

Industrial Democracy

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No Wrong Can Live Long Under Free Discussion

EUGENE V. DEBS, Founder

WILLIAM H. HENRY, Business Manager

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CHICAGO, APRIL 9, 1927

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Anglo-American Pact Seen As Real World War Danger

International Federation of Trade Unions Warns of Extreme World War Crisis

The real reason behind the mysterious concert between the United States and Great Britain in recent imperialist moves against weaker peoples in Nicaragua, Mexico and China, is revealed in an anti-war manifesto just issued by the International Federation of Trade Unions from its headquarters in Amsterdam, Holland.

After pointing out the extreme war peril in the Balkan and Fascist situation, the Trade Union International reveals the Anglo-American imperialist alliance as the greatest danger of all. The trade union manifesto follows:

Peace Hopes Blasted (I.F.T.U.) When the Treaty of Versailles was signed, even the most ardent militarists believed in a long period of peace. Germany was sworn the victor states had sworn eternal friendship. An alliance so far-reaching covering the mightiest nations of the world, and "sanctified" by four years of the closest comradeship in arms must surely be the best guarantee of peace.

Italy's Devilish Hand If the Balkan countries are to be again the bomb whose explosion is to be the signal for a new war, the Great Powers are certainly lighting (Continued on page 3)

Britain Backed By U. S. in Chinese Intervention Move

British War Plans Already Laid—U. S. Preparing Ultimatum

Intervention looms in China on a scale calculated to place in the hands of the imperialist powers all the centers now controlled by the Cantonese government, including Canton and Hankow, which would undoubtedly cause the rapid disintegration of the Chinese revolution and place all China, perhaps for years, under a terroristic regime armed and backed by the powers.

Following two weeks of most ominous war exciting propaganda filled with atrocity stories, most of which fail to materialize, and extremely provocative acts including repeated massacres of Chinese by the highly destructive war machinery of British and American gun boats, the news is given out from usually reliable sources that Great Britain has perfected a plan of intervention and is earnestly urging the other imperialist powers to join in carrying it out, but will go it alone, if necessary.

ONLY OTHER GUNBOATS THAT (Continued on page 3)

150,000 Miners Strike Against Wage Reduction

All Mines Tied Up Except Where Wage Agreements Have Been Made

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—Approximately 150,000 bituminous coal miners throughout the central competitive district are on strike for a retention of the present wage scale. The vast collieries through Indiana, southern Illinois, Ohio and western Pennsylvania were quiet as strike notices were posted. The notices were posted by company officials who insisted that the present wage scale—providing approximately \$7.50 a day—was too high.

Very little mining was being done throughout the district. The only mines remaining in operation were ones in which wage agreements already had been reached. Just as the midnight shift came on the mines were closed down and the workers trod to their homes. It was explained there was no general strike but that most of the mines had declared a general suspension. Little flare accompanied the walk-out.

In the hazy southern Illinois field—which includes Williamson county—there was not the slightest indication of trouble. The miners simply left their posts and wandered to their homes.

Reports to headquarters of the United Mine Workers indicated a number of mines in the affected areas will continue operations under temporary agreements with the owners pending settlement of the wage controversy.

Ruling Squeezes Billions in Water Out of Railroads

WASHINGTON—Attempts of the United States to inflate the value of their properties, for tax-making and other purposes, by \$11,000,000,000 have been checked by a decision by a majority of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Sen. Norris of Nebraska, chairman of the Natl. Conference on Valuation of American Railways, declares that this decision is the most important ever rendered by the commission, and that it saves the public at least \$600,000,000 a year in freight and passenger rates.

The commission's ruling, made in the case of the St. Louis & O'Fallon Railway, was that the valuation situation must be the cost necessary to produce a railroad in the year 1911, when the LaFollette Rail Valuation Act took effect, to which sum must be added the amount added to the actual investment since that date, less actual depreciation since 1914. It swept aside the claim of the railroad lawyers that the true valuation basis must be the cost of reproduction to-day, including present purchase or sale value of railroad lands as ordinary real estate.

A significant phase of the decision is its application to conditions under the so-called Esch-Cummins law. Under this law railroads are practically guaranteed about 6 per cent interest in earnings on their legalized valuation. They have been drawing interest on eleven billion dollars more than this latest valuation, which would amount to more than a tax of \$600,000,000 on the American people per year.

Has Mexico Been Coerced?

While the plan to arm the Mexican counter-revolutionists and supply them with money from this side of the border shows progress in increasing revolts against the labor government in various parts of Mexico, a most ominous Chicago Tribune Press Service report from Mexico City, purporting to be well authenticated, declares that Mexico has surrendered to the coercive demands of Coolidge and Kellogg on the oil and land laws.

MEXICO CITY, March 30.—The solution of Mexico's controversy with the United States over the oil and land laws by acceptance of the understandings arrived at in 1923 by Commissioners Charles Beecher Warren of Detroit and Judge John Barton Payne of Chicago, representing the United States, and Fernando Gonzales and Roman Rosa, representing the Mexican government, is authoritatively stated to have been agreed upon by President Calles and his cabinet.

This solution was sponsored by former President Alvaro Obregon. President Calles is reported to have accepted finally to Gen. Obregon's strenuous arguments. It is further insinuated that Minister Morones, after being outvoted in the cabinet, handed his resignation to President Calles last Friday.

This dispatch coming from such a source at least gives some idea of the brutal coercion from which Mexico is now suffering. If Mexico is compelled to give up its socialization laws Wall Street will be placed in a supreme position to grab and loot the western Hemisphere. The worst kind of fraud by American oil companies will be legalized. Capitalism and imperialism will have gained a temporary victory over Democracy and Socialism. THE WAR DANGER WILL BE GREATER THAN EVER!

Disarmament Plan Fails at Geneva, Raising War Peril

Crushing, Killing Race of Death Goes on Between Great Powers

GENEVA.—The league of nations has failed in its years of post-war efforts toward disarmament. The fact is inescapable. The nations of the world now must arrange their resources to bear the tremendous burden of armed preparedness on a scale that is costing in the neighborhood of \$1,000,000,000 annually.

The fault is with the nation members of the League that refuse to disarm. With the adoption by the commission of the first article of the proposed universal disarmament convention, all hope of any reduction in Europe's present standing armies was dispelled. That article dealt exclusively with land, or military, armaments. The utmost hope extended to the world was for the stabilization of standing armies at their present strengths.

With the failure of the commission to bring from Europe's leading conscript nations any basis for actual reduction of armies, no great success was expected with either naval or aerial armaments. That means Europe's five leading nations, England, France, Russia, Italy and Germany, together with Japan, will continue to maintain their present armament budgets which now average \$1,500,000,000 annually, while the world total armament budget of which the bulk is European will remain in the neighborhood of \$3,000,000,000 annually.

What They're Spending England alone now is spending nearly \$13 per capita annually on armaments, France nearly \$6, Italy nearly \$4, Japan, \$3.70, Russia, \$1.50; Germany, \$1.70. In addition to direct expenditure, the world's leading conscript nations will continue to deprive their young manhood of one of the most productive periods of its life for military training while reserving up to an advanced age must remain under obligation to sudden summons to the colors.

The leading conscript nations of the world are France, Italy, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia. With Japan, these nations, claiming the necessity for national security, have refused to accept any provision that would alter the present size of their armies, decrease their maximum permanent reserves or change their conscript systems, except that they agreed to the possibility of a decrease of the present period of conscript service.

Imperialists Smash Public Ownership In the Philippines

The Plan of the American imperialists, as already demonstrated in Mexico and Nicaragua, to smash all attempts of colonial or "backward" people to obtain public possession and use of their own resources and utilities in their own countries, has won a signal victory in the Philippines. The supreme court of the Philippines has sustained Governor-General Leonard Wood in his assumption of control over the Philippine Rural Control and his use of this body to abolish and hand back to private corporations the several public utilities it has been operating.

This body was created by the Philippine legislature. The majority of its members were Filipinos. Under the law it accumulated \$50,000,000 worth of public enterprises, including a state-owned bank, cement works, railroad and other properties. This rapid extension of the collective ownership of the resources and industries of the Philippine Islands by the Filipino people alarmed the imperialists desiring to exploit the wealth for their own private gain. Wood, their agent, accordingly issued a dictatorial decree abolishing this Board of Control as the first step in getting control himself and abolishing these publicly-owned industries.

Manuel Quezon of the Filipino Senate and Manuel Roxas of the House, denying Wood's right to abolish a board created by the legislature, held the majority of the board together and continued its sittings. Wood carried the case to the Supreme Court where American imperialists are in the majority. The Philippine Supreme Court on April 1 rendered a decision sustaining Governor-General Wood. The case will be carried to the Supreme Court of the United States and the strength of American imperialism in that body will soon be known.

Chicago Federation For Labor Party, Says Fitzpatrick

CHICAGO.—Although the Chicago Federation of Labor went back to the American Federation of Labor several years ago, it is now in favor of labor party and is ready to assist in the organization of one when the time comes. These facts are contained in a statement made by John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, regarding the stand of the Federation in the Chicago municipal election.

"The Chicago Federation of Labor has not endorsed any candidates in the present election," Mr. Fitzpatrick said. "The attitude of the federation in politics is to favor a labor party, but as the time is not here yet the organizations and members are free to exercise their franchise in any way they see fit."

President Fitzpatrick's statement favored the candidacy of Dever, the Democratic candidate in preference to the Republican candidate, because of the bad labor record of Thompson as former mayor. Among other things, he charged that Thompson falsely accused school teachers belonging to the Teachers' Federation as drunks and incompetents in order to disrupt the Federation, and that the Chicago Federation of Labor was unable to get redress for this grievance. Fitzpatrick also charged that Thompson as mayor used every method within his power to browbeat and intimidate the union chauffeurs in an effort to break up the organization.

With Thompson's anti-labor record hanging over his head and Dever the out-and-out choice of the rich and respectable elements that control Chicago and fight organized labor on every issue, the utter failure of the labor "nonpartisan" policy was thoroughly demonstrated in the election. Labor had no choice of its own; therefore, it split almost evenly between the Republican and Democratic candidates and was submerged in the corrupt and degrading struggle for power and spoils of the two old parties.

Cost of One Warship Would Run League of Nations Eight Years

The latest report from Geneva says that the cost of a single warship equals the running cost of the League of Nations for the past eight years.

The engines of peace are far less expensive and far more effective than the engines of war. One thousand dollars spent peacefully in settling disputes and trouble between nations will go farther than \$1,000,000 will go in buying armaments and munitions and fighting, to say nothing of the additional sacrifice of human life. This is proved by the fact that the League's outstanding achievement—the reconstructive work it did in Austria cost only \$12,000. The settlement by the League of the trouble in Upper Silesia, which was rapidly leading to war, cost only \$30,000.

sists of six Americans and three Filipinos. The vote stood: six Americans sustaining Wood and imperialism, and the three Filipinos dissenting. If imperialism is this strong among the American members of the United States Supreme Court, the only hope of the Filipinos to use and operate their own resources is to kick the Americans out of their country.

Canada Gets First Old Age Pension Law In New World

OTTAWA, Canada.—Canada has won the distinction of being the first country on this side of the Atlantic to enact an old age pension bill. Last week, by a vote of 61 to 14, the Senate passed the government measure which had already gone through the House.

The legislation is not at all revolutionary; in fact, by most advocates of old age pensions it is regarded as extremely conservative. It provides a maximum of \$20 per month. All British subjects are eligible, but they must have resided in Canada not less than 20 years and be not less than 70 years old. As the provinces must bear their share of the burden, the law will not become effective until each province enacts the necessary legislation.

Shall We Heed Debs' Last Plea for American Appeal?

Last year after Debs, the great Socialist leader, had returned from Bermuda, while he was still very ill from the effects of a fierce tropical storm at sea, an illness from which he never recovered, there was a dangerous slump in the activities of the Appeal Army. From his sick bed Debs sent a gift of \$500 and a stirring call to action to the Appeal Army. We want the 20,000 readers of the American Appeal in the midst of the present One-Month Emergency Drive to hear that heart plea again. IT APPLIES TO THE PRESENT DRIVE AS MUCH AS TO THE EMERGENCY THAT EXISTED THEN. IT IS THE VOICE OF DEBS FROM THE GRAVE, PLEADING TO YOU IN BEHALF OF THE LAST AND CROWING WORK OF HIS LIFE, THE CHILD OF HIS HEART, THE AMERICAN APPEAL.

Debs' Last Plea for Appeal This little message is addressed to each and every reader of the American Appeal who subscribes to the principles it advocates and who sympathizes with the cause it represents. We are profoundly convinced that the American Appeal has a mission in the educational activities of the American people and that the more widely it is read, the greater its influence, the better for the common welfare.

The American Appeal is essentially the spokesman of the working class and the common people, and the representative of their interests in the great struggle now being waged throughout the world for economic freedom and social justice. The press of the existing moribund and iniquitous social system, dominated by the tyrannous and corrupt power of plutocracy entrenched in its citadel in Wall street, is so powerful, so influential and so thoroughly reactionary that it is able to keep the great mass of the people not only in ignorance of the vital issues involving their freedom, their happiness and their very lives, but to influence legislation that binds and gags them in servitude, strips them of the last vestige of their constitutional rights, subjects them to fear, cowardice and intimidation, and drives them into war to be slaughtered wantonly as if they were wild beasts instead of human beings, thus subverting every principle of popular government, and prostituting to their own base and sordid ends all the economic powers, political agencies, and social institutions of the people.

In the face of this monumental and menacing fact it is self-evident that until the people build up a press of their own to combat this corrupt and corrupting power, to expose its iniquities, to lay bare its inner workings, and to espouse and fight for the rights and interests of the producing masses and the common people, they will remain the exploited, helpless and despairing victims of plutocratic misrule. To build up this press is now the task of every man and every woman who has interest enough in decent government, in freedom and righteousness, and in making this a better world, to line up in the struggle and to lend a hand in developing the educational power that is to emancipate the people.

The American Appeal has entered the lists and now makes its bid to the millions of toilers and producers, and useful people generally, whose cause it champions and whose battles it proposes to fight uncompromisingly until the moloch of capitalism has been destroyed and the Socialist Cooperative Republic has been triumphantly reared upon the American continent.

In this great undertaking, great in the true sense of that term, we need the active, energetic, whole-hearted support of every man, woman and child who is opposed to servitude in industry, corruption in politics, and ignorance, poverty, misery in our social life, and who has the will and courage and idealism to stand forth and to be counted among those who have declared war upon these festering evils and who stand fearless and unafraid in the forefront of the gathering forces of the grand army of human emancipation.

Yes, dear comrades and friends, we need you all and we appeal to you all, and to each of you, to step forth and show your colors; to assert your moral courage and determination as well as your good will in backing up the American Appeal as the dauntless champion of the cause of the people in the world-wide struggle against their exploiters and oppressors, and as the herald of the dawn of human freedom and of a civilized world.

There is just one way to back up the American Appeal completely and effectively. GET SUBS. The American Appeal needs no other backing than this. If interested Socialists will each do a little each month—each week—the Appeal will be on perfectly safe ground. It will prosper. It will grow. It will make the party and the movement.

COMRADES, THERE HAS BEEN A SLACKENING OF YOUR EFFORTS SINCE THE ADVENT OF SPRING.

This will never do. It is urgently, supremely important that you immediately renew those splendid activities by which you honored yourselves and launched the American Appeal so successfully at the beginning of the year. Members of the Appeal Army, we are counting on you. Give us a glorious response at once. It will have a wonderful effect. How many will stand up and be counted? How many of you WILL DO SOMETHING THIS WEEK? I appeal to you—every one of you—to use this subscription blank.

This magnificent plea and the inspiring example of the gift of \$500 brought such a quick and wonderful response from the Appeal Army that two weeks later, cheered, encouraged and happy in spite of the great pain he suffered, Debs wrote a cheering message to the Appeal readers STARTING HIS DRIVE FOR A HUNDRED THOUSAND READERS. On June 19, 1925, Debs wrote:

Debs' Last Message to Army We are more than gratified to know that the Sustaining Fund is being so well subscribed to and that the subs are coming in at an increased rate. WE CAN MAKE IT A HUNDRED THOUSAND SUBS BY JANUARY 1st, AND WE OUGHT TO SET THAT AS OUR MARK. ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND SUBS TO THE AMERICAN APPEAL TO CELEBRATE THE NEW YEAR, JANUARY 1st, 1927! IT CAN BE DONE, AND WE SIMPLY HAVE GOT TO DO IT!

Do It. Now! This was Debs' last message to the American Appeal! What is your answer? If you want to redeem Debs' dying faith in you, if you want to keep faith with Debs; if you want to fulfill his last living wish and complete his last living work; if you want to make Debs' paper all that he planned to make it, and perpetuate his name and living spirit on its pages, then do not delay any longer. Help us make the present drive a success that will INSURE VICTORY IN THE FUTURE.

Either solicit or pay for one or more subs and write the names and addresses on the blank below. THERE IS NO TIME TO LOSE. THIS DRIVE CLOSSES IN TEN DAYS. Let's not only make Debs' paper the success he wished, but LET'S FINISH FOR HIM, AS THE FIRST STEP, THE DRIVE FOR THE HUNDRED THOUSAND CIRCULATION HE STARTED JUST BEFORE HE DIED. USE THIS BLANK AT ONCE!

Emergency Subscription List For Greater Circulation AMERICAN APPEAL, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. RATES \$1.00 A YEAR; 50 cts. 6 MONTHS Here is my contribution to save Debs' paper:

Table with columns: NAME, Rural Route or Street Address, City, State, Amount Paid

Appeal Army Awakening To Emergency Drive

Definite responses to the One-Month Emergency Circulation Drive are coming in a rising tide as the Appeal goes to press this week, giving every hope that the drive will be a success. With ten days to go on after this reaches the hands of our 20,000 readers, we have every reason to believe that a large number will perform the minimum service required in this drive—ONE SUB PAID FOR BY THE SUBSCRIBER OR SOLICITOR.

Albert Schmutz, Louisville, Ky., sends \$10 and this challenge to the Army: "Send me 10 yearly sub cards for which I will send you five subs in April and five in May. Now if you can get one hundred stalwarts to do equally as good in the next sixty days, then I will pledge myself to duplicate this order the first week in June. When we see the splendid record of our Jewish friends of the Forward, it ought to make the most of us members of the Appeal. You have thus far received from the rank and file. WE MUST GET THE APPEAL ON A SOUND FINANCIAL BASIS FOR THE CAMPAIGN NEXT YEAR."

Come on, Army-ites, how many will meet this challenge? ONE HUNDRED SCOUTS IN LINE ON THIS PLAN WILL GIVE US THE BIG PUSH THAT WILL PUT THE APPEAL OVER. We would like to hear from you and list you in this plan.

The encouraging phase of the drive this week is that prominent Socialists and Party officials are setting a splendid example for the rank and file to follow.

Samuel Orr, a very prominent New York Socialist, sends \$5 to pay for five yearly subs and says: "I am taking these five subscriptions to help increase the circulation of the Appeal, and intend to dispose of them to others, and obtain an additional number as soon as they are disposed of. I BELIEVE THAT IF EVERY COMRADE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY WILL TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN THE APPEAL DRIVE, WE CAN BRING IT UP TO 100,000 IN A VERY SHORT TIME."

That's another challenge. What say?

John M. Work, Socialist writer and editor of the Milwaukee Leader, sends \$10 for the Emergency Drive with this instruction: "You can send the paper for three months to 10 persons outside of Wisconsin."

Joseph W. Sharts, Dayton, Ohio, member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, sends in a sub in response to the Emergency Drive; Joseph E. Cohen of Philadelphia, well known Socialist writer, sends in \$2 for the Sustaining Fund; John J. Thobe, prominent Party man of Covington, Ky., fires in five month subs; James M. Reilly, former state secretary, Newark, N.J., sends \$2 for subs; A. H. Eger, secretary, Red Bluff, Cal., orders a dollar worth of samples; and a considerable number of others.

This is a challenge from the officials to the rank and file. If the officials can get out and hustle for their paper, the numbers ought to feel inspired to form a solid fighting front.

Last Chance for the Debs Photo!

The large and beautiful photograph of Eugene V. Debs, the last he had taken, will be withdrawn as a prize offer, April 19, 1927.

You have only 10 days more to obtain this priceless memento as a mark of distinguished service for the Cause. THAT IS TIME ENOUGH FOR YOU TO GET ONE, IF YOU ACT AT ONCE.

Send in \$5 worth or more of subs; order \$5 or more worth of subscription cards; or contribute \$5 or more to the Appeal Sustaining Fund and the photo is yours.

About 800 have done this already. LET'S MAKE IT AT LEAST A THOUSAND IN HONOR OF DEBS BEFORE THIS PRIZE OFFER IS WITHDRAWN!

Great big things are suggested in the plans of some of the leading Army fighters this week.

Harry L. Nelson of Elizabeth, N. J., has sent an example of careful, systematic and faithful work that deserves special mention and special space. Recently he asked for a list of the expiring Appeal subs in his section.

As a beginning, he sends \$5.50 for subs and a tabulated report on every old subscriber and new prospect he visited with the reply and the circumstances. He sends in four yearlies and three half-yearlies. Most of the old subscribers he saw renewed. He picked up a few new ones. Some were not at home and are reserved for future visits. Some new prospects were uncovered. This is fine, systematic, conscientious work and a little of it throughout the country would soon make the Appeal a power.

Hilding E. Schoen, Moose Lake, Minn., evidently is not going to let the heathen in that neck of the woods until they hear the message of Socialism. He has asked for and has received the Appeal list of Minnesota and is going strong in Appeal Circulation and preliminary Party or-

ganization work. He now wants the old Appeal to Reason list. If Minnesota escapes the determined, careful and systematic efforts of Comrade Schoen it will earn the right to be called hard boiled.

There is an eleventh hour rush for the Debs' photo. It will not be offered as a prize after April 19. Take warning, H. Hutchinson, Uniontown, Pa., sends in ten half yearlies and asks for the photo. "Would like very much to have a Debs' photo," says Mrs. James B. Miller of Terre Haute, Ind., as she delivers a batch of 6 yearlies. Look at the increased list of prize winners under the regular report this week and be warned.

"I sure like the paper and want the world to know what we have to say about justice and righteousness to all humanity," writes Herman Hiebbaum of Chugwater, Wyo., as he lands five yearlies.

E. J. Dutton, nationally known Socialist, who is now in Los Angeles, increases his already big permanent bundle order. Last week he sent us \$50 on this order.

Andrew M. Nelson of Altoona, Pa., sends in 50 addresses to get sample.

"The Appeal is simply great," says B. W. Wilson, Pekin, Ill., as he drops a yearlie.

"There is great satisfaction and pleasure in my reading the Appeal. It's a great paper. Getting better all the time. I don't want to miss a copy and I want to see the Appeal continue publication, so here is a dollar for my renewal."—John King, Hobart, Okla.

A. G. Smith, Venice, Cal., has paid twice for one sub for the Appeal in order to make sure getting it. He writes: "I am not getting the Appeal for which I sent in my renewal. I have to have it, no matter what the cost. Here is another dollar. I will surely see that this Army member gets his Appeal."

Socialist Party News

California
Los Angeles
Comrades in Los Angeles can purchase surplus American Appeal at the following news stands: 5th & Hill Streets, and also at 115 East 8th St. and Towne Avenue. You can get the New Leader there also.

Ohio
State Secretary Willert of Ohio asks all Locals and Branches to send him a complete and correct report of the number of members of their respective organizations. Comrade Willert also urges all the Ohio Socialists to get every subscriber they can for the American Appeal.

Indiana
Indiana Socialists are beginning to move in better than for some time. We hope every subscriber of the American Appeal will do his or her best to increase the reading list of the paper and become members of the Party.

Illinois
At the State Executive Committee Meeting of the Socialist Party of Illinois, held Sunday April 3rd, plans were laid for reorganization work in the state during the rest of the year in order to be ready for the 1928 National Campaign.

The necessity of continuing the drive for American Appeal subscribers was stressed as the building of the Appeal was considered necessary before party organization can be a success.

Chicago May Day Meeting Arranged
The Socialist Party of Chicago will celebrate May Day with a big meeting Sunday afternoon, 2:30 May 1st, at Schoenhofen Hall, 1214 North Ashland Avenue. There will be a play, singing and speeches. Comrade Andy Lavin will be one of the speakers. Readers of the American Appeal should not make any other arrangement, and swell the crowd.

New England District
Copies of the "American Labor Year Book," James O'Neal's "American Communism," and "Hamlin's War Myths in American History" may be obtained from the District Office. The price of the first two is \$1.50 each, and "War Myths" is only 50 cents. All are well worth getting.

The Massachusetts State Convention will be held Sunday, April 24th at 10:30 at 21 Essex St., Boston. We hope to get James H. Maurer to be our speaker then.

Debs Radio Committee
The local drive for the Debs Memorial Radio Fund will be launched at a banquet at the American House, 56 Hanover St., Boston, on Friday, May 6th. Morris Hillquit and Norman Thomas will be the speakers. Those who want to attend please write at

once to the District Office.
Boston
The subject for the meeting of the Speakers Training Class on April 10th will be "American Imperialism." The quality of the speeches has improved markedly in the last two months.

Comrade Lewis will speak at Norwood in Rumberger Hall on Wilson Street Sunday April 10th, at 3:30 on the subject of "Are Socialists Disloyal?" At the evening of April 10th he will speak at the Finnish Hall in Fitchburg for a joint meeting of the Party and Yipsels.

Greenfield
The Greenfield Local will have a public meeting at their hall Tuesday April 12th, with Lewis as the chief speaker.

Springfield
Alfred Baker Lewis will deliver a lecture in Springfield on Wednesday, April 13th. All American Appeal readers are urged to attend.

Missouri
Important Meeting at St. Louis

Saturday, April 16, at 8 P. M., at Labor Hall, 340 Chouteau Avenue, for the purpose of reorganizing the Socialist Party of St. Louis. Comrades of St. Louis:— You are requested to attend a meeting of present and former members of Local St. Louis, and others who wish to affiliate with our movement, for the purpose of reorganizing Local St. Louis of the Socialist Party.

You will readily realize the urgent need of this meeting and the reorganization of the local party movement. After weeks of correspondence we have agreed on this course.

Be sure and attend this meeting on the evening of Saturday, April 16. The undersigned will attend the meeting and give the St. Louis comrades all the help possible to once more get their party organization in good militant condition.

Wisconsin
State Secretary Wm. Coleman sends in a big order for Due stamps and supplies. The Wisconsin Comrades are going right along with their work. Nothing the matter with Wisconsin. We wish there were many other states that would do as they are doing. State Secretary Coleman sends in \$180 for party dues showing what a live and strong movement the Wisconsin Socialist party is becoming.

Next World War in Asia
CHICAGO—The next world war will be fought in Asia unless China is permitted to develop without pressure from the great powers. Prof. Frederic Starr, an oriental authority just back from the east, told the Chicago forum.

Capitalism Breaking Up the Home Rapidly

WASHINGTON—Two million married women in the United States are employed in industry, says Mary Anderson, director women's bureau, U. S. department of labor. This represents an increase of 41 percent in the last 10 years. Over 8,500,000 women, according to 1923 census figures, were working in industrial occupations outside their homes.

Tom Shaw, British Laborite, Is Dead

ZURICH, Switzerland.—(L.L.) The many workers in the international labor movement who are acquainted with Comrade Tom Shaw M. P. will learn with deep regret of his death from small-pox at Gibraltar, on the 15th inst.

Young People's Department

National Office
3030 PENNSYLVANIA AVE. LEAGUE
10 Townsend St., Philadelphia, Penn.
A. J. Farber, Nat. Director

Appeal Yipsel Essay Contest

Members of the Y. P. S. L. will find a new interest in the essay contests to be conducted by this department bi-weekly. The first contest will open April 25 and close May 12. The winning article will appear in the issue of May 21.

In anticipation of establishing within another year a national organ of the League, probably in the form of a monthly paper or magazine, an interest must be created in the Young People's Department of the Appeal. The interest and ability of the League membership to turn out an official paper must be determined. The bi-weekly essay contests will be documents for our members to cultivate an interest in this work, and practice will soon develop in the ranks, those qualities necessary in our future work.

The following brief rules shall govern the contest:— Only members of the Young People's Socialist League may enter the contests. All essays submitted must be accompanied by letter stating affiliation with what circle, specific mention of what essay is for the contest, and what issue contest the entries is intended for.

Articles shall be between 300 and 600 words in length, and may be on any subject related to the Labor, Socialist or Yipsel movement, interests and activities. Articles shall be judged by the National Director, and other interested advisers that he may select. While the manner of execution will be duly considered and credited, the substance and apparent knowledge and study contributed to the essay. All essays submitted must be written plainly (typewritten preferred) on one side of the paper only, and shall have a title.

Essays shall be judged in bi-weekly series, the first series ending May 12, 1927, at noon, and the succeeding series every fortnight, at noon on Thursday. Publication of the winning essay shall be made on the Saturday of the following week.

The national director shall hold the privilege of making use of any article for publication in press or leaflet form. No essay will be returned unless specifically requested and accompanied by self addressed and stamped envelope.

A prize of five dollars shall be paid to the winner of each contest, and one dollar shall be paid the writer of each of the runners-up for the contest and published in this column.

The National Executive Committee reserves the right to change these rules, or discontinue the contest without previous notice.

With The Circles

Atlantic City, N. J.—A charter has been issued to a recently organized circle in popular "world's playground" city. Comrade Goodman of New York City has represented the national office in the organization work and Comrade Agatha Bord of Atlantic City has contributed largely to getting the group together. It has been hinted that the fellows are rather bashful about getting into the circle as the charter members are girls. Well, we will soon see!

New York City—Seven Junior Yipsel circles are now starting national charters, but the hollerin' is not yet over. The national directors' scalp is in constant danger until the happy day arrives, and luckily that is not far off, when proper literature and complete supplies are furnished the Juniors.

Fitchburg, Mass.—The circle dramatic club, not satisfied with past successes with short and full evening plays of all kinds, has begun work on a recent Broadway success, "Three Live Ghosts." Performance will probably be given some time in May.

A Yipsel Quizzer
By Savele Syrjala

We moderns live on novelties. We simply must have them. Our latest is in the form of "Ask me another" craze. It is fast becoming as popular as the crossword puzzle rage of a year ago. Newspapers are printing lists of questions each day on all conceivable subjects. And the public is trying its utmost to pass these intelligence tests.

The following list of questions has been compiled to test the knowledge of the Yipsels on matters closely related to them.

Answers to the questions in the educational field it may be both interesting and entertaining for the members if at the next meeting a short time be devoted to the Yipsel Quizzer printed below. This may stimulate some interest in our educational activities that in a good many instances are made so unnecessary "dry."

Clip out the list of questions and in next week's Appeal the answer will be printed so that you can grade yourself on your knowledge of subjects related to Yipseldom.

Questions

1. When was the Y.P.S.L. established?
2. Who was the first national secretary?
3. How many national secretaries have there been?
4. Who are they, and in what order did they hold office?
5. What great American said, "Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed had labor not first existed?"
6. What were the age limits of the Y.P.S.L. before the "split"?
7. What important event in the Yipsel history occurred on Dec. 24, 25, and 26, 1921?
8. Who said, "While there is a letter class, I am of it. While there is a criminal element, I am of it. While there is a soul in jail, I am not free."
9. What great mathematical and electrical wizard was a socialist?
10. What city in the United States of over a quarter million population has a socialist mayor at present?
11. Who was the first socialist premier to head a government?
12. What former secretary gained recent prominence as a strike leader?
13. What is the name of the Yipsel magazine published until recently in New York City?
14. Who wrote "The Jungle"?
15. Who said, "Any person under the age of thirty, who, having any knowledge of the existing order is not a revolutionist, is an inferior?"
16. After the split, when and where did the first national convention of the League meet?
17. Is there a daily Socialist newspaper in the United States?
18. Who wrote the prize winning essay in the last Yipsel essay contest?
19. What is one of the greatest socialist classics?
20. Of what American newspaper was Karl Marx a correspondent?
21. What great American movie actor was formerly a member of the Socialist Party?
22. Who wrote "The Lord was feeling mighty good when he made 'Gene Debs'?"

Fund Report

Contributions to the American Appeal for the week ending April 2, 1927 were as follows:

Contributions	
J. G. Van Tassel, Ashtabula, Ohio	\$5.70
Donald J. Lovvich, Chicago	1.00
George A. Proach, Pittsburgh, Pa.	1.00
C. G. Lambert, Atlanta, Ga.	1.00
John Duerfler, Milwaukee	1.00
Chas. Bryson, Berkeley, Calif.	1.00
J. W. Wellborne, New York City	5.00
Ray Newkirk, Utica, N. Y.	1.00
Gilbert Blair, Woodbridge, N. J.	1.00
Wm. S. Sang, Waterford, Conn.	1.00
Chas. Kissling, Chicago	2.00
Total	\$20.70

On Pledges

Joseph E. Cohen, Philadelphia, 2.00
Total on funds \$22.70
Previously reported \$2,397.04
Total gifts since Jan. 1, 1927 \$2,119.74

Army Report

With a considerably larger number of Appeal Army scouts sending in returns during the week, and the sub orders exceeding those of the week before by about \$20, the Army record, nevertheless, shows a slight falling back from the week before. This is explained by the fact that during the week previous the returns were swelled by one \$20 order for sub cards and another \$50 order for bundles. This week with considerably wider activity manifested by the Army the receipts are slightly smaller. All in all, the outlook is encouraging and we can see a steady increase in activity as the drive grows. We feel sure that the real results of the drive will show next week.

The Army record for the week ending April 2, 1927, was as follows:

Prize Winners	
One of the most encouraging features of the week's activities is the increased number of Debs' Photo prize winners. There ought to be a list a column long next week. AS THIS PRIZE IS WITHDRAWN APRIL 19:	
The Prize Winners for the week ending April 2, were:	
Frank Tancek, Cleveland, Ohio (\$5.00 cards)	
J. Van Tassel, Ashtabula, Ohio (\$7.50 donation)	
C. K. Hays, Fresno, Calif. (\$5.00 sub and donation)	
Marie L. Sanial, Northport, L. I. N. Y. (\$5.00 cards)	
Hugo W. Berndt, Milwaukee, Wis. (\$10.00 bundle)	
F. W. Bingham, Sunbury, Pa. (\$5.00 sub and cards)	
J. W. Wellborne, New York City. (\$5.00 donation)	
Harry L. Nelson, Elizabeth, N. J. (\$5.50 subs)	
Mrs. James B. Miller, Terre Haute, Ind. (\$5.00 sub)	
A. E. Mueller, Milwaukee, Wis. (\$5.00 sub)	
H. Hutchinson, Uniontown, Pa. (\$5.00 sub)	
Herman Hiebbaum, Chugwater, Wyo. (\$5.00 sub)	
Albert Schmutz, Louisville, Ky. (\$5.00 cards)	
R. W. Kucharsky, Milwaukee, Wis. (\$5.00 cards)	
J. J. Dubamel, Medford, Ore. (\$5.00 sub)	
Wm. Llewellyn, New Castle, Pa. (\$7.50 subs and cards)	

Chicago Business Men

O. K. Mayor Hoan Plan
CHICAGO—Fifteen hundred Chicago business men after listening to the plan by which Mayor Hoan, Socialist, has made Milwaukee one of the most crime-free cities in the United States, unanimously adopted the plan and will endeavor to apply it in Chicago, the most crime-infested city in the United States.

This action followed an address of Mayor Hoan before the Illinois Manufacturers' Association at an anti-criminal mass meeting in Orchestra Hall, in which Hoan presented the plan and urged the organization of Chicago, the most crime-infested city in the United States.

Two Fine Debs Pictures Order Now

We have two fine pictures of Eugene V. Debs that our comrades and many others who were friends of Debs will want. The prices are made unusually low, so that all the friends of Debs may secure one for their homes, their offices, or their organizations, of which you are a member. Socialist Locals and Branches, Unions and other organizations may secure one now. Don't wait until they are gone. A reproduction of an original oil painting by Artist M. Barr, in colors, 1924. Price one dollar.
An enlargement of a Photograph, last picture of Debs, size, 16x20. Price five dollars.
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Editor, "The New Leader"

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It is documented with excerpts from Communist and other sources, many of them no longer available to the student of this movement.
The book will prove to be a standard authority on a phase of American labor history which has provoked considerable controversy.

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Some People Who Should Read the American Appeal

Editor's Note

Unsolicited by the American Appeal staff, Wendell F. Farrington, who has had a long and varied career in the newspaper business, sends in the following contribution to the American Appeal. We assure the writer, in high appreciation, that we will furnish the number of the Appeal who is going to send in that sub before April 19 and to go to find a likely candidate for Socialism when he is looking for names and addresses to put the Appeal subscription list.

—M. E. K.

Wendell F. Farrington

In the American Appeal of any kind to business men—to our brother Robbitts, Rotarians, and other "up-brothers." Most assuredly, in every town and city throughout the land, men and women engrossed in the solid business of beating the other fellow in commerce and industry still have their eyes and ears open to catch a few rays of light or to hear a few sounds that give promise of a way out from the present bitterness of life and common misundestandings. And how little is found in these clean and gaudy sheets called newspapers?

The American Appeal is invaluable to the student of social affairs, for: 1. It gives in a brief summary clear-cut interpretations of the striking and significant economic news of the day. Where else can a paper be found that gives such an adequate digest of present day capitalist change than in the "Appeal"? 2. Not only does the items in the Appeal cover this "land of the free," etc. but equally important news are garnered from all parts of the world. It is more than an international paper—because it expresses the humanity of Debs.

3. The Appeal occupies a clearly defined field. It limits itself to a straight presentation of the most important social and economic events. No trash is contained therein; no cross word puzzles; no rotogravures;

no typical filling so characteristic of the waste in capitalist society and newspapers alike.

4. The Appeal is exceedingly helpful to the student of economic conditions in the many references to economic and statistical studies. For this reason the "Appeal" should be found in every college library and for that matter, in every municipal or private library. It's a frequent visitor, directing the reader to the most authoritative researches. A good business buy; an indispensable social guide.

Value to Flaming Youth

Anyone seeking a chance to direct the restless activities of a stern, truth-seeking youth, boys and girls, their teens, can serve most effectively by placing The American Appeal before them. Today, with an immensely larger amount of information in mind, than adolescents ever had, youth refuses to accept the buncombe that has been so long a part of the capitalist scheme of things. Human youth wants the truth about life, whether it is about religion, race relations, Bolshevism, life in Hollywood or what not. Verily, public education (the creation of labor; and don't forget that) and this present spreading of capitalist propaganda about the "show me" attitude with a vengeance. Now is the time to cast the bread of Socialist thought upon the waters.

Turning from the dull rigmarole and assinine requirements of "education" under this disintegrating condition of capitalist things, human antagonism, class struggles and widespread misery, plastic youth will find in Socialist literature a hope for better things. Here is an opportunity for social education.

How many comrades in the present struggle over their interests in Socialism and the labor movement, the fascinating stories that we read in the International Socialist Review or the stimulating articles found in the Appeal to Reason?

Shall we neglect our duty to the young at this time?

Anglo-American Pact Seen As Real World War Danger

(Cont. from page 1)

to fuse their without the smallest regard for alliances of any kind, early or late. Self-respect and prestige are alike thrown recklessly to the winds. Italy is the most eager for a new era of "blood and iron" and she it is therefore who has been the first to give cry in the Balkans; she is using Albania as a springboard, and she has won over Roumania as an ally by accepting her annexation of Bessarabia, and granting her a loan of 300 million lire for armament purposes. The Bessarabian deal has aroused a sharp protest from Russia, who demands a "shameless robbery." But there are also rumors of German mediation between Russia and Roumania; it is said that Russia is not unwilling to come to terms with Roumania, and might conclude a Mutual Non-aggression Treaty. Although France has already been impounded by Britain, France still thinks it worth while to put in the mouth of her newly-sent ambassador to Greece honeyed words about the intellectual kinship of France and Greece, and to advocate a Greek-Yugoslav alliance. This has nettled the Greeks, forced as they are by Britain to maintain their friendship with Italy. Meanwhile Italy is hurling reproaches at Yugoslavia for warlike preparations, although it is a matter of common knowledge that Italy has long been planning war on Yugoslavia. Italy's note concerning the warlike preparations of Yugoslavia, and the re-arranging of communications from Yugoslavia and Britain are nothing but a mere ruse to distract attention from the fact that the cards will have been shuffled and every hand will be ready to begin the game when the right moment comes. And when it does come, everyone will be able to say, with infinite self-satisfaction: "Yes, we warned the world; but now it is too late: the guns must decide."

French War Peril

In Yugoslavia, which has an alliance and treaty of friendship with France, not a day passes without the press giving vent to its hatred of Greece. Roumania's alliance ranges her alongside Hungary and Bulgaria, with whom also Italy is seeking to ingratiate herself. In Bulgaria Britain is putting her spoke in the support of Bulgaria's defense against Yugoslavia; and from Sofia comes the further news of negotiations for a 300 million loan between Bulgaria and a British bank, which, so it is said, is to be continued in London in the near future by the Governor of the Bulgarian National Bank. If we cast a glance back on the not very remote past, when Roumania, now in the net of Italy, was the loyal ally of France, whose strained relations with Italy are now notorious; and if we also remember that neither Hungary nor Bulgaria can realize their hopes in respect to foreign policy except at the expense of Roumania, we shall be able to form some idea of the extraordinary complexity of this group, and of all the dangers inherent in it. As for Turkey, to whom there is an obvious reference in the new British-Italian agreements, she has, after 3 years of delay, suddenly decided to conclude her treaty with Russia; but she has not quite made up her mind which side to join, and is therefore, like Germany wondering whether it would be better for Russia to be admitted to the League of Nations, and attain all her rights pertaining to such proceedings. Meanwhile France is planning to make a little

demonstration of her power and friendship by sending a squad of warships to Constantinople—the whole of the Mediterranean Sea is at the moment the theatre of little side-shows of this kind. With much intrigue, and amid such a whirl of grouping and re-grouping, the very worst may be expected.

British-American Menace

So much for the storm-centre of Europe. In Europe things have gone so far that France finds it necessary to spend untold milliards on her defence. There is no denying that France is again, to some extent, isolated. Each of the Great Powers is seeking to use the one-time Entente for its own ends; this is plainly to be seen from recent events in China. Britain is playing a lone hand on the East, only because she cannot conclude a Mutual Non-aggression Treaty. Although France has already been impounded by Britain, France still thinks it worth while to put in the mouth of her newly-sent ambassador to Greece honeyed words about the intellectual kinship of France and Greece, and to advocate a Greek-Yugoslav alliance. This has nettled the Greeks, forced as they are by Britain to maintain their friendship with Italy. Meanwhile Italy is hurling reproaches at Yugoslavia for warlike preparations, although it is a matter of common knowledge that Italy has long been planning war on Yugoslavia. Italy's note concerning the warlike preparations of Yugoslavia, and the re-arranging of communications from Yugoslavia and Britain are nothing but a mere ruse to distract attention from the fact that the cards will have been shuffled and every hand will be ready to begin the game when the right moment comes. And when it does come, everyone will be able to say, with infinite self-satisfaction: "Yes, we warned the world; but now it is too late: the guns must decide."

New War Grouping

Reverting to Europe, it is plain that there have been great subterranean upheavals among the Powers; already we can discern the lines on which they will regroup. There will be still further changes—especially as Germany will be a dark horse. No one knows what Germany will do. Will she draw closer to Britain? Will she make friends with Poland? Will she start a new friendship with Russia (with whom she already has treaties with Mussolini)? (She was recently on bad terms with the latter, but now a Non-Aggression Treaty has been concluded—and sealed with good hard coin of the realm!)

New Race of Death

And all the time armaments are being heaped up. Britain is spending an additional £900,000 in building warships, making a total of £9,983,000; another £16,000 has been granted for the naval base at Singapore. Italian armament factories are working at high pressure. For the last 11 years Czechoslovakia has had an Armament Fund, to which 350 million Crowns are allocated every year. Russia has trebled her military budget in the last 4 years; this year it totals 1,200,000,000 gold rubles and she is doing intensive work in

the direction of a gas war. Germany is doing its best to goose-step as much as ever. Even the pious chief of the general staff in little Switzerland is rattling his federal sabre, and pulling on a stern countenance. And everybody is solemnly declaring, quite truly, of course that "The time is unsafe—we must be prepared for anything."

But perhaps the recent French Act shows most plainly what is before us if it does come to war. In case of war every French citizen, irrespective of age or sex, must take his share either actively defending his country or "preserving her material and morally." This is to put down in black and white that in the next war it is not only the men at the front who will be mowed down; not only the villages and towns on the front and close by will be doomed to destruction—the whole country will have to be defended, for otherwise the whole land will be destroyed and every living thing within it.

Wells wrote in his "History of the World" that "states organized for war will make war as surely as hens will lay eggs." The same author also wrote: "The more interesting question is not why the Great War was not anticipated and prevented. It is a far graver thing for mankind that patriots, stupid, or apathetic to prevent the social revolution towards European unity, upment and generous lines, than that a small number of people may have been active in bringing it about."

Organized Labor Menaced by Huge Damage Decision

BOSTON, Mass.—Organized labor in Massachusetts will support an appeal from a decision by Judge Morton, in Suffolk Superior Court, holding members of Local No. 354, Milk Drivers' and Creamery Workers' Union, liable for \$61,971.14 damages arising out of a strike last summer.

Fred W. Manfield, counsel for the union, declares that if the decision is permitted to stand it "will be a serious handicap, if not a death blow, to organized labor's efforts to protect and promote its interests by the use of its most effective weapon—the strike."

This is the first time a Massachusetts court has attempted to assess personal damages against workers for participating in a strike, says Mr. Manfield.

Judge Morton approved the finding of John M. Maloney, a referee, that the strikers had damaged the plaintiffs by "following teams and inducing customers by threats and solicitation not to trade with unfair employers." The referee also recommended that the strikers be held liable for costs incurred in fighting the strike, including the pay of police and private guards employed by them, but the court refused to sanction the latter item.

Attorneys of the milk company have announced they will proceed immediately to enforce collection from members of the union, as was done in the famous Danbury butters' case, when many members of the latter's union lost their homes in the satisfaction of a \$272,000 damage claim awarded D. E. Lowe & Co.

Ford Chain Stores Hit Small Business

DETROIT, Mich.—Henry Ford is competing with small retail business men and those merchants are panicking. The retailers are organizing against the new venture, and they threaten to boycott wholesalers who sell to the wholesalers are fearful that if they join the boycott, they, too, will be attacked.

The stores are located at the Lincoln motor plant, at Highland Park, an extension of Detroit, and at River Rouge, several miles from this city. The stores are operated on the "grab plan" and are standardized as the manufacturer of fixtures. They are patronized by the public and are the outgrowth of "huge commissaries which served Ford workers when the retailers raised prices to secure part of a wage increase. The public can buy anything that is for sale at the corner grocery or meat market, shoe, clothing or haberdashery stores.

Every effort is made in the stores to eliminate lost motion. Clerks move as in the Ford factory, and customers do likewise. They help themselves and pay the cashier on going out. Prices are lower than in other stores and the possibility of mass buying and selling, with quick turnover, alarms business men.

Church Body Hails Chinese Revolution

WASHINGTON — The Federal Council of Churches, which represents 22,000,000 Protestant church members, and which is noted for its liberal and pacifist ideas, its advanced stand on social problems, its defense of civil liberty and its recent success in promoting arbitration with Mexico, has issued a practical endorsement of the Chinese revolution.

S. Parker Cadman, president, and Chas. S. Macfarland, general secretary of the Council, in a letter to the Natl. Christian Council of China, present a resolution adopted by the Federal Council, expressing "profound sympathy with the Chinese people in their struggle for a sovereign government and in their demands for the ending of unequal treaties, tariff domination, extraterritoriality and concessions."

This expression of sympathy and goodwill came despite the recent evacuation of hundreds of Protestant missionaries from Chinese cities following the unfortunate killing of whites in Nanking.

Debs Radio Fund to Question New Radio Commission

NEW YORK.—How will the newly created Federal Radio Commission take steps to keep broadcasting facilities from becoming a monopoly of the dominant financial and political interests? How will free speech over the radio be maintained? What guarantees will be given labor and Socialist groups that they will not be discriminated against by station broadcasting under a Federal License?

These questions will be put directly to the members of the Radio Commission by the Debs Memorial Radio Fund at a hearing in Washington in a few days. At the first meeting of the Board of Trustees of the fund in New York this week, it was decided to ascertain the stand of the Commission. The fund was organized by labor leaders, Socialists, liberal and progressive to erect a high-powered broadcasting station, a position discriminated against by station broadcasting under a Federal License.

In order to more adequately answer numerous queries which have reached the fund at its headquarters, 11 Union Square, the trustees have elected a committee to study the details involved in erecting a station such as the fund proposes. This committee, which consists of Mrs. Harriett Stanton Blatch, Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas and G. August Gerber, will make an exhaustive survey of the local radio situation, the nature of the question. It will consider matters of policy, contributions and possible location of the station. Its report will be published in a few weeks.

Unemployment Aids U. S. Militarists

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Unemployment has crept on Philadelphia. While business men were still talking prosperity the unemployed were finding work harder to obtain than at any time since the winter depression of 1920-21. This big industrial community has been harder hit than any large manufacturing city except Detroit.

Both army and navy are breaking up the ranks of the unemployed and both are beginning to restrict enlistments.

Britain and U. S. for Intervention

(Cont. from page 1)

HAVE HAD THE SAME EXPERIENCE ARE AMERICAN GUNNERS. American pressure to back Great Britain. America alone follows England in demands growing out of the Nanking affair.

As the Appeal goes to press the following atrocious plan to destroy the Nanking arsenal is being discussed in Shanghai, where the British are exerting pressure on the American, Japanese, French and Italian consuls at Shanghai and ministers at Peking, urging each to recommend to his home government a program of intervention.

"While it is impossible to obtain details regarding the British plan, the most generally discussed scheme includes the occupation of the Wusungkiang, Niangyin forts, and Nanking, Kukiang, Canton, and Hankow, the British claiming that they have sufficient forces now available for this action."

"It was also suggested in official circles today that the British have offered Japan as bait the undisputed occupation of Shantung province and the Japanese, join the British in the intervention plan, believing that an Anglo-Japanese accord will certainly bring in America, France and the other nations."

While Great Britain is pressing its value of sale, manufacturing earnings and dividends, transportation and public utility company profits, 1926 truly went beyond all previous years. Very, very seldom, however, has a clear analysis of the total economic state in 1926 been portrayed. In its extremely limited view of business and industry in 1926, the capitalist press has again most significantly proved its lack of ability to reveal the true conditions of things. Fully conscious of an impending economic crisis in the United States within a few years, those in positions of high responsibility in political and financial stations prefer to neglect pointing out the dark clouds that forecast the oncoming catastrophe.

What Did 1926 Show?

Once in a while, however, a more objective view of economic conditions, past and present, is seen. Professional economists and statisticians analyzing the trend of certain particulars, sometimes, take pains to point out the dangers for the benefit of the trade. It is only from these disinterested studies and government investigations that the truth can be learned.

Comparing studies made, what do we learn about the great prosperity of 1926? First, there was not so much of it as the newspapers have tried to show. It is doubtful if total volume of production was more than one and one-half percent over 1925 (this percentage takes into consideration, however, that one and one-half percent increase must occur to keep pace with the increasing population, which increases yearly by about this amount.

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Socialists Explain Their Objections to Communism

Further Criticism of the Communists

Article VI

In their criticisms of Communist tactics, some Socialists have been content to prove that these tactics, though perhaps justifiable in Russia, are not adapted to conditions in Western Europe and America. For conditions in most of these countries are markedly different from those in Russia at the time of the revolution.

The backward nature of industry, the weakness of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy, the disaffection of the military forces, the land hunger of the peasants, the illiteracy of the masses, the lack of parliamentary experience and the democratic tradition, the extent of the Russian territory, and its distance from the victorious nations in the World War were all factors which made a social revolution in Russia easier than in other countries and a minority dictatorship more justifiable.

Other Socialists severely criticize the Communists for the tactics they have pursued in Russia, based on the Communist theory of progress. They emphasize the criticism of the Mensheviks, who maintain that Russia was not ripe for the social revolution, on account of its lack of industrial development and the immaturity of the working class.

The Bolsheviks, they maintained, made a fatal error in basing their action in favor of the November revolution on the assumption that a Russian revolution would ignite the flames of a European revolution. They erred likewise, following their revolution, in dividing the labor and Socialist forces in Europe at a time when all should have been united in a common front.

"What the Communists of Russia have contributed to the Socialist movement of the world by the inspiration of their soviet republic," declared Hillquit, writing in 1921, "they have more than offset by the disruptive activities of their imperialism."

They erred, they critics declare, in breaking up the Constituent Assembly, after that Assembly had enacted practically every measure the Communists desired except that of transferring all power to the soviets. They erred in aiding the peasants in their work of breaking up the great es-

Russian dictatorship has utterly failed to coerce the peasants of Russia, even though the peasants owed a great debt of gratitude to the Communists for legalizing their seizure of land, and maintain that a proletarian dictatorship in the western countries would likewise fail in coercing technicians to give the service indispensable to industrial progress.

A Summary

It is thus seen that, while Socialists and Communists envisage in general the same type of Socialist society toward which mankind should advance, they differ on questions of tactics. The Communists, in their official Manifesto, maintain that violence and civil war are necessary and inevitable agencies in ushering in the new society. Socialists, on the other hand, maintain that, while violence might attend the social revolution, every effort should be made to inaugurate Socialism in a peaceful fashion, through parliamentary cooperation, industrial organization, cooperative action and educational propaganda, that if violence is to be used, it should be resorted to primarily for the purpose of defending the gains of the revolution against counter-revolutionary attacks, and that this force employed should be the minimum required to safeguard the gains of the revolution.

The Communists insist that, during the transition stage, the workers should establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, which virtually means a dictatorship of the Communist party; should, in other countries, exclude non-producing classes from voting; should, in the hands of the dictatorship, should maintain a strict censorship of the press and of speech, and should concentrate all power in the hands of the dictatorship. They also urge the Soviet form of government as the most efficient type of government during the period of transition.

The Socialists, on the other hand, while realizing the defects of present day democracy, and advocating a number of changes in the parliamentary structure, still hold that dictatorship both in theory and practice contains gravely dangerous implications from the standpoint of the working class and of society-at-large, and that the democratic procedure, so modified as to adjust itself to the complexities of our times, is best.

They point out, the fact that the

Since the issuance of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, however, Communist tactics, as has been indicated, have changed in several respects. In the early years, the Communist International bent its every energy toward dividing the working class in Western European countries into Socialist groups, on the one hand, and on the other hand, Communist nuclei which should recruit, maintain, and be armed rebellion against their respective governments. With the stabilization of the European situation, and the increasing demand in Russia for foreign capital, foreign trade and reorganization by foreign governments, the tactics have changed. The Russian Communists have, within the country, laid less emphasis on dictatorship and more on industrial productivity, and on cooperation with peasants and technicians in the development of the country. The tactics of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev have become subordinated positions and a policy of "gradualness" has taken the place of the uncompromising policy following the revolution.

The actual policies of the present government are, therefore, not strikingly different in many respects from those which would be pursued by the British Labor party, the Social Democracy of Germany, etc., if they were majority parties. The demarcations between Communist and Socialist tactics are thus becoming less clear than formerly, while the possibility of friendly relations has become greater. The Socialists are increasingly viewing the Russian ventures in various forms of socialized industry as a great social experiment from which they might gain valuable lessons of the type to follow and those to avoid. They are particularly interested in seeing that the Russian peoples be permitted to work out their own experiments under the most favorable conditions, so that society may be in a position the better to appreciate the value of these experiments from the standpoint of social progress.

—Harry W. Laidler.

American "Prosperity"—How Long Will It Last?

Editor's Note

In the following article Mr. Farrington, who has taught sociology in several American Universities, takes a glance at our so-called prosperity and tries to answer the question, How long will it last? He quotes from the analysis of Dr. L. H. Haney of the New York University Research Bureau. Dr. Haney, with a wealth of information at his command, prophesies the increase of unemployment in 1927, and the general downward curve of the business cycle. When the country is "prosperous," how much does it mean in reality to the American worker? When the country is in a period of depression, what tragedy is his? Why not begin to construct a labor commonwealth in which this tragic insecurity may be avoided?

Wendell F. Farrington

The year 1926, according to the capitalist press, surpassed all preceding years in prosperity. Commercial and financial papers, newspapers and weekly periodicals have vied with each other in depicting the amazing "prosperity" of business in 1926. In volume of manufactured products, value of sales, manufacturing earnings and dividends, transportation and public utility company profits, 1926 truly went beyond all previous years. Very, very seldom, however, has a clear analysis of the total economic state in 1926 been portrayed. In its extremely limited view of business and industry in 1926, the capitalist press has again most significantly proved its lack of ability to reveal the true conditions of things. Fully conscious of an impending economic crisis in the United States within a few years, those in positions of high responsibility in political and financial stations prefer to neglect pointing out the dark clouds that forecast the oncoming catastrophe.

The Building Boom

Third, a great deal of the so-called prosperity of 1926 was due to a lust for huge profits accruing from new buildings. Building activity reached new heights, for Wall Street had plenty of money to lend and speculate. Towards the end of the year, a marked decline began to take place. But notwithstanding the alarm that many bond houses feel over this building "boom," the erection of new buildings—especially in large cities—goes merrily on.

Prosperity "Spotted"

Sixth, business was decidedly spotted. While many of the larger, more monopolistic businesses made exorbitant profits, many others suffered the worst reverses in years. The iron and steel industries, transportation companies, public utilities, aluminum trust, and sundry others did very well from the standpoint of earnings, but not so with many automobile companies, small manufacturing plants—and especially the textile industry experienced severe losses.

Less Prosperous than 1925

All things considered, 1926 was decidedly less prosperous than 1925. Dr. L. H. Haney of the New York University Research Bureau pointed out in the 5th issue of Textile World, a trade journal, that in 1926 the total value of farm crops was lower than in 1925 (this means poor living and purchasing ability by the farmers); exports from the U. S. were much less in 1926 than in 1925; sales of finished steel were lower; wholesale trade was smaller; the number and liabilities of business

Artificial Stimulation through Installment Buying

Second, much of the industrial activity of last year was due to abnormal stimulation—but a natural concomitant to a disintegrating capitalist society. High pressure selling methods, the desperate efforts to place goods into the hands of consumers caused, as with preceding years, a huge growth in installment buying. Having obtained as much of the worker's daily and weekly pay as possible, modern commercial devices methods to mortgaged the lives of the people into the distant future. The inevitable consequences of this increasing servitude cannot be described in a paragraph; volumes are needed to adequately portray this terrible menace of developing serfdom.

Dr. Haney on Downward Curve

1927 will be a much poorer year from the business standpoint than 1926. Dr. Haney has given the following reasons why there will be less "prosperity" during 1927. The peak of industrial activity was evidently reached in 1926; a decline in volume of production, especially in steel and steel is inevitable. There will be a further decline of building activity and automobile making in 1927.—the peak of consuming ability of the people has been reached in respect to these two items.

Comparison of United States Manufacturers with European Concerns

Comparison of United States manufacturers with European concerns will be more severe in 1927; commodity prices of goods produced in this country cannot go much lower, and it is imperative for industrialists in other countries to increase their production. The United States will, consequently, continue to decline,—proportionately,—in 1927. There will be a steady growth of unemployment in 1927, according to Dr. Haney. Farm prices will continue to remain low; this means more hardship for the workers in the country. Factory inventories are large at the present time; this is evidence of more industrial failures this year. There are many menacing spots in the financial situation.

The Following Picture may be Unduly Dark

Circumstances may arise that will prevent the employment of the workers and their earnings from falling to lower levels. At this time—April 14—there has been no marked recession of industrial activity; building goes on at a high rate; steel production is large, and not far below current consumption. The textile industry is experiencing the best days for a long time. But there is no evidence that these conditions will long prevail.

Prosperity of a Few

The writer of this article agrees with Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts that the so-called prosperity in this country is the prosperity of a few. A few entrenched monopolies and trusts have obtained a strangle hold upon the producing factors. Special privileges, unjust taxation, and the glaring inequalities of distribution divert a constantly larger share of the national income into the hands of a few while the masses work with desperate efforts to carry on an economic life on a par with health and decency.

Law-Breaking and Theft at Muscle Shoals

The New Battle for Public Ownership Against the Power Trust

Editor's Note

Congress has adjourned. Muscle Shoals is still retained as a government plant. But the power interests are still in the saddle and it will require all the force that the advocates of public ownership and operation can muster to secure the operation of Muscle Shoals by the people.

M. H. Hedges, director of the Speakers' Service Bureau, editor of the Electrical Workers' Journal and author of Governor Minton, here presents the situation as he sees it from his position of vantage in Washington, D. C.

Mr. Hedges makes the serious charge that the government is violating the provisions of the law of 1916 providing for power generators at Muscle Shoals. That law specifically provides for exclusive public ownership and operation. At the present Alabama Power Company reaping a rich harvest. When will labor and progressives generally force the issue?

—H. W. L.

By M. H. Hedges

(Director, Speakers' Service Bureau) Congress has adjourned, and the failure of the power monopoly to lease Muscle Shoals has been hailed in some quarters, as a victory. Without detracting from the glory of Senator Norris, and the other valiant men, who beat back the private interests, and retained Muscle Shoals, it is opinion worth considering that the government and the people have not won a victory. They have narrowly escaped defeat, but victory remains to be won.

Power Trust in Saddle at Muscle Shoals

Nothing so illustrates the heavy gravitation of power and wealth to the powerful and wealthy than this fact: the government retains Muscle Shoals, but the power trust retains the benefit. About the Capitol at Washington, it is the view of men close to the Muscle Shoals situation, that the power trust was willing, yes, even anxious to have the huge power plant on the Tennessee left in the hands of the Government. It was impossible, of course, for senators representing openly the private power interests to vote for affirmation of Government control, but they could stage a sham fight, and leave

the opponents of private ownership to "jerk their chestnuts out of the fire." At any rate, this is what happened. In the midst of the struggle, Senator McKellar, of Tennessee, in a public interview, unmasked the brand of present government operation at Muscle Shoals. He flatly declared that the power trust was actually in possession of the vast electric energies at the government-built dam.

Violating the Law

"The War Department claims," plant, but this is simply camouflage. The power company has its own power, and it is operating the transformers and other machinery right on the government land; it has its own officials and other employees in the plant. If the War Department has people employed there, they are working actually for the power corporation, and not for the public. Moreover, all this has happened, Senator McKellar said, in open violation of the law. The Act of Congress (June 3, 1916) which provided for power generators at Muscle Shoals, explicitly for Government ownership and operation.

"The plant or plants provided under this act shall be conducted and operated solely by the Government and not in conjunction with any other industry or en-

terprise carried on by private capital."

By the present agreement, the Alabama Power Company has control of the government steam plant and the government hydro-electric plant. By this arrangement it is freed from obligation to manufacture nitrates. And by this agreement, it is securing the power generated at Muscle Shoals at 2 mills per kilowatt—about one-fiftieth of its retail price.

Executive Absorbing Power

Muscle Shoals has done much to dramatize the conflict between public and private interests, in this country, and yet it has failed to drive home the fact that subtle changes in our government—in progress during the last decade—makes the problem of advocates of public ownership more difficult. We refer to the gradual shift of power away from the legislative to the executive branch of the government. Originally, the three branches of our government were designed to be distinct and equal in power, acting as checks upon each other. But with the multiplication of commissions, boards and bureaus; with the enactment of laws conferring extreme and unusual powers upon the President; with a steady and well-organized propaganda directed toward blighting Congress; with

encouragement and support given the executive by industrial and financial interests, we are seeing the policymaking powers of this government originally conferred upon Congress being usurped by the executive. Congress decreed Muscle Shoals to be government-owned and government-operated institution, and it is that only in name. At any time, the President of the United States could make it that in fact.

Fight Becoming National

The problem is further complicated by the fact that the fulcrum has shifted too, in the very hands of the friends of public ownership. Originally the battlefield was local; now it is national. The strategy of the Public Ownership forces, once consisted in taking over this or that local electrical plant. This was a comparatively simple matter. It was done by winning the majority of voters to municipal ownership in the city involved. But now, with growing utilization of water power, with that water power controlled by the federal government, with high transmission lines a reality, and the "pipelines" of electrical power across big distances, a fact, the strategy of the public ownership forces must shift. It must be directed against the voters of the entire country, through the

winning of representatives and senators pledged to public ownership in various states—a task much more difficult than winning a majority of the voters in this or that city.

A Hopeful Factor

It must be admitted that the scene of battle has shifted so rapidly from local to national stages that the people have been ill prepared to meet it. That is just another reason why the retention of Muscle Shoals is the more remarkable. Looking at the present power situation in the most pessimistic way possible, as we have done, still we understand that organized public opinion in favor of retaining Muscle Shoals, was also a factor in persuading the power interests it was to their self-interest to allow the government to retain nominal control. They dared not affront that section of the public directly. Any that they hoped to do in the situation. It gives the cue to future action. Public opinion must be better organized on a national scale. A beginning, of course, has already been made. Besides the Public Ownership League, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the American Federation of Labor—both national and international organizations—are pledged to a policy of public ownership.

This forms a basis for a national movement.

Mobilize Forces in Washington

But before such a movement function effectively, it must have a national office at Washington. It shouldn't be the public ownership lobby at Washington. Washington is the real scene of the fight and future encounters. Lobbyists already friendly to public ownership have their hands full of other important legislation. The power question is big enough, important enough and pressing enough to utilize the full force of such a new agency.

Just now our minds are fixed on Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam. The fight for these are only skirmishes. There remains perhaps in the 900 horse-power tied up in federal controlled sites, yet to be given away. Each new site means a new battle, that is, if the people are organized to fight.

The salient fact for public ownership advocates to remember—electric power—is government property. It was government property during the next 30 years, just as railroads did a generation ago. The question is, after Muscle Shoals, what?

Farmer Asks How A System of Production for Use Can Work

Editor's Note

We are extremely sorry that it is impossible to carry Mr. Penrose's entire article below. But the writer has asked questions which we feel obligated to attempt to answer. Our very limited space does not permit us to answer all of Mr. Penrose's questions and run all of his article.

By William Penrose

(Huster, Arkansas) Referring to my article appearing in the American Appeal, while somewhat carried, is fairly well given, I have sought to get a fairly clear idea of what we mean by the term, Socialism.

I realize that being creatures of environment our methods of thinking are generally determined by the trend of teaching from school, press, pulpit and by our daily associations and that these agencies under present conditions impress on us mainly the necessity and desirability of accumulating money. Experience teaches us that the way to accumulate successfully is to let the other fellow produce something and then take it away from him.

In connection with this taking, we invent as smoke screens such terms as "private profit," "supply and demand regulate prices,"—a mistake. "Money measures values" is impossible. "Money need a basis"—purest fiction. And many others.

The definition you used in the Appeal in dealing with my former article—"Socialism is production for use and not for private profit"—is confusing. Under pure cooperation there could be no profit. What I would like to know is how we would function under production for use solely.

The Editor's Reply

To answer this question it is necessary that we understand exactly what is meant by profit. Profit is anything realized in the sale of goods over and above the actual labor cost of their production and distribution. Under the present profit system the profit taker adds to the labor cost of production as much as circum-

stances, cunning and the powers of private extortion or monopoly permit. The whole process of squeezing out profits—EXTRACTING MORE THAN THE COST OF PRODUCTION—is unjust, injurious and unproductive. IT CONSISTS IN HOLDING LABOR, THE REAL PRODUCER, DOWN TO THE LOWEST WAGE THAT CIRCUMSTANCES WILL PERMIT TO BE PAID, AND HOLDING UP THE CONSUMER BY IMPOSING THE HIGHEST PRICE THAT CIRCUMSTANCES WILL ALLOW.

Now the private owner engaged in such a process has only one thought in view. He makes goods FOR WHAT THEY WILL BRING HIM—NOT FOR WHAT USE THE CONSUMER CAN GET OUT OF THEM. He makes them for their selling power—NOT PRIMARILY FOR THEIR UTILITY—Lots of shoddy because it costs less—a nice finish because appearance is what sells things—that is the kind of goods that come out of the profit system. Lots of adulteration, because it costs less and goods that taste or look nice on the outside—that is what happens when you produce primarily for profit.

To produce for use and not for profit we must have a cooperative system, that is, a system of the producer for the producer and by the producers. Now such a cooperative system as this does not make goods TO SELL TO OTHERS. It makes goods TO USE ITSELF. It democratically represents everybody. If it monopolizes, or swindles, or cheats, or extorts, or overcharges, IT DOES ALL THESE THINGS TO ITSELF. It makes the kind of goods a tailor makes when he is making a suit for himself or the kind of a meal a housewife cooks when she cooks for herself and family.

Such a system would have to eliminate profit altogether because IT COULD NOT GAIN ANYTHING BY EXTRACTING PROFITS FROM ITSELF. It would have to establish a new price principle under which ALL GOODS WOULD SELL AT THE LABOR COST OF THEIR PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION. That would do away with all profits of production as much as circum-

EVERYBODY WHO CONSUMED WOULD PAY THE LABOR COST OF PRODUCTION.

It would not be difficult to regulate this because WHATEVER IT BECAME NECESSARY TO PAY FOR DIFFERENT KINDS OF WORK AND SERVICE IN PRODUCING AND DISTRIBUTING GOODS WOULD AUTOMATICALLY BECOME THE PRICE OF THE GOODS. Experience would determine the details and finally bring us to a basis of fairness and equity to all.

Mr. Penrose asks what would be the status of the individual bee-keeper under Socialism. His status would be that his product would automatically bring a price representing the average cost of production of that article under that system. The money that he got for it would in turn buy him the various things he needed at the labor cost of production and distribution. HE COULD NEITHER SQUEEZE PROFITS FROM OTHERS NOR HAVE PROFITS EXTORTED FROM HIM.

400 Farmers A Day Lose Homes in 1926

WASHINGTON—The farmers' distress is shown by a statement issued by the Bureau of Economic and Agricultural Statistics of the Department of Agriculture, on the number of farmers who lost their properties. During the year ending March 15, 1926, 400 farmers lost their homes each day. A total of 123,000 farms changed hands as a result of forced sales. This is 2 farms out of every 1,000 farms in the United States, says the report.

These bankruptcies do not tell the whole story, as many holders of mortgages know they will lose more by foreclosure and are taking a chance that they will receive at least part of their interest. The Bureau finds that conditions are worst in the Rocky Mountain States.

Miss Stephen Proves That Socialists Now Draw Crowds

By Jessie Stephen

Business methods applied to Socialist propaganda bring as much success as when applied to ordinary commerce. At any rate this is the logical deduction to be drawn from my experience in Racine, Comrade Sherman, enthusiastic and hardworking, actually made a profit on the evening, surely something unusual in these difficult times, but then, since he is somewhat of a "go-getter" in his own line of trade, doubtless he feels justified in trying out his ideas.

These are a few of the startling facts set forth by Miss Anderson, director of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, in an address at the School of Politics conducted by the League of Republican Women of the District of Columbia. Of 100,000 women who are chosen almost at random and specially studied, two-thirds worked more than 48 hours per week. Sixteen per cent of them worked 10 hours per day—or more.

For wages, the bureau, instead of following the usual plan of "averaging" high and low pay, found out in each group and each state the "median wage."

In New Jersey, for instance, the median wage of women in industry was \$1.75 per week; more than half the women in the state were in this sum, and half got less.

In Ohio, the median wage for women in industry was \$1.80 per week. In Missouri, it was \$1.65 per week. In Arkansas, it was \$1.60 per week. In Alabama, it was \$3.80 per week.

Ten Combines Now In Billion-Dollar Class

NEW YORK—Ten American corporations now rank in the billion-dollar class. Five of them are railroad companies, two motor companies, one steel and one oil. Ranked according to their alleged total assets, they are: U. S. Steel Southern Pacific Railroad, Pennsylvania Railroad, American Telephone & Telegraph, New York Central, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Union Pacific, Atchafalaya, and Ford Motor Company.

U. S. Steel leads in total assets. American leads in value—value—a little over two billion dollars with physical property valued at only \$197,000,000, and with net profits of \$107,000,000 out of a gross revenue of \$180,000,000.

The market value of the securities of the ten companies is rather more than \$13,000,000,000. The number of employees is just under 1,500,000. The number of stockholders is somewhat more than 1,000,000; of whom the American Telephone & Telegraph Company has 362,000, and the Ford Motor Company has 3.

City-Owned Plant Wipes Out Taxes

From the extreme conservative Daily Oklahoman, published in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, comes the following illuminating testimony concerning the results of municipal ownership of public utilities:

Prosperous America Starves Its Women

By Jessie Stephen

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Eight and a half million American women are homes. This means that one woman in every 4 is a wage earner, and that one wage earner in every 5 is a woman. More than 2,000,000 married women are employed in industry, and the number of married women so employed has increased 41 per cent since 1914.

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Workers' Share of Product Declines in Steel Industry

By Leland Olds

How the increasing prosperity of the U. S. Steel corporation in the last 3 years has brought the workers an even smaller share of the product is shown by a report from its full annual report for 1926. The report shows that in 1924 the workers received 35.1 percent of the gross revenue. In 1925 the workers' share was 32.5 percent while in 1926 it fell to 31 percent.

In 1926 the corporation paid \$467,409,440 for salaries and wages, an increase of 2.3 percent over 1925 and 5.6 percent over 1924. The company's gross business amounted to \$1,509,076,000, an increase of 7.2 percent over 1925 and 19.4 percent over 1924. If we deduct intercompany sales and the earnings of transportation and other subsidiary companies the actual sales to U. S. Steel customers totaled \$987,137,166, a gain of 6.3 percent over 1925 and 17 percent over 1924.

The difference of \$186 would have covered the winter coal bill with a good margin for warm winter clothing and more wholesome food. Instead it went to George F. Baker with his 58,650 shares, to Pres. Coolidge with his 50 shares and to other comfortably situated members of the investing class, whose chief contact with the steel business is through the quarterly dividend check.

The number of workers, average wages and total wages paid by U. S. Steel in the 8 years 1919 to 1926 were:

U. S.	Steel	Employes	Wage	Av.
1919	252,106	1,901	\$17,900	\$41.00
1920	267,345	2,173	\$21,700	\$47.00
1921	191,700	1,736	\$22,000	\$46.00
1922	214,931	1,501	\$22,000	\$46.00
1923	260,786	1,800	\$22,000	\$46.00
1924	246,753	1,794	\$22,000	\$46.00
1925	249,833	1,828	\$22,000	\$46.00
1926	253,199	1,844	\$22,000	\$46.00

The report shows that net profit for U. S. Steel stockholders in the corporation began business in 1901 have amounted to \$2,245,000 or nearly 3 times the combined value of the common and preferred stock. The common stock was valued nearly all water. The corporation has paid 7 percent dividends preferred with the same amount while dividends on common total 1 percent to date. In addition the corporation has accumulated profits of more than \$1,000,000 part of which will make possible recently announced 40 percent dividend.

British Labor Party, on Eve of Power, Plans for Socialism

J. Ramsay MacDonald

(Socialist Parliamentary Leader, Former Labor Premier of Great Britain)

The Socialist Movement in this country has passed beyond the propaganda stage. It has been the Government, and is now the official Opposition and the only alternative to the present Government. We have got so far that the question here is not whether Socialism is right, but how it is to be brought about. The name has ceased to alarm our people. From it are to come the ideas that are to be embodied in the legislation and administration of the immediate future. But here comes a difficulty.

Great social changes cannot be made with a magical rapidity. Society is an intricate relationship of interdependent conditions and so the problem that faces Socialists in power is one of adjustment. Or it may be put in this way: The concern of the revolutionary Socialist is the transformation period; but it is the necessary existence of such a period that troubles the Socialist of the purely propagandist mind. He will recognize no such period. To him Socialism can be brought about by a declaration in one or two Acts of Parliament, and yet the Russian drama has great attractions for Socialists who do not, or will not, understand the nature of the Socialist problem. There seems to be an energetic will in it; it has force and movement—just like the slogan of "Not us

power for Socialist ends. When Socialists get their political majority, they have to face the facts. Are they to act as though there had been a violent revolution that left them on the top, and should they at once paralyze the system they inherited, whilst they proceed to build up a new one? The great illustration of this method is Russia today. There, land legislation has been passed which our Party here regards as antediluvian and reactionary, and with absolute political power in their hands the Soviets have not solved a single economic or industrial problem of capitalist civilization. If our people, as the result of a Socialist Government or a Socialist revolution, were to find themselves in the position of the Russian working classes today, a "dictatorship of the proletariat" would have to be established not to end the work of finishing off the bourgeoisie, but to keep the heads of the Government on their shoulders.

The Russian revolutionary method has not thrown a solitary beam of clear light upon any of the practical tasks upon which the constructive Socialist wishes for some guidance. I impute no blame; I state a fact which every Socialist knows to be true.

Russia had no transition period, and so it has to go back and make one. It was a case of "more haste, less speed," and yet the Russian drama has great attractions for Socialists who do not, or will not, understand the nature of the Socialist problem. There seems to be an energetic will in it; it has force and movement—just like the slogan of "Not us

a penny off the pay and not a minute on the day" which, by substituting inflaming words for icy reality, hurled the best body of fighting men and women in this Kingdom to disaster and played the game of the Government and the coal owners.

This is the source of the disputes in our Socialist Movement today. The vast bulk of the Labor Party believes in the transition period when, by legislation strengthening the social services; by cooperation between political and industrial labor; by raising standards of working class life; by nationalizing properties like land and railways that dominate all production, use and distribution; by steadily increasing social control over economic power, the national income will be used for the common wealth, parasitism and sweating be ended, and Socialist ideas and conceptions be embodied in all our social institutions.

And so the Labor Party goes from strength to strength. I prophesied that we should win the bye-elections in which we were engaged, and the first has come off. The Government fought Stourbridge for all it was worth. It poured into the constituency speakers and canvassers. Some ill-considered words had been spoken by some of our people which seemed to imply that they did not mind very much if our nationals were murdered in Shanghai. That never was the position of the Party, but the Tories used their best to make it appear to be so. Result: we have won the seat in a way that the most optimistic hardly dared to expect. At the