

Munition Makers And War Profiteers Consolidate

Engineers Vote to Go Out of Banking And Investments

Find That Obligations from Venture Into Business Are \$12,900,000 CLEVELAND—The history-making 46-day convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers here has ended. The big, outstanding act of the convention was the decision to liquidate the entire banking and investment business of the union as soon as this can be done with the least possible loss.

Socialists Make Splendid Wisconsin Legislative Record

Open Way to Protect Natural Resources—Block All Anti-Labor Bills What a little handful of ten Socialists can accomplish for labor, and for the democracy for the common people, in a big legislative body was revealed recently in an interview of the Socialist members of the Wisconsin Legislature which just adjourned.

Democratic Loyalty to Capitalism Shown On Philippine Issue

Despite Platform and Pledges, Leaders Take Imperialist Stand for Retention NEW YORK—Democratic party leaders throughout the country have almost completely abandoned their traditional party position favoring immediate independence of the Philippines, according to results of a symposium conducted among representative Democrats by Vicente Villamin, Filipino lawyer and publicist, to be published in The Review of Reviews for August.

From The Pen Of Debs (Compiled by Theodore Debs) Youth And Action

Until recent years, the young were not supposed to be wise enough to do much of anything except to follow in the footsteps of the old, the wrinkled and gray of hair. The physician, the judge, the lawyer, the author, all have the testimonials of Old Father Time before being accounted fit and proper to attain eminence in their respective professions.

Declares Coolidge Will Not Stop New War Trust Monster

Department of Justice Has Taken No Action on 4 Billion Merger By Harvey O'Connor WASHINGTON—Half of Washington is amazed, the other half puzzled by the sudden decision of the federal trade commission to investigate the "close financial relations" between the three giants of American industry, United States Steel, General Motors and Du Pont de Nemours.

War Record of Peaceful America

Fifty wars and campaigns since the Civil War is the record of the United States Army, according to the Veterans Bureau. Thirty-four expeditions were conducted against the Indians between 1860 and 1898, yielding the United States undisputed possession of immense tracts of land.

Four Biggest Trusts Unite To Form Largest Combine In the World

Reports that the Federal Trade Commission has ordered the investigation of the proposed financial alliances affecting the E. I. Du Pont de Nemours company, the United States Steel corporation, the General Motors Company and the General Electric Company has brought to light one of the most startling moves in all the history of trust organization.

Socialists Carry Iceland Election

Copenhagen, Denmark, July 30.—The Iceland conservative cabinet has left office and has been replaced by a socialist government, following the victory of the socialists in the election this week.

May Unite Labor Party and I. L. P. In Great Britain

LONDON—The Daily Herald reports that a Lancastr organization will move in the October convention of the British Labor party to take steps for a permanent fusion of the Independent Labor party with the Labor party.

Maurer Leaves With Labor Delegation On Trip to Russia

NEW YORK—James H. Maurer, president of the Independent Federation of Labor and the Workers Education Bureau obtaining his passport under difficulties the trade union delegation to the Soviet Union and other European countries finally sailed on the S. S. Roosevelt.

Striking Miners for Labor Party

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—The United Trade Council of Brownsville, Pa., which affiliates city craftsmen and thousands of union miners has summoned all its local unions to send representatives to a Labor Party conference at Bentleyville, Aug. 14.

6,000 Workers At Reading Picnic

READING, Pa.—Six thousand workers crowding the grounds at the Reading Socialist picnic started off the campaign to elect James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and George Snyder to the Reading City council and J. Henry Stump, President of the Reading Federated Trades Council, mayor.

Teaching Militarism By Correspondence

Washington, D. C.—Correspondence schools conducted by the army for the purpose of providing military training economically to the citizen soldier boast a total enrollment of 30,000. In announcing the rapid growth of the schools, army officials stated that 321 courses are now offered.

Socialists Offer To Help In Strike

The Socialist Party of New York City has offered its services for any kind of assistance or date without reservation to the traction workers who face a protracted strike and a big organization drive.

Labor Party Is Formed in India

MADRAS—The president of the Indian national congress and the president of the Madras labor federation have agreed to launch the beginnings of an Indian labor party.

Manitoba Labor Wins Three Seats

MANITOBA—In the recent provincial elections the Independent Labor party obtained three seats in the provincial legislature for the city of Manitoba. The party ran six candidates. The Communists were unsuccessful with the one candidate they supported.

America No Longer Refuge of Oppressed

ROME, July 30.—Deported to Italy by American immigration authorities for having entered the United States clandestinely and arrested at Naples as an anti-Fascist agitator, Manlio Chiosso today was condemned to thirteen years of hard labor.

State Rails Pay

SYDNEY—The capital cost of construction and equipment of all the government-owned railways in Australia (all States) totals \$1,441,959,775. The number of miles constructed totals 25,379. The net earnings last year were \$59,265,000, equal to 4.32 per cent of the capital cost.

Government Sieses Aliens' Bail Bonds

An autocratic condition precedent with the deportation activities of the government has been uncovered by the American Civil Liberties Union. In the case of non-alienable aliens under bail bonds, the government is retaining the bail bonds.

Cooperative Colony Forces Unionization

NEW YORK—Unions where none were before have been formed by the United Workers Cooperative in its new apartment house near Bronx Park, New York. Business from 339 cooperating worker families—800 people, was attractive enough to a big milk dealer and to a large steam laundry to win their recognition of unions among their workers at the demand of the cooperative.

Americans Continue War Plane Murders

MANATUA, July 30.—American aviators, aided by the land forces in pursuing the rebel Gen. Bandino, again bombed a small outpost of Sandino's troops yesterday. Several Nicaraguans were killed and wounded, reports reaching here today said.

WALLS AND BARS IS OFF THE PRESS!

What It It Like

Three Ways to Get It

How to Get It Free

The new volume is splendid in every way. It surpasses our expectations. It is a beautiful clothbound, red covered volume of 248 pages containing the best picture of Debs and pictures of the prisons where he made his supreme sacrifices for workers, for world peace and for the cause of Socialism.

There is no way to convey to our readers the magnificent contents of the book better than to repeat the titles of the various chapters. They are: The Relation of Society to the Convict; The Prison as an Incubator of Crime; I Become U. S. Convict No. 9683; Sharing the Lot of "Les Miserables"; Transferred from Cell to Hospital; Visitors and Visiting; My 1920 Campaign for President; A Christmas Eve Reception; Leaving the Prison; General Prison Conditions; Poverty Populates the Prison; Creating the Criminal; How I Would Manage the Prison; Capitalism and Crime; Poverty and the Prison; Socialism and the Prison; Prison Labor, Its Effects on Industry and Trade; Studies Behind Prison Walls; Waiting Life.

In this book Debs is at his best in his most glowing, heart throbbing and glorious style. We cannot do better than to quote one statement from the first chapter: "A prison is an institution to which any of us may go at any time. Some of us go to prison for breaking the law, and some of us for upholding and abiding by the Constitution to which the law is supposed to adhere. Some go to prison for killing their fellow men, and others for believing that murder is a violation of the Commandments. Some go to prison for stealing, and others for believing that a better system can be provided and maintained than one that makes it necessary for a man to steal in order to live."

It is the soul outpourings, the living heart-throbs, the most splendid and beautiful thoughts that have arisen spontaneously out of the crucifixion of one of the world's greatest souls.

WALLS AND BARS belongs to the Socialist Party. It was the last great generous gift of Debs to the Movement to which he gave his life.

The Party has made terms with the publishers which enable the Party to make a good margin of profit on every volume put into circulation. The book is going to be used to put the Party in financial shape to wage a great campaign in 1928—the presidential campaign year, AND TO SAVE DEBS' PAPER AND PUT IN ON A PERMANENT BASIS.

To attain these ends, WE ARE GOING TO CIRCULATE 100,000 COPIES OF WALLS AND BARS THIS YEAR. WITH THE HELP OF THE APPEAL ARMY AND READERS WE CAN AND WILL DO THIS.

IT CAN BE DONE if you will do any of the following things: 1—Send in \$5 or more worth of subscriptions, or buy \$5 or more worth of subscription cards which you can sell later and get your money back, or order \$5 bundles for distribution, or make a gift of \$5 or more to be used to send the Appeal to new subscribers. Do any of these things and the book will be sent to you free as a reward for service.

2—We will allow reliable members of the Appeal Army, who apply to us, to sell WALLS AND BARS at a good commission. Chicago comrades have already started to sell this book. They are having amazing success and are making money. Send in your application and we will consider it and let you know the terms.

3—Buy the book. It is \$1.50 cents per volume, prepaid; or \$1.00 for one dozen volumes, or \$100 for 100 volumes.

If we can sell 100,000 volumes of WALLS AND BARS by the end of 1927, THE BIG SUCCESS OF THE 1928 CAMPAIGN AND THE LIFE OF THE AMERICAN APPEAL THROUGH 1928 WILL BE INSURED.

WALLS AND BARS is off the press! Hundreds of copies are going into the mails this week.

Nearly one hundred copies won by our prize winners—earned for faithful service in extending the circulation of the American Appeal by getting \$5 worth of subs or paying for \$5 worth—will be mailed to the winners this week.

On a fly leaf at the front of the book on a Socialist Party stamp will appear this legend in every book earned as a prize:

In recognition of faithful service. From the Socialist Party To John Smith (Name of Prize Winner) William H. Henry National Executive Secretary

We want this little faithful band of about a hundred who earned this prize in advance to swell soon into an army of several thousand. There is no reason why every Socialist and friend of Debs in the United States should not get WALLS AND BARS this way. This priceless memento will remain with you the rest of your life as a souvenir and treasure of inestimable value. It will constitute a special mark of honor for all those who valiantly helped when the Movement most needed help and when it required courage and fortitude and sacrifice to help.

You will keep such a memento all your life and you will leave it behind for your children, relatives or friends. IT WILL PLACE YOU IN THE ROLL OF HONOR OF THOSE WHO RESTORED THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND MADE DEBS' PAPER A PERMANENT INSTITUTION.

Socialist Party News

Thousands of Debs' Book Going Into Mail

The new Debs book "WALLS AND BARS" is off the press and being mailed out. Every one that has sent a copy of it thinks it is a fine piece of work, put up in the very best of material. This book will create much interest among those that read it. Not only will our comrades be enthusiastic over its contents, but other people should be interested in prison reform, and with a complete story of prisons, what they are and what effect they have on inmates. This book will give the whole wholesome information. Further, it is a great work. We urge our Socialist friends everywhere to lose no time in securing this book, not only individual copies for personal use, but they should be bought in quantities and taken out and sold. Now is the time to push it with a vengeance.

Party Work

The hot summer months are passing and in many sections the cool weather is making its visit. We are quite confident that comrades will get more active now and push the work as they have never pushed it before. There is no time to lose. The big National Convention is to be held in January to nominate for President and Vice President. Comrade Gerber is on the job to assist in lining up party tickets in each and every state of the union. We urge every one to get lined up with new members and get the locals and branches to work and prepare for the great work confronting us.

American Appeal

The American Appeal is the Party's National Official Weekly and our comrades must see to it that it gets a large circulation. Each individual should take it upon himself or herself to increase the circulation in their own community. The receipts for the Appeal during the hot months have fallen down half and it has endangered the paper. We want the comrades everywhere to know that we have had a desperate struggle to keep the paper going and we want them all to know that without their undivided support now, the paper cannot be kept going very long, but we feel satisfied that a tip to the wise will be heeded and that increased activity will begin at once.

Massachusetts

Comrade Alfred Baker Lewis, Secretary of the New England District, has been doing a fine job. Even with the hot weather to contend with, meetings are being held by Comrade Eather Friedman throughout the State of Massachusetts and have been very successful. She has sold much literature and gathered subscriptions for the Socialist press. Not only has Comrade Lewis been able to reach out with speakers in the various localities, but has persistently pushed the subscription list of the American Appeal. Every day or two we hear from him with checks for subscriptions and literature. We wish every State Secretary would do likewise.

New York

The unofficial party convention for Schenectady County resulted in the endorsement of candidates for most county and city offices. Ward and town tickets will be completed in the near future. James Foley was endorsed from the 1st Assembly District, and Thomas D. Pashey of Glenville for Assemblyman from the 2nd Assembly District. Herbert M. Merrill was again endorsed for Mayor, Charles W. Noonan for President of

Merrill Named for Schenectady Mayor

SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—With Herbert M. Merrill, New York State Socialist secretary, for mayor and Charles W. Noonan endorsed by the Socialist Party for president of the Common Council and a full Socialist ticket endorsed from top to bottom, the Schenectady Socialists are preparing for one of the hottest and most successful city campaigns in recent years. Schenectady is one of the spots in America where the Socialist movement has maintained considerable strength since the war.

Wisconsin

The Wisconsin Socialists, especially those in Milwaukee, never forget that propaganda is a necessary part of our work every day in the year. They are putting out 100,000 copies of a four page propaganda sheet every month, distributing them from house to house. They are renewing the enthusiasm for the campaign of 1928. They will be heard from with victories for the cause.

Utah

The following are minutes of the meeting of the Utah State Committee and State Convention held at 2 P. M. in the Salt Lake City Library, July 24, 1927:

Utah

The Convention was called to order by Comrade E. G. Locke of Salt Lake at 2 p. m. and at once adjourned to attend the funeral of Comrade Joseph H. Kaufman of Salt Lake, a former member of the State Committee. At 3 p. m. the Convention convened again with E. G. Locke in the Chair and with O. A. Kennedy acting as Secretary.

Utah

The State Secretary made a complete report of work done. The State Secretary also reported that the number of subscribers to the Appeal was around 200. Subscriptions and sales of stamps, he stated, were above the average according to the population of the state. A report was made of the organizing work of Comrade Dora Morris, Ida Crouch-Hazlett and C. T. Stoney during the past year.

Utah

By resolution the dues for members at large in Utah was reduced from 25 to 20 cents per month. The following resolution was adopted: RESOLVED:—That it be the sentiment of this Convention that in State, District, County, City and Precinct conventions and committees the procedure be as follows:

That in political subdivisions where there are recognized locals nominations should be made by delegates who are red card members and candidates should be red card members or non dues paying members may serve on committees.

That in districts, cities, counties and precincts where there are no local delegates to conventions, candidates and committees should consist of persons known to be loyal adherents of the Socialist Party of the United States.

Loyalty to the Party may be determined as follows: 1—By paying dues, or 2—by subscribing to party paper, or 3—by purchasing Party literature, or 4—by contributing to Party funds.

On motion the following were appointed state organizers: E. G. Locke, Alf Sorenson and C. T. Stoney of Salt Lake; A. E. Parsons of Toledo; J. C. Grundvig of Wellington; and John O. Watters of Duchesne.

The State Committee with C. T. Stoney added was instructed to consider the invitation of Salt Lake Local to invite the Socialists of the Western states to informal conference to be held in Salt Lake on Labor Day. Adjourned.

—O. A. Kennedy, Secretary

Soap Boxer Comes Back in Chicago

The notion among some tired and discouraged Socialists that because of the auto, the movie and the present state of the American mind the days of the street meeting were over is being effectively exploded in Chicago. A street meeting was attempted during the week last past and a vote of the membership was approved by a wide margin, would work a hard job in the State of New Jersey.

New Jersey Favors Early Action

The referendum initiated by Local Livingstone, Montana, although it has good points and has been initiated with all good intentions for the best interests of the party, will not put in a vote of the membership as approved by a wide margin, would work a hard job in the State of New Jersey.

Panken May Speak At Chicago Picnic

Although James H. Maurer will not be able to speak at the Chicago picnic in Riverview Park, Chicago, Sunday, August 28, as scheduled, account of his having joined the labor mission to Russia, the committee is making arrangements for an unusually strong line-up of speakers.

Hillquit for Early Convention Date

The following view regarding the date of the National Socialist Party convention from January 14, 1927, may express the view of the majority of the National Executive Committee.

By Morris Hillquit

The reasons why the National Executive Committee decided to call the next national convention for January 14, 1928, may be summarized as follows:

There is not a party or movement on the political horizon of the country with whom the Socialist Party could expect to cooperate in the presidential election of 1928.

Unless our party is ready to quit the political arena it will, therefore, have to make independent nominations for President and Vice President and wage a vigorous campaign for its candidates.

That means that we must name a presidential ticket in as many of the 48 states as possible, preferably in all of them.

In most states we shall have to nominate by petition or in primaries,

Walls And Bars Prize Winners

A great many Appeal readers are getting WALLS AND BARS as a reward for service. Join the honor roll and get it this way. Eleven new ones came in last week. Let's make it several times that many each week, now that the real drive is on. Here are the Army members who sent in \$5 or more for subs or cards, bundles, or as gifts:

- Robert Seppala, Ashtabula, Ohio. (\$6.00 contribution)
Josef Mueller, German Branch New York City. (\$5.00 sub.)
Mrs. M. E. Blaylock, Greenwood, Ark. (\$5.00)
J. H. Arnold, Columbus, Ind. (\$5.00 subs and cards)
C. E. Perry, Logansport, Ind. (\$5.00 bundles)
L. V. Estey, Bend, Ore. (\$5.00 subs)
Ed Haas, Louisville, Ky. (\$5.00 subs and donation)
Nelson J. West, Ludlow, Mass. (\$5.00 cards)
Ray Newkirk, Utica, N. Y. (\$5.00 subs, cards & Bundles)
Joseph W. Sharts, Dayton, Ohio. (\$20.00 Sustaining Fund)
F. E. Stevens, Louisville, Ky. (\$5.00 sub and donation)

The Du Ponts cleaned up \$200,000 in one day as a result of a rise in steel trust stocks. Within a few weeks they have realized \$1,100,000 on their carry over. This is not a little thing into who buys and owns the big blocks of stock, and how easy it now is for the members of a royal capitalist family of America to put each other wise and pocket a few millions whenever they need it.

A Socialist Camp

It is surely news to all of those Socialists who do not read the Jewish press that a very excellent camp has been established by their Jewish comrades, named Camp Gandelin (Paradise) located near Cold Spring on the Hudson River.

Camp Gandelin is now in the third year of its existence and is growing in popularity as well as in population. The location is one that not only compares with the very best camps in the country, but one can conservatively say that in beauty and airiness it exceeds most of them. It is located high up on the side of one of the mountains overlooking the Hudson River Valley. The view from the dining and social halls is the same as that from the parade ground of the West Point Military Academy.

For those who are not in a position to pay the high prices charged by some of the camps and who prefer to rough it out in the open for themselves and their families, there are few places that one can recommend more highly than this camp. The camp is within easy distance of New York City by automobile on the Albany Post Road, or one can go by boat to Cold Spring, or by the New York Central. Last but not least, it should be kept in mind that the entire undertaking is purely cooperative.

Camp Gandelin is owned by Socialists and run for the benefit of Socialists, sympathizers and their friends. Those desiring further information are requested to get in touch with Secretary Claessens, 7 East 15th Street, phone, Algonquin, 4629, or to the Jewish Socialist Ver-hand, 75 East Broadway and the Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 106th Street.

This Is What You Have Been Looking For

- "AMERICAN COMMUNISM" by James O'neal, a standard authority on this question that you cannot afford to be without \$1.50
"WHAT'S SO AND WHAT ISN'T," by John M. Work, a real text book on Socialism—answers all the questions on the subject that are put to you day by day. Revised edition 50
"LEFT TO RIGHT" by H. P. Sinclair. These letters were printed serially in THE AMERICAN APPEAL and won much favorable comment 15
"THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE," by Walter Thomas Mills, a standard work and now much in demand 3.00
"HISTORY OF IMPERIALISM," by Irvin St. John Tucker; of particular interest at this time; regular price \$2.25, special now 1.50
Total \$4.85
Singly, or the \$ in one order for \$5.00

Order From National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 WASHINGTON BLVD., CHICAGO

Sub-A-Month Pledges

After one week without any Sub-A-Month Pledges, the Appeal staff's hearts were gladdened during the week by two more pledges. These pledges—this move to organize the Appeal Army, must not be allowed to lapse. After the WALLS AND BARS drive is over WE WILL HAVE TO PERSEVERE ENOUGH ARMY MEMBERS TO TAKE THIS PLEDGE IN ORDER TO INSURE THE PERMANENCE OF THE AMERICAN APPEAL. It is the only way. Sooner or later you will have to choose between taking the Sub-A-Month Pledge or letting the Paper and Party die. You might as well make that choice now.

- Here are the pledges for the week:
Heck Sinclair, Long Beach, California.
"A Marxian," Tennessee.
That gives us 57 Sub-A-Month Pledges.
Who will be next?

Army Record

The Appeal Army is still sleeping the sweet midsummer sleep. While it is snoring a dangerous deficit is being up against the Appeal Army. The Appeal is depending on the Army to lift this debt now that the drive to give WALLS AND BARS a hundred thousand circulation is on. GET BUSY RIGHT AWAY—THIS WEEK. Our creditors have begun to pack us. In one week one-fifth of our readers could put us in the clear if they would each send in ONE SUB. WILL YOU BE ONE NEXT WEEK? PROMISE THE APPEAL BY SENDING IN A SUB? Here is the record for the week ending July 30, 1927:

Table with 2 columns: Item, Amount. Includes Subscriptions, Bundles, Promotions & Sustaining Fund, Sub-A-Month Donations, Total \$134.25.

Fund Report

The contributions to the American Appeal, Promotions and Sustaining Fund for the week ending July 30 are given below. Thanks, comrades, for this timely help. Here is the record:

- Contributions:
L. G. Wagner, Newton, Mont. \$1.00
J. F. Ombert, Ocean City, Md. 1.00
Ed Haas, Louisville, Ky. 4.00
Albert Gasnier, Sharon, Pa. 2.00
F. E. Stevens, Louisville, Ky. 4.00
Total \$10.00

On Pledges

Robert Seppala, Ashtabula, Ohio \$6.00
Joseph W. Sharts, Dayton, Ohio 20.00
Total \$26.00

Sub-A-Month Donations

Heck Sinclair, Long Beach, Cal. \$1.00
Total funds \$17.50
Previously reported \$5,099.89
Total gifts since January 1 \$5,137.19

Farmer-Laborites to Have Magazine

ST. PAUL, Minn.—The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota has decided to publish a monthly magazine devoted to the education of the farmers and city workers in fundamental economic and democratic principles. It will be under the control of a publicity board composed of the editors of the 25 Farmer-Labor papers in Minnesota. A sample edition with articles by the leading progressives of the nation will be printed in time for the state convention of the Farmer-Labor Association in St. Paul, September 2 and 3.

In announcing the coming of this magazine, the Minnesota Union Advocate, Farmer-Labor paper of St. Paul, states that nothing but fundamental education of the workers in economics will insure the per-

Russia Learning Big Scale Farming

The Soviet government has a 25 reconstruction farm at Melk, near Russia, managed by American engineers. The best up-to-date American machinery. The purpose is to teach the peasants the advantages of large scale farming and this is being done out of quite a number of experimental farms of this kind. Harvesting began at Melk in June in the presence of guests and a most successful year. The success of machinery and big scale farming is converting the farmer to a milch around, the report says. Twelve boys were trained during the season in mechanized farm production.

A Two Dollar Book for Fifty cents

Drugless Health. A new book by Dr. Joseph H. Greer. 253 Pages. 75 Illustrations. Health and long life by Natural Means. Money back if not satisfied. Send Satisfying Order. DR. JOSEPH H. GREER, 4114 Michigan Ave., Chicago.

The Labor World

Oldest continuous weekly Socialist paper in the U. S. Room 204 Grand Bldg., San Francisco. Cameron H. King, Editor. Lena Morrow Lewis, Mgr. Ed. \$1 per year.

Volks-Stimme

German Socialist Weekly. Subscription Rate, \$2.00 Per Year. Write Today for a Sample Copy. VOLKS-STIMME, 197 No. 6th St., PHILADELPHIA, PA.

THE NEW LEADER

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY. 10 Pages Each Week. Indispensable to anyone who desires to be well posted on the progress and activities in the Socialist and Labor Movement here and abroad.

JAMES ONEAL, Editor

Weekly features by Norman Thomas, M. M. Foster, Coleman, Adam Cosliger, Samuel A. De Witt, etc. \$1.00 FOR SIX MONTHS. Send today for a sample copy.

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GERMAN SOCIALIST WEEKLY. The only one in the Middle West. Editor, HEINRICH BARTEL. \$2.50 per year; \$1.25 for six months. Published at 230 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.

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Signature line

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Coolidge Tax Plan

Coolidge has proposed a plan of tax reduction, in view of the threatened \$600,000,000 surplus, which is a raw and brazen expression of the present dictatorship of big business. He proposes that this surplus shall be avoided by reducing the taxes only on the rich and super-rich. He proposes that a flat reduction on all other incomes, by a flat reduction on their taxes to the extent of 13 1/2 per cent.

This is one of the most flagrant and specialized examples of favoritism in the history of this country. The corporations represent the peculiar form of wealth known in this country as capital. This is the most successful method of extracting wealth and profit. They represent the biggest and easiest incomes, incomes representing the larger part of the income of the nation, incomes that are a tax and drain on all other incomes, incomes that represent dangerous concentration and dangerous industrial and political power. From all other classes Coolidge singles out this fortunate, powerful and favored class to assist by a reduction of taxes to the extent of 13 1/2 per cent.

His tax reduction would not help small business, which is in desperate straits, because small business is founded largely on individuals, enterprises and partnerships, rather than on corporations. His proposal would not help the farmers at all. It would entirely neglect this most needy and useful class of property owners in the nation. The fact that taxes absorbed a third of the farm income last year and taxation is one of the things that is crushing the farmers.

By handing this \$600,000,000 to the farmers by tax readjustments to the consumers by wiping out the taxes on the industrial proletariat, Coolidge could perform a great service, but the president is too thoroughly the tool of organized capitalism to even consider such things.

But, the proposal to hand back this \$600,000,000 surplus at this time is a gross absurdity, in the face of the fact that the government is spending hundreds of millions of dollars yearly to pay interest on war debts. Why does not the president use this rare opportunity to pay off the war principal and stop this drain?

The president, moreover, proposes to hand this surplus over to the richest and most favored class, in the face of the grievous need for a large expenditure to relieve the Mississippi flood victims and erect a great flood control system. This proposal in the face of this great public need is one of the most brazen and vicious examples of class favoritism and cronyism in the history of this country.

Hoover Flood Plan

As a companion piece with the president's tax plan in the present era of class favoritism and cronyism, Hoover's Mississippi flood plan. After spending months on the ground among the hundreds of thousands of flood victims and thousands of square miles of devastated territory, Hoover pompously announces that the United States will have to spend the staggering sum of \$150,000,000 for flood relief and control—spread over a period of ten years.

That is just \$15,000,000 dollars a year to be spent by the greatest and richest nation in the world on a major national project involving immediate relief to 15,000,000 flood victims; future safety to several million people; the protection of crops annually worth a billion or more; navigation possibilities worth hundreds of millions annually; and power possibilities worth potentially billions of dollars.

Hoover's proposal is one of history's great anti-climaxes.

The United States is already spending \$10,000,000 on Mississippi floods and is barely preventing the ordinary flood situation from getting beyond bounds. Now comes Hoover and magnanimously proposes in the face of the present extreme emergency and the breakdown of the Hoover system to increase the expenditure to \$15,000,000 a year and get to change methods of control in any essential manner. The only new thing he proposes, in fact, is the possible development of reservoirs in the Arkansas River basin. And this in the presence of a prospective revenue surplus that is worrying the Republican politicians stiff! Could anything illustrate more strikingly than this the parsimony, the utter niggardliness, of capitalism in all things that pertain to public safety and constructive national projects?

Capitalism is interested in nothing but the building up of private fortunes at the expense of the public. Its whole instinct is to exploit and plunder the public for private gain. Its savage greed it would snatch \$40,000,000 from under the very feet of the 750,000,000 flood victims and threatened with palliages. It would leave them endangered and jeopardized in the future. It would leave their productive lands subject to periodical inundations. It would forego all possibility of any public power development that might encroach on its power and its profits. And yet, while this situation confronts us, our capitalist government is getting ready to enter into a naval race of death that will cost billions! What a vile, monstrous, unspicable system!

The Standard Oil and Royal Dutch and Shell Oil companies, have agreed to boycott Russia for confiscating private property owned by them under the Czar. These international bandits own most of the oil in the world because of their wholesale confiscation of private property, but when they are given the same medicine in a different way, how they squeal!

The Labor Mission to Russia

The American Appeal is highly pleased to learn that Jim Maurer, Socialist veteran and president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, has gone to Russia as a member of a labor body which intends to investigate labor conditions in Russia and other European countries. It is gratifying to see other good Socialists like Stewart Chase in the expedition. It is with deep regret that we note the absence of names of prominent trade unionists formerly announced as prospective members of the expedition.

A labor movement cannot afford to place itself in the position of being placed to investigate conditions and facts first hand, or of having so little confidence in itself that it is afraid of being duped and imposed upon. An individual would indeed think poorly of himself who would parade himself that he could go to Russia and could be prevented from getting some inkling of the truth there.

Above all things the workers should know the truth about Russia. One thing is clear: a degree of socialization or government ownership of the basic industries and of finance and commerce has been attained there never before known in the history of the world. The cooperative movement, from all trustworthy accounts, has developed beyond anything known in any other part of the world, except perhaps, Denmark. These two facts alone, should thrill all workers and cause them to haul above all things for industrial and political progress in Russia.

The Appeal has had occasion to criticize the mischievous and often destructive tactics of the Third International, but the Appeal's opposition to communist tactics has never blinded it to the supreme importance of the Russian revolution. That event which for the first time in human history placed the industrial proletariat in power and started great Socialist developments among 145,000,000 people over one-sixth of the earth's surface, will perhaps stand out as the greatest event in this history of the human race.

The Lesson of the Engineers' Bank

The decision of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers to go out of business as soon as this can be done with the least possible loss brings out strikingly an important truth about trade union and cooperative activities. The overwhelming majority of the members believe in and support the capitalist system. This organization was unfitted to utilize the great cooperative instrument as a means of labor emancipation. It had no conception of laying hold of the cooperative instrument as a means of struggle. It had no vision of a better cooperative social order that would extend over every department of industrial life and make capitalism only an evil memory.

Without an social vision; without class purpose, the Engineers undertook the task of leading the workers ever known in the history of the labor movement. It was inevitable that the institutions they founded would soon become hardly distinguishable from any other capitalist institutions in the same line of business. They accepted the capitalist game. They found themselves in a competitive field where they had to adopt capitalist methods or fail. Their enterprises simply became union-owned capitalist enterprises. They became more and more laborized or socialized of capital, their efforts made toward the capitalization of labor. They were simply a case of the little man playing the big man's game in the big man's house. The result was that they lost.

Success under these circumstances would have been more damaging to the labor movement than failure. Had the Engineers' union expanded its enterprises and become fabulously rich, it would have meant only that the union itself as a whole would have lost its labor purpose and fighting spirit and the members who owned stock in these enterprises would have separated themselves from manual labor and the labor movement as rapidly as circumstances would permit and would have become capitalist opponents of labor.

The experience of the Locomotive Engineers brings out strikingly the value of the Socialist movement as an educational force. Where Socialism has done its work and the workers have become class conscious and socially minded they are using the cooperative to develop a system in opposition to the existing system. They are helping to develop a new social mind and spirit opposed to the whole prevalent psychology. Their cooperatives take on a character of permanence and develop a tendency to unite with all cooperatives of their kind into a world-wide cooperative system. They develop methods entirely different from capitalist methods. They retain their democratic character. They become more and more of the nature of class instruments in the class struggle. Such are the real cooperatives of Europe. The Socialist movement, Socialist ideals and Socialist education alone give cooperatives value and significance.

It remains to be seen whether or not the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, certain Hebrew trades, certain Finnish and other foreign cooperative groups with a Socialist purpose, can found a real cooperative movement in the poisonous and stifling atmosphere of American capitalism.

Murder for Profits

An excursion boat, "the Favorite," containing 71 men, women and children seeking relief from the sweltering heat of Chicago, was overturned by a little squall on Lake Michigan only a few hundred feet from the shore and 26 women and children and one man were drowned. Stories told in the investigation that followed show that the boat was too heavy. There was a dangerous absence of ballast below. The engine and machinery were surprisingly small and light, thus being less expensive and more profitable. So top heavy was the boat that when the passengers went to one side of it and shelter from a sudden rainstorm, this combined with the fact that the wind struck the ship at the same time from the direction of the rain upset the boat. This boat, which events have shown, was nothing but a death trap, had been inspected and "passed" by public inspectors. It was stated in the investigation that there are other excursion boats on Lake Michigan less safe than "the Favorite." It will be recalled that the Eastland disaster about eleven years ago in which more than a thousand lost their lives was the result of the passengers crowding to one side of a top heavy boat to escape the rain. Boats like this are carelessly, criminally made, and used because they are cheaper and more profitable. They are passed by inspectors to accommodate influential profiteering interests. It is a widespread process of murder for profits.

Cause and Remedy for High Prices

In conversation with a Nebraska City business man a few days since the Appeal learned that when a chain store opened in that city some weeks ago they met with the most vigorous opposition in numerous ways. The new store wanted to put on the 5 cent loaf but they could not get a bakery in the city to make it or sell it to them, that all the other grocers would boycott the baker who would. They tried one or two other towns in that locality with the same result and finally had to get their bread of a Lincoln bakery. He says, also, that wholesalers in that city also refused to do business with the chain store, all of which goes to demonstrate that combination in trade circles is everywhere in this country, fixes the price of commodities, has much to do with the high cost of living and makes the consumer the goat.

What is the remedy? When the people become weary of being plundered by combines or monopoly they will find a way out by establishing public owned stores, just as they have established public owned water systems.

Our informant tells us the chain stores have reduced food costs fully 20 per cent in Nebraska City and that the J. C. Penny store has reduced the price of dry goods, clothing, etc. to fully the same extent.

Business methods are certainly changing these days. Monopoly is killing itself; capitalism is digging its own grave.

Another Public Ownership Horror

Another one of the horrors of public ownership—the San's big ditch at Panama is extended to make a record for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927, equal or superior to that of the fiscal year of 1924, which hitherto has stood at the top. For the first 11 months of the current fiscal year, sales have amounted to \$22,000,000. June is sure to put them above \$21,000,000. During the month of May more than 15 ships per day were sent through the canal, and the average daily tolls were above \$65,000. As Uncle Sam owns and operates the canal, all the revenues, maintenance and interest charges goes to the people, through their government. The canal in this way is fast paying for itself.

Chicago police have collected 500 firearms of all sorts used by its citizens to take their own lives. It is a fine picture of the success of the present system. The police are going to dump these instruments of suicide into Lake Michigan so others cannot use them or be influenced by this. This is about as deep as capitalist remedy for existing evils ever goes.

American capitalists have invested 13 billion dollars in foreign countries since 1925. Every one of these dollars under the present system is a distinct influence for militarism, war and imperialism, but on good, live, understanding individual who is not afraid to proclaim the truth can outweigh a good many imperialist dollars.

Last year the farmers, representing 30 per cent of the population received 10 per cent of the national income, while the capitalists, representing 26 per cent of the population received 26 per cent of the national income. If the present system is right the "services" of one non-producing capitalist are worth as much to society as the work of 39 producing farmers.

Newspaper investigation has disclosed the fact that Chicago has more jobless women and girls than it has had for ten years. These same papers have been claiming that Chicago is enjoying unexampled prosperity. It is a great prosperity for the jobless dividends while it depriving needy women and girls of work.

Socialism aims to make industry so efficient that the average individual can produce all he wants working only part time. It aims to make the production of material things so efficient that men and women will be freed from the material process the biggest part of the time, and at liberty to express themselves and enjoy themselves on a higher plane, and

Killed, 137,017; injured, 3,500,000.

No, that isn't a casualty list from the world war. It is a record of automobile accidents in the United States from 1919 to 1926. Two-thirds of this toll of life is the price we pay because we are afraid to regulate property and privileges.

Liberty Slipping In United States

Arthur Garfield Hays

(Member Executive Committee, American Civil Liberties Union)

Little by little the liberties of American citizens are slipping away and the process is so gradual as to be hardly noticeable. However, we are gradually losing even the fundamental rights of free speech, free press and free assembly.

You can speak and write on any subject you please, providing what you say or write is not disapproved by the powers that be.

Freedom of residence is a fundamental right and yet in 1925 Dr. Ossian Sweet and ten other Negroes in Detroit were put on trial for murder for defending themselves against a mob of white men who tried to force them from their homes.

We are no longer the country of the oppressed of other nations. Our immigration laws bar out the seekers of opportunity in America. We are not even the country of political refugees. We send anti-Fascist back to Italy, sometimes to jail and torture.

Unfortunately, during the last year, the American Legion appears to have been a fairly active agency of intolerance and oppression. Twenty-seven states report that they were scolded by the Ku Klux Klan. An exception is made in the case of the Willard Straight Post and a few others which regard themselves as American first, to whom intolerance is more hateful than radicalism. But many of our former soldiers regard themselves as potential guardians whose duty is to protect present conditions is more important than the obligation to defend eternal principles.

Answer These

- By H. J. Williams
- 1—I am from Missouri; show me—How I can obey all laws and earn a living.
 - 2—If laws are not obeyed, of what use are they to the public?
 - 3—What is the difference between right and justice?
 - 4—What is the difference between earning wealth and obtaining wealth by other means?
 - 5—What is the prime object of organized government?
 - 6—Can a fellow make a respectable living in the Du Pont company?
 - 7—Did Christ obey all the laws?
 - 8—Show me the plut who must obey the laws of the country. Why can't they set the example?
 - 9—Can a fellow make a respectable living when he knows that all the cemeteries are owned by private corporations?
- Answer these questions and bluff the fool killer.

Munition and War Profiteers Unite

(Continued from page 1)

As the E. I. Du Pont de Nemours Powder company, which was organized as a holding company to acquire ownership of about 100 different companies through an exchange of capital stocks. As the entire capital of these companies were acquired, the corporations were dissolved and their properties taken over by the Du Pont company.

Then came the "trust busting" era in American politics. In June, 1911, the United States Circuit court in New York ordered the Du Pont company was a corporation in violation of the Sherman act and that it should be dissolved. So two new companies, the Hercules Powder and the Atlas Powder companies, were formed to take over factories and properties of the merged Du Pont company. They gave their securities for the properties, most of which in turn were distributed to the stockholders of the Du Pont company.

War profiteering

Then came the world war and the business of the Du Pont company was expanded tremendously. It filled vast orders for the European allies and later for the American government. This expansion necessitated a capital readjustment and in 1915 E. I. Du Pont de Nemours & Co. was formed to take over the properties of the old company.

The end of the world war brought a slump in the manufacture of explosives but the Du Pont company was affected only temporarily. During the war it had conducted extensive work in the Du Pont chemical industry as the German chemical industry was cut off from the world by the allied blockade.

An Industrial Giant

Mainly from the great war, from the misfortunes of the human race, from the dire needs of its country in wartime, from its power to produce in vast quantities and sell at several times its cost the means of taking human life, this great industrial giant was built up and in addition its surplus capital thus acquired has overflowed into the other members of the proposed combine giving this blood-soaked monster a strategic control which will probably determine the character of the new combine.

The Du Pont company has grown into a corporation with assets of \$322,683,474. Its net earnings last year were nearly \$12,000,000. But this hardly gives the picture of its worth. It holds nearly 2,000,000 shares of General Motors stock which it carried on its books at only \$46.88 a share, although the market price is around \$125.

The company holds securities of controlled concerns to the total of more than \$36,200,000, and also miscellaneous securities of more than \$15,500,000. It controlled or affiliated companies manufacture rayon, dyestuffs, paints and varnish, coated textiles, industrial alcohol, pyralin, motion picture film, and other cellulose products and a group of chemicals including ethyl alcohol, synthetic ammonia, and nitric acid.

Interlocking Control

There are numerous evidences of a "community of interest" among the Du Pont, United States Steel, General

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APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Engels Restates And Amplifies

In XII Articles
Article IV

By Ernest Untermann

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So far as materialist dialectics can be a science without a science of thinking, Engels proved himself a master of the science of Anti-Duehring (Scientific Landmarks).

Anti-Duehring was first published in 1878. Marx himself wrote one chapter dealing with the historical growth of the discussed theories. We know, therefore, that Engels was a master of Marxian dialectics at its best, because it represents Marx and Engels in the prime of their peculiar achievements.

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If the dialectics of historical materialism cannot guide the tactics of the Socialist parties right, then these parties will get off their historical track, if not altogether, then at least by temporary aberrations into closed byways.

Restatements of Materialistic Conception of History

Engels also restated the materialist conception of history in his preface to The Communist Manifesto, in Feuerbach, in The Origin of the Family and in his speech at the grave of Marx. The preface to the manifesto said nothing new to the previous statement of the history, except to indicate that the sentence "The history of all society so far is the history of class struggles" should be corrected to read "The written history handed down to us is the history of class struggles." Engels explained that the history of primitive societies was unknown at the time of the manifesto's first publication.

Modification of Theory

The Origin of the Family, in its preface to the first edition, has pointed out, however, that the materialist conception of history must be modified for the study of primitive society.

"According to the materialist conception of history," he wrote, "the decisive element of history is, essentially, the production and reproduction of life and its material requirements. This implies, on the one hand, the production of the means of existence (food, clothing, shelter and the necessary tools); on the other hand, the propagation of children, the preparation of the species. The social institutions, under which the people of a certain historical period and of a certain country are living, are dependent upon these two forms of production; partly on the development of labor, partly on that of the family."

The passage "the generation of children, the propagation of the species," has caused a great deal of confusion in the later discussion, even among Marxists of the strictest type. It is history. It implies quite obviously a modification of the original Marxian position which considers the economic factor the main driving force. And long articles have been written to prove that Engels did not mean the sex act itself, but the sex act as performed, in which the sex act is performed. But either way, the original statement of historical materialism by Marx is thereby modified.

This becomes all the more evident when we read the next sentence in Engels' preface: "The sex act, therefore, is not the driving force of history, but the sex act as performed, in which the sex act is performed. But either way, the original statement of historical materialism by Marx is thereby modified."

Engels made an effort to bring both the Marxian economic and the Marxian dialectics more in line with the materialist conception of history. He also tried to expand the scope of historical materialism to include primitive societies and nature. In Anti-Duehring, he at first repeated that historical materialism considers the production and exchange of goods as the basis of society. The social classifications depend upon the way in which goods are produced and exchanged. The driving forces of social and political changes must be sought in the changes of production and exchange, not in the minds of

human beings. The means for the removal of social injustices must be discovered in the real conditions of life, not in ideal speculations.

Incidentally, in order to show how much the Marxist method of dialectics, had gained since the days of The Communist Manifesto, Engels took special pains to be more just to the utopians St. Simon, Fourier and Robert Owen. He wanted everybody to understand how much had been gained since the days of the utopian pioneer work of these utopians with the living force of dialectics, of thinking in terms of the universally interrelated natural and social laws of evolution. He advised the Socialist leaders to familiarize themselves with the work of the Marxian science down to the materialists of the eighteenth century and the utopian Socialists.

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Further Extension of Theory

This effort to qualify the too narrow first drafts of historical materialism appeals to me as a step towards a more nearly scientific reflex of actual life conditions. It corrects the excessive emphasis on the driving force of economic relations, which are the original drafts of historical materialism. Nature is not always and everywhere a secondary driving force in social changes, as the original Marxian historical materialism asserted. It may also be a primary force, as in the case of earthquakes, droughts, earthquakes, geographical favors and disfavor, can become driving forces of economic and political changes. And even this extension of the Marxian dialectic, in my opinion, must also admit that mental laws can become social driving forces of prime importance. Marxism itself has become a driving force through the power of the mind. This force, once set to work, does not follow the laws of economic and political development, as slavishly as the theory has so far assumed as a matter of course. To fill this gap in Marxian dialectics, we must have a conscious science of thinking which fits into the Marxian complex as a whole.

Although Engels and later Marxists kept on repeating the Marxian economic laws, they never branched out into mental dialectics in the same way in which Engels had endeavored to reach out into the laws of nature affecting economic laws. Yet they felt this need more and more as they saw the growth and development of the Marxian dialectic in their daily tasks. It was impressed more and more upon their minds that mental evolution is not a mere reflex of the economic, and that the tactics of a class-conscious mind are not necessarily determined by the necessary uncertainty without the service of a reliable science of thinking.

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In XII Articles
Article IV
By Ernest Untermann

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Up to 1843, when Marx died, both of them conferred about all their published writings, and Marx acted alone as the adviser of the new Marxian generation, and as perfecter of various parts of scientific Socialism. Practical experiences derived from the daily life of the growing Socialist movement through the application of the materialist conception of history, and extensive studies supplied Engels with the material for the improvement of Marxian dialectics.

It was Engels who summed up the achievements of Marx in the words: "The course of capitalist accumulation through the discovery of the materialist conception of history and of the secrets of the mechanism of capitalist production. He also said that scientific Socialism was necessarily a product of Germanic culture, the result of being the heirs of Kant, Fichte and Hegel.

So far as materialist dialectics can be a science without a science of thinking, Engels proved himself a master of the science of Anti-Duehring (Scientific Landmarks).

Anti-Duehring was first published in 1878. Marx himself wrote one chapter dealing with the historical growth of the discussed theories. We know, therefore, that Engels was a master of Marxian dialectics at its best, because it represents Marx and Engels in the prime of their peculiar achievements.

If capitalist development does not proceed as Marx outlined in Capital, then the course of capitalist accumulation, the law of social revolution and the ways of the class struggle between capitalists and workers will differ from the original Marxian forecast.

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Who Shall Own the Air in the United States?

Startling Revelations Regarding Radio Control and Censorship

Editor's Note

Who shall control this new and powerful means of education and propaganda in the United States—the radio? This is one of the most vital questions before the American people today. As in the case of the press, the pulpit, the platform and the schools, dominant economic groups in this country are trying to bring this new agency for the dissemination of knowledge under its complete control. In the following article, Morris L. Ernst, a well known New York lawyer, brings home to the public the fact that the radio is now being controlled in this country. Mr. Ernst views the situation as a believer in untrammeled discussion, rather than as an advocate of fundamental social change. Indeed as an attorney for various manufacturing groups, and as a prominent member of the legislative committee of the conservative New York City Club, his statement of the case cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be viewed as that of an alarmist. Incidentally his indictment of the growing control and censorship of the addresses permitted over the air constitutes the strongest kind of an argument for the success of the Debs Radio project. We are deeply indebted to Mr. Ernst, who has followed the radio situation as few men in this country have done for this timely and admirable contribution.

—H. W. L.

By Morris L. Ernst

IN 1912 when the public was still watching the development of the movies and the airplanes, Congress passed the first radio control legislation known to this country. Little was known at that time of the radio, and few of the framers of the statute could have dreamed of the future progress of this newest means of communication.

In 1927 the Congress passed its second radio measure in an endeavor to bring actual government control over broadcasting which has grown not only into tremendous volume but into wild chaos. We are now faced with its interesting and to-date uninvolved situation. There is at present a fixed and limited number of air avenues that can be used by broadcasting stations. Possibly one thousand is the limit and few outside of numbers of stations which can operate at the same time in the United States without confusion and interference. With this mathematical premise it is easy to realize that some human agency must be given the power to limit from many thousands of applicants those lines for which a license is granted. This privilege is a real and potent one. Not only financially but from the point of view of the domination and influence of public thought and education, the radio stands to-day at least in a par with the press and the movie

Discriminations Against Liberals

Of course the Federal Radio Act declares that the radio is a "public utility" and all basic rights to broadcasting are vested in the Federal Government. Of course the legislation decrees that licenses shall be issued on the basis of public good, public necessity and public convenience. Naturally no such thing has happened in this field either before or after the enactment of this statute. The richest in money, the first in the field and those closest in friendly ways to the party in power are operating the stations while groups of liberals, labor men and women, and all non-profit-making organizations are still being told to "hire a hall."

Permits to be Had for Coin of the Realm

The parceling out of these precious permits has been somewhat of a disgrace. Large financial and political interests in Chicago had two stations while the American Federation of Labor was denied a single wave length. In New York City a similar situation existed although the so-called Telephone group had two of the best and most powerful positions. The answer is simple. Even a minority group with enough of the coin of the realm can purchase a permit. The

present holders of the Federal permits are for the most part willing to take immediate but substantial profits. No doubt many of them believe that they can easily enough sell out and then go back to the source of power and get a new license. Be that as it may, although the law attempts to control assignment of licenses, many present holders of the licenses are hawking around the naked permits for sums running from \$25,000 to \$250,000. And you get no station or equipment for this price. This merely covers the signature of the Secretary of Commerce on the Federal Radio Commission.

Corporations in Control

The control of the air at the broadcasting source is further complicated because of the threatening attitudes of several large and vital corporations. The protagonist of this movement is the following group of companies:—American Telephone and Telegraph, Westinghouse, General Electric and National Broadcasting Company. Those who still cherish the democratic use of the radio must appreciate the wealth and power of a coalition of these great entities. It is predicted that within five years there will be a public scandal surrounding the attitude and acts of these groups in the field of radio.

Perils of Censorship

But even if there were no such or-

ganized force in the field as the above companies and even if licenses were granted on the basis of benefit to the public rather than profit to the few who would nevertheless face a vast real problem. At the stations that have been and will be licensed there will no doubt continue to be a vast amount of censorship. This has been true in the past even though the statute declares in clearest terms in favor of freedom of speech on the air. The Bill of Rights has never been in such peril in the United States as in this field of air communication.

Don't Criticize the Administration

Without any real amount of effort I have assembled more than one hundred examples of violations of this basic American right of Free Speech. Obviously not every one of us can go on the air at any hour to spread our own particular propaganda. Nevertheless the present cases of discrimination are most distressing. It is to be hoped that the administration talk is allowed. Few if any stations would permit any criticism of the war policy of President Coolidge in Nicaragua. Most stations banned any talk indicating disapproval with the policy of sending subsidies up the river to China. In brief it is nearly impossible to find a broadcasting station that will allow

any remarks that indicate a failure to support the President of the United States, his cabinet or his party. It will be a sorry day for this country when people even through this one field of expression will be denied the right to criticize their elected and salaried employees.

In addition most stations are most careful before they will allow a speaker to speak in any but glowing and complimentary terms of the Telephone company whose wires truly control the air of broadcasting on a national scale. The reason for these cautions are understandable. It is even difficult to blame too severely these profit seeking license holders. They argue as realists. "Why take any chances. Such talks though of interest to the public might bring us into disfavor with the powers that be. It may result in the lowering of our stations power, the degradation of our signal strength, or the refusal to renew our permit at its expiration date. With the machine of our government more and more being run on a Whimper System, such reasoning is no doubt sound from their point of view.

But there is no use in idle complaint. The saddest part of the story also points to the partial solution. The Senate realized that these figures and its draft inserted provisions which would have acted as safeguards. The Senate tried to prevent the trading

in government permits for profit, to control the telephone tie-ups, to protect the small stations against the largest and richest. Above all, Senator Dill appeared to be worried about this grave problem of Freedom of Speech. He urged in various forms provisions for publicity of all stations in the belief that the light of day might stop certain types of undue discrimination. All of these safeguards were eliminated from the bill by the House of Representatives. It was controlled as it was in this situation more directly by the President. The House went so far as to eliminate a proviso that preference in the bestowing of licenses should be granted to non-profit making educational institutions.

Obviously these provisions found in the Senate drafts and many others must be enacted into law if a long and uphill fight. But civil liberties and the protection of minorities are never attained without a struggle. Possibly it is true that civil liberties accrue only to those who hold the power. Possibly any other party in power would try in similar fashion to maintain its power. Nevertheless the radio is so competent a medium of social and political power that agitation will continue against any group that tries to use it for suppression of minorities.

Rent Socialization—Why Alone It Will Not Save the Producer

Editor's Note

The American Appeal has received a number of communications advocating the abolition of interest through the socialization of the financial system as the remedy for the evils confronting the farmers. We have also received several communications advocating the abolition of rent and the false values based upon rentals through the socialization of the rental processes as the only remedy needed by the farmers. We will now give the single taxers their innings.

Says Socialization of Rent Is Remedy

By George Lloyd

I have read your reply to Tolley Hartwick's article "Money Nationalization—Why It Alone Will Not Save the Producer." According to my education in political economy (the science that treats of the production and distribution of wealth) the basic cause of the Money Trust, and the Capitalist system, is the LANDLORD system. At present the workers in the cities and on the farms are paying the landlords 13 billion dollars in ground rent every year for the use of land that the landlords do not provide. That forces the workers to mortgage their homes to get back the stolen ground rent and to force the towns and cities to issue bonds for public expenses and borrow back the stolen ground rent.

Now we have the money trust, namely, LANDLORDS, who receive enormous rates of interest on mortgages and bonds which are issued to get back a large part of the stolen 13 billion ground rent. That portion of the stolen ground rent not borrowed from the LANDLORDS is exchanged by the LANDLORDS for the food, stuff, clothing, buildings, machinery, etc., of the workers in the towns and cities thereby producing the capitalist system in which the workers produce the wealth, but do not own it, while the LANDLORDS (crooked capitalists) own the wealth, but do not produce it. In other words, the LANDLORDS, the money lords and the crooked capitalists, exist through loaning and exchanging the 13 billion dollars of stolen ground rent.

Editor's Reply

Socialists are entirely willing to admit the enormity of the landlord and rent evil, and of the urgent necessity of socialization in this field. Rent is one of the three lines upon which the internal capitalist system rests—but it is not the entire foundation of the capitalist system as our single tax friend here claims. The enormous iniquity of it, however, cannot be put too strongly. I do not think that the writer's claim here that all ground rent in the United States amounts to 13 billion dollars a year is at all exaggerated.

Now as to ground rent constituting the entire foundation of capitalism and being the basic source of capital—that is not true. THE BASIC SOURCE OF CAPITAL IS THE CAPITALIST PROCESS ITSELF—THE PROCESS OF EXTRACTING PROFIT FROM LABOR THROUGH THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF PRODUCTIVE ENTERPRISES. I am ready to admit that industrial

capital has been tremendously augmented by inflows from the landlord and financial capitalists, and that the landlords and bankers no doubt have benefited in the process. But the commerce through investments of their stolen accumulation, but industrial capital had its origin, a well known historical fact, in the extraction of profit through the private ownership of enterprises. The germ of the capitalist class which gradually superseded the feudal class was the small merchants and peddlers who congregated in the cities and set up the first free cities of the later middle ages.

Origin of Industrial Capital

This nucleus of profit takers was later augmented by the rise of the machine (factory) owner through the development of the machine out of the hand tool. The journeyman tool user, when the tool began to be a machine requiring assistant labor, often became the master and owner surrounded by his assisting apprentices. He owned the machine and paid these assistants a wage that was less than what the products sold for. This margin of difference between what the product sold for and what the workers received was the real basis of industrial capital. I believe that practically all political economists are agreed on this point. It is significant that their classical example of the origin of capital and their justification for it is always a picture of the entrepreneur who saves out of his income until he is able to own an enterprise employing labor and extracting profits from its work. None of the political economists, so far as I know, in drawing

this picture and attempting this justification visualizes the landlord and the landlord's money as the ideal beginning of industrial capital. THE REASON THEY DO NOT IS BECAUSE THEY RECOGNIZE THAT INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL HAS ITS OWN ORIGINAL AND SELF-SUFFICIENT SOURCE THE EXTRACTION OF PROFITS FROM LABOR THROUGH THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF ENTERPRISES.

The Basic Process

If industrial capital had never received a cent from investing landlords; if it had never received a cent from investing bankers, it would have attained the same position it now holds. In fact, landlord power and banker power—rent and interest—are rival processes and burdens on profits and industrial capital. THEY EXTRACT THEIR TOLL MAINLY FROM INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL AND THE PROFITS THAT PASS IT ON TO THE INDUSTRIAL AND FARMER WORKERS.

As to which of these three types of private owners actually own the most, or get the most, is immaterial. The thing that matters is the power itself and its effect on the present civilization. Of the three processes there is no doubt but that the one that has stamped our civilization most with its present character, with its present social struggles and social conditions, is THE PROCESS OF EXTRACTING PROFITS FROM THE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL OWNERS. This process represents the ACTUAL CONTACT between the workers and owners, the exploiters and the exploited, the master and the victim. Around it has raged

the great class struggle. The labor organization, the militant cooperative, the Labor Party, the Socialist movement, the structure of the capitalist state; the conditions that characterize our present civilization ARE DIRECTLY PARTS OF THE PROCESS OF EXTRACTING PROFITS FROM LABOR AND ARE MORE REMOTELY CONNECTED WITH THE PROCESSES OF EXTRACTING RENTS FROM PROPERTY AND INTEREST FROM MONEY.

Source of Most Evils

The evils from which we suffer—the industrial enslavement of labor, widespread unemployment and poverty, the market and price robbery of the farmer, the cruel and destructive struggle for existence, the present appalling industrial and commercial waste, the wasteful and destructive conflicts between the various social elements, the violent and tyrannical character of government, colonial expansion, imperialism, militarism and war—all these are the result of EXTRACTING PROFITS FROM LABOR, rather than extracting rents from property or interest from money.

This is the big point that money reformers and single taxers miss. THEY PROPOSE REFORMS OF THE SAME SYSTEM, AND THE BASIC SOURCE OF EVIL—THE PROFIT SYSTEM—UNDISTURBED. Most money reformers and single taxers are perfectly satisfied with the utterly hellish competitive and profit system.

Why this connivance with the basic source of evil?

Why this amazing partiality to the worst of the economic processes? Why this smug acceptance of the exploitation of labor? Why this interest and rent reformers, who are ready to accept and support the profit system? Why do you distinguish between forms of private ownership and private exploitation? Why can you not understand that they are interlocked and inter-related PARTS OF THE SAME SYSTEM, AND WHY DON'T YOU TAKE A STAND AGAINST THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF EXTRACTING WEALTH BY MEANS OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP?

Sees Farms Ruined And Labor Revolt

Williamstown, Mass.—A revolt by the industrial population against high food costs was pictured before the Institute of Politics today as a possibility in the United States within the next forty years.

Henry A. Wallace, son of the former secretary of agriculture, in an address declared "The grave injustice that has been done to agriculture during the past six years."

He predicted a food shortage within in forty years with resultant disturbances that will cause industrial centers "A thousand times as much worry as the present farm situation."

He warned that the industrial population might precipitate trouble when an imminently inadequate food supply compels them to pay an undue proportion of their wages for food.

Contrasting agriculture with other industry, Mr. Wallace said: "Farmers today, comprising about one-fourth of the country's population, receive about one-tenth of the national income. The agricultural industry, after paying for labor about 50 per cent above prewar rates, has a return on capital investment (which incidentally has been shrunk by about \$20,000,000,000 since 1920) of 3 or 4 per cent, whereas corporate industry, after paying its labor more than twice the prewar wages, has a return on its capital investment (which has been increased by more than \$20,000,000,000 since the war) of about 12 per cent, as calculated. It would seem to indicate beyond doubt that, for the time being, city industries are catering more satisfactorily than the farmers to the satisfying of human needs."

Yes, Big business is interested in the farmers. It does not want the farmers to be poor that the farmers will cease to be fat pickings for big business. This explains banker-farmer-politician conventions, etc.

Big business will never be able to do anything for the farmers. It is

American Worker Enslaved By His Fear of Insecurity

Labor Apathy Toward Trade Unionism and Socialism Is Explained

Editor's Note

Not because he is rolling in unexampled prosperity, but because he senses the vast insecurity under the present system and his fears are exploited by the private employer, is the American worker on the whole at present indifferent to trade unionism and Socialism. The Appeal regards this analysis by the able secretary of the Old Age Pension movement of America to be one of the best and most remarkable yet made. The writer, Abraham Epstein, bases this conclusion on three premises which are of course uncontrovertible: (1) THERE IS NOT AND NEVER HAS BEEN ANY REAL PROSPERITY FOR THE LARGE MAJORITY OF AMERICAN WORKERS; (2) THE UPPERMOST FEARS OF THE HEART OF THE AVERAGE AMERICAN WORKER IS THE UNCERTAINTY OF THE FUTURE FOR HIMSELF AND FAMILY; (3) THIS FEAR IS BEING EXPLOITED BY PRIVATE EMPLOYERS AND GREAT FINANCIAL CORPORATIONS TO AN EXTENT UNKNOW TO OTHER COUNTRIES BY EXTRACTING THE WORKERS COMPANY UNIONS AND PROTECTIVE BENEFITS IN EXCHANGE FOR THE LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE WORKERS. These capitalist bars and snares are binding the American labor hand and foot, making it dreadfully afraid of independent action or "radical" ideas, because the workers in America have not used their government and their unions to obtain these protective benefits for themselves. They are indebted to Dr. Laidlaw, our Feature Editor, for sending these articles.

—M. E. K.

In Two Articles

Article I.

By Abraham Epstein

(Secretary, American Association for Old Age Security)

In discussing a trade union program for these piping times we must first, even at the risk of encroaching upon the topics of some other speakers, at least briefly inquire into the exact nature of our prosperity. During the past several years our blessedness and material prosperity have been proclaimed from the house-tops of every banking house, by every public official from President Coolidge and A. W. Mellon down, and from every editorial column. Certain Pollyanna enthusiasts have even prophesied that we are all on the way of becoming capitalists and if only we remain a bit more patient, all of us will soon become the employers and Messrs. Morgan, Garry, Schwab and Rockefeller will be working for us. As proof of our wealth we have been referred to the millions of automobiles, which but few of us own, the swollen bank deposits, which belong to only some of us and to the spread of industrial stock which from the viewpoint of actual and potential control is practically worthless.

Our Installment Sales

In the glowing accounts of our great wealth and increased national income we are of course not told that four out of every five automobiles sold are not fully paid for, that more than two-thirds of household furniture, pianos, phonographs, radio sets, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, sewing machines, gas stoves, mechanical refrigerators and a great deal of even our clothing is sold on the installment plan and that the volume of credit extended on installment accounts is estimated to exceed five billion dollars, about one-twelfth of the estimated national income.

Increase in Income

That measured in dollars and cents, however, there has been a considerable increase in national wealth seems indisputable. The National Bureau of Economic Research estimates that the total current income of

the United States had risen steadily from roundly \$50,000,000,000 in 1921 to \$60,000,000,000 in 1926. In current dollars the national income had nearly tripled since 1914. While practically every other nation is continually devising means for the levying of new taxes, our national government has been busy upon the formulation of bigger and better tax reductions. At this very time the United States Treasury announces that it will have an unprecedented surplus of nearly \$600,000,000 and all large income taxpayers are already bracing in the expectation of another tax reduction when Congress convenes. Our per capita wealth is supposed to have considerably more than doubled since 1914; while even the income per gainfully employed person has presumably risen in current dollars from \$36 in 1914 to \$210 in 1926.

How About Actual Prosperity?

But what do all these statements mean in terms of actual prosperity to the American wage-earner with whom we are primarily concerned in this discussion? Like myself, every one of you wage-earning brethren I am certain is asking himself, "When do I come in?" As head of a family you may be wondering what the above figures I should be entitled to almost an entire second-hand Ford to about \$500 in savings and at least to a half share of some good industrial security. But I have none of these. And you are probably puzzled and anxious as to how you possess getting this share which every economist tells you you are entitled to and should have. You are perhaps even ready to blame yourself as a wastrel and spendthrift. To disabuse your mind from further anxiety and worry I am ready to inform you that all Pollyanna economists notwithstanding, as a wage-earner you have really never earned your share of this per capita income and have been saved the trouble of recklessly spending it.

Millions Living on Less Than Minimum Budgets

In connection with a book I now have in preparation, I have recently completed quite an exhaustive study of estimates of family budgets considered necessary for a minimum standard of health and decency for an American family and the actual wages earned by American workers from 1890 to 1927. These studies reveal that not only was the purchasing power of the weekly wages at the close of the World War about one-third lower than in the period of 1890-99, or prior to the War, but that even since 1920, including the past few years of our greatest national prosperity, weekly or annual earnings of families have not come up anywhere near the estimated minimum budget of health and decency for a man, wife and three children. The most conservative estimate of such a minimum budget since 1920 is set at least at \$1500 a year, or approximately \$30 a week. But there is hardly a single extensive group of American industrial wage-earners which have managed to earn that sum since then. Even the National Industrial Conference Board—an employers' Association—reports that for March 1927 the average weekly earnings in all industries in the United States amounted to but \$27.53. Indeed, from my own studies, it would seem that, in spite of the unprecedented national prosperity, the problem of making both ends meet has, for the wage-earner at least, remained relentless and unmitigated.

Increase in Per Capita Production

Indeed, considering the enormous increase in productive goods and comparative wealth, the workers' lot during the past few years has been steadily on the decline. For in proportion to the increasing amount of goods produced, he can buy back a constantly smaller and more pitiful share of his product. Recent statistics conducted by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics show that in the one decade—1914-1924—the per capita output per man has more than tripled in the automobile industry; has risen by over 77 per cent in petroleum refining; by 27 per cent in

cane-sugar production; by 28 per cent in the leather industry; by 34 per cent in the rubber industry; by 17 per cent in the boot and shoe industry; by 39 per cent in flour milling; by 57 per cent in the cement industry; and by 50 per cent in the iron and steel industry.

American vs European Production

The higher wages generally paid the American workman as against workers abroad, also become meaningless when the per capita production of the American workers is contrasted with that of his brethren abroad. A recent international study of the production of coal in various countries revealed that while the per capita output of coal per shift in 1925 ranged from a little over one-half ton to 1.16 in various districts in Germany, one ton in Great Britain and Poland, 92 tons in France, 52 in Belgium, and 81 in Czechoslovakia, the output per shift in the United States in 1924 was for the Anthracite industry 2 tons and for Bituminous the same year over 4 and one-half tons, or more than four times as much as the highest production of a miner in Europe.

Labor Apathy Not Due to Prosperity

The above review is important in order to clarify the atmosphere that the American wage-earners' apathy towards labor unionism is the result of the basic insecurity of the present plight of the American labor movement must be sought elsewhere. Even if it be admitted that during the last five years there has been a small gain in real earnings as compared with the purchasing power in 1924, there is still no evidence that the working man today is really better off or the happier for it. The relative rise in standards of living has been considerably above the gain in real wages; innumerable new wants have been created during the past few years that what was considered luxuries which could easily be dispensed with in 1914, have by now become necessities. The mere fact that a working man, perhaps with his wages today big a quarter of a loaf of bread more than he could purchase in 1914, is still a quarter of a peck of potatoes more than ten or twelve years ago, or can pay one-fourth more of rent than he could pay in 1913 is no evidence whatsoever that he really eats more of bread and potatoes or lives better than he did in 1913. As a result of the tremendously expanded wants during the last decade and the development of high-pressure installment sales campaigns, it is not at all rare today to find the family who has a car but cannot afford to insure it, a back-saver on the monthly plan. An examination of the true state of living standards and wages earned reveals that the worker is faced with as many and as serious hardships today as ever before. Especially in regard to providing against the basic necessities of modern life, both in prestige and numbers, it is explained? While I am fully cognizant of the limitations of the interpretation I am about to offer, the numerous other factors involved in it is my desire in the space of this paper to point to one explanation of the present deplorable state of affairs in the American labor movement, the sad neglect by the trade union movement in America to provide the workers with adequate protection against the above enumerated material hazards and to insist upon the to the organization of the set-backs for the working man, and that my suggestion for a constructive trade union program lies.

Fear of Insecurity

In other words, my basic interpretation is merely that the lamentable status of the present American labor movement is intimately and directly related to the American workman's fear of the insecurities of his life.

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