

Debs' Supreme Appeal to America's Workers

(The following appeal to the workers is from Debs' "Unionism and Socialism." Concerning it, Theodore Debs, brother of Eugene Debs, says: "To me it is one of the best things Gene ever wrote.")

The present system of private ownership must be abolished and the workers themselves must be made the owners of the tools with which they work, and to accomplish this they must organize their class for political action and this work is well under way in the Socialist party, which is composed of the working class and stands for the working class on a revolutionary platform which declares in favor of the collective ownership of the means of production and the democratic management of industry in the interest of the whole people.

What intelligent workingman can hold out against the irresistible claim the Socialist movement has upon him? What reason has he to give? What excuse can he offer?

None! Not one! The only worker who has an excuse to keep out of the Socialist movement is the unfortunate fellow who is ignorant and does not know better. He does not know what Socialism is. That is his misfortune. But that is not all, nor the worst of all. He thinks he knows what it is.

In his ignorance he has taken the word of another for it, whose interest it is to keep him in darkness. So he continues to march with the Republican party or shout with the Democratic party, and he no more knows why he is a Republican or Demo-

crat than he knows why he is not a Socialist. It is impossible for a workingman to contemplate the situation and the outlook and have any intelligent conception of the trend and meaning of things without becoming a Socialist.

Consider for a moment the beastly debasement to which womanhood is subjected in capitalist society. She is simply the property of man to be governed by him as may suit his convenience. She has to compete with men in the factories and workshops and stores, and her inferiority is taken advantage of to make her work at still lower wages than the male slave gets who works at her side.

As an economic dependent, she is compelled to sacrifice the innate refinement, the inherent purity and nobility of her sex, and for a pallet of straw marries the man she does not love.

The debauching effect of the capitalist system upon womanhood is accurately registered in the divorce court and the house of shame.

In Socialism, woman would stand forth the equal of man—all the avenues would be open to her and she would naturally find her fitting place and rise from the low plane of mental servility to the dignity of ideal womanhood.

Breathing the air of economic freedom, amply able to provide for herself in Socialist society, we may be certain that the cruel injustice that is now perpetrated upon her sex and the degradation that results from it will disappear forever.

Consider again the barren prospect of the aver-

age boy who faces the world today. If he is son of a workingman his father is able to do little for him in the way of giving him a start.

He does not get to college, nor even to the high school, but has to be satisfied with what he can get in the lower grades, for as soon as he has physical growth enough to work he must find something to do, so that he may help support the family. How hard it is to find a place for that boy of yours!

What shall we do with Johnnie and Nellie? is the question of the anxious mother long before they are ripe for the labor market.

What a picture! Yet so common that the multitude do not see it. This mother, numbered by the thousands many times over, instinctively understands the capitalist system, feels its cruelty and dreads its approaching horrors which cast their shadows upon her tender, loving heart.

Nothing can be sadder than to see the mother take the boy she bore by the hand and start to town with him to peddle him off as merchandise to some one who has use for a child slave....

Well, what finally becomes of the boy? He is now grown, his mother's worry is long since ended, as the grass grows green where she sleeps—and he, the boy? Why he's a factory hand—a hand, mind you, and he gets a dollar and a quarter a day when the factory is running.

That is all he will ever get.

He is an industrial life prisoner—no pardoning power for him in the capitalist system.

No sweet home, no beautiful wife, no happy children, no books, no flowers, no pictures, no comrades, no love, no joy for him.

Just a hand! A human factory hand! Think of a hand with a soul in it!

In the capitalist system the soul has no business. It cannot produce profit by any process of capitalist calculation.

The working hand is what is needed for the capitalist's tool and so the human must be reduced to a hand.

No head, no heart, no soul—simply a hand. A thousand hands to one brain—the hands of workmen, the brain of a capitalist.

A thousand dumb animals, in human form—a thousand slaves in the fetters of ignorance, their heads having run to hands—all these owned and worked and fleeced by one stock-dealing, profit-mongering capitalist.

This is capitalism!

And this system is supported alternately, by the Republican party and the Democratic party. These two capitalist parties relieve each other in support of the capitalist system, while the capitalist system relieves the working class of what they produce.

A thousand hands to one head is the abnormal development of the capitalist system. A thousand workmen turned into hands to develop and gorge and decorate one capitalist paunch!

This brutal order of things must be overthrown. The human race was not born to degeneracy.

A thousand heads have grown for every thousand pairs of hands; a thousand hearts throb in testimony of the unity of heads and hands and a thousand souls, though crushed and mangled, burn in protest and are pledged to redeem a thousand men.

Heads and hands, hearts and souls, are the heritage of all.

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

He who denies it is a tyrant; he who does not demand it is a coward; he who is indifferent to it is a slave; he who does not desire it is dead.

The earth for all the people. That is the demand.

The machinery of production and distribution for all the people. That is the demand.

The collective ownership and control of industry and its democratic management in the interest of all the people. That is the demand.

The elimination of rent, interest and profit and the production of wealth to satisfy the wants of the people. That is the demand.

Co-operative industry in which all shall work together in harmony as the basis of a new social order, a higher civilization, a real republic. That is the demand.

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. That is the demand.

This is Socialism!

INJUNCTION THREATENS TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

As the American Appeal goes to press the atrocious decision of Federal Judge F. P. Shoonmaker of Pittsburgh, described in last week's Appeal, has resulted in an injunction virtually prohibiting every activity of the United Mine Workers, ousting all members from company-owned houses, awarding victory in the strike to the coal operators, and paving the way for the destruction of the miners and of trade unionism in America.

It is doubtful if there has ever been a decision in the long history of anti-labor rulings in the United States, so unjust, so one-sided, so menacing to organized labor, as this. Never before was the truth made so plain that the courts under the existing system and under their vicious injunction practices are the complete tools of the trusts and corporations. "In my opinion," said President Green, following the decree, "the injunction completely destroys all rights of the United Mine Workers employed in the mines of the Pittsburgh Terminal coal corporation."

Virtually every point contained in the injunction decree drawn up by corporation counsel was approved. The union and its members were restrained from violence of any sort against company employes and prospective employes and against company property. Union pickets were restrained from putting their foot on company property, but were allowed to establish a single picket post on each road leading to the mines. Such pickets were cautioned against using abusive language, but were permitted the use of peaceful persuasion.

One paragraph of the order forbids the union "from obstructing, impeding, hindering, preventing, or interfering with the operation of any of the plaintiff's mines or from doing any act which would result in interfering with such operation."

One clause forbids union men from molesting or interfering with corporation employes or their families, or officers and agents of the company, or any one seeking to do business with the company. Shooting at or toward company property or exploding dynamite or powder on corporation land was forbidden, as was the throwing of rocks at employes or automobiles engaged in the plaintiff's service.

Any act which might interfere with the production, mining, transportation or shipment of coal was restrained. Trespassing on company property, loitering near such property or parading in the vicinity of the mines was forbidden, except picket posts on roads leading to the workings. Such posts must be 100 feet from the nearest company building, and must be marked to show it is a union picket post.

In its decision several weeks ago, the court said eviction cases on appeal would not be affected by today's order, which forbids "hereafter" any attempt to retain company houses for strikers.

Union men, now occupying company houses pending disposition of the appeals, were restrained from annoying or threatening the families of non-union workers.

In addition to all this, the company asked for \$1,500,000 damages, a demand calculated to bankrupt the union and put it in liquidation.

This case brings out in a startling manner the fact that the capitalist courts armed with their present powers of issuing injunctions, are able to utterly destroy the trade unions whenever they choose to do so.

Fear that such drastic action would drive labor into the political field is all that prevents them doing this now. Labor's sole protection against destruction by the Courts is labor's potential political power. If the workers had no votes in America the trade union movement would have been wiped out by law before this.

When the workers organize their own Labor Party and become a powerful fighting political force in the nation, the Courts will serve their interests and the injunction will disappear—and not till then.

THE GENIUS OF LIBERTY

Extract from the Speech of Eugene V. Debs on "Liberty" "It does not matter that the Creator has sown with stars the fields of ether and decked the earth with countless beauties for man's enjoyment. It does not matter that air and ocean teem with the wonders of innumerable forms of life to challenge man's admiration and investigation. It does not matter that nature spreads forth all her scenes of beauty and gladness and pours forth the melodies of her myriad-tongued voices for man's delectation. If liberty is ostracized and exiled, man is a slave, and the world rolls in space and whirls around the sun a gilded prison, a domed dungeon, and though painted in all the enchanting hues that infinite art could command, it must still stand forth a blotch amidst the shining spheres of the sidereal heavens, and those who cull from the vocabularies of nations, living or dead, their flashing phrases with which to apostrophize liberty, are engaged in perpetuating the most stupendous delusion the ages have known. Strike down liberty, no matter by what subtle art the deed is done, the spinal cord of humanity is sundered and the world is paralyzed by the indescribable crime. Strike the fetters from the slave, give him liberty and he becomes an inhabitant of a new world. He looks abroad and beholds life and joy in all things around him. His soul expands beyond all boundaries. Emancipated by the genius of liberty, he aspires to communion with all that is noble and beautiful, and feels himself allied to all the higher order of intelligences, and walks abroad, redeemed from animism, ignorance and superstition, a new being throbbing with glorious life."

German Socialists Win Big Victories

BERLIN, Oct. 10.—The Socialists have scored notable victories in two local elections. In Hamburg the Socialists gained ten seats and the Communists three at the expense of the Democrats, Nationalists and the Volkspartei. The Socialists and communists combined now have an absolute majority in the house of

U. S. Air Bombers Kill Many Nicaragua Rebels

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, Oct. 11.—After dropping bombs from an airplane on the rebel leader, Gen. Sandino, and 200 of his followers in northeast Ocotol Sunday afternoon, Capt. H. Thomas of the United States marine corps crashed into a mountain, but he was unhurt. Many of Sandino's followers were killed and others dispersed.

GENE AND THE AMERICAN APPEAL



GENE DEBS, WE PLEDGE YOU

One year ago, dear Gene, your dear, useful life was ended and we are still lonesome. Your work has left a mark in all our activities and your soul seems to mingle with us still.

Would that we had you with us in our struggles today, tomorrow, and all the time, with your wise council, your beaming face and the loving touch you placed in every fibre of our efforts. You knew the struggles of those who toil and especially our struggles in the vanguard of the battle for a saner, a more bountiful life for the toilers of the land.

Just one year ago you came to the end of your useful life's work, but your soul is with us in our every day effort in behalf of our cause. Your example as a man, a comrade in the ranks of the social revolutionists gives us beautiful guidance in our struggle. We shall ever try to do our full share until the goal you pointed to is reached.

Your earnest expression in the picture above reminds us of your efforts to assist our cause when you founded the "American Appeal." It was your belief, your hope that this instrument be made a power for our cause. We shall keep its banner unfurled; we shall give it our support, that it may become the most powerful mouth-piece for Socialism in the land. It was your child, and its strength shall be increased by our support. We shall indeed keep it as a living monument to your triumphant life's work.

Wm. H. Henry

Students And Professors Visit National Office

More than 50 college students and professors from Chicago colleges visited the National Office of the Socialist Party Saturday evening, Oct. 8, heard the Socialist philosophy and program explained by George R. Kirkpatrick and each one took away a package of literature. The visit was made under the auspices of the Reconciliation Trips organization of New York City, which assists students in getting first hand information of various groups and movements. The visitors were welcomed by National Executive Secretary, William H. Henry, Murray E. King, editor of the American Appeal and Comrade Kirkpatrick, well known Socialist

speaker and writer. National Secretary Henry was introduced by one of the visitors as chairman of the meeting. After a few preliminary remarks telling the visitors that they were welcome any time they wished to get information about the Socialist movement and social and economic questions, Comrade Henry introduced Kirkpatrick, who gave a very able explanation of the philosophy and program of the Socialists. The speech aroused great interest. Every one seemed to be much pleased and informed and many intelligent questions were asked by the students on the subject discussed. When the meeting ended the National Secretary gave each one a package that contained the party's standard leaflets, a copy of the American Appeal and a copy of Works book "What's So and What Isn't." It was a very interesting meeting and we hope the visitors not only received a benefit from the visit, but we hope they come again and again.

Eugene Victor Debs

By Adrian B. Westerlund

(Written for the Debs Memorial Edition of the American Appeal)

He was a leader born, and yet was ever loath to lead. His goal was truth, his only cause The rights of men to plead. A man in noble Lincoln's mold, Who never sought for fame, Alike uncaring for the lure Of praise, or blight of blame. The vision he distinctly saw, That many dimly see; The sure defeat that falsehood waits; Truth's certain victory. He gave his all at freedom's call, He made no truce with wrong. He never swerved from principle, Each crisis found him strong. He dared defy in times of hate: The foes of truth and right; He held in awe a higher law Than theirs of bonded night; His spirit lives, will ever live Unsuspected by time's decay, In hearts that throbb as his for truth And Freedom's coming day!

Sinclair's Message

Upton Sinclair, Socialist author, has sent the following brief message for the Debs Memorial Edition:

"Eugene V. Debs is among the immortals of American history, and his example will fire the youth of the workers as long as there is anything left of America." —Upton Sinclair.

WEVD Gets Free Studio from Union

An entire floor in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Building at West 16th street, N. Y. C., has been donated to the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, trustee of Station WEVD, 31 Union Square, New York City, the Socialist radio station, by decision of the General Executive Board of the Union.

The decision was unanimously reached at the conclusion of the Board meeting in Boston after Morris Sigman, President of the International, urged the measure as an inevitable one, since WEVD, named in honor of the late Eugene V. Debs, has been established as a crusading vehicle in the interests of the organized labor movement of America. Great appreciation was expressed by Norman Thomas, chairman of the Debs Fund.

DEBS VINDICATED BY HISTORY ONE YEAR AFTER HIS DEATH

Eugene Victor Debs, one year has passed since you gave your life for the cause you loved.

You were sacrificed to the god of war. You were the supreme casualty of the World War.

You died because you dared to lift your voice in defiance of courts and dungeons. You dared to risk the malevolence and vengeance of the war-makers, to denounce war, as no man had ever denounced it before or since.

Yours was the voice of thunder—louder than the cannons of the battlefield, more penetrating than the anguish of the wounded—and for this they imprisoned you and broke your body and killed you, Gene.

You killed you for the truths you uttered against them and their system. You said that all wars were capitalist wars. That war is fundamental murder and treason. That no good can come from war. That it can settle nothing fundamentally. That unalloyed evil, only, can follow in its wake. That only the workers fight and pay, while the war-makers and masters feed and fatten on the blood-stained spoils.

You said that in the World War there was no right side; that all who sanctioned and supported it were stained with blood-guilt and unspeakable treason against humanity and civilization. You denounced the brazen lie that the defeat of the kaiser would free the world from the menace of militarism and despotism and make it safe for peace and democracy. Out of such inhuman crime and slaughter, you said, no matter who wins, can come nothing but more militarism, more despotism, and the decay of democracy and civilization.

The centuries vindicate the true prophets and seers of humanity. Comrade Debs, you have been dead but one year, and every prediction you made in that court which pronounced the sentence that finally killed you, has been fulfilled.

The World War transferred the control of the world to victors, to allied imperialist powers, whose rule has been far more militaristic and despotic than anything that existed before the World War. There has not been the slightest pretense of fulfilling one pledge that was made for the purpose of dragging to their deaths 20,000,000 young men. Instead of being the "war to end war" it plunged the world directly into more than 20 wars and revolutions between 1918 and 1922. It increased the total size of standing armies and navies. It gave the world a newer, stronger, more dangerous system of militarism. It started anew in the midst of new appliances of scientific destruction a new armory for war—a new race of death, worse than the one that existed before the World War. It began a new area of military dictatorships founded on the ruins of broken republics and democracies. In the place of the kaiser, it gave us a Mussolini, a Horthy, a Pilsudski, a Primo de Rivera, a Poincare, a Baldwin, a Chang Tsao-ling, a Coolidge.

In its wake have followed the wrecking of labor movements and democratic movements in a dozen countries. The widespread destruction by armed force of cooperatives. It broke up the sense of civilized security and orderly progress which before the World War represented a vital gain in civilization. In its place it introduced an era of lawlessness and violence, and unleashed world-wide mob movements—the Ku Klux Klan and the Legionaires in America; the fascist, militaristic, and royalist mobs in Europe.

Something strong and definite and good was taken out of the whole generation that engaged in that horrible orgie of world slaughter. The World War consumed the soul of that generation and left only an empty shell. It left a race of men who had been through the world's most frightful inferno of murder, diabolically instilled hatreds, and the most atrocious system of governmental and press lying that the world has ever seen. Out of this hell came the broken remnants of that generation, remnants of men and women strangely dead, strangely unresponsive alike to idealism and atrocities and injustices, and dangers. Their souls were murdered, as Debs said they would be.

Is there any one today, who possesses ordinary human reason and honesty, who can stand in the midst of this war-wrecked world and say that Debs was wrong in any statement he made regarding the World War and its outcome?

Eugene Victor Debs, one year after your death, history has vindicated you and placed the sacred wreath of immortality on your brow and on every word you uttered, for which you died.

—M. E. K.

Socialism An International Force

By Morris Hillquit (International Secretary Socialist Party, United States)

Once more I have been privileged to sit in an international Socialist Council. I have brought back from it renewed faith and inspiration and abiding hope and confidence in the future of the Socialist movement in America.

The Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International, which met in Brussels on the 11th and 12th of August discussed vital problems of the world-wide struggle of labor for life, liberty and peace and formulated policies which will seriously affect the immediate course of the world's social progress. But to me the gathering was far more important for what it was than for what it did.

The Labor and Socialist International is a union of practically all Social Democratic parties in the world. It represents an active membership of about seven million men and women of all nations, tongues and races and a combined electorate of more than twenty millions. The meeting of its Executive Committee was at-

tended by chosen representatives of most of the countries of Europe—beyond question the organization is one of the greatest and most potent social and political force ever marshaled for a common cause.

In the democratic countries of Europe the Socialist parties are virtually identical with the organized labor movement, organized labor includes the large body of the wage earners, the wage earners are alert and militant and exercise a decided influence over their governments.

In England, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia, in Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Latvia the Socialist workers are recognized political factors of prime magnitude. In some of them they have at one time or another held the reins of government, in others, they have participated or are participating in the government, in others still non-socialist governments depend largely for their stability on Socialist acquiescence.

As I watched the representatives of this movement, many of them grown old and gray in its service, and

as I listened to their grave discussions of subjects of international importance I was forcibly impressed with the vital, organic and undying character of the social force behind that singular gathering.

The international Socialist movement in its definite organized form is now about half a century old. I have persisted through good times and bad, through persecutions, wars and political defeats and general reaction. It stands today with head erect and spirit unbroken, determined to put an end to the accumulated iniquities and unreason of an outworn civilization.

A movement of such universality, depth and persistence cannot evaporate in thin air and cannot remain confined to any one section of the world. It is impelled to march on by its own inherent force and by the needs of mankind. Sooner or later it is bound to spread to all countries of advanced civilization including the United States, and it depends largely on our own will, determination and devotion, whether it shall be sooner or later,

Socialist Party News

EUGENE V. DEBS, THE LEADER

By Mary Raoul Millis

(Atlanta, Georgia)

It was an autumn evening in the first decade of the century. The largest auditorium in Cleveland was filled with a capacity crowd. Thousands had gathered to hear the greatest American orator of the period.

A slight, spare man upon the platform swept these listening thousands with the magic of his spirit. He stooped a little forward, his hands outstretched. One might fancy that he so expressed his yearning to "draw all men unto him"—unto the heights of his inspired vision of love and brotherhood.

The Beloved

In 1919, the State Secretaries of the Socialist Party met in Chicago. It was rumored that Gene Debs, who had been ill, and was soon to receive a convict's sentence, might visit the conference.

The Master

The exterior of the Federal Penitentiary in Atlanta is as black as Capitalist justice. Within, a decent cleanliness makes one muse upon whitened sepulchres—or, again, of Capitalism. The rooms where prisoners may see their visitors are high ceilinged, high windowed, bare, gray, clean.

On one side of the table were two women who had received permission to visit the greatest man in America opposite them sat Debs. Whether now than ever; as simply dignified as ever; gentler, even, than before.

Within the brief minutes allotted for the interview, he persistently turned the talk away from himself, and caused his visitors to speak of the matters which he knew would be of personal interest to themselves—their local meetings, their socialist comrades, the "movement" in Atlanta, and so on.

He did this with a vividness of interest born, assuredly, not only of his intense humanity, but of something deeper far—a love of God which passeth understanding.

THE SOUL OF EUGENE DEBS

Alice Louise Nealeans

(Newport, Kentucky)

The individuality of Gene Debs impressed even his bitterest enemies; his marvelous devotion to the cause of humanity; his resolute courage in fighting for the rights of workers, and his power of endurance under the lash of political venom that made him a convict because of his adherence to the right of free speech—all combined to win hearts and keep them.

When we view comrade Debs in the light of his own genial nature, we realize that it was the soul of the man that had outgrown his body, broken the confines of flesh and blood and mingled with the people whose lives he touched, that won him the love of suffering humanity.

The soul of Debs was ever smiling from his honest eyes; it was felt in the pressure of his strong hand that imparted its faith and courage to the weakest recipient of his warm hand grasp. It leaped with his voice in the burning words of condemnation of the system that well nigh wrecked the world in its deluge of modern war.

Gene Debs lived his life of love and won their hearts without effort. His matchless smile and cheery words of companionship made them his friend and lovers, knowing nothing more precious than his great love for them.

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When this fearless man addressed his jurors and the Court in Cleveland during his trial under the Espionage Law, it was his great soul that held them spell-bound, and his over-soul message that staggered the minds of the capitalistic venders of the law.

Gene Debs in the Sanatorium sent his untrammelled soul into the lives of his attendants and companions in suffering and made the place bloom with his soul power; will travel on; intensified through his legacy to the world, his masterpiece: Walls and Bars—the book wherein his earnest soul pleads in his own natural, convincing words for the victims of the prisons.

A son to be proud of; a loving brother and devoted husband; a loyal friend and a citizen reflecting honor upon the land that gave him birth, our great but not free America.

The future will give our beloved Comrade his rightful place in the economic history of the world; statues will be raised to his memory, and millions will smile at the civilization stupid enough to imprison a man of his type, but the Universal Tribute—the highest a soul can earn in its journey along the uncertain highway of life, will be:

GENE DEBS "ONE WHO LOVED HIS FELLOW-MEN."

There are millions and millions of that in jingo patriotism. Take that out and jingoism is as dead as a mummy. —E. V. D.

The Labor World Oldest continuous weekly Socialist paper in the U. S. Room 208 Grand Bldg. San Francisco

Books you should have: Walls and Bars—Debs (Cloth) \$1.50, American Communism—O'Neal (Cloth) 1.50, What's So and What Isn't—Work (Cloth—revised) .50

Contributions: J. W. Pearson, Redmond, Ore. \$1.00, A Florida Comrade, in memory of Bellamy & Wayland, 15.00, R. T. Sawyer, Ethel, Miss., 1.00, Mary M. Morgan, Fortuna, Cal. 2.00, Fred C. Bretz, Huntingburg, Ind. 20.00

On Pledges: Joseph E. Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa. \$2.00

Sub-A-Month Pledges: Helen Norton, Auburn, Maine \$1.00, H. Latzer, New York City, 1.00, Waldo D. Summers, San Anselmo, Calif. 2.00

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LINCOLN'S FRIEND AND HER VISIT TO GENE DEBS

By Lena Morrow Lewis (State Secretary, Socialist Party, California)

It is safe to say that no Federal prisoner of this country ever was honored by such a wide range of callers from all stations of life as Eugene V. Debs. Most of these visits have already been described in our press and are familiar to many of the readers of the American Appeal.

It was the visit of Mrs. Amy Davis Winslow in the autumn of 1920. When she decided to take her winter's work in the University of Florida, she bought her ticket for Tallahassee with a stop over privilege at Atlanta.

Starting from her home in Racine, Wisconsin, she stopped at Columbus University to celebrate the tenth anniversary of her entrance as a student in that institution. She had "quit" school way back in 1845 and an early marriage seemed to shut out forever any other schooling than that afforded her by the little "red school house" in Stephenson County, Illinois.

But in 1910 in her 80th year she registered as a student in Columbus again for more than eleven years at various institutions of learning. For two winters and three summers she was enrolled in four subjects in the southern branch of the University of California at Los Angeles.

Professor E. A. Ross credits her with being the pioneer establishing the custom of folks past middle age going to school again.

It was her privilege to hear five of the seven famous debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglass. During a session of the Illinois legislature of which her first husband John A. Davis was a member, she lived in Springfield, Ill. and there frequently met Lincoln, who was at that time practicing law.

From this brief description one can have an idea of the personality and character of Mrs. Winslow. After stopping a few days in Columbus, she proceeded on her journey to the southland, and not until she got off the train at Atlanta did she realize that the day was Sunday. The taxi men told her it would be a waste of time for her to try to see any one in the prison, when they found out where she wanted to go and so, when none of them would take her, on what they were sure would be a fruitless journey, she boarded the street car going out to the prison.

When she arrived, the guard informed her that no visitors were admitted on Sunday. An explanation that her ticket would not permit waiting over until the next day for regular visiting hours, nor the fact that she was a woman of years who might have received special consideration, moved the guard one iota. "Orders is orders," and that was all there was to it. However not to be baffled by this refusal, she inquired the way to the warden's residence. Let me quote her own words as she wrote me the story of this experience.

"The warden was very kind to me, and I hardly expected it after what the guard had said to me, especially when I asked him where the warden lived and said I was going to him. I was somewhat tired from travelling all night and the uncertainty of the success or accomplishment of my mission somewhat depressed me, and so you can imagine how the whole outlook of the world changed when before I had hardly introduced myself and proceeded to ask as a special favor that I might see Mr. Debs, the warden so kindly said, 'Debs was telling me not long ago that he was expecting you but he did not know just when you were coming. He then ushered me into the parlor where there were several guests and went to his desk and proceeded to write me a permit.'"

Taking the short cut across to the prison as directed by the warden she wrote that she wrapped at the ponderous door with a feeling that she was now master of the way to the "dignity" of the guard did not awe her in the least. Showing her a seat in the reception room he said Mr. Debs would see her there in a few moments.

"And so we met. The half hour! That was all that could be spared, but into that brief time it was sufficient for that noble man and myself to ascend the mountain tops where we could see the reddening dawn that will usher in the day that will make for human betterment. Yes, it will be a never to be forgotten day. It reminded me of that day of long ago when I burned with indignation on finding Lincoln alone in a room, while in an adjoining one, Mr. Douglass was receiving hundreds of admirers. Not one to do honor to Lincoln. So what else does this teach us today if not, that truth is mighty

and will prevail. So I am creating from past history a wonderful optimism for the future. When I left Debs and the prison I was so fortified with strength that I felt I could 'cut a whole world of error.'"

In talking with Mrs. Winslow after her visit to Debs, she told me that among all her acquaintances and friends, she had never met a man who reminded her so much of Lincoln as Eugene Victor Debs.

Just a short while before Mrs. Winslow's death which occurred early in the year 1923, Theodore Debs in reply to a letter she had sent Gene, wrote her as follows—"Coming from you, the friend of Lincoln, your words associating the name of my brother with that of the great Emancipator have that peculiar and touching significance. You saw and knew Lincoln, my brother has told me, long before the world had recognized him or had any conception of his greatness or of his mission. You saw him with prophetic eyes and with an understanding heart for you had in your own soul the elements of greatness and goodness you saw reflected in Abraham Lincoln. And so, I am sure, you see in my brother what he actually is and what he stands for and what the world now condemns because it does not understand. My brother is doing his work as best he knows how regardless of praise or censure, feeling conscious in his own heart that he is serving the cause of righteousness and that in good time that cause is certain to triumph over all opposition."

If you would count in the world you must find your place in the struggle of the world's workers and do your part to win the world for humanity. —E. V. D.

Can You Answer These? When your friend, neighbor or relative asks you the following: What will be the incentive to work under Socialism? Will Socialism destroy individuality? The Home? Religion? Who will do the dirty work? How will industry be taken over? And the thousand and one questions usually asked by those unfamiliar with the meaning of Socialism?

You may already be satisfied in your mind as to the proper answers to all the above, but can you formulate answers that will carry conviction? If not

Send today for a copy of the best text book ever written on Socialism, "What's So and What Isn't," by John M. Work. 50c per copy, \$5.00 per dozen. The National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

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Voluntary Assessment

The National Executive Committee has just adopted a motion for the Voluntary Assessment of all members of the Socialist Party. The assessment is to be \$1.00 minimum. Stamps have been sent to all State and District Secretaries to be distributed to all locals and branches under their jurisdiction. It is hoped that every member of the Party will purchase one of these stamps.

New England District

Comrade Joseph Bearak's campaign for Boston City Council from Ward 14 is progressing very steadily. He has secured two headquarters, one in the upper and one in the lower end of the ward; a manager and assistant manager have been appointed, and arrangements are under way to canvass and circularize every voter in the ward.

The Communists nominated a candidate against Comrade Bearak with the admitted intention of heckling him and preventing his election, but they failed to get the necessary number of signatures. This is an interesting side light on their tricky pleas for United Fronts.

Comrade Lewis, with the efficient help of Michael Flaherty and Charles V. Lawler held a good meeting in the Irish section of South Boston at the same corner where hooligans two weeks previously had tried to break up Comrade Ethelred Brown's meeting. The crowd was fairly large and very enthusiastic.

New York

Hezekiah D. Wilcox of Elmira, Chemung County, was the choice of the Official State Convention of the Socialist Party for candidate for Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, the only state-wide office to be filled this year. Wilcox will have only one opponent, both old parties having endorsed the same man for this high judicial position, Patrick J. Murphy of the Bronx acted as chairman of the Convention, and Herman Greenblatt of Kings as secretary. State Chairman John Block called the Convention to order. The official convention for the first Judicial District immediately followed the State Convention, and was also held at People's House, New York City. S. John Block of New York County and Jacob Bernstein of Bronx County were unanimously nominated for Justices of Supreme Court, and Fred Fischer of the Bronx presided, and Louise Wullstrom of New York acted as Secretary.

The State Executive Committee met at Panken Campaign Headquarters, Second Ave., New York, last Sunday morning. Murphy of Bronx, Feigenbaum of Kings, Gerber of New York, Arland of Westchester, and Kobbe of Rensselaer County were present. State Chairman John Block acted as chairman of the meeting, and many devoted to consideration of the finances of the State Organization, and action was taken to call a state conference on Party finance immediately following the election.

State Secretary Merrill announces that so far as the American branches in Greater New York are concerned, the greater city purchased as many due stamps during the quarter of the year ending September 30, as during the second quarter of the year. This is unusual, as the summer months are the worst of the year for the collection of dues, and would seem to indicate that there is now a strong upward tendency in the way of membership in Greater New York.

The State Secretary also announces that there is a movement on to reorganize Jamestown, and that street speakers are demanded there. Responses are still being awaited from some locals as to the arrangement of such meetings.

Illinois Special Notice General Membership Meeting Cook County Socialist Party Dear Comrades: The Socialist Party of Cook County will hold a General Membership Meeting at Douglas Park Auditorium on Sunday afternoon, October 23, 2:30 P. M.

This meeting is being held to determine the future activities of the Party in Cook County and what can be done to build for the 1928 National and State Campaign.

All Party members interested in the future of the Socialist movement should attend this meeting without fail as this meeting has been called by the Cook County Central Committee.

Fraternally yours, —W. R. Snow, County Secretary, Chicago

Mary O'Reilly, active Socialist and former Assistant Editor of the American Appeal, will speak at the educational forum of the Ypsilons on Friday evening, October 14, at the Douglas Park Labor Lyceum, Kedzie and Ogden Aves.

Connecticut

The State Secretary and Executive Committee of the Party in Connecticut is busy with preliminaries for the coming work for the state. The State Secretary has sent a letter of instructions and information to the members of that state.

Bridgeport Socialists Nominate City Ticket At a convention of the Socialist Party of Bridgeport held at the Carpenter's Hall, September 7, the following candidates were nominated for public office: Mayor—Jasper McLevy. City Clerk—Fred Cederholm. Town Clerk—Peter Brewster. City Treasurer—Minor Treat. Board of Education—Sadie Griffin and Fred Schwartzkopf.

The ticket has a decidedly laboring, as the candidates are active members of the trade unions, Mr. Brewster, the candidate for Town Clerk, being the President of the Central Labor Union, while the candidate for city treasurer, Mr. Treat, is the Secretary of the Central Labor Union. A Party platform was adopted and a vigorous campaign will be carried on in every ward of the city.

Pennsylvania State Secretary Hoopes of Pennsylvania reports that September was a much better month than they have had for some time, reporting a number of donations coming to the State office for the purpose of clearing up deficits. He also reports that everything possible is being done to secure signatures to nomination papers in Montgomery County. It will take 580 signatures to place a complete county ticket in the field.

Ohio State Secretary Willert in a report to his membership states that there has been an awakening of their members during September. He urges activity throughout the state and informs his members that he has much literature on hand for the members to use and also tells us that the state office is ready to assist in the arrangement of meetings.

Memorial Meetings Chicago The Debs memorial meeting for Chicago will be held in the Douglas Park Auditorium, Kedzie & Ogden Aves. on Oct. 20th, 8 P. M. A big list of speakers are listed with a musical program.

Los Angeles The Los Angeles Memorial meeting will be held on Oct. 23rd in the Labor Temple. This meeting will be on Sunday and it will be in memory of both Debs and Harriman.

Seattle The Seattle meeting will be held on Sunday Oct. 23rd at the Labor Temple. The doors will open at one P. M. and meeting starts at 1.45. Every reader of the American Appeal is urged to be on hand and take others along.

Buffalo The Buffalo Memorial meeting will be held on Monday Oct. 17th, 6:30 at the Central Y. M. C. A., 19 West Mohawk St. The memorial will be in the nature of a dinner and everyone is invited. Speakers will be Norman Thomas, Rev. Herman J. Hahn and several others. Tickets are one dollar a plate and tickets can be secured at Salem Evangelical church, 732 Brisbane Building and at 950 Clinton St.

Pittsburgh will hold a Debs Mass meeting or Banquet on Nov. 6th. The occasion will be to celebrate the 72nd Birthday of Debs. James Maurer will likely be the speaker for the occasion.

Jersey City The Socialists and friends of Hudson County will hold their memorial meeting at Party Headquarters, 256 Central Ave. on Sunday evening, Oct. 23rd, 8 P. M. A suitable program has been mapped out, with Jacob Panken speaker.

Big Debs Memorial At Herminie, Pa. Westmoreland County Local will hold a memorial meeting in remembrance of the late Eugene V. Debs at Herminie in the Slovenian Hall at 7 P. M., Thursday evening, October 20th. A number of prominent local comrades will speak on the occasion. All the Socialists in Westmoreland County as well as the friends of Debs in the labor and liberal movements are invited to attend this meeting.

Faithful Comrade Taken by Death

After a long and tedious illness, Sarah Jane MacSillarow, widow of the late Dr. J. W. MacSillarow whom many "old timers" in the Party will remember, and mother of John MacSillarow and Ruby Herman, (Mrs. Emil Herman) passed on to the Great Beyond on Saturday, September 24th, having reached the age of seventy-four years and five months.

Mrs. MacSillarow was for years a loyal member of the Socialist Party and her red membership card shows her dues paid up to within a year of her death, when doubtless, the severity of her illness drove such matters from her mind, as from the mind of those who cared for her. Yet, up to within a very short time before her death she kept a lively interest in the movement and in party affairs; and maintained a sane and slightly humorous outlook upon life.

Always energetic and progressive, she worked with her husband in the old Knights of Labor organization, thence, by natural stages of progression, into the Socialist Party in the early years of the present century. Her record of service to the working class movement during that trying period of the Great War and just following, while not of general knowledge, is one of which any one might be proud, and puts to shame large numbers of those much more widely known in the party and elsewhere.

Members of the American Appeal Army and Socialists throughout the nation are responding splendidly to the call for intensified activity in honor of the anniversary of Debs' birth and the first anniversary of his death. Orders from the members of the Appeal Army total more than \$100 more for the week ending October 8, than for the week ending October 1. The biggest gain is in orders for the Debs Memorial Edition. The Promotion and Sustaining Fund shows a big gain, and the growth in subscriptions and renewals has been considerable.

There is a rising tide of orders on this the eve of the two memorial weeks from October 20 to November 5 which undoubtedly will reach its highest crest following the Debs Memorial meetings. Arrangements for a considerable number of meetings have been reported and in every case full preparations have been made to do yeoman service for the Party and the Appeal. Keep up the good work comrades; this is a time for real dedication to service for the Cause. A successful outcome of Debs Memorial activities will hearten the whole movement and give it new life. You will find subscription order blanks and Walls and Bars order blanks in this issue. Use them.

Walls and Bars Prize Winners The following comrades aided the Appeal circulation in various ways to the extent of \$5 or more during the week ending October 8, and received free a copy of Walls and Bars autographed by the Socialist Party: A. Florida Comrade, in memory of Bellamy and Wayland, \$18.00 subs and donation. Wm. Munro, Cumberland, Md. \$5.00 subs and cards. Wm. M. Weatherly, Greensboro, N. C. Various clubs. Cornelius Ickroth, Boston, Mass. \$5.00 subs and cards. Mary M. Morgan, Fortuna, Calif. \$5.00 subs and donation. Amon F. Anthony, Baltimore, Md. \$5.25 subs, cards and donation. A. Carlson, Story, Wyo. \$5.00 subs. Chas. W. Reed, El Centro, Calif. \$5.00 cards.

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The greatest service you can render and the best way to honor Debs' memory during Memorial Weeks is to send in one or more subs. Let's all do something. Any one sending in \$5 worth or more will get WALLS AND BARS free. Use this blank right away. AMERICAN APPEAL, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. RATES \$1.00 A YEAR; 50 cts. 6 MONTHS

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A Court Decision Worth 50 Million Dollars A Word

How America's Super-Rich Were Untaxed

George R. Kirkpatrick
(Socialist Author and Lecturer)

The Sixteenth Amendment to the National Constitution read as follows:

"Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states and without regard to any census or enumeration."

Language could not be clearer. The purpose of this Amendment is frankly admitted by every member of the Supreme Court, by all the judges of the other federal courts and by all the lawyers in the United States—aid also by all other intelligent citizens who have given it any attention whatever. And of course it is admitted even by the Supreme Court that the people have the right to amend the Constitution.

Repeals Constitution
Nevertheless, the Supreme Court of the United States has brazenly repealed the Sixteenth Amendment to the national Constitution.

"Oh, no," you say, "the Supreme Court could not possibly repeal an Amendment to the Constitution. Those dear old men would never do a thing like that!" An Amendment is part of the Constitution, and the Constitution is the fundamental law of this great and glorious country; and even the Supreme Court is not permitted to lay destroying hands on any part of it. Our glorious Constitution, like the Holy Bible, is sacred, and no justice on the Supreme Court bench would dare tear out a part of it and throw it to the winds in bold defiance of the will of 120,000,000 American people.

Do you really think that? Well, no

doubt many nice people enjoy thinking that they are thinking, and millions of them talk a great deal in their sleep. You are wrong, dead wrong, when you think like that. It is true that at the close of the constitutional convention in 1787 George Washington solemnly said that the Constitution was mostly the work of the Almighty. Yet, no matter, the Sixteenth Amendment has been boldly torn from the Constitution by the Supreme Court and tossed into the waste-basket as junk.

Of course no court in any other country on earth could do such a thing, but then we must remember that no other country is 100 per cent American, and that in the judgment of our Supreme Court the average 100-per cent American is a 100-per cent boob whose nose can be pulled any time by the Supreme Court without fear. It is well known by the Supreme Court that the 100-per cent American is an almost stone-blind worshipper of the Supreme Court, now made up of nine nice old grandpas averaging about 70 years of age. Some times these old fellows ramble along thru tens of thousands of words in one decision that could be, and might as well be, stated in five hundred words. Always, stuffed away in the mountain of words, is the heart of what they are driving at.

Real Meaning of Decision
Here is a boiled-down summary of the Supreme Court decision which repeals the Sixteenth Amendment:

1—The Sixteenth Amendment, brief, simple and clear, regularly adopted in 1913, is intended (1) to increase the power of Congress in matters of taxation and (2) to take away from this Court certain powers heretofore used by this Court when this

Court has repeatedly nullified certain congressional legislation on taxation; 2—The Sixteenth Amendment, adopted in perfectly regular procedure in 1913, is a clear expression of the will of the American people; and, therefore,

3—The Sixteenth Amendment is regularly a part of the Constitution, a fundamental part of the fundamental law of the land;

4—However, the Supreme Court here and now declares the Sixteenth Amendment, null and void, and the same is hereby and by us destroyed; and in this sense the Sixteenth Amendment is repealed;

5—We thus repeal the Sixteenth Amendment because this Amendment conflicts with our decision (111) in the Pollack Case which we rendered twenty six years ago (111);

6—Altho the Sixteenth Amendment is regularly a part of the Constitution, we, the Supreme Court now decide and declare: "To Hell with the Sixteenth Amendment or any other part of the Constitution which doesn't suit this Court and this Court's special friends;

7—The Sixteenth Amendment is, in our judgment, simply bunk and is therefore by this Court wholly and absolutely repealed;

8—And furthermore, in announcing this decision we the Supreme Court would have the people distinctly understand that we regard them generally speaking, as a big bunch of suckers who need not be feared and are not feared by this Court. And we further serve notice that if any other Amendment, unsatisfactory to this Court is adopted, such Amendment will be repealed just as we here and now repeal the Sixteenth Amendment;

9—This Court is superior to Congress, superior to the President, and superior to the people; and we here and now demonstrate our superiority by defiantly repealing the Sixteenth Amendment in spite of Congress, in spite of the President, in spite of the people, and in spite of their clearly expressed will as stated in the Sixteenth Amendment;

10—And, finally, we warn the American people that when the will of the people and the will of this Court are in conflict, the will of this Court becomes the supreme and final authority—as heretofore and now."

Untaxes 30 Billions
Of course the Court did not use just these words, but these ten propositions give the substance of the decision, the heart of it. The substance of the long-winded decision as actually delivered by the Court can easily be stated, even in pompous legal phrase, in 600 words. A high authority has summed up the whole history of this incident in much less than 600 words, thus: "In the Evans vs. Gore Case (1919) the Sixteenth Amendment was submitted to the Supreme Court for its approval or rejection. It was rejected. In this case the Supreme Court of the United States declared the Constitution unconstitutional (that is, that part of it called the Sixteenth Amendment). They placed their own decision above the Constitution. . . . In their decision they admit that they are proceeding without authority."

The decision of 1919, resting on an earlier decision twenty-six years before, takes the place of the Sixteenth Amendment—which is thus repealed. And this is a clownish absurdity, utterly ridiculous to all the lawyers in the land. Of course these lawyers,

thousands of them, would everlastingly sting the Supreme Court and make it look as cheap as it is, would make it look to the people as ridiculous as it looks to lawyers; they would hold up the Supreme Court to scorn and treat it with the contempt it deserves for such decision—except for the fact that the lawyers must try their cases before the Court; and a lawyer would have a hard time of it in court if he had already hollered the Court up to such ridiculous heights. Hence the lawyers must speak respectfully of the Court they despise for many of its decisions, and despise somewhat particularly for this decision which actually repeals part of the Constitution.

This decision has created approximately \$30,000,000,000 worth of tax-exempted securities.

This decision exempts the incomes on certain securities from any and all kinds of taxes; and by this tax-exemption decision, the incomes on such securities already escape all—such taxes, in spite of the Sixteenth Amendment. Estimating that but for this tax-exemption decision, the incomes from this property, would equal property tax rates totaling one per cent per year, the total exemption amounts to \$300,000,000—three hundred million dollars—per year. This \$300,000,000 annually or plutocracy \$15,000,000,000—fifteen billion dollars—in fifty years (or twenty-five million dollars per word, or thirty billion dollars (\$30,000,000,000) in one hundred years; that is, fifty million dollars (\$50,000,000,000) per word in the next hundred years. And that is the price the American people must pay for permitting the

Supreme Court to take up a neat little collection of three hundred million per year for the plutocratic snobs of this country—by means of a tax-exemption decision that repeals the Sixteenth Amendment.

Enriches Loafers
But wait a minute: of course during the next twenty-five or fifty years this class of tax-exempt securities will vastly increase in volume, and thus the annual total tax-exemption will very greatly exceed the present three hundred millions a year;—and thus our estimate, as headlined in this article, is extremely conservative. The total annual tax-exemption saved to the snobs of this country will probably reach a billion dollars within the next fifteen or twenty years, for these tax-free securities surely look good to the gilt-edged loafers and protectors abroad the ship of state.

Will the plain people ever read the full text of the court decision that repealed the Sixteenth Amendment? No, of course not. It is not intended or expected that they will do so. And it would not make any difference if they did so, for the plain deludable people are easily paralyzed with pompous piffle. The editor of the Yale Law Review has certainly read the decision and has expressed his alarm and disgust. A few hundred lawyers will read the decision, have long since done so. Tens of thousands of plutocratic pets have read digests of the decision, and are exceeding glad and gay to have a Court of ossified senility always ready to "do its stuff" and "deliver the goods"—just as circus clowns "do their stuff," or trained dogs do their stunts. Surely a petty little salary of twelve to fifteen thousand dollars a year for these Supreme Court justices is cheap, dirt

cheap, filthy cheap for filthy work. Yet this cheap justice comes high—for the people.

A Nation of Dupes

The people? Bah! The "folks" have all gone to the movies or have their ears glued to the radio for their daily jag of jazz and bedtime stories and the puffing eloquence of orators whooping it up for "100-per cent Americanism." Naturally the nine old dears on the Supreme Court bench, averaging about 70 years of age,—these men regard the "folks," the plain people, as mere children, as boobs—just as the capitalists regard the people as suckers, just plain suckers, not to be feared, not to be consulted, not to be informed, not to be taken seriously—except as convenient in the game called business, 100-per cent American business, which gives its nine old men on the Supreme Court such power as no other court on earth possesses.

And now we softly repeat, "Now I lay me down to sleep," let us blissfully dream of the 100-per cent decision by the 100-per cent American Supreme Court. A decision worth \$50,000,000,000 fifty million dollars—per word to the strutting pirates and parasites of American plutocracy.

Good night, children. Pleasant dreams; but don't fail to get up promptly in the morning when the alarm-clock rings, for you simply must every year make up for the \$300,000,000,000 which the tax-exemption decision saves for the leading citizens who lead you around by the nose. It is a great life if you don't weaken—or waken.

Organize The Youth--What New York Is Accomplishing

By Ben Goodman
(Organizer, Young People's Socialist League, New York City)

FIVE hundred young people have banded themselves together, here in New York, into what is known as the Young People's Socialist League. With a common aim and in the support of the Socialist Party, we are today fashioning a youth movement that will, in years to come, show the fruits of the hard work that is being put into it at present. There are twenty groups, or "circles," as they are called in the city; eleven senior and nine junior. All are imbued with the spirit that organizes an organization.

In a city like New York with its six million population of which one million is potentially eligible to membership, 500 is but a mere fraction of one percent. Yet, consider the obstacles confronting the organization and you cannot but admire the tenacity, the spirit and the faith that has been manifested by the membership.

Not to speak of the weakness of the Socialist Party, the splitting tactics of the Communists and the general apathy for that which is radical or even progressive, the League has to contend with other powerful forces. In a city such as New York, with its hundreds of means of amusement, it is hard to make young people react on in terms of the class-struggle. The movies, the settlement houses, the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A. and a host of other organizations and amusements are powerful detaching influences. It appears to be in part the desire of many of these organizations to keep the young folk from thinking about strikes, poverty, slums, crime and the reasons thereof and to make good Tammany voters of them. Millions are spent yearly by these agencies with the result that the minds of the young are occupied with matters other than economic. The best is utilized and social activity frequently attributed to that end.

Needless to say that, as a young people's organization, the membership is not much different from that of any other organization. The League encourages sports, dramatics, debates, singing groups, dancing and many other features that are of interest to youth. Yet, of course, we do not have the facilities in these lines that the capitalist endowed youth organizations have. Because of the financial strain, something that every radical organization suffers from, our work along these lines has not been extensive.

There is but one field of activity that we can hold our own in, against any youth group and that is in the field of economic and sociological thought and action. And since that is of least interest to the great mass of youth, we are greatly handicapped as far as membership is concerned. Regardless of these handicaps, the League has been carrying on in various fields of activity.

Fall Work Begins
With the coming of the Fall and Winter seasons, every evening in the week will find a circle meeting in some section of the city. At these groups about twenty-five or thirty get together, spend an hour talking over the actual business of the group, discuss the problems of organization and then adjourn to the educational program. The educational director takes the floor and then follows an hour or more of serious discussion on questions such as politics, religion, economics, love, prohibition, books and a host of other topics.

In my circle, Circle Eight, discussion is done around a table and we keep the subject from getting dry by drinking tea. The more prosperous Yipsels contribute the cake.

Debating contests and declamation

contests also play an important part in the League. Aside from the circle debates, in which the circle's membership takes part, the league as a whole arranges inter-circle contests, the winners receiving fitting rewards.

All this is the basic work of the organization and is done during the winter. The Rand School has contributed a great deal towards our accomplishments. Through the generous and co-operative spirit of Algernon Lee, Education Director, classes in Trade Unionism, Economics, Sociology, etc. have been arranged each year for the League's membership. The League also receives Scholarships. Last year fifteen Yipsels were granted this award. This year twenty-five are expected to be enrolled.

And then there are, as has been mentioned, the social features. It is interesting to note the spirit of comradeship and fraternity that has been fostered by the organization. After the arguments over motions and amendments that at the time seem so important are forgotten, the comrades join in the dances and general fun. The ideals, the problems and contacts made in the movement have done wonders in making fast friends of the membership. It is not at all surprising to find men and women, years out of the League, talking to the members of the happy companionships formed while in the organization. During my five years in the League I can recollect more than a dozen inter-Y. P. S. L. marriages and now have a "hunch" of two or three more coming.

In a few days the city elections will be tackled in the usual campaign style. Yipsels have played an important part in this work. The official champion platform carriers, leaflet distributors and all-around Jimmy Higginses will be found in the League. As in the past the members will be found in various headquarters of the city folding literature, addressing and sealing envelopes, licking stamps and running errands.

Some Social Features
Just as the winter is spent indoors, the summer is spent outdoors. In New York, with its hot July weather, its sweating pavement and crowded thoroughfares, the summer offers the membership a chance to leave the city. Hikes to the surrounding country are arranged. At one, in particular, over three hundred Yipsels attended. An actual motion picture of the hike was taken and later shown to the membership at the Rand School Auditorium. The film is now touring the local motion picture houses. Excursions, picnics, and camping trips are continuously being held during July and August.

A very unfortunate situation has been the lack of athletic interest. In New York the greater portion of the membership has neglected this important and interesting youth interest. The reason for this has been to a great extent that the facilities for athletic recreation has been lacking.

If the League is to grow and prosper as it should it must more and more emphasize this activity.

It is very fortunate that the Socialist Party, while engaged in a terrific struggle here in rebuilding the party, has at the same time had the vision and understanding of the importance of maintaining the Young People's Socialist League in the city. Without the support of the party organization, the League would not be alive today. The financial assistance, the advice and the comradeship given by the older comrades have contributed greatly to what has already been accomplished. However, there must be even greater response. The crying need of the League is capable directors and funds.

It must be remembered that the League as at present constituted cannot pay all the expenses involved in organization work. All the members

can give is their time and energy. The funds must to a great extent come from those interested in building a powerful Socialist Youth Movement.

Needed: A Young People's Monthly
Just at present the publishing of a monthly paper is of tremendous importance. We have no means outside of the American Appeal, New Leader and Forward to voice our sentiments to appeal for membership, and to carry on very effective work. These papers reach people who are more or less interested in our cause. We must however reach the Youth who have not as yet come in contact with the Movement. These can only be gotten through a purely youth paper. Such a paper would cost \$50.00 a month. It is a certainty that with it hundreds could be interested in the League. Yet we cannot print it because of the prohibitive cost. We hope however to be able to interest enough older comrades to contribute to a fund of \$600.00 which would insure the publication for one year.

Although the Socialist Party has aided the League, I can safely say that the investment in youth groups has well been worth it. A Yipsel Circle usually brings with it a certain sense of responsibility that tends toward a healthy and encouraging organization. A circle brings with it a duty that the older comrades are prone to shirk. Many a headquarters would have been given up as impossible to maintain were it not that it housed a live Yipsel.

In conclusion, may I urge through the American Appeal that every part of the country that boasts of a party branch consider the organization of a circle. It is a good investment in Socialism.

Pay your dues, shake off the blues, and take your stand with the tried and trues. —E. V. D.

Some of the Stories Told by Debs

SHAKESPEARE HAD THE GENIUS TO paint some of his most striking pictures true to life with a few bold strokes. Here is the portrait of the social victim, sometimes the man, abandoned, wretched, despairing; sometimes the woman, bedraggled spectacle:

"Famine is in thy cheeks. Need and oppression straveth in thy eyes, Contempt and beggary hang upon thy back, The world is not thy friend, nor the world's law."

The capitalist system has furnished subjects enough for this gruesome picture to shock the earth and fill all hell with horror.

An English coal porter is credited with a clever retort to a member of parliament who was pushing his way through a crowd at a show:

"Make way there! Don't you know," cried the pompous M. P., "that I am a representative of the people!"

"Hell!" retorted the porter. "Don't you know that we ARE the people!"

The working class ARE the people, but are not yet numbered but they are the coal porter had his eyes open and it is a safe guess that he was a class conscious Socialist.

Mr. Worker, you are not a man; you are simply portable labor power, raw material, bought the same as hides, hair, bones, or any other commodity, and convertible, at the pleasure of your purchaser and master, into capital which in turn also becomes your purchaser and master and so on until your labor power is exhausted and your worthless remains are carted to the pottersfield.

Think about it, Mr. Worker, and make up your mind to rise from MERCHANDISE TO MANHOOD.

That is what the class struggle involves and what Socialism will achieve.

The A. B. C. of Socialism

Editor's Note

If you want to know really, once and for all time just what it is these Socialists want—what they are after and how they propose to get it, we recommend the following for your careful consideration. It is not the ideas about Socialism of one man. It is the consensus of belief, the authoritative statement, of the organized Socialists of the United States expressed in language so plain that any one can understand it. The following is a declaration of Socialist principles adopted by the Socialist Party in convention assembled in Cleveland, Ohio, July, 1924.

The Socialist Party
The Socialist Party is the Party of the workers. It urges the workers to take economic and political power away from the capitalist class, not to establish themselves as a new ruling class, but to abolish forever all class divisions and class rule.

America today is not owned by the American people. Our so-called national wealth is not the wealth of the nation but of the privileged few. These few are the rulers of America. They are few in number but they dominate the lives of their fellow men. They own our jobs and determine our wages; they control markets and fix prices; they own our homes and fix rents; they own our food and set its cost; they own the press; they own the government and make our laws; they own our schools and mould the people's minds. The Socialist Party of the United States demands that the country and its socially useable industrial wealth be redeemed from the control of private interests and turned over to the people to be administered for the benefit of all.

What It Advocates
The Socialist Party advocates the establishment of a system of co-operative and publicly owned and managed warehouses, markets, and credits to promote direct dealing between farmers and city consumers at the cost of the service in their mutual interests. This will reduce the cost of living, will assure to the farmers a proper compensation for their labor, and will enable them to escape from the twin curses of tenantry and mortgaged serfdom.

The socialization of industry, as Socialists conceive it, means more than is commonly understood in the term government ownership; it includes democratic administration through the elected and responsible representatives of the workers in the respective industries and of the workers as a whole.

Why A Party of Workers
The bulk of the American people are workers of hand and brain; men and women who render useful service to the community in the countless ways of modern civilization. They produce the nation's wealth but live in constant dread of poverty. They feed and clothe the rich, yet bow to their alleged superiority. They keep alive the industries, but have no voice in their management. They constitute the majority and can right all these social wrongs whenever they learn to use the power of their numbers.

The ruling class and their retainers cannot be expected to change the iniquitous system of which they are the beneficiaries. The workers alone have a direct and compelling interest in abolishing that system.

What the Party Will Do
To do this the workers must be united in a political party and use it to enact such measures as will immediately benefit the workers, raise their standard of life, increase their power, and stiffen their resistance to capitalist aggression; and ultimately to transfer to the people ownership of large sections of the character, such

as banking, insurance, mining, transportation, communication, and the process as rapidly as conditions will permit, to the end that the exploitation of labor through rent, interest, and profit may finally be abolished.

Constructive Program
The workers of town and country must be strongly organized on economic as well as on political lines. The ceaseless struggle of the labor unions and the constructive work of co-operative societies are absolutely necessary, not only for the immediate defence and betterment of the material and social condition of the producing classes, but also to equip them with the knowledge and the habit of self-discipline which they must have in order to administer efficiently the industries of which they are to win control.

It is the bounden duty of every Socialist wage-worker to be a loyal and active member of the union of his industry or trade, and to strive with all his power for the strengthening and solidification of the trade-union movement. It is the duty and the privilege of the Socialist Party and its friends to aid the unions in all their struggles for better wages, increased leisure, and better conditions of employment.

The Socialist Party seeks to attain its end by orderly methods, and depends upon education and organization of the masses.

A World Movement
The Socialist Party stands for the mass of the American people. But its interest is not limited to America alone. In modern civilization the des-

tinies of all nations are inextricably interwoven. No nation can be prosperous, happy, and free while its neighbors are poor, miserable, and enslaved. The ties of international solidarity are particularly vital among the workers. In all advanced countries the working classes are engaged in an identical struggle for political and economic freedom, and the success or failure of each is reflected upon the fortunes of all.

For Peace and Democracy
The Socialist Party is opposed to militarism, imperialism, and War. Modern wars are caused by commercial and financial rivalries and intrigues of capitalist interests in different countries. They are made by the ruling classes and fought by the masses. They bring wealth and power to the privileged few and suffering, death, and desolation to the many. They cripple the struggle of the workers for political rights, material improvement and social justice, and tend to sever the bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries.

The Socialist movement is a world struggle in behalf of civilization. The Socialist Party co-operates with similar parties in other countries, and extends to them its full support in their struggles, confident that the workers all over the world will eventually secure the powers of government, abolish the oppression and chaos, the strife and bloodshed of international capitalism, and establish a federation of Socialist republics, co-operating with each other for the benefit of the human race, and for the maintenance of the peace of the world.

MUST OWN PUBLIC UTILITIES OR THEY WILL OWN US

One of the greatest arguments for public ownership of public utilities is the fact that under private ownership utility interests become essentially political, corrupting, tyrannical and exploitive. They come inevitably to run the government and trample down all law and regulation made in the interest of the people. We quote here from an able Scripps-Howard editorial to illustrate the operation and danger of this process in the United States, and to show that public ownership as a matter of public self-preservation is becoming more and more imperative. The Scripps-Howard editorial bears the title,

Undoing Forty Years' Work
For forty years the people of the United States have been laboriously building a system of public utility regulation. A lot of wear and tear has gone into creating that system.

There's scarcely a town in the country that hasn't been thru at least one bitter fight to throw off public utility domination. And the battle has frequently been fought along national lines.

The result of this is a system of regulation which, altho still crude, gives consumers some protection. Public utility concerns are no longer allowed an unchecked exploitation of their customers. Their rates are held down by regulation.

It would seem that anything so zealously fought for would be zealously guarded. For some strange reason, however, this appears to be a mistaken assumption.

Beginning Oct. 5 a case will be tried in a United States district court at Kansas City, which, if decided in favor of the interest behind it, will go a long way toward wrecking the present system of regulation.

It is a case brought to determine the principles to be used in fixing a valuation of the railroads of the country. The principles established may govern all other utilities.

If the railroads get court approval

of the valuation increases they seek, the late regulation by the interstate commerce commission will be virtually wiped out.

The railroads are now allowed to earn six per cent on the value of their property. At Kansas City they will seek a valuation so high that if they get it, railroad experts are agreed, the traffic won't bear the rates they'll be entitled to charge.

That means, of course, that they will fix their rates to suit themselves, and the interstate commerce commission will be a rubber stamp.

For the public utilities of the country as a whole, it is estimated that the interstate commerce commission that success in the valuation contention of the railroads will mean a boost of about \$30,000,000,000. Such a boost has already been foreshadowed by a U. S. supreme court decision written by Justice Pierce Butler, former railroad attorney, in a case involving the Indianapolis Water company. But conclusive court authorization of such an increase is generally dependent upon the outcome of the Kansas City case.

If the \$30,000,000,000 increase in valuation is approved by the courts, the public utilities of the country will be entitled to increase their rates so as to earn about two billion dollars more annually.

Sound business judgment, of course, will prevent the utilities from making the enormous rate increases they will be entitled to by law. But instead of the fear of regulation, their only fear will be that of cutting off their patronage by charging prohibitive rates.

In view of the painful development of regulation it would seem that the present threat ought to be a matter of keen public interest.

That the \$30,000,000,000 case to be tried at Kansas City Oct. 5 is a matter of public indifference is one of the interesting facts of an interesting era.

High Spots In The Life of Eugene V. Debs

November 5, 1855—Eugene Victor Debs was born in a lowly cottage at 447 No. 4th Street, Terre Haute, Indiana. His father was Jean Daniel Debs and mother, Margaret Peterish Debs, native of Alsace. They were both intimate companions of the children and were familiarly called "Dandy and Daisy." Debs was one of ten children, six of whom survived to maturity. Theodore was his only brother.

Debs spent several short years in school and graduated with credit from the old seminary school in Terre Haute at about the age of 15.

May 1870.—Debs began his work for the Terre Haute and Indianapolis Railroad Company (now the Pennsylvania system), first in the shop and later as a locomotive fireman.

October 1874.—Due to his mother's fears regarding the dangers on the railroad, Debs accepted a position with a grocery house at Terre Haute and worked energetically at this position for the next five years.

Becomes Editor

1878.—Debs was made Associate Editor of the Firemen's Magazine as a result of his splendid organizing work among the Brotherhood of Railway Brakemen, the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, and other railroad organizations during the preceding 8 years. It was in this position that Debs first met Wendell Phillips, the great abolitionist and Robert G. Ingersoll, the great agnostic and orator. Their oratorical powers inspired him to study the power of speech to move men and from that date until his death, few Americans in public life were more tireless

students of literature and the art of expression than he.

1879.—Debs was elected city clerk of Terre Haute on the Democratic ticket, serving in that capacity for four years.

July 1880.—Gene was appointed Grand Secretary and Treasurer of the Brotherhood of Railway Firemen, as well as the editor and manager of its magazine, serving in the former capacity until February 1893, and in the latter capacity until December, 1894. At the time Debs took charge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the order had only 60 lodges and was \$6000 in debt. In a short time he had been able to add 225 lodges and had wiped out the debt.

Marries

June 9, 1885.—Debs married Katherine Metzler. "Kate," as he affectionately called her, was one of the noblest of women, was thoroughly in sympathy with him in social economic questions and aided him wonderfully in all of his work. In 1904, in one of his letters, to her, he wrote: "You have grown more beautiful and more precious to me with each passing year. It is many years ago since first we came under the roof of this old hotel as bride and groom and it seems to me that from that day to this we have enjoyed together an unbroken honeymoon. Where I took you as my wife I did not lose you as my friend and comrade, and the years that trail behind us have borne beautiful testimony of the sweetness and sanctity of our love."

1892.—Feeling that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen was not inclusive enough in its membership, he resigned from the Brotherhood, giving up what at that time was a large salary of \$4000 a year. It was

his belief that the organization should be broad enough to include all the workers and that he desired and proposed to give all his energy to the building up of such an organization. The convention unanimously voted to give him as a gift of appreciation \$2000 for a trip to Europe for a rest and enjoyment but this he declined.

June 1893.—Debs organized an American Railway Union, and served as its president at a salary of \$75 a month.

Great Railway Strike

April 1894.—Debs, through the American Railway Union, organized a strike against the great Northern Railroad which was paying its help anywhere from \$35 to \$80 a month and succeeded in a struggle lasting 18 days in obtaining victory for the workers. His return to Terre Haute was like a triumphal procession and thousands turned out to do him honor.

June, 1894.—The great Pullman strike was fought and many believe, but victory was turned to defeat by the Federal administration which used the courts and the soldiers to imprison the leaders and crush the strike. The Railroad corporation then resolved to annihilate the American Railway Union. Debs was indicted for conspiracy and other crimes and imprisoned in Woodstock Jail where he served 6 months for contempt of court. While serving at Woodstock he was taken daily to Chicago, a distance of 55 miles, under escort of two deputy sheriffs, where he was being tried for conspiracy and other crimes, but when the prosecution found that Debs and his attorneys were in possession of the secret proceedings of the General Manager Association and that they had a number of witnesses to testify as to who had

committed the crime charged to the strikers, the trial was abruptly ended on the plea that a juror had suddenly been taken sick. No effort was ever made to impanel another jury. Debs was kept 18 months in the jurisdiction of the court by posternment and various other pretexts calculated to prevent him from organizing the A. R. U. and when he finally released the railroad put the detectives on his track who followed him for two years. It was during his imprisonment that Debs began to see the light of socialism and turned his mind in the direction of political action to solve the wrongs of labor. In describing his conversion or his gradual conversion to socialism, Debs writes: "The Chicago jail sentences were followed by six months at Woodstock and it was here that Socialism gradually laid hold of me in its own irresistible fashion. Books and pamphlets and letters from socialists came by every mail and I began to read and think and dissect the anatomy of the system in which workingmen, however organized, could be shattered and battered and splintered at a single stroke. The writings of Bellamy and Blatchford early appealed to me. The 'Cooperative Commonwealth' of Gronlund also impressed me, but the writings of Kautsky were so clear and conclusive that I readily grasped, not merely his argument, but also caught the spirit of his socialist utterance—and I thank him and all who helped me out of darkness into light."

Becomes Socialist

"It was at this time, when the first glimmerings of Socialism were beginning to penetrate, that Victor L. Berger—and I have loved him ever

since—came to Woodstock, as if a providential instrument, and delivered the first impassioned message of Socialism I had ever heard—the very first to set the 'wires humming in my system.' As a souvenir of that visit there is in my library a volume of 'Capital,' by Karl Marx, inscribed with the compliments of Victor L. Berger, which I cherish as a token of priceless value.

"The American Railway Union was defeated but not conquered—overwhelmed but not destroyed. It lives and pulsates in the Socialist movement, and its defeat but blazed the way to economic freedom and hastened the dawn of human brotherhood."

In a letter to the Coming Nation in November 1895, Debs first advocated the establishment of a cooperative commonwealth by the establishment of the ballot. However, politically he was still a Democrat fighting in the dark and supported William Jennings Bryan in the campaign of 1896 thinking as millions of others did that Bryan put the man before the dollar.

January 1, 1897.—Debs issued a circular to the members of the A. R. U. in which he reviewed present conditions and bold, came out for socialism. "The issue is socialism vs. capitalism," he declared. "I am for socialism because I am for humility. We have been cursed with the reign of gold. Money constitutes no proper basis for civilization. The time has come to generate society—we are on the eve of universal change."

Helps Form Party

June 1897.—The A. R. U. convention held in Chicago favored political action and on the 21st of June, the same year, a Social Democratic Party was organized which finally evolved into the Socialist Party. The A. R.

U. later disintegrated, leaving legal obligations for more than \$40,000. Although there was no personal obligation resting upon Mr. Debs in this matter, he nevertheless wrote and lectured for many years to pay off the last penny of the debt and finally succeeded.

1900.—Debs was nominated as candidate for President of the United States by the Socialist Party receiving 97,000 votes.

1904.—He was nominated again receiving at this time 409,000 and again in 1908, and 1912, the latter year obtaining about a million votes.

June 16, 1918.—Debs made his famous Canton, Ohio, speech before the Ohio State Socialist convention. Debs had just returned from a visit to his comrades who had been in jail for their opposition to the war and his spirit was filled with indignation. Although he knew that the hall was filled with agents of the Dept. of Justice, he spoke his mind with perfect frankness. He denounced militarism of all sorts, asserted his right to say what he thought about the war, spoke of the economic causes of the war, and concluded: "Do not worry over the charges of treason to your masters but be concerned about the treason that involves yourself. We Socialists are the builders of the world that is to be. We are inviting you this afternoon to join the party. Join it and it will help you. In due course of time we will proclaim the emancipation and the Brotherhood of all mankind."

Famous Trial and Sentence

September 9, 1918.—After the speech appeared, a federal grand jury indicted Debs in Cleveland. Here he stood trial, was declared guilty of violating the Espionage Law. Before

sentence was passed, he delivered a speech which, for sincerity and vision, will be remembered as one of the great master pieces of America. He concluded the speech with the following words: "Your honor, years ago I recognized my kinship with all living beings and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest of earth. I said then and I say now that while there is a lower class I am in it; that while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

Debs was sentenced to 10 years in the West Virginia State Penitentiary and was afterwards transferred to Atlanta. His case was appealed and on March 10, 1919, the Supreme Court upheld his conviction.

1920.—Debs ran again as candidate for President of the United States.

December 25, 1921.—Debs was released from prison by President Harding. From that time until his death he worked as actively as his health would permit in the socialist movement and was particularly active in the establishment of the American Appeal.

October 20, 1926.—Debs passed away in Lincoln Sanitarium at Elmhurst, Illinois. During his last moments, he motioned for a piece of paper and pencil and in wavering, halting lines, traced the letters of Henry's Invidius, "It matters not how straight the gate, How charged with punishment the scroll, I am the master of my fate, I am the captain of my soul."

Thus died Eugene Victor Debs, one of the great social prophets of America.

—H. W. L.

THE LAST OF THE GREAT ORATORS You Must Use Your Heads As Well As Your Hands

By James Oneal (Editor, New Leader)

NEARLY a year has passed since Eugene V. Debs passed on to live forever in the history of the struggle for human liberation. Such men never die. Their enemies are forgotten but the liberator lives forever. It is the peculiar stupidity of ruling classes that they think to destroy an emancipator by killing him, yet in all the annals of the human struggle it is the heralds of progress, pioneers of a new social order based upon the claims of a subject class, who achieve renown. Their persecutors may achieve infamy. More often, as Wendell Phillips used to say, we "enjoy the luxury of forgetting them."

Debs died for his ideals as surely as John Brown did. Little did Socialists think when the shot was fired in the Balkans that set the world on fire that Debs would be one of the casualties. He was as surely a victim of the war as the peasants who were rounded up and sent to their death in the bloody shambles of Europe. Were it not for his imprisonment it is fairly certain that another ten years at least of his magnificent services would be contributed to the American Socialist movement.

As an orator Debs was the last of our generation and it is significant that genuine oratory has become extinct in the United States. Capitalism has smothered it. No man can be a powerful speaker without being intensely sincere and sincerity is no longer evident in political life. In the days when there were genuine issues even between the major parties there were hundreds of eminent speakers who held American audiences spellbound by their impassioned earnestness.

With the passing of the struggle over slavery this art withered and died. There is not one leader in the capitalist parties today that even approaches Lincoln, Calhoun, Seward, Schurz and others in please before an audience. On such a subject as the slavery struggle there were intense convictions and earnestness. Today we have dull, stupid, insincere, cynical and deceptive politicians who never in all their lives had a sincere conviction on anything.

Debs towered like a granite shaft compared with these in sheer forensic power. Much of his power of burning conviction and noble utterance survives among Socialist speakers but the grinding necessity that keeps them at work does not permit it to flower. I predict that when the Socialist movement expands into a big and powerful movement it will also contribute men and women of powerful speech and noble utterance for in this movement is earnestness, a Great Cause, profound convictions, knowledge and determination. These are the factors that have produced the great platform orators of every age.

So Debs may be used to measure the intellectual decay of the defenders of capitalism. Their mission is not to advance but to accomplish the impossible task of locking us up in the capitalist system for all eternity, keep us as underlings in the eastern mountains, heap up enormous wealth for the enjoyment of a ruling class, and hold ourselves in readiness to contribute our lives to their itch for mastery of the world.

One year before his death, September, 1925, an incident occurred in the life of Debs which, I believe, has not been told. While passing on Chestnut street between Seventh and Eight with his wife, Debs observed that the old homestead of Chauncey Rose had become an unsightly mass of ruins. The old place was a historic spot and Rose had been one of the pioneers of Terre Haute.

The scene shocked Debs. In a letter to the Tribune he wrote: "Looking upon this melancholy spectacle and meditating upon what might have been the city's proud and enduring memorial shrine, my wife and I discovered lying in the refuse the battered remains of two ancient trunks, curiously wrought in the days of handcraft, probably a century ago; trunks that, no doubt, in crossing the eastern mountains knew the stage-coach, the ox-cart and the old canal in their pilgrimage to the tiny western village when the century was young, and when Indians still camped on the banks of the Wabash."

Gene and his wife carefully carried the old trunks home, concluding his letter to the Tribune by saying: "This is predominantly a business age, a commercial age, a material and in a large sense a sordid age, but the moral and spiritual values of life are not wholly ignored by the people. . . . Some day we shall seek and find and enjoy the real riches of the race."

The protest of Debs had significance considering that Chauncey Rose had given his fortune to provide for orphan children and to build a polytechnic for students. The Babbitts of the city always paid a tribute of honor to the old pioneer when he was living but in death they permitted the old homestead to become a mass of rubbish. Debs was as much hurt as though a hungry child had been turned adrift in the streets.

The incident is characteristic of our fallen Comrade. He would preserve what was charming of an old era that had passed but had supreme contempt for the Babbitts whose culture was so low as not to appreciate this old homestead with its associations of romance and adventure.

We, too, would preserve the best that has come of Capitalism, but to do even that the rule of the Babbitts must go the way of the barons of the crags. Like the two old trunks, Eugene V. Debs was a pioneer. As he tenderly cherished them, we who survive can honor his memory only by carrying to victory the standard which he carried for fully fifty years.

Order Debs Memorial Bundles On This Blank

In view of the fact that Debs Memorial Meetings will be held up until Nov. 5, the American Appeal management has printed extra copies of this issue. Order the Debs Memorial Edition at once.

NATIONAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST PARTY, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed you will find \$..... for which send me..... copies of Debs Memorial Edition.

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Harry W. Laidler

THE first time I saw Gene Debs was at a great mass meeting at Hartford, Conn., during the presidential campaign of 1904. I had then just entered Wesleyan University as a student, and was asked to introduce the chairman of the meeting. I felt that it was a great honor that had come to me, a mere boy. I gladly consented to speak. I don't remember just what Gene said on that occasion. But I remember his magnetic personality, the beauty of his spirit, the passion for justice and brotherhood that animated his very being, and his remarkable hold over that vast working class audience.

On returning to the college, I was nicknamed "Debs" or "Debsie" by many of the students for calling the meeting to order, and the name stuck to me throughout my college course. I always felt flattered at the appellation, for Debs had become to me one of the great heroes in the movement for human freedom.

We all believed at that time that Socialism in the United States was nearer than it has since proved to be. We felt that the working class was ripe for the message of human freedom than was the case. The Appeal to Reason in those years was calling attention to the atrocities in Cripple Creek against the miners, and many believed that the reaction against these and other outrages would compel the workers to come to the Socialist fold. Several mayors and legislators had been elected in Massachusetts and socialists were inclined to believe that where Massachusetts led, the nation would follow. Had it not been a leader in the anti-slavery agitation? Was not Boston the seat of learning, the Athens of America? (Little did we realize that over twenty years after, Massachusetts—without any working class representatives—would be the scene of the Sacco and Vanzetti travesty, and held up to the scorn of the civilized world.) The old populist group in Kansas, in Oklahoma and other western states were getting back of the Socialist program. Mark Hanna was declaring that Socialism had become a great American menace. Jack London, Upton Sinclair and other writers were coming to the fold. The voter had quadrupled from 1900 to 1904. The movement was decidedly on the march. "Should I register for a college degree?" I sometimes found myself asking. "Might not the revolution take place while I was quietly studying?"

Some of us American Socialists have found that we were wrong in the time element. We did not calculate as nicely as we should the greater strides that we would have to take in organization and in general acceptance of our principles before we had won a majority. We did not calculate correctly the force and the cleverness of the opposition. As Untermyer would have it, we had not any clear idea of the science of thinking on the part of the masses.

The use of our heads in our coming organization campaign will compel us, I think, to do several things: We would appeal to the American workers as they are—not as leaders in the past felt that they might be situated. The workers have made certain gains through trade union organization, through the increase in machine production, etc. Let us acknowledge these gains, but let us show the worker the while how infinitely small the gains are as compared with possibilities, if all but worked together in the cause.

2. We would do everything in our power to bring the farmers and city workers together in one great labor party with an immediate program looking toward a more democratic industrial society. While the average farmer functions partly as a capitalist and partly as a worker, his main interests are the interests of a worker; his main return comes from the sweat of his brow and not from owner-

ship of property and he is exploited pitifully by the great capitalist forces of the nation. His interest in the public ownership of the railroads, of power, of grain elevators, of mines, of farm machinery is just as great as is that of the city worker.

3. While not losing sight of the ultimate goal, and being inspired by that ultimate vision, we would concentrate during the campaign on a few definite issues of a fundamental character the solution of which would mean greater power to labor and would hammer away at those issues until definite results were achieved.

4. We would take advantage of such new methods of propaganda as the radio and not leave these newer and more efficient agencies for reaching the public to the conservative forces.

5. We would concentrate much of our forces in districts where there is some chance for success and, after succeeding in these districts, would devote our attention to other sections.

We must realize that the average worker wants to see his efforts result in tangible results—no matter how small—in an appreciable time, and is likely to get discouraged—no matter how wrongly—when the results obtained are largely intangible and purely educational. We have the dual task of holding up the vision of a reorganized society to the masses and of showing them the way of achieving certain immediate, desirable ends that will finally lead to the land of promise.

With these and other principles in mind we should do every thing that in us lies to prepare for the coming presidential campaign—the first presidential campaign of the Socialist party waged without the direct encouragement of our great leader Debs. We should not only try to recapture lost territory, but to push forward into new territory, and, through our energy, our intelligence, our tact, our vision, to lay the foundation for a socialist republic; the foundation, in the words of Debs, of "a 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!"

One of the Stories Told By Gene

The story is told that the elder Dumas was once annoyed by an impertinent cad who was bent on extorting the confession from the great story teller that he was of negro extraction.

"Your father? and your mother?" were the questions asked in rapid succession with the malicious twinkle that denoted certain victory at the expense of his victim. "And finally as to your great grand-parents?"

"My great grand-parents," answered Dumas, looking his questioner straight in the eye, were probably monkeys, my ancestry beginning where your's left off."

The moral of this anecdote may be found in its application to the capitalist consumptive who owns a junk shop with a mortgage on it and the "independent" workman with ingrowing brain and battle-scarred trousers who fiercely resist Socialism because it is an assault upon property and proposes a division of wealth.

HOW MAY WE HONOR GENE?

By Norman Thomas

(Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy, Socialist candidate for Alderman, Eighth Aldermanic District, New York City)

A long and crowded year has passed since Gene Debs' voice was still in death. He did not live to see the crowd make Jack Dempsey a hero. He did not live to see how far the country which he loved would go on the road to empire. He was spared the ghastly tragedy of the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. For him perhaps it was as well. But not for us. Strong men and good there are among us but more to take Gene's place. There was in him a quality of lion hearted courage combined with irresistible love, which made him unique in history.

In a true sense Gene Debs cannot die. He is immortal here on earth. Even in distant days should he die in the conscious memory of the humanity he served he still will live in the streams of unconscious influence which flow out from those whose thoughts and affections and deeds he inspired.

Yet it is not enough for Gene Debs—say, rather, it is not enough for us, that he should live in memory and influence as a great personality. He cared more for the immortality of the cause which he loved than for himself. And if his spirit now could speak to us he would sadly, perhaps indignantly, disclaim the tributes of affection that they bring to him who has deserted the cause to which he gave the whole measure of his devotion.

Something we have done for the cause. The Debs Memorial Radio which probably will observe its formal opening on the anniversary of his death is a peculiarly fitting monument to him. For it is a living thing through which the hopes and aspirations of men may speak as once they spoke through him. No single tribute to Gene Debs can be more effective than the adequate maintenance of the radio station named in his honor.

No single thing, that is, if we except the building up of that mighty and passionate party of the workers dedicated to the peace and freedom and happiness of mankind for which he so unremittently toiled. To build up that party is not a single or a simple thing. It requires the cooperation of men and women all over America. It means loyalty to humdrum and commonplace tasks. It means courage to work without false expectations of immediate victory.

It is not true that we are too prosperous to need a labor party inspired by Socialist ideals. Almost one third of our population sixty five years of age and over is dependent or partially dependent on some sort of public or private charity or family for support. That would be inconceivable if we were as prosperous as the propagandists tell us. It is not true that we are so hopelessly weak that we cannot if we will build up a stronger labor movement and with it a labor party. The two must go hand in hand. Are we working for that end?

Gene Debs was a great man. He was also a great leader. His greatness as a man and as a leader was derived in no small part from the greatness of the cause which he served. How shall we honor him unless we also dedicate our lesser gifts in ways most appropriate to the particular problem of our time to that same great cause?

EUGENE V. DEBS, MASTER OF AGGRESSIVE AGITATION

By Lincoln Phifer

(Formerly Associated with Debs on the Editorial Staff of the Appeal to Reason)

Some day the old Appeal to Reason, at the time it had a managing editor who had a positive genius for agitation, will be explained and analyzed in schools of journalism as the best type of propaganda and agitation sheet that newspaperdom had produced to that day. When Debs was in his full vigor he was a member of its editorial staff.

It was the Little Old Appeal, I believe, with its record of success in the Moyer-Haywood case, the Grosscup case, the Phillips case, the McClaughry case, the Bone case and many, many other cases—that taught agitation and propaganda to the opposition press. They had the means and carried it much farther than we did, bringing on the war, crushing socialist agitation and practically silencing all opposition. But the Appeal showed them the way.

My thought on the Sacco-Vanzetti case has made me wish that we understood agitation and propaganda better. The master class did put over their legalized murder, but, though no case in American history has been more widely agitated in a sloppy way, we failed to save them.

The reason, I believe, is that we waged a defensive campaign rather than an aggressive one, as the little old Appeal would have done. The Appeal attacked Grosscup and the other federal judges and forced them to defend and resign. After its own cases—in which I had the honor to be a co-defendant with Debs, Warren and Wayland—had been dragged in the courts for seven years, the Appeal printed fac simile records of titles to certain Cincinnati property, used for bawdy houses, and showed that these were held by one close to it by the then chief executive of the United States. The Appeal cases were quickly dismissed, common rumor being at the suggestion of the White House itself.

Since the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti they of course are no longer on trial. Properly speaking, they never were on trial. Instead, the trial judge and the governor of the state were on trial for conspiracy to murder. They should have been attacked and their records exposed in killing two innocent men, other judges were involved. Everyone who merely passed the buck was implicated in this conspiracy to kill. This included two judges of the supreme court of the United States, thus lifting the case out of Massachusetts into a national conspiracy.

When it was announced that appeal would be made to Chief Justice Taft he went to Europe. From there he gave out the statement that he would have no right to interfere anyhow. He had interferred in the old Appeal cases. Soon after Taft went to Europe, it was announced that appeal would be made to the President, and he immediately announced that he did not "choose to run." Was that not at once a covert slap at his predecessor in office and himself sidestepping outraged workers in the coming campaign?

A short time before his death Eugene V. Debs published a two column story in the American Appeal, charging the chief justice of the United States with accepting an income of \$10,000 yearly on steel securities that had been given him. Had that been run in every labor paper of America, varied of course to keep it fresh, every week for a year, it is my belief that Sacco and Vanzetti would not have been executed and that the labor press would have doubled its circulation.

Think of the seriousness of the charge that really is still pending before the judgment of the world. Several Massachusetts judges, the governor of that state, a number of judges of the supreme court of the United States, and the president of the republic, charged with conspiring to murder two workers, accessories before the fact, and carrying out their purpose after bandying with justice for seven years. Never in history has such a startling charge been made. We are not likely to hear the last of it for half a century.