

SOCIALISM
Is the public ownership and democratic operation of all utilities, services and enterprises that are public in their nature.

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Socialist Landslide Sweeps Cities of England

Overwhelms Industrial Centers—
Farmers Vote Labor Party
Ticket First Time

In the greatest Labor Party victory in local elections in the history of the movement, Socialism, on November 1, swept the industrial centers of England registering unheard of gains and carrying with it a great farmer vote. The feat in the history of the country. Early and incomplete returns showed that the Socialists had gained more than 100 seats in local bodies at the expense of the Conservatives and Liberals.

In the early returns the Conservatives admitted the loss of 83 seats and the Liberals 21. In the industrial districts the Labor Party had a complete walkover. Many towns and cities in England will now be ruled by Socialist administrations.

The election was to fill the vacancies caused by the retirement of one-third of the membership of 300 city and borough councils. About 2,000 officials were to be elected in England, Scotland and Wales. In late years in each succeeding election the workers have increased their representation. The last Municipal poll showed a Socialist increase of 200 seats over the previous election.

Farmer Vote Significant
Of utmost significance is the result in the agricultural districts. Here for the first time, the farmers cast their votes for the Labor Party candidates. It is as though the impossible had happened. This swing of the farmers to the support of Socialism and the overwhelming support given the Labor Party candidates by the workers in the industrial districts is taken as an almost certain sign that the Labor Party will carry Great Britain in the next national election and win majority control of the government. If the communal election held on November 1 had been a national election the British workers would now be in power in Great Britain.

The farmer vote was the biggest surprise. The farmers have always voted for the old capitalist parties of England. A fixed belief existed among the Conservative elements of Great Britain that the farmers would never support a Socialist or Labor program. About two years ago the Labor Party realized that it must win at least a considerable element of the farmers before it could hope to gain majority power. The farmer stronghold of conservatism repeatedly nullified the Labor gains in the cities. A farmer program was adopted by the Labor Party. Its main plank was the nationalization of land to the end that the farmers might gain access to it and the free use of it. It was believed by the conservative

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Socialists Gain in Czech City Vote

PRAGUE—The recent municipal elections in Czechoslovakia, which took place in 6,853 of the 15,652 cities and towns, resulted in a considerable gain for the Socialist party.

Although the old party bloc had tried to avoid a class issue as much as possible, the Socialists gave out the slogan that these municipal elections should be the first skirmishes for the next national elections.

The old party coalition government suffered a severe setback by the outcome of these elections. This was the first election since the Socialists left the coalition government. It is therefore indicative of the lineup of the classes in Czechoslovakia, as it will be when the national elections take place.

The heaviest losers are the so-called National Democrats, the most nationalistic reactionaries in the republic, led by Dr. Kramarsh. The Catholic party also lost thousands of its working class voters.

These losses are heaviest in the big industrial cities, especially in the cities where the trade union federations have their headquarters.

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Public Ownership Forces Face Test Fight

DEADLY PARALLEL—WORKERS STAY POOR AS WEALTH TREBLES

U. S. Per Capita Income Is Double Pre-War Figures

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Per capita income for the United States in 1924 was \$665, compared to \$330 for the United Kingdom, \$225 for France and \$210 for Germany, according to the last available figures comparing the national incomes of all countries, furnished to the department of commerce by the league of nations.

Post war per capita income for the United States nearly doubles the pre-war income, while our total national income is nearly three times greater than before the World War.

In 1924, the national income of the United States was \$79,000,000,000. Estimates place the total for 1926 at \$90,000,000,000. The income per person employed in 1926 is estimated at \$2,010, compared to \$1,810 in 1924 and \$664 in 1913.

Last available figures on the national wealth of the four leading countries are for 1922 and are: United States, \$120,000,000,000; United Kingdom, \$85,400,000,000; France, \$67,510,000,000; and Germany, \$55,700,000,000.

Estimates of the national income for 1926, made by the National Bureau of Economic Research and announced by the bureau of internal revenue show it has nearly trebled since 1913. The total in that year was \$32,000,000,000.

Per capita incomes for all countries in addition to the United States, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, have been announced for 1924 as follows: Italy, \$107; Belgium, \$117; Sweden, \$124; Norway, \$140; Austria, \$110 (pre-war figures for present boundaries); Hungary, \$100; Canada, \$270; Australia, \$355 and Japan, \$45.

The per capita income in the United States of \$665 would amount to about \$2,082 per family. (The American family averages about 4 1/2 persons.) When it is remembered that fully half the families receive less than \$1,200 per year, one gets some inkling of the enormous surplus that is gathered from these millions of workers to swell the vast incomes of the rich and super-rich.

The estimated income per employed person—\$2,010—covers all persons whether employed at productive or non-productive labor. The non-producers in America whose efforts add nothing to the national wealth and who are wholly a burden on productive labor number millions. The productive worker actually produces far more than \$2,010 per year. If he received all he produced he would get enough to take care of every legitimate civilized want.

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Philanthropy Rated Insane in Chicago

The sudden rise of twelve north side hobo homes from rags to tailor made suits, laborer coats and meals in cafes attracted the attention of Police Sergeant Cornelius O'Connell. He saw the twelve standing in the soup box orator's campus at Clark and Chestnut streets.

With that he began questioning the hobo owners. One by one they confessed that they had gotten the garments as gifts from Michael Nigro, a tailor at 6 West Oak street.

Convinced that the matter needed investigation, O'Connell took Nigro to the Chicago avenue station. There the tailor said he was only trying to be charitable and had given suits, coats and money to all worthy hobos who applied to him.

After it was learned that Nigro possessed a bank book showing that he had \$34,000 on deposit the police decided to send him to the psychopathic hospital.

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American Majority Still Exists In Poverty and Want

There are eight and a half million women gainfully employed in the United States. Their average weekly wage varies from \$16.45 in Rhode Island to \$8.60 in Mississippi, says Mary Anderson head of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, following a recent government survey. In New Jersey the average weekly wage received by 4,525 women workers, investigated was \$11.95 cents. Most of these women work more than 48 hours a week, many working 10 and 11 hours.

In the 5 and 10 cents stores and the department stores many thousands of girls are employed at wages so low that they have to depend either on their parents for partial support, or else on immoral sources of income. Regarding the Woolworth stores, which exploit girl labor to the limit, an investor recently wrote in a financial journal that on August 15, 1915, he bought 10 shares of Woolworth stock at 105, paying \$1,050 for them. He says:

"I have since received 68 more shares in stock dividends and splits-ups and now have in all from that original 10 shares 75 shares worth at the present market price \$11,100 locked up in a stock market."

"Have also received in cash dividends about \$1,600 more, and that added to the value of the stock, makes \$16,000. Not so bad, is it, especially when I went against advice of some friends who said I was a fool to put my money into a stock market."

More than 2,000,000 children are employed in America under the age of 16 because their yearly income can be held down to a small fraction of the average national income. This despite state and local laws. The current issue of the Toledo Union Advertiser charges that there has not been a single prosecution for violation of child labor laws in Toledo in four years, despite many flagrant violations and in the face of continual reports by school authorities showing that the employers are robbing the schools for child labor, out of which to squeeze private profits.

When one remembers these ten and a half million women and child workers subsisting on starvation incomes, the 6,000,000 farmers and their several million hired men who get less than \$1,000 a year and the tremendous army of unemployed, unskilled workers in America, one gets a vivid picture of the vicious methods behind the distribution of America's trebled income and the explanation of the staggering incomes and fortunes that now go to those on top.

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Yale Students in Fight for Labor Illegally Arrested

Inhuman Treatment of Neckwear Workers Turned College Men Into Union Organizers

By Harry W. Laidler
(Special Editor, American Appeal)

A most encouraging development in American university life was a recent episode involving the arrest of Yale students for trying to obtain better conditions for the much exploited neckwear workers of New Haven.

Finding that deplorable conditions existed among the neckwear workers employed by firms that had recently moved to New Haven to avoid the power of the unions in New York, several Yale students distributed leaflets among the New Haven workers urging them to join the protesters against the revived sweatshop conditions.

They were arrested on a trumped up charge and threatened with dire punishment by the district attorney, when a Yale professor proved that there was no ordinance against the distribution of circulars and that the district attorney was trying merely to bully them.

The story of this interesting affair connected with the class struggle in New Haven in which the American college student appears in the role of defender of labor, rather than strikebreaker, is told by the students in their own paper, "The Yale News" as follows:

(From The Yale News, Oct. 27, 1927)
On October 25, three Yale students were arrested in the act of passing out pamphlets to the workers employed in two erstwhile New York neck-

Socialists Win In Reading and Buffalo

As the American Appeal goes to press two wires are received of glorious election victories by the Socialists.

In Reading, Pa. the Socialists made a clean sweep. Stump is city mayor Maurer is also elected and control of the city wrested from the enemy.

A Buffalo wire says that Frank C. Perkins, Socialist candidate for president of the city council, was elected by 71,000 votes to 51,000 for his opponent.

More next week.

Military Decline In Wisconsin Is Alarming to Army

Remarkable Effect of Presence of Solid Body of Live Socialists in State

The Socialists have held semi-power in Milwaukee, metropolis of Wisconsin, since before the war. The presence of this real live, power-holding Socialist movement in the state has had a remarkable effect on the whole peace movement here, making it the strongest peace movement in any state in the union. This has resulted in the decline in the military spirit and in patronage of military training in the institutions of higher learning greater than in any other state. Through Socialist influence Wisconsin has become known in American militarist circles as "the pacifist state."

These facts are revealed in a recent article in the Chicago Tribune reflecting a prolonged whine by Col. Joseph E. Barnes, commander of the R. O. T. C. of the University of Wisconsin concerning the discouraging standpoint in that state. So alarmed is the war department that it has authorized Col. Barnes to propagandize in this university to the full extent of his ability.

Tel's of Decline
According to Col. Barnes interest in the R. O. T. C. has dwindled since 1924 when the Wisconsin legislature passed a law which has not been a single prosecution for violation of child labor laws in Toledo in four years, despite many flagrant violations and in the face of continual reports by school authorities showing that the employers are robbing the schools for child labor, out of which to squeeze private profits.

When one remembers these ten and a half million women and child workers subsisting on starvation incomes, the 6,000,000 farmers and their several million hired men who get less than \$1,000 a year and the tremendous army of unemployed, unskilled workers in America, one gets a vivid picture of the vicious methods behind the distribution of America's trebled income and the explanation of the staggering incomes and fortunes that now go to those on top.

But recently, Col. Barnes explains, there has been an active movement among students to abolish the unit altogether. The leader in this propaganda, he says, has been the daily campus publication, the Cardinal. As evidence of the spirit against which he must contend, Col. Barnes points to one of the several recent editorials in the daily.

Students State Case
"Ever since 1924, when military training in the university was made optional, the unit has been on the decline. In 1920, 1921, and 1922 its enrollment hovered about the 1,500 mark, then went down to slightly over 1,100 in the next two years, and since then has dropped continually until the total number of men enrolled is 631."

"Military training in American universities, especially in those in which it is not required, has been on the down grade, along with the national war fever kindled to white heat during the recent conflagration which freed the world from junkerdom."

"The abolishment of the Wisconsin artillery corps and the constant dwindling of enrollment figures is representative of the light in which peace loving American citizens are beginning to regard collegiate militarism."

World War Opened Eyes
"The world war is being seen in a new light, and the din for preparedness is dying down to a whisper. America is not a militaristic nation. Its citizens send their sons to college for an education, not for military training."

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Kaiser General Urges Anti-War Pledge
BERLIN.—Holding thousands spellbound by the gruesome picture of war he painted, Paul von Schoenebeck, once one of the Kaiser's trusted generals, now an ardent pacifist, inaugurated a campaign today for mass refusal of military service in case of war. A million conscientious objectors, he said, would prevent war.

SOCIALISTS HAVE REAL PEACE MOVEMENT—BERTRAND RUSSELL

Recently the American Appeal made a plea for unity of the peace forces of the world in the face of the most critical and dangerous war situation the world ever faced. It begged for unity of all peace forces through cooperation with the one great clear, original and definite world peace movement—the Socialist movement.

Bertrand Russell, the eminent British philosopher and writer who is now touring the United States, in a recent statement brings out this basic and outstanding peace character of the Socialist movement. He said:

"Socialists put into the world the idea of friendship among all nations. It hadn't existed. It doesn't exist now outside of the Socialist parties."

"Only the Socialists, in all countries, are broad-minded enough to see beyond nationalistic prejudices, only the Socialists can recognize that international friendship can be inspired by anything other than nationalistic fears. Thus it is solely to the Socialists that the world can look for future world peace."

"The world would like a war with Russia, but she can't quite manage it because of the opposition of labor. Labor would paralyze the railroads, the docks and the munition factories if England started anything with Russia."

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THE WAR FRONT Employers Reach Into Schools for More Child Slaves

WASHINGTON.—Appropriations of approximately \$100,000,000 for cruiser construction, increasing last year's naval budget by about that amount, has been approved by President Coolidge. The Army and Navy Journal and today.

It is a subtle and brutal attack on child education in the interest of robbing the schools to obtain cheap child labor to swell the profits of manufacturers. It is contained in a proposed program just issued by the National Association of Manufacturers entitled "A National Education and Employment Program."

A casual reading of this plan is calculated to leave the impression that the Manufacturers Association advocates the fullest possible development of the various types of child labor, normal, subnormal and defective. But concealed in this fair-sounding verbiage are specific recommendations of the most atrocious and damning character. In the opening paragraph the proposed program is offered as a plan for the "protection" of employed children fourteen and fifteen years of age. "The manufacturers' idea of 'protecting' childhood appears later in the specific recommendations, among which are the following:

1.—Discharge all such children from school when they have completed the sixth grade by issuing to them employment certificates to go to work in a factory or shop.

2.—Amend the present laws providing for additional education for employed children by means of a particular instruction so as to permit release of "individuals incapable of further education," from attending any supplemental instruction.

3.—Increase the hours a week a child under sixteen may work by four hours.

4.—Extend the possible period of a day's work for these immature children from the present legal period which closes at 5 and 6 p. m. to a period beginning at 7 p. m. and closing at 9 p. m.

5.—Exempt children from attendance at continuation schools until "proper" schools are established.

6.—In no case should these (educational) standards prevent the employment of physically able children over fourteen who are unable or unwilling to go further to school than the sixth grade, in the judgment of their parents or guardians would be better employed at work."

The above sixth proposal is in the exact language of the report. Those recommendations are made in all seriousness by an association calling itself Christian and civilized for the sole purpose of snatching immature children from their God-given right to education and development in order to grind their bodies and souls in the mill of private profits, depress the labor market, force down wages for the parents of these children or drive them out of industry while their little sons and daughters take their places at a fraction of their wages.

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Power and Utility Trusts Unite to Crush Whole Movement

The public ownership forces of the nation are rallying for the biggest fight in their history which is staged to begin in Washington during this winter's session of Congress, when the super-power and public utility trusts, representing more than seventeen and a half billions in organized wealth, intend to deal a final blow against the efforts of the people to control the sources of their lives.

Prominent among these forces are the Socialist party, pioneer in the public ownership movement, which will undoubtedly make public ownership the major issue in the 1928 campaign. Another organization devoted exclusively to the issue of public ownership—the Public Ownership League of America—will be prepared to wage the biggest campaign in its history to enlighten the American people as to the exact nature of the present crisis now confronting the nation. The farmer-labor movement will be on the side of the people in the impending fight, as will other progressive elements, some of them still clinging to the old political parties in the vain hope that they can outmaneuver the biggest educational campaign in their history.

Progressive elements in organized labor, like the Electrical Workers, who have come out squarely for public ownership of super-power, will furnish a powerful wing of the defense line of democracy in this impending major battle. Unfortunately, however, the officials of the American Federation of Labor have taken a stand on the whole against

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U. S. Banks Finance Polish Dictator in Fight on Socialism

By a new coup d'état Marshal Jozef Pilsudski has put the final seal on his dictatorship. Parliament, which reassembled after a compulsory prorogation, again was prorogued by the marshal's decree, not for a month this time, but for the remainder of the term of the present legislative body, which expires on Nov. 30. Accordingly the Polish constitution, new elections must be held within three months.

Pilsudski's latest dismissal of parliament and assumption of dictatorial power followed immediately on the heels of a \$75,000,000 loan to Poland by American bankers. Pilsudski will now have the disposal of this American money to strengthen his dictatorship. It is believed by many that the American money kings made this loan with such an express understanding. But the Socialists may be the real gainers from this loan, which was undoubtedly directed against them.

Events during the last year have changed the Socialist party position from that of support of Pilsudski to the opposition party of Poland. The Socialists supported Pilsudski in his seizure of power over a year ago in order to prevent the Fascists from seizing power. Pilsudski proved a tremendous disappointment displaying all the symptoms of a half-crazed military tyrant. As he swung toward the position of a permanent dictator the Socialists swung to a position of sharp opposition.

As the opposition party in the coming elections, the Socialists are due for a big gain in seats in parliament as Pilsudski's brutal crushing of democracy in Poland has aroused the ire of millions of progressively inclined citizens. Municipal elections several months ago showed a big Socialist gain indicating that a movement toward the Socialist Party was in full swing then.

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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.

The Brotherhood of Man

(This anonymous poem was sent to the American Appeal by T. M. Littleton, Englewood, Cal.)

When every bloody man-of-war is taken out and sunk,
And all of hell's artillery is hammered into junk,
And the plunder-bird is swatted stiff and only those who toil
Shall have and eat and use the things from mine and mill and soil;
When those who do the work that's done shall own the tools and jobs;
And will not feed the drones on corn, and they themselves eat cobs;
When Labor blows its trumpet blast in Hallelujah tones,
And nothing but a garbage heap is left of kings and thrones;
When every one shall sit beneath his fig tree and his vine,
And the taxes of life shall mingle in the human and divine,
And a little child shall lead the as the old, old story ran:
I will meet you there, my comrade, in the Brotherhood of Man.

Socialist Party News

American Trade Union Delegation Reports on Conditions in Russia

Assessment Stamps

The national organization is beginning to hear from the sale of the Voluntary Assessment to Members. Our State and District Secretaries are reporting that they have sent special communications to their membership, urging them to push the sale of these stamps.

Kansas Socialists Attention!

The State Conference of Socialists for November 13, 1:00 P. M. in the City Hall at Pittsburg, Kansas, is expected to be a good one, with Socialists from over the state in attendance.

New England District Debs Memorial Meetings

The comrades of Greenfield and Northampton united for a Debs Memorial meeting a week ago. As one result of the meeting, they worked out a plan for joint social and educational affairs in the future.

In Lawrence, the Italian, Lithuanian and American comrades united for a joint Debs Memorial meeting. The comrades Lewis, Nicholson, Navilka, and Culla are the speakers.

In Cambridge, the Lithuanian comrades had Comrade Lewis, Rabinovitz of the Ypsels as their speakers along with John Urbanos.

Ypsels

The Gardner Ypsels ran a big Memorial meeting for which they got front page publicity in the local papers.

Maynard Ypsels started a study class Sunday morning, November 6th, at the Socialist Hall.

Comrade Louis Rabinovitz organized a new Ypsel circle in Amesbury. Maurer Meeting on Russia. James H. Maurer, President of the Penna. Federation of Labor and Chairman of the recent unofficial trade union delegation to Soviet Russia, will speak in Boston at Seaside Auditorium, Sunday afternoon, November 20th at 2:30 on "Russia as I Saw It."

Maryland Baltimore

A Debs memorial meeting will take place in Baltimore, arranged by the Baltimore Open Forum and the Socialist Party, Sunday, November 20th, 3 P. M., at the Hippodrome Theatre. The proceeds from the meeting go to the Debs Memorial Radio Fund. The speakers will be Norman Thomas, Robert Morris Lovett of New York and William A. Toole of Baltimore.

New Jersey Jersey City

On Sunday, November 13, a lecture on the American Labor movement will be delivered by Wm. Feigenbaum at 255 Central Ave., under the auspices of the Socialist Party, Socialist Education Club, and the Workmen's Circle.

Pennsylvania Pittsburgh

There will be a Debs Memorial Radio dinner to celebrate the establishment of the Radio Station WEVD on Sunday, November 13, 6:30 to 11:30 P. M., on the Roof Garden, Hotel Chatham, 423 Pennsylvania Ave. There will be a number of speakers including James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, who will speak on "My Trip to Russia," John Brophy, Past-President District No. 2, United Mine Workers, who will speak on "My Trip to Europe." There will be entertainment and a musical program. The charge per plate will be \$1.50. Make reservations at once to Wm. Adams, 227-5th Ave., Pittsburgh.

The Socialist Sunday School which was disbanded several years ago is being reorganized and opened on Sunday, November 6, at 10:15 A. M. in the International Lyceum, James and Forester, Streets, North Side.

Young folks of all ages are invited, classes adapted to various ages will be conducted and appropriate subjects will be taught with special attention given to the Natural and Social Sciences.

Committee in charge are Sara Limbach, Sidney Stark, Emil Limbach, Reinhold Werner and Jane Tait. On first Sunday afternoon of each month Debs Branch meets at 237 Fifth avenue, fifth floor, and on third Sunday afternoon, North Side Branch meets in International Lyceum. Following each Branch's meeting there will be held meetings of the Socialist Study Class, which is under the direction of committee consisting of Harry Goff, Sarah Limbach, C. B. Fetterolf and Wm. J. Van Essen.

These meetings of the Study Class are open and we invite members and sympathizers to join this class, which is conducting a systematic Study of Social Evolution, with special attention to the last epoch known as Capitalism.

New York Jamestown

Comrade G.W. Ostrander of Jamestown, N. Y. sends convincing reports of the rebuilding of the Socialist Party in that city. The National Office is cooperating with the comrade by sending letters to a large number of Socialists in and around Jamestown, urging them to attend an organizational meeting of the Socialist Party which will be held on November 13, 3:00 P. M. in the Swedish Brotherhood Hall, corner of 3rd and Main Streets. There is already a sufficient number of signers to the application for charter for a good healthy local and at the meeting there will doubtless be many more.

Comrade Ostrander, whose address is 165 Allen St., Jamestown, N. Y., is anxious to get in touch with some Swedish Socialist speaker for the purpose of assisting in the organization work in his city. He is also desirous of Swedish literature in the Swedish language.

Walls And Bars Prize Winners

The following members of the Appeal Army assisted American Appeal circulation to the extent of \$5 or more during the week ending November 5, 1927, and received a copy of Walls and Bars, free: Elinor E. Miller, Atascadero, Calif. \$5.00, and husband; R. E. Macaulay, Fort Jones, Calif. \$5.00, subs and cards; M. A. Springstube, Hobart, Okla. \$5.00 subs; Charles L. Myers, Cumberland, Md. \$5.00 cards.

Appeal Fund

The following comrades made contributions and paid on pledges to the American Appeal during the week ending November 5, 1927:

Contributions

Mrs. Mittlacher, Chicago\$1.00

On Pledges

Joseph E. Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa.\$2.00 Morris Hillquit, New York City 25.00

Public Ownership Faces Test Fight (Cont. from page 1)

public ownership. They have produced a monopoly exactly in line with big business throughout the world and against the stand of organized labor everywhere except in the United States. It is the doctrine of non-interference of government in business. In its recent session in Los Angeles the A. F. of L. referred a resolution favoring the government Boulder Dam project to the Executive Board of the Federation for action. This attitude and action of the American Federation of Labor officialdom will have the effect of giving tremendous aid to the super-power forces of the world and which the very existence of democracy in America is seriously involved.

Trusts' Biggest Fight

In this connection the public ownership forces should realize the power and importance of the attack that is about to be made on the threatened sources of employment, wealth and life and upon the whole public ownership movement in America.

What is undoubtedly the most powerful lobby that Washington has ever seen has already opened its headquarters in Washington's most beautiful office building just across the street from the Treasury and a scant block from the White House where at present resides one of the greatest enemies of the trusts and one of the greatest essential enemies of the American people who has ever occupied the presidential chair.

George B. Courtney, once private secretary to Roosevelt, now head of the Consolidated Gas Company, is the chief of the lobby, which he has christened, "The Joint Committee of the National Utilities Associations."

But Josiah T. Newcomb of New York, sometimes referred to as "Colonel" and sometimes as "Senator," is the active director of the Washington office. He was close to Hughes when the latter was governor of New York, and Mr. Hughes may be the next President of the United States. The men back of the lobby are far-sighted! If they do not win this coming winter, they are prepared to stay right on the job until they do win, or until the outraged and awakened people kick them out for good!

Lobby's Program

The object of the lobby is threefold: 1—To educate the public concerning the virtues of private ownership and the evils of public ownership of any kind.

2—To turn over Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam to the power trust and to thus prevent the people of the United States from discovering what the people of Canada have already discovered, how ridiculously cheap electricity can be produced with water power.

3—To induce Congress to sidetrack the proposal of Walsh of Montana to investigate the Power Trust.

Colonel Newcomb will tell you there is no trust, and his heart bleeds at the very thought of a Senatorial committee investigating something which is non-existent.

"Fixing" Newspaper Writers The lobby is now concentrating its attention on its educational program and Word has been passed among the army of correspondents in Washington that those writers who are willing to boost the trust's game by writing articles for the papers they represent will be "treated generously."

Put in plain English, the Power Trust is seeking to corrupt the newspaper men.

Next, the lobby is preparing—in fact, has already started—to send a corps of speakers through the country to address all kinds of civic organizations.

Politicians out of a job—ex-Senators and ex-governors preferred, men whose names will command attention—can get on the payroll for the asking.

To furnish ammunition for its writers, the lobby is issuing a number of pamphlets, proclaiming the failure of the trust, and denouncing Norris, Pinchot and every one else who has ever uttered a word of criticism of the trust's activities.

Must Have Unity As there must be unity of all forces opposed to it, there must be unity in this other desperate and vital fight of the people for their fundamental existence and liberty. No matter what the factional differences may be, all the forces that recognize that this final seizure of the last basic right of the people is a handful of powerful private interests, will mean the destruction of democracy in our country, must find some way to function together and present something like consistent and united effort to prevent this calamity.

Without this unity there is great danger that the trust might succeed; with common understanding and effort among the real democratic elements the schemes of the power and utility lobbyists will fall to the ground.

Socialist Landslide Sweeps English Cities (Cont. from page 1)

vatives that this program was so radical that the farmers would never listen to it. The farmer districts were systematically covered by Socialist speakers and literature. This program was explained to them.

In the meantime, the Conservatives, feeling secure in the smug belief that the farmers were ingrained conservatives, continued to flout the demands of the farmers for relief. As a result, several weeks ago the British Tory government through Premier Baldwin informed the farmers that their only salvation lay in self-help, that the government could do nothing for them. The sudden swing of the farmers in vast numbers to Socialism is one of the roughest shocks and awakenings England has felt in a generation.

Workers At Last United The great Socialist landslide in the industrial centers, the convincing evidence that at last the workers have begun to vote as an entire class on the side of Socialism. This wonderful result has developed directly out of the present critical struggle between the ruling class and the workers of England involving the existence of the British trade union movement and the British Labor Party. It is the answer of the British working class to the outrageous and lawless attempts of the capitalists and aristocrats to crush the labor movement through the operation of the anti-trade union bill, measures aimed to bankrupt and dissolve the Labor Party and the proposed investment of the House of Lords with veto power over legislation, which would put an end to political democracy in Great Britain.

Instead of disheartening, demoralizing and disintegrating the Labor organizations and Party, these measures, the election shows, have united the workers as they were never united before and constituted them into a power that will prove irresistible in the next general election in should attempt to overthrow democracy by armed violence and set up a military dictatorship to save its stolen wealth and power.

In II Articles Article II

The report devotes fifteen pages to labor laws and social insurance covering the question of the protection to workers afforded by the soviet government. Only a few quotations on this subject can be given in his short article:

Hours of Work and Rest

"Before the war the Russian worker labored an average of 9.9 hours per day. In some industries, such as coal mining, the 12-hour day was actually in force. A considerable amount of overtime lengthened still the actual working day.

"All this has been changed by the revolution. The Labor Code of Russia fixes eight hours as the maximum day's work. Since it is provided that rest at week ends or on the occasion of holidays, the work day on Saturday is only six hours. Workers in especially dangerous or disagreeable occupations are given as much as a month or work day. The actual working day is frequently shorter than six hours. The six-hour day in the mines is from bank to bank, or from the mouth of the mine to the mouth of the mine.

"Children under 14 years of age are allowed to work only in the light industry and those from 14 to 16 are only allowed to work four hours, while those from 16 to 18 are on a six-hour day.

"Women workers at manual labor who are about to become mothers are allowed two months' rest with pay before giving birth to a child and an additional two months afterward. When the mother returns to work she almost always finds a nursery or crche where she may leave her child. She is also given a half hour out of every three-and-a-half hours in which to nurse it.

Vacations

"Every industrial worker who has been employed at least five months and a half is given two weeks vacation annually with pay. Those employed in especially arduous trades, such as coal mining, glass working, iron molding, and the iron and steel industry are given as much as a month. Moreover, approximately 600,000 workers are sent annually by the unions and the Social Insurance Department for vacations in rest homes where their expenses are paid. These rest homes are generally the estates of the former aristocracy."

Social Insurance

"Virtually every employed worker in Russia comes under the protection of the system of social insurance. At present 8,000,000 persons are covered, though it does not yet apply to peasants and many of the unemployed urban workers. The most important features of the system are: (a) Payment for temporary disability resulting from accidents or illness; (b) Payment for permanent disability and old age pensions; (c) Unemployment insurance and protection; (d) Insurance payments to families of deceased workers; (e) burial and birth allowances.

"The average payment for each disabled worker in March, 1927, was \$28.75 per month. The worker is in addition furnished with free medical attention throughout the period of disability. Free hospital care is also provided, as are drugs, medicine and medical care is not confined to the wage-earners alone, but is extended to their families. There is virtually free medicine in Russia. The Russian government proceeds upon the theory that it is the duty of the state to maintain health in its citizens, so far as this is possible, and believes that medical attention should be free to every person."

Permanent Disability and Old Age Pensions

"There are six categories for those who have been disabled from industrial causes, with the following benefits: (1) Those who have suffered a total loss of earning power and need some one as a caretaker, 100 per cent; (2) Those suffering a total loss of earning power, but not needing a caretaker, 75 per cent; (3) Those unable to work systematically but only occasionally, 50 per cent; (4) Those able to work regularly but with greatly lowered capacity, 75 and one-third per cent; (5) Those able to work regularly but with a loss of 15 to 20 per cent earning capacity, 10 and two-thirds per cent; (6) Those suffering loss of less than 15 per cent earning capacity, 10 per cent. The average monthly payments in March, 1927, for the first category of those disabled from industrial causes was \$22.50.

"These benefits also serve as old age pensions. They are not paid automatically to those who have reached a given age yet are still able to work with undiminished capacity, but are given to those who for cause or another have suffered either a partial or total loss of earning power."

Unemployment Insurance and Protection

"Unemployment is a serious problem in the U. S. S. R. as in other European countries. On January 1, 1926, the 2nd labor exchanges showed a total of 950,000 out of work. This rose to 1,250,000 in December, 1926 and to 1,407,000 in March, 1927. In that month the unemployment rolls were purged of those who had

found other employment and by virtually dropping those who had not previously been employed for hire. This caused a drop in April to a registered total of 1,055,000, which decreased to 992,000 in July, but this does not include the unemployed in smaller towns where there are no labor exchanges. It is probable that at least 2,000,000 Russians are unemployed. These are very largely unskilled workers, primarily recruited from the peasants who have recently come to the towns. This movement to the towns, induced as it is by the higher economic and cultural standards of life among the city workers, is probably the chief cause of unemployment, since the migration to the city is greater than the urban industry can absorb.

"It cannot be denied that unemployment is one of the most serious problems that the government faces. To meet it the government has adopted three methods: unemployment insurance; starting special projects to give work to those who lack it; and education of the unemployed.

"The most highly qualified workers and juveniles just entering employment are paid benefits without any prior condition of employment, but this is required of all others. For a non-highly qualified manual worker to receive unemployment benefits, he must have been employed for hire, or a trade unionist, for at least one year; if not a member of a union, for at least three years. For other salaried employees the period required for union members is three years and for non-unionists five years.

"The cause of these limitations the number receiving benefits amounts approximately to half the number registered at the labor exchanges and to less than this proportion for all those seeking employment. In June, 1927, the total number to whom benefits were paid amounted to 542,000."

"Public works, particularly railway construction, are another means of absorbing the unemployed, and an extra sum of \$5,500,000 will be spent for this purpose during 1927."

About 110,000 of the unemployed are being trained for a variety of public work by rational and local governments, the report declares.

Consumers Cooperatives

"The 14,000,000 members of the 25,000 cooperative societies form one of the most powerful economic forces in the U. S. S. R. About 50 per cent of the members are urban workers, drawn almost entirely from the trade unions and their families, while the remainder are peasants. The societies have over 67,000 stores, and during 1925-1926 had a retail business of over \$2,550,000,000 or 46 per cent of all goods sold.

"The cooperatives and the state stores (owned by municipalities or by the state trusts) are rapidly cutting down private trade. In 1923-1924 private trade handled 53 per cent of the retail business, but this had decreased by 1925-1926 to 32 per cent and this year it will form but approximately 31 per cent of the total of which a considerable proportion represents the direct sales by peasants and domestic workers of their handwork at markets and fairs, rather than sales by a separate mercantile class.

"The cooperatives are making such rapid progress because they undercut the private stores by approximately 20 per cent. The cooperatives are able to reduce prices in this fashion in part because of the advantages of large-scale buying which they possess through their federations and through their general efficiency. They also receive special favors from various state agencies, such as a first option, with the state stores, upon the output of the state factories. The cooperatives are also given more generous credit terms, lower rents, and a lower tax rate."

"The report shows by facts and figures that these cooperatives are democratically owned and operated, the members electing the officials and managing them. They are owned not exclusively by heads of families and others owning one share each and the method of one man, one vote, prevails.

"Agriculture in the U. S. S. R. is approximately at the 1913 level. The amount of land under cultivation is greater, but the total yield is slightly less, indicating a somewhat smaller yield per acre. The present situation, judged strictly by the statistics, would show a condition slightly less favorable than that which existed before the war, but which according to certain other criteria, it would have to be set on as better. For instance, the status of the peasants has improved, land holdings have been increased, and much capital has been invested in research and experimentation, though the future results of all of these have not yet been registered in figures.

"The government has far exceeded the pre-war standard of expert assistance for peasants, has assisted in bettering seed and animal strains, and, most important of all, has entered upon a definite 10-year program for the re-organization of the medieval strip-farming, so prevalent in Russia.

The reports says that the agricultural recovery in Russia since the disastrous period of the War and rev-

lution has been remarkable. Agriculture production has increased 87 per cent since 1921-1922, and 36 per cent since 1923-1924.

"In theory the peasant does not own the legal title to his land, but he and his family retain it as long as they can prove that it is being used. He may rent a part of it subject to rigid restrictions. Credit given to him, cannot be used for speculative purposes, but only for capital expansion and working funds."

Education

"Notwithstanding the severe economic conditions which have prevailed up to the present, the achievements in the development of a new educational system have been large. The expenditures on education are now in excess of pre-war figures. In the year 1925-1926 elementary education was extended about as widely as in 1914, while secondary, vocational, professional and higher education were much more widely extended.

"The greatest achievement of the revolution thus far, however, is the development of thousands of additional institutions, such as centers for illiterate illiteracy, schools for adults, trade union schools, party schools, cottage reading rooms, workers and peasants homes, and young people's clubs."

"The curriculum of the lower schools is characterized by a large emphasis on the social studies, aimed to indoctrinate children with the ideas of collectivism. The curriculum also emphasizes the methods and findings of the natural sciences. As in every other country, a teacher is not permitted to express in the school ideas which are contrary to the principles in which the present government is founded. The number of teachers who have been dismissed or who have left the schools because of the revolution is certainly not more than 5 per cent. The educational authorities have mapped out a most ambitious program for the rapid expansion of education during the next decade. It is still largely on paper, because the money to achieve it is inadequate, so that its fulfillment must wait upon the realization of the economic program.

Civil Liberties

"No opposition party is permitted in Russia, nor any paper which attacks the fundamental principles of communism. Active opponents of the existing regime are not allowed to address public meetings. All books, pamphlets, moving pictures and programs have to be passed on by the department of censorship, the Commissariat of Education, and any material that attacks the fundamental principles of communism is not allowed to be printed.

"But while organized opposition to the system is not permitted, a great deal of criticism by individuals is nevertheless allowed. Peasants and workers are free in the main to criticize the government for its policies. A number of papers are printed primarily for the peasants, and a wide network of correspondents not only send in the news but offer sharp criticism of action taken by the government. The peasants are subject to virtually no suppression; the urban workers are almost equally free. Every industrial or commercial establishment of any size has its wall newspaper and this generally contains a great deal of criticism of the administration of that enterprise. The wall newspapers, in practically all the newspapers, to which approximately 250,000 correspondents contribute criticism. Representatives of the government and of the industrial enterprises frequently report to the workers' action meetings, where they are subject to criticism by the workers.

"Attendance at a religious service is perfectly free for all, although the general influence of the Communist Party is thrown against religion. Christian churches, however, cannot give organized religious instruction to minors under the age of 18 years, although the Mohammedans are allowed to instruct their children beginning with the fourteenth year. The reason for this discrimination is the favorable attitude of the Mohammedans toward the revolution. Many of the Protestant dissenting sects have been given a freedom of worship which they did not formerly possess.

"The great mass of the people have infinitely more political freedom than they had under the Czarist regime. They elect the members of the soviets which are responsible to them. They can thus influence the decisions of the government to a degree which was formerly impossible.

"Western liberals and those who oppose the soviet government frequently confuse political freedom with legal freedom. The former is a part of the latter, but without economic freedom it does not greatly benefit a man. The Russian workers possess this economic freedom to a degree enjoyed by the workers of no other country. Thus they cannot be discharged from employment without the content of their own representatives and are, therefore, free from the fear of unjustified dismissal which haunts the workers elsewhere. Their representatives are also members of

the governing bodies of the nation's industry, and help to determine its policy. The managers of the workshops and factories must be satisfactory to them. They are also free to criticize the factory at any time or on any point. They fix by collective bargaining the pay and conditions of their work. The managers are compelled to explain the major problems of the business to them. Their help is actively solicited in improving production. The mills, mines and natural resources of Russia are theirs to make what they can. As production increases they and the peasants receive the full product without any deduction for rent or profits. There is not a parasitical leisure class to waste without earning and to stir up envy."

"The report severely criticizes the soviet method of procedure against those suspected of anti-governmental activities. To this end the government has clothed its State Political Department (G. P. U.) the secret service department which gathers evidence against suspected persons, with unusual powers. It not only can arrest suspects, but is permitted to try and condemn them without allowing them a lawyer or proper representation.

"In view of these facts," says the report, "we believe that such procedure is wrong, and we took pains while in Russia to make our opposition and condemnation perfectly manifest to the leaders of the government and the Communist party."

"Although no official figures are given out, it is admitted that thousands of persons are in exile in Siberia or Turkestan or in the six prison colonies maintained by the G. P. U. By far the larger number of these are members of the old bourgeois classes. The socialists, anarchists and social revolutionists form a much smaller class of the prisoners and exiles; the number of anarchists being fewer than that of the socialists. No socialists or anarchists have been shot by official order since the conclusion of the civil warfare, with the exception of a Group of Georgian socialists who were tried and convicted of revolutionary activities by an ordinarily constituted court."

The report concludes with these words: "A Workers' Government "After all, Russia is a workers' government. It has made mistakes, if mistakes are now being made, this ought not to cause complete outlawry from association with the workers of the United States. Only by creating the fiction of a situation that does not exist can the fact of the workers' government be ignored. We hope that this fiction will in time give way to the truth and that the official body of the American workers will at least go to see and try to understand."

(Signed) James H. Maurer, Chairman; John Brophy, Frank L. Palmer; Albert F. Coyle, Secretary.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Why Two Sets of Slaves and Masters?

Government statistics show that in 1927, 7,500,000 workers work in plants using 38,450,000 horsepower of mechanical energy. This is nearly five horsepower of mechanical energy for every worker.

Each of these workers in the most highly industrialized country in the world tends five mechanical slaves that have the power each of a horse. These slaves drive enormous machines that produce wealth in quantities that would have taken scores of men to produce a century ago.

Why two sets of slaves—the human slaves, and the mechanical slaves? Why the human slave at all, when each of us have five of the most powerful and efficient machine slaves? Why have any master but the human master of the machine?

New Light on American Justice

New light is being shed on court processes and trial methods in the United States by the latest disgraceful developments in the trial of former Secretary of the Interior Fall and Harry P. Sinclair, the oil magnate, over the Teapot Dome affair.

But this evidence of a "fixed" jury is not the worst feature of the trial of Fall and Sinclair and jurymen are not the only persons who may be "fixed." Prior to the sensational episode involving the jury, Justice Siddons, the presiding judge, rendered a decision, that in all probability barred testimony that would have meant the certain conviction of the defendants by an "unfixed" jury.

GENERAL ELECTRIC MAN FLAYS CAPITALIST ANTI-PUBLIC STAND

trained and that engineers, if not careful, would degenerate into animated tools. For the last six years of Steinmetz' life, Mr. Ripley spent one night a month alone with him in his laboratory.

Everhart refused to answer the government's question on the ground that he might be incriminated. Justice Siddons, the presiding judge, pondered over the question all night, and finally ruled that "this witness must be accorded his full constitutional privilege."

Fall's control of the bonds came just at a time when he needed money to save his cattle ranch at Three Rivers, N. Mex., from overdue taxes and notes.

Socialism Marches Forward in Europe

Almost every election held in Europe recently has been signalized by important gains for Socialism. Within the last few weeks elections were held in a number of German cities, in Norway, Czechoslovakia, and local elections were held in Great Britain.

In the German cities the Socialist vote was enormous. In Hamburg, second city in Germany, the Socialist vote was 248,000. There was such a decisive swing to democratic Socialism that it is well within the realms of possibility that the Socialists will take control of Germany in the next general election.

In Czechoslovakia there was a general Socialist gain in all the cities throughout the country. Two years ago the Socialist movement of this little republic was seriously divided between Germans and Czechs on the one hand and a government Socialist party and an opposition Socialist party on the other.

One of the safest predictions is that democratic Socialism will control all Western Europe within ten years, unless the progress is blocked by the military force of capitalism, or by a new world war. Nothing but

military force can delay it. Will the monstrous thing that has happened in Italy, Spain, Hungary, Bulgaria, Roumania, Greece, Yugoslavia, Lithuania and perhaps Poland dash all the high hopes of humanity and civilization?

In dealing with this question we have this to encourage us: The countries where military dictatorships have established themselves are countries where democracy was new and not deeply rooted. Even since Mussolini seized power in Italy fascism and other forms of military dictatorship have attempted with all their power to overthrow the forms of democracy in other European countries.

More About Power Propaganda

Not long ago we referred to the propaganda in behalf of the electric power interests backed by an association which openly boasted that it represented companies having a capital of \$17,500,000.

Next week, Soviet Russia will celebrate its tenth anniversary. A manifesto of the central executive committee to the proletarians and to the oppressed nations of the world marks the first official act in this celebration.

Ten Years Rule Under Soviets

By Ernest Untermyer (In the Milwaukee Leader) Next week, Soviet Russia will celebrate its tenth anniversary. A manifesto of the central executive committee to the proletarians and to the oppressed nations of the world marks the first official act in this celebration.

Oscar Ameringer Says So

Capitalist Newspapers Four pages funnies. Eight pages of scandal, crime, slime, punk and piffle, twenty pages of advertisements and there is your get it capitalist newspaper or molder of public opinion. What I'm diving at is that for size, sizzle and piffle, the capitalist American newspaper is the flea's knees, while as a disseminator of worth-while knowledge and useful information it is the greatest waste of white paper known to science.

Magruder's Charges Still Stand

That we are spending about \$300,000,000 per year to get a \$200,000,000 net is a fact. That three times as many officers are on duty in Washington now as in 1918, though the enlisted strength of the navy has increased only 5 per cent.

American Humor

World rocking news came via cablegram from England. King George had met the American Legion and they were his'n. It all came about "so suddenly" as the sweet young thing says.

Yesterday I read that Socialism was so dorned dead it could never come back here or anywhere else, and I felt so sorry for Socialism I just

set down and cried and cried and cried my eyes out. Then I picked up the great papers and found that the dead Socialists had literally swamped their opponents in Hamburg and Goennsberg, Germany, and were going strong in England, France and several other countries.

So I won't do it any more. I'll take all they say with a big grain of salt, as I've always done. I ought to know, they were off on the truth again, knowing, as I've found out, that Socialism is apt to be livest when its deadest.

Muscle Shoals

Uncle Sam has about one hundred and fifty million dollars invested at Muscle Shoals and is operating what is described as one of the greatest hydro-electric power projects in the world. He produces electric current and sells a great deal of it for one-half cent per kilowatt hour to the Alabama Power Company, a private concern, which sells it to municipalities and individuals for from six to ten cents per kilowatt hour.

It is possible to transmit electric power about 250 miles, so a section of territory 250 miles in width can be made a single project. Enemies of public ownership argue that this is one reason why Uncle Sam should dispose of Muscle Shoals, since it cannot serve all the people of the country with power.

Another Fascist Alibi Is Exposed

Friends of Mussolini in this country defend the dictator's outlawing of strikes on the ground that employers are delinquent from using the lock-out. They say that for an employer to use the lock-out, he knows strikes are illegal and workers are jailed if they encourage discontent against compulsory arbitration and enforced labor.

Illinois Labor Makes Astonishing Discovery

In a rambling, frothy and incoherent resolution of 500 words, the Illinois Labor Council, at its session at St. Louis in September, declared that "the so-called peace movements are inimical to the welfare of the American wage-earners and lead to the destruction of nationality and leveling of the living standards of the American people."

Yale Students in Fight for Labor

wear manufacturing plants. It was only part of a drama which has been unfolding itself for the last four years. Bitter competition, strikes, the helplessness of underpaid sweatshop workers have all played their part.

2,000 At New York Memorial Meeting

NEW YORK.—Over 2,000 crowded into Cooper Union here Sunday evening, October 30, to pay their tribute of affection to the late Eugene V. Debs.

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Socialism and Americanism

Government of the People, by the People, for the People

In IV Articles

Articles IV

Alfred Baker Lewis

(Society, New England District, Socialist Party)

No one will deny that Lincoln was a great American. One of the greatest of his speeches was his dedicatory address at Gettysburg in which he described the American government as a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Political Rights Vanishing

Even in the political government where we are supposed to govern, the great plutocrats and financiers are the ones who really control. They do it because they have bought and paid for the Democratic and Republican parties.

No Rights in Industry

Yet surely these things which affect our lives and livelihood, our wages, and hours, and the amount of profits that the employers make, affect the great mass of American citizens even more vitally than taxes, and the tariff and the other things that we are allowed to vote about and control through the representatives whom we elect.

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hours, they have no right and don't get even dare to claim a right, to pass on the amount of profits that the employers make, or limit the power of the owners of industry to lay men off or put them on short time.

So far as industry, where we make a living and earn our pay is concerned, this country today is ruled not by the people and for the people but by corporation lawyers, for the employes, capitalists and bankers. The rules and regulations that govern the factories, mines, mills, offices, and railroads are made by the owners for the benefit of the owners and the workers have very little if any say in the matter at all.

Even in the political government where we are supposed to govern, the great plutocrats and financiers are the ones who really control. They do it because they have bought and paid for the Democratic and Republican parties.

Yet today that is no longer true. The great mass of the people of America, the farmers and workers who produce the goods and furnish the services upon which our national well-being is based, do not rule in the things which are most vital to them. They are ruled by the plutocrats who sit up to the superintendent of the factory where he is employed, and said, "Mr. Superintendent, I heard Calvin Coolidge (or Al Smith) talk last night at the Republican-Democratic rally and he said that this was a great and glorious country and my well-being is ruled. Well, I am an American citizen, and one of the people. I am entitled to share in the government of this mill. I have a right to a say in what my wages should be, and how long I have to work. Just as I vote for the mayor and city council I have a right to elect the superintendent and the board of directors of this corporation where I work. And just as the representatives I elect vote on what the taxes should be, so I have a right to pass on how much profits the owners shall be allowed to make out of me and my well-being is ruled. If any worker started to talk to his boss like that, he would get fired—and probably get sent to the Psychopathic Hospital in addition.

Yet surely these things which affect our lives and livelihood, our wages, and hours, and the amount of profits that the employers make, affect the great mass of American citizens even more vitally than taxes, and the tariff and the other things that we are allowed to vote about and control through the representatives whom we elect.

Yet surely these things which affect our lives and livelihood, our wages, and hours, and the amount of profits that the employers make, affect the great mass of American citizens even more vitally than taxes, and the tariff and the other things that we are allowed to vote about and control through the representatives whom we elect. Yet we are not allowed to control these things. The American industry is not controlled by the American workers. Even where the trade unions are strong enough to enforce their right to a say in the determining of wages and

ing their employers. A mass meeting was held. Over two hundred men came. Mr. Murphy, the acting Mayor of New Haven, presided, welcoming the strikers to New Haven. Newspapermen were present, and covered the story all to no purpose, for the next morning not a word appeared in the papers. What was wrong? No word. Mr. Murphy had been granted in some manner the union tried to insert paid advertisements in the New Haven papers announcing that a state of strike existed among union neckwear workers, but the copy was rejected and never ran. To break the deadlock, Frederick C. Hyatt, of the Yale Law School, Yale, 1920, took matters into their own hands and tried to distribute pamphlets to the workers in Stern & Merritt and Berkman & Alder.

They were immediately arrested and taken before District Attorney French for "distributing circulars without a permit." There is no such ordinance. District Attorney French attempted to impress the students with the seriousness of the offense, pointing out the possibility of expulsion from college and charging them with being in the pay of the neckwear unions. They faced a fine of \$500.00 and a year's imprisonment until Prof. L. A. Tulin, counsel-in-law of Rabbi Wise, agreed to prove that they could not be lawfully detained. But the desired publicity was gained and the striking possibility was started when one cutter and one shipping clerk refused to work any longer under existing wages.

Evidently it is a question of educating the workers as to the degradation of their condition and to the possibility of raising it by a little active resistance. What are the issues between the recalcitrant companies and the strikers? The union asks for a forty-four hour week during the summer months. It asks that the wages of the girls be increased two or three dollars a week. It wants increase for the highly skilled and experienced cutters. Above all it wants the home-work system abolished. This practice of sending ties out to the homes to be sewed by women sometimes results in a revival of the old sweatshop system with work passed on to the children of the family. Naturally payment of such low wages for a fine grade of work enables the employer to underbid his competitors who in self-defense must go back to the old methods and so the whole industrial structure is undermined.

Last week, Mr. Waldman, union counsel, addressed some members of Dwight Hall and outlined the steps which are to be taken to curb "this existing evil." As a consequence, Dwight Hall unofficially conducted an investigation and found things much as Mr. Waldman has described them. Employers uncommunicative and workers willing to take almost any step.

The question has evolved into a fight between the union and the employers and a people apparently too phlegmatic to educate themselves concerning their condition. Indications point to an early victory for the union—partly as a result of the energy of three Yale Undergraduates.

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What Should Be the Issues of 1928 Campaign?

A Symposium of Socialist, Labor and Liberal Thought

U. M. McGuire

(Assistant Editor, The Baptist, Chicago)

For the campaign of 1928, the Socialist party would do well, in my opinion, to restate briefly and in practical terms that can be understood by the people generally, what Socialists are trying to do. Then would naturally follow a few practical proposals of measures of immediate and vital importance, such, for instance, as public ownership of certain major utilities and resources, like water power, coal, railroads, banks, and municipal utilities; social insurance providing for age, sickness, unemployment, maternity and education; welfare measures such as good roads, housing, sanitation, reforestation and flood control; clean politics, constitutional rights and the impartial and honest enforcement of law; international cooperation for world welfare and peace. Make the platform short, and get somebody to write it who knows the science of government, can think logically and can write good English.

Prof. William Pepperel Montague

(Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University, former President of the American Philosophical Association.)

In reply to your letter of September 18th inquiring as to issues which should be stressed in the coming campaign, I have nothing of significance to suggest. The present mood of the country is so completely reactionary that I do not believe there is any chance at all for a third party to make even a dent on the people. My own preference, however, would be

(1) Stressing the possibilities of a new kind of public ownership of public utilities through the establishment by the Government, of non-political corporations, the management of which could be as expert as

the ordinary corporation but devoted to the public interest rather than to the enrichment of individuals.

(2) The new strength of our country in population and wealth, combined with our geographical isolation, would make it possible for us to enter into treaties with other nations, particularly Great Britain and France, for unconditional arbitration of all disputes. We could thus, with maximum safety to ourselves, take a radical step forward in the direction of world peace. The game, and even glory, that would come to the nation through the taking of such steps could be legitimately "played up" as satisfying the idea of patriotism.

(3) Our extraordinary financial prosperity would make it safe and easy for us to win the goodwill of the world by foregoing the debts of our associates in the late war.

(4) For these same reasons of financial and industrial prosperity, a third party might plausibly appeal for an entirely new economic organization against the bitter poverty which we still allow to continue in our midst.

Morton Alexander

(Editor, Humanity, Arvada, Colorado)

The 1928 issue should include:

1. Relief for Agriculture by the establishment, control and maintenance by the National Government of Marketing and Storage Terminals for farm products.
2. Relentless opposition to militarism in every form.
3. Civil Liberties.
4. Overthrow of private banking and credit monopoly.
5. Nationalization of Railroads, Oil and Water Power.

H. Hansen

(Colorado Springs, Colorado)

My suggestions for planks are as follows:

1. Workers of the World, United! You have nothing to lose, but a World

to gain!

2. An Old Age Pension, beginning at sixty-five years of age with \$30.00 per month and an increase of two dollars month per calendar year as people advance in age, to be paid out of an income and inheritance tax.

3. All household goods, farm implements, work animals, all food animals, feed and seed, growing crops and orchards (except automobiles) to be exempt from taxation—all interest-bearing indebtedness to be taxed by itself and be deducted from the value of the other taxable property and the tax on the interest-bearing indebtedness to be paid by the party holding the indebtedness note.

4. Government ownership of all public utilities and people ownership of all government.

5. No war without a vote of the people and the ones voting for war, to go to the front first.

6. Enforcement of the Volstead Law.

Herbert J. Williams

(Mt. Hope, Kansas)

The first plank in the Socialist platform should be:

We stand unequivocally for the abolition of all laws that recognize profit in any form. Because all robbery comes by means of profit. All other issues are merely incidental.

Tolley Hartwick

(Merced, Montana)

Upon Sinclair hit near the vital spot: "socialize banking (our greatest public utility); also natural resources." But he was so brief—May I elaborate just a bit?

We should take back out of private hands—that monstrous basic privilege which enables private financiers to

rent out currency or bank credit—in fact our own mass credit—for private premiums (these two said facts being the "watered-stock" supporting 80 per cent of their business).

This incomprehensible privilege embodied at the same time the power to "fix" capital by selling the use of this hocus pocus bank (?) credit. The power to issue "fiat-capital" and charge compounded rent or interest thereon embodies the power to gain control of natural resources, control of business and commerce, control of all those currents of energy generated by human labor and human desires through human association. Furthermore, by alternately making and breaking price levels through inflation and contraction, our monetary manipulators are monopolizing inch by inch control of all lands, control of all economic opportunities, including the machinery of industry and distribution.

The power so to dispense capital, the value and power of which are embodied in the functioning and energies of the nation's people as a whole, should be exercised by that nation by and for itself. Our intrinsic mass-capital functions to concentrate unearned profits for the individuals holding it. Therefore money-capital, which is the "control" governing industrial production, should be based on the principle that the nation as a whole, should be exercised by that nation by and for itself. Our intrinsic mass-capital functions to concentrate unearned profits for the individuals holding it. Therefore money-capital, which is the "control" governing industrial production, should be based on the principle that the nation as a whole, should be exercised by that nation by and for itself.

Eugene R. Cole

(Vincennes, Indiana)

After reading all there was in the Appeal between the time I picked it up and laid it down, I cannot relieve my mind without making my suggestions for the 1928 Campaign Issues.

It seems to me that all those who

have letters published in the issue dated Oct. 22 are in reasonable comfortable condition of livelihood. Their issues aim more toward educational and results that will appeal as something for sometime in the future. The writer is and has been among the millions of unemployed since April and still not working, and therefore wish to see something immediate to give relief and form a basis for future persuasion.

My first plank would be: Government guarantee of employment at union wages by:

Developing Boulder Dam, Muscle Shoals, and any and all hydroelectric plants that may be necessary. Prevention of floods and reclaiming waste land, by:

Deepening, widening, and leveling the Mississippi and such of its tributaries and any and all other streams necessary to relieve unemployment.

Building of transcontinental highways. The number of these to be determined by the amount of unemployment.

Taxation to pay for all such improvements are to be levied on the extreme wealthy and not on anything that affects the laborer.

Second plank: National ownership and democratic control of all electrical industries, railroads, and all mines. All to be bought and paid for from profits of such industries.

Support and encouragement to state and local governments in developing Public owned and controlled industries.

Third plank: The return of all of our military forces from foreign soils and the enforcement of strict neutrality in all foreign disputes, revolutions, and so forth.

Such military force as necessary should be maintained for the prevention of invasion, and no more. This army and navy to be kept on home land and navy.

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A. G. Smith

(Venice, California)

As a Socialist and Red Card Member since 1906 I would like to suggest the 3 most important issues for the 1928 campaign.

1. To give the unemployed a chance and to divert the tremendous profits, interest and rent, back to the people, the nationalization of banks, railroads, telegraphs, power and light is the most important.

2. In order to maintain full employment by people all acts of Congress and State Legislations should be placed on the ballots at the general election, so that Direct Legislation would be second.

3. In as much as 85 per cent of all National taxes goes for war and war debts, we should make a stand for world peace by making impossible to participate in war with out a majority of the people voting for same.

Prohibition is gaining fast and in as much as alcohol and gasoline will mix there will be less accidents the way it is so that should be kept out of the platform to be changed by a direct vote if such a thing is possible.

Every one in this man's town that gets light wines and beer under his belt wants to drive 60 miles per hour and several speed cops have been killed trying to catch them and others killed and life endangered.

"Dan" Hart

(Comanche, Oklahoma)

1. The public collective ownership of all things upon which the public must depend for its existence, and the democratic management of the same.

2. The private ownership of all things of a private nature and the private concern of same.

3. The dividing line to be established and maintained by Local, State, National initiative, referendum and recall.

Corporation Lawlessness Back of Coal Labor War in Colorado

The I. W. W. uprising in southern Colorado is another protest against the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company's social, economic and political domination.

Probably no industrial corporation in this country can equal the record of this concern for sustained hostility to trade unionism and for lawlessness in making it well effective.

This opposition was shown as far back as 1905, when coal and metal miners began a fight for the eight-hour day. The proposal was held unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court. The workers induced the legislature to submit a constitutional amendment, which was approved by a popular vote of 72,960 to 28,266.

In its review of this long struggle, the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, created by Congress in 1912, said:

"The will of the people, as expressed in this mandate to the legislature, was defeated during the session of 1903 by the activity of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and other large smelting and mining corporations. Eight different bills were introduced and none passed. So great was the scandal created by this failure to comply with the constitutional mandate that an extra session of the legislature during the following summer, called for another purpose, each house adopted a resolution blaming the other house for the failure."

In 1911 the legislature passed an eight-hour act, but the companies secured enough referendum signatures to block the law. Later another law was passed.

Eleven years after the people of the state had ordered the enactment of an eight-hour law the companies successfully defied the popular will and succeeded in blocking the enforcement of effective legislation," the commission said.

When the state then granted the eight-hour day in March, 1913, we have the word of Mr. Bowers (Colorado Fuel and Iron Company) that it was not respect for the popular will, but the desire to defeat unionization that actuated them. No more convincing evidence could be obtained.

The company's strategy was organization by the workers to vitalize and make effective their political power."

During this period of law defiance by the company, metal miners under the Western Federation of Miners struck to enforce the law. Three of their officers were kidnapped in Idaho where they were charged with murder. They were acquitted after a sensational trial. Harry Orchard, the state's leading witness, was proven to be a Pinkerton detective and sentenced to life imprisonment. He committed the Alliance in Colorado took the law into their own hands. Workers

were deported, union meetings dispersed and other outrages perpetrated, all with the consent of Governor Peabody.

In 1913 organized coal miners employed by the Colorado Fuel Company suspended work to secure better conditions. The same lawlessness was resorted to. The burning of the Ludlow tent colony, with the killing of 33 men, women and children, by gunmen wearing the uniform of the Colorado militia, was the culmination of this anarchy.

Following the defeat of the miners a company "union" was formed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the company. Regarding this movement, the Commission on Industrial Relations said:

"The effectiveness of such a plan lies wholly in its tendency to deceive the public and lull criticism, while permitting the company to maintain its absolute power."

Recently the United Mine Workers started an organizing campaign and the company granted a small increase in the hope that this activity would cease. The plan failed, and I. W. W.'s appeared on the scene.

The upheaval means that the "union" maintained by this corporation is exposed and that the company's long hostility to trade unionism has again thrown southern Colorado into anarchy.

See End of Militarism

"But America is rapidly coming to its senses. The military, as we have shown, are losing ground steadily. Public opinion is rising like a tidal wave against military training in our preparatory schools and universities. Within ten years we confidently expect to see R. O. T. C. units almost entirely eliminated from our schools. Training given the normal attention which it received before the war."

"It is unfortunate if the university's hands are tied by a federal land grant that forces it to maintain the R. O. T. C. unit. Without it military training at Wisconsin would be a thing of the past within five years."

Col. Barnes attributes the roots of this student opposition to military training to "the pacifism of the state of Wisconsin."

Sinister Army Methods

A most significant admission as to the methods of the militarists to win the students to their program by the bribery of power and referendum is revealed by Col. Barnes. He says:

"Let us not forget that the R. O. T. C. is to train our college men to be officers, not privates, in case of war."

In other words the bright educated young men of the nation are to be deluged by immediately with the plan of class ambition and class privilege in the army. They are to be purchased with the promise that they will become a favored class in the army and poisoned while they are young and impressionable with a distinctly aristocratic and autocratic ideal in the midst of our supposed democracy. On the other hand, the poor working-class conscript is to be dragged into the army by force to become subjected to this especially prepared class of lordlings, and with his chances of rising to the top practically closed against him beforehand.

To develop militarism, but it is identical the militarism of the Kaiser, which we were told during the war we were fighting to end forever.

WRITER GETS BIG KICK FROM BERGER'S WORK IN CONGRESS

Writing under the general caption "What in Washington," Charles P. Stewart, the Central Press Association representative at the capital, in this week's article writes as follows:

WASHINGTON—For a man who was barred, as a "red," out of two congresses to which he'd been duly elected, who spent a couple of years of his life with a 20-year penitentiary sentence hanging over his head, and was chosen, the other day, to the Socialist party leadership, once held by the late Eugene V. Debs—who actually served a stretch in "stir"—Victor L. Berger's a surprisingly popular representative in Washington.

It isn't so surprising, at that, when you understand why, but it seems so, at first thought.

The idea's this: We have in congress a smallish, but troublesome group, largely of Republicans, but, to some extent, of Democrats, who call themselves "radicals" or "progressives," or what-not.

They give the "regulars" of both parties an acute, three-cornered pain, because they won't stay in line.

To Victor Berger they give equally violent, triangular pain, because, calling themselves "radicals," which he is, he considers them no such thing.

The congressional conservatives, Republican and Democrat, and Victor Berger, Socialist, have this in common:

The "progressives," self-styled make 'em both sick.

The Conservatives—many—and Victor Berger—one—get together on this issue in the most fraternal way.

When the "progressives" have the floor, the conservatives sit back and sneer—but everybody knows they're conservatives. Congressman Berger sits back, and, as an expert, sneers,

no. It's worth a million to conservatism—so long, of course, as Berger remains in a minority of one, or thereabouts.

When the conservatives pan the "progressives," Berger's attitude, "They're no friends of mine," Berger knows, and comments all true-blue "reds" and "progressives" punch is weakened 75 per cent.

When Berger has something to say, "Fair play" chortle the conservatives. "Give him all the time he wants."

All of which is water over Congressman V. Berger's wheel.

Not for a minute is it to be supposed that he's playing the conservative's game.

In congress he's a party of one man. He wishes he were more. "If only there were 36 of me!" he says. There are 435 members of the house of representatives. "One man can't talk enough," he explains. They'll let him talk all he likes. "Yes," he answers, "but that's because I don't. If I said all I have to say I'd be as tiresome as . . ."

There! Let's draw a veil. Let's not tell them he'd be as tiresome as . . .

Representative Berger makes three of four speeches in the course of a session of congress—little gems, of 10 or 15 minutes each.

He could make plenty more, but if he fell for that, they wouldn't be so good. He estimates 'em to a tick, and the galleries are full when it's announced he's going to make one.

Don't imagine it's a crowd of long-haired anarchists he draws.

His audience is bald-headed, like Nicholas Longworth and John Hays Hammond and Justice Taft—who comb his locks over his bare spot—who like good literary stuff.

Military Decline In Wisconsin Alarms

(Cont. from page 1)

drills which will make them better soldiers in the next world conflict.

"The last war fostered a feverish worship of things military. Taking advantage of this, the military of the country came to assume a leadership in our civil and political life which was never meant for them."

THEODORE DEBS VOICES GRATITUDE FOR WEVD

The following message was conveyed to the patrons of Debs Radio Station over WEVD by Theodore Debs, brother of "Gene," during his recent visit to New York City:

Comrades, Friends and Fellow-Workers:

"The consummation of the project to give to the socialist, labor and liberal forces in this country unrestricted access to the air to broadcast their ideas and the principles for which they stand, affords me the greatest delight and satisfaction. When the idea of a high powered broadcasting station, as a Memorial to the memory of our beloved Gene was first suggested, I was rather skeptical that a venture of such magnitude and involving such financial consideration could be realized.

"Yet here it is. How truly wonderful! How magnificently glorious! Our eyes are dimmed with tears while our hearts overflow with grateful and loving appreciation.

"In WEVD the socialist, working, liberal and progressive elements, lovers all of free speech, peace and brotherhood, will not only control a vital medium for propaganda, but in times of industrial riot and political conflict will have unrestricted opportunity to freely present their side of the controversy to the people, refuting misrepresentation, malicious falsehood, and disprove the vile and slanderous statements that are so often to be found in the reactionary and subsidized capitalist press.

"For reasons quite obvious, the advent of WEVD in the field of human uplift touches the very core of our hearts and fills us with mixed emotions of delight and sadness. This marvelous tribute of tenderest love and sweet devotion to the memory of our beloved Gene, made possible by willing hands and generous hearts, whose lives are pledged to movement and consecrated to a cause as noble as ever inspired men and women to action in this world, stirs my sensibilities in a way too deep for words to make articulate. I am too overwhelmed with conflicting emotions at this time and on this occasion to say more than that this magnificent tribute, this splendid monument as a testimonial to Gene's very humble efforts to the cause and to humanity leaves me with my soul on its knees.

"To Comrades Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit and G. August Gerber, who have given so freely of their time and ability, and to the many other comrades, friends and sympathizers who have made this Memorial possible, I send in behalf of my wife, my sisters and myself, heartiest congratulations, with greetings of love and everlasting appreciation."

Industrial Democracy League In Stirring Call to Students

The League for Industrial Democracy with headquarters in New York City, whose work in spreading Socialism among college students has been notable, has just mailed to thousands of students throughout the United States a stirring appeal to ally themselves with the radical forces of the nation. This appeal is in the form of a leaflet entitled, "The College Student As A Rebel." It follows:

The mass production of college graduates in our American educational system has led to the appearance on every campus of a rebel type of student. Sometimes the rebel student is simply rebelling against his own obscurity; he cannot bear to be ignored in the great sea of anonymous-seekers and football heroes. Sometimes he is a jazz bell breaking away from his mother's apron strings.

This leaflet is addressed to the college student who is a rebel because he has a vision of a better world, who rebels against the mental conformity and deadness of the mass of students.

He wants to make good in the world but he is profoundly bored with the go-getters whose sole purpose is to make money. He would make the social system itself good. He regards the present structure of society as bungling and unscientific. He sees the waste of human life, of natural resources—oil, coal, forests—the waste of unnecessary duplication, of unemployment, of advertising bunk—while a good many people go hungry in the richest country in the world.

The system of inherited wealth and absentee financial control in industry seems to him unparliamentary—as if an old college grad should try to pass on his college credits to his son.

Bad Economic System

He sees an economic system of twisted values in which an owning class in industry gets a disproportionate share of the national income, exploits labor and the technician as ruthlessly as it dares, and controls public opinion through a biased press. Sometimes he sees the effect of conservative pressure upon his own college in the timidity of professors and reluctant orations of Big Alumni Honorary Societies.

He decides that he is a radical in the sense that he wants to use his education to change the basic arrangements of our economic and social life. He feels that American democracy will never be genuine until it is applied to industry. Where shall he turn?

The first thing that such a man should realize is that he must live amicably with people who disagree with him. If he "goes off half-cocked" he discredits himself and his ideas. If he searches diligently enough, he will find on almost any American campus a professor or two and a few students who hate industrial injustice and who want to transform our economic and social system. He ought to get into fellowship with such people. Fellowship will strengthen and clarify his own convictions and teach him many things before him have traveled the same road.

Great Men Radicals

He will find upon examination that many of the world's greatest writers, scientists, teachers and artists agree with him that the economic system in which we live is stupid and unjust. He will find that some of these great ones have thrown in their lot with labor and progressive forces to bring about more justice in the distribution of wealth and power. If he dissects the great figures of Amer-

ican history he will discover that many of them were "radicals" in their day, resisting the smugness and conservatism of some privileged classes.

John D. Rockefeller, Phillips, Garrison, Emerson, Whitman, Susan Anthony, Mark Twain, Sustenance for his faith will come from the great novelists—Wells, Sinclair Lewis, Anatole France, Upton Sinclair, Galworthy; from the great dramatists—Shaw, Hauptmann, Eugene O'Neill; from the great scientists—John Dewey, Thorstein Veblen, Bertrand Russell.

His greatest danger in becoming an intellectual rebel is that he may be purely destructive. It is great sport to be destructive, and rather popular on the average campus. American intelligentsia are suffering just now from an overdose of cynicism. Half the so-called radicals on our campuses are utterly useless in the world of social reform because they have never learned to do anything else at college but sneer.

What The League Does

This is where the League for Industrial Democracy comes in. Its job is to turn the fire and idealism of the American college rebel against the wrong of our industrial order in such a way that constructive solutions will result. It is an organization composed almost entirely of college students and graduates who have themselves rebelled against unthinking conformity on an American campus, and who realize the futility of such a rebellion.

The League's officers include some of the most distinguished professors and writers in America, and its academic standing, after over twenty years of work in American colleges, is unquestioned. The aim of its intercollegiate Department is to develop leadership among college men and women an intelligent understanding of the labor movement and the movement toward a new social order based on production for use and not for profit.

The L. I. D., as it is universally known, is an educational organization which cooperates with college students in four ways, through lectures, discussion clubs, student conferences, and literature. Its favorite form of campus activity is the student liberal or social problems club which brings live speakers to the