceive of that progress in living conditions, in wages, in social sanitation, in civilization without the Forward and the labor and Socialist movement that fought through the Forward.

For the Forward is more than a newspaper. It is more than an institution. It is more than a building and presses and editors and delivery wagons. It is a real, powerful force for human betterment that influenced the lives of millions for the better in countless, countless ways.

Started on \$400

The Forward is thirty years old. It seems like only the other day to the surviving Forward pioneers that there was a great meeting of enthusiasts at Valhalla Hall when the decision was taken to publish the Forward at once. On a great wave of emotion a collection was taken up, and every man and woman there threw everything he had into the hat to get the paper started. Most of the workers

walked home that night supperless; but they had started their paper. Watches were thrown into that hat, and engagement rings and earrings. Young men and women stood up and pledged everything they had to keep the paper going for a while.

I do not recall the exact amount that was collected that day, but I understand that it was about \$400. And with that the Forward was started! (It cost William Randolph Hearst a cool million in a year before one of his papers showed a favorable balance.)

Champions Constructive Faction

The Forward was started not exactly as a Socialist propaganda paper, however. Rather it was the organ of a faction, the result of a split in the Socialist ranks. The Socialist Labor Party—then the main Socialist organization in the country—had there arose the Jewish Abend Blatt, edited by Philip Krantz and my father. The narrow and dogmatic tactics of the late Daniel DeLeon, prophetic in many details of the Bolshevism that came five years after his death, had created dissensions in the party, and before long the Jewish Abend Blatt had sworn to fight the American Federation of Labor and had the satisfaction of knowing that through his efforts alone he had alienated the labor and the Socialist movement to an extent that the disastrous results are apparent. DeLeon was the undisputed and despotic leader of the S. L. P., and he carried things with a high hand. As early as 1896 there were grumblings of dissatisfaction, the details of which we have no time for here. However, in 1897, two years before the main split in the party, there were considerable defections from the party, especially in Massachusetts and the East Side of New York. There was a Social Democratic party in the East, and Eugene V. Debs had just reorganized his American Railway Union into the Socialist Party of America. The Eastern groups united with the new organization, and out of that has grown the present Socialist party, joined by the main sections of the S. L. P. in 1899 and 1900.

Rise of Abraham Cahan

Among the Jewish Socialists who joined the Social Democrats were Abraham Cahan, Meyer London, Louis E. Miller, M. Zimetkin, A. Schenberg, Meyer Gillis; Isaac A. Hounrich, Joseph Barondoss and others, all of whom became active in the management or the editing of the paper.

Among the founders of the paper who are still active in the movement are Cahan (of whom more anon), Comrade Gillis, who is chairman of the committee that arranged the splendid celebration, including the appearance of Comrade J. Ramsey MacDonald, A. H. Schulman, Zimetkin, Max Pine, D. Lillienbloom, A. Turitz and Hyman King.

Cahan was elected the first editor, and remained, at his post several months. Then he retired and entered English journalism, becoming one of the most brilliant reporters and special writers on the great dailies of New York. He learned American journalism through and through, and in the early part of 1902 he was recalled to the Forward. From that day to this the history of the For-

Becomes Party Organ

ward has largely been a history of the work of Abraham Cahan.

At first the paper was merely a factional organ of the Social Democrats against the S. L. P. But after the first Debs campaign of 1900 the S. L. P. failed from the picture and the Socialist party (known in New York as the Social Democratic party until 1905) became the medium of working class political expression. The Abend Blatt had been "captured" by the minority faction of the S. L. P. when the main part of the party joined the Social Democrats, and shortly it ceased to exist. It was not very long before instead of being a factional organ the Forward became the sole medium of expression for the entire Jewish Socialist and labor movement. And so it has been all these years.

Broad Policy

The editorship of Comrade Cahan gave many of the old timers heart failure at first. He maintained that as man does not live by bread alone, neither is he interested in bread alone, solely in his economic welfare. Indeed, we want to give all mankind leisure and opportunity to devote their lives to things other than mere eating and sleeping. Why not talk about those things now? And so the Forward began to talk about those things in the lives of human beings that are most intensely human. And the lives of the Jewish workers are beset by problems that are peculiar and unique; not merely are they workers, exploited and abused by their employers, and fooled by their political leaders, and led to the slaughter in time of war, but also they are immigrant Jews, with a background of persecution, of hatred, of Ghetto life, thrown into an alien environment they did not understand.

Professional Jews tried to capitalize their Jewishness, round them up as a "Jewish vote," play them against other race stocks. Cahan was a Socialist and he knew that while the Jewish worker remained alien, outside of America, not understanding and misunderstood, there was a cause of irritation that would make our task infinitely hard.

Americanizes Jews

Therefore, in the face of the bitterest opposition on the part of the narrow-minded professional Jews, he sought to interpret America to the Jews and the Jews to America. The Forward gave itself the task of breaking down the Ghetto barriers that had made the Jew a special problem for all these weary years.

And while there still is a Jewish problem, while the barriers are not yet battered down, it still is a fact that due almost entirely to the Forward the masses of Jews are not living in Ghettos like those of European cities, that they are an integral part of America, that they are not ashamed to be a part of the country in which they live.

Builds Up Unions

That is an achievement apart from the strictly Socialist and labor work of the Forward that is of incalculable value. But that is only part of the Forward's work in the Socialist and labor movement. First of all the Forward has aided in a thousand

ways in building up the unions in which the Jews are largely employed, principally the needle trades. The story of the shocking conditions in the needle trades prior to the beginning of the century, of the abortive attempts at organization prior to 1900, of the heroic, and unsuccessful strikes, and finally the period of organization that culminated in the formation of 100 per cent unions that they occupied until two years ago, when deliberate Communist dissensions nearly destroyed the work of two decades.

It was done by the unions, but it would have been impossible without the Forward. Indeed, there are many names that appear in the annals of several sections of the movement simultaneously and constantly. For example, Benjamin Schlessinger, manager of the Forward upon election president of the Forward Association upon various occasions, has likewise been intimately associated with the unions, having been for nearly a decade president of the great International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; for example, Max Pine, a founder of the Forward, today a member of the editorial staff, and for many years head of the United Hebrew Trades. For example, the unforgettable Meyer London, a founder of the Forward, leader, organizer and victorious general of great strikes of cloakmakers, and trusted adviser of those masses of workers to the very day of his ever-to-be-lamented death.

Big Labor Achievements

It is to those unions, and to no other agency, that we owe the almost miraculous improvement in working and living conditions among hundreds of thousands of workers. It would take too long at this time to give details of those struggles and victories; suffice it to explain that the Forward was always an integral part of the movement that included the building of the unions and the struggles of those unions against the employers, that resulted in gains that are proportionally greater than those won by any other group of workers anywhere else in the United States.

Its Fight for Socialism

Finally, the Forward has always held the banner of Socialism high. Being a great daily with close to a quarter of a million circulation, it is the main journalistic fare of whole masses of people to whom the Socialist party is not an intimate concern. It is to me for a long time as it should be to you. Therefore it is not feasible to make the paper what might be called a "house organ" of the party. Nevertheless the banner of Socialism is held high in every issue, every day, in every article and news item. In campaigns the Forward throws its whole strength into the Socialist fight, and its generous financial help for every section of the movement is always

Victory Over Tammany

There was a time when Tammany Hall was the foulest organization in the city. It was a vast, unshakable, it looted without let or hindrance and it made no secret of its villainies. It was synonymous with all the evils and vileness that go with slum politics.

The East Side was Tammany's bailiwick. Tammany ruled the district. Out of tens of thousands of adults, a few hundred took the trouble to vote, and the Tammany crooks saw to it that they voted "right." There was not a glimmer of hope for any humanity. All social legislation, all humanitarian legislation, and decency was throttled before it was born.

The Socialist party, led and inspired by the Forward fought that. First were the two glorious Hillquit campaigns for Congress in 1906 and 1908; then the Meyer London campaigns that led finally to the election

of our beloved Comrade in 1914; following that was the election of a whole crew of Socialists in spite of Tammany's thugs and bribery, culminating in the election of Judge Panken.

And then a light dawned upon Tammany. The masses had been taught by the Socialists to want better things than merely a few dirty dollars for the vote in election day, a petty favor in exchange for the sacred gift of the franchise. And Tammany always believed in the old motto—"if you can't lick 'em, join 'em." And Tammany went in for Social Reform!

That is when "the new Tammany" came from the Tammany of Al Smith, the Tammany whose former practices are abandoned and that camouflages its favors to friends and supporters with the pale cast of political jobs and contracts. Tammany is not changed within; but outwardly it has had to adjust itself and to put Al Smith forward as its most typical

product rather than the grafting district leader.

All this is due to the Socialist victories on the East Side, and the long, long struggle that were won by the Forward and with the cooperation of all its workers.

These are but a few of the side-lights on the glorious work of the Forward for thirty years. The paper is now an institution of power, of influence, of genuine importance. It never will. Today, Comrade Cahan, young and hearty and vigorous at 66, is at the helm piloting the ship toward the goal. There are new problems, new difficulties. They are being met in the spirit of the pioneers; that is, the final goal must never be forgotten, and the means of achieving that goal must be adjusted to suit the conditions and the circumstances that are to be met.

Long live the Forward! Long live Abraham Cahan!

The Goal of Workers' Education

By James H. Maurer

(President Workers' Education Bureau, President Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Formerly member National Executive Committee, Socialist Party.)

As I see it, the organization of the Workers' Education Bureau arose mainly because of a general recognition that the National Educational Agency under Labor control, was absolutely necessary. While our free public system of education in the United States is probably the most extensive of any in the world, it was generally felt that some new forms of adult education, and especially for the interests and ideals of Labor, were indispensable for social progress. That, worthy as the existing facilities for education are, there was a need for education inside the trade unions as a definite expression of the labor movement.

Why Workers' Education?

Underlying the purpose of Workers' Education is the desire for a better social order. It is this desire on the part of the working man for a richer and fuller life individually and collectively that give the movement its birth and at all times must remain its treasured inheritance. Labor education aims at the ultimate liberation of the working masses. It endeavors to help the laboring man to function most effectively both as a citizen and a worker in the solution of our many complex social problems. Unless it is education which looks toward a new order of society, with more wisdom and justice than is found in our present order, its right to existence is questionable. Labor education is the study of every part of our social structure. No dogma, whether it comes from the employing classes, labor, or radical groups, must be sacred to Labor Education. Instead, it must seek light and understanding everywhere in order that the individual may study of every part of our social structure. No dogma, whether it comes from the employing classes, labor, or radical groups, must be sacred to Labor Education. Instead, it must seek light and understanding everywhere in order that the individual may study of every part of our social structure. No dogma, whether it comes from the employing classes, labor, or radical groups, must be sacred to Labor Education. Instead, it must seek light and understanding everywhere in order that the individual may study of every part of our social structure.

prepared for the problems that will confront us.

The Workers' Education Bureau was not organized for the purpose of duplicating the work done by the public schools, universities, correspondence schools and so on. It is distinct and separate from the numerous existing forms for adult education. They are designed for the most part, either to give a bit of culture to the student, or else to lift him up out of his present job into a higher one. That is not the purpose of Workers' Education. It is education that will stimulate the student to serve the labor movement in particular and society in general, and not education to be used for selfish personal advancement.

It may be that out of our workers' classes of today will come the labor leaders of tomorrow. If this should prove to be the case, and I think it is very likely that it will, it would not disprove my statement that Workers' Education is not education for personal advancement. For the true labor leader wants no advancement that does not come to his brother workers. Recognizing the fact that he has had better opportunities, and perhaps superior abilities, he uses them to serve his class not to advance himself. If our Workers' Education should develop any other kind of leader, it would prove itself unworthy of its name.

Workers' Education must require above all else thorough, scientific and open-minded discussions of all theories and doctrines. In its broadest sense, Workers' Education cannot confine itself merely to classes, or to the bringing in of reports on books, but embraces every part of culture and the study of every part of our social structure. No dogma, whether it comes from the employing classes, labor, or radical groups, must be sacred to Labor Education. Instead, it must seek light and understanding everywhere in order that the individual may study of every part of our social structure. No dogma, whether it comes from the employing classes, labor, or radical groups, must be sacred to Labor Education. Instead, it must seek light and understanding everywhere in order that the individual may study of every part of our social structure.

Progress

During the first year of our existence, there were affiliated with us only a few scattered organizations and less than two hundred dues-paying members at large.

Although only six years of age, the Workers' Education Bureau of America is quite a healthy and vigorous youngster for its age. Affiliated with us now are 363 Local Unions, 68 Central Trade Unions, 21 State Federations, 62 International Unions, and Study Classes in nearly every corner of the United States. Besides, we have hundreds of sustaining and contributing members at large. Truly a most remarkable record, in which Brother Spencer Miller, Jr., who has been our Secretary since the Bureau was first organized, may take great satisfaction.