

Government Finds Mass Prosperity Is Non-Existent

Millions Throughout Country Are Receiving Less Than The Minimum Standard

WASHINGTON—There are large numbers of common laborers in this country whose earnings, under the best of conditions, are below the requirements of healthful living and good citizenship, says the Monthly Labor Review, issued by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The Labor Bulletin quotes statistics to show that the 1926 average for 200,000 railroad laborers was the lowest, with \$17.17 per week. The lumber industry ranks next lowest, the national average being \$17.17, and for the lowest paid district, \$10.48. In bituminous mining, owing to the irregularity of operation, over which the individual worker has no control, the national weekly average was \$22.74 for inside laborers and \$23.58 for outside laborers. The lowest district average was \$10.34.

Only in the case of anthracite coal mining, foundries and motor vehicle manufacture did the weekly earnings for all districts average more than \$25 per week and even in the second and third of these industries the average earnings in the lowest-paid districts were well below \$25, being, in some, as low as \$14.37 in the case of foundries.

Moreover, it is to be emphasized that in the case of all the manufacturing industries listed, the earnings reported are full-time earnings and thus in excess of the actual earnings. Full-time earnings can only be obtained by those who are so fortunate as to be working for an establishment which operates on a regular basis and is free from sickness, accident or other misfortunes.

"The figures here presented," continues the Monthly Labor Bulletin, "indicate clearly that there are groups of laborers in many industries who are receiving very inadequate wages. This is evident even though the difficulty is recognized of determining just what is an adequate living wage. Anyone with experience of life and of present day cost of living must recognize that many, and probably most, of the men and women who suffer here would be well served by the maintenance of a family at a wholesome standard of living."

Wages Slump And Hours Lengthen in Textile Industries

Government Reports Also Reveal Outrageous Wages to Women And Southern Labor

Prosperity is cracking in one of our basic manufacturing industries—the textile industry. Wages are going down and hours of labor are going up, despite the capitalistic boasting that capitalism is solving the labor problem in America by giving constantly higher wages and shorter hours; despite organization efforts of the trade unions, despite the constantly increasing product of the worker due to machinery, and despite the constantly swelling profits and dividends of the owning class. These facts are disclosed by two bulletins just issued by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In the woolen and worsted industry the average employed worked an hour per week longer in 1926 than in 1920, and received 25 percent less pay. In the cotton goods manufacturing industry the average employed worked an hour and a half per week longer in 1926 than in 1920, and got 37 percent less pay.

That is prosperity as it is spelled in the textile towns of our highly protected land. The summarized tables as given in the two bulletins are as follows:

Table with 3 columns: Industry, Full time hours, Average full time earnings per week. Rows include Woolen and Worsted Industry (1920-1926) and Cotton Goods Manufacturing Industry (1920-1926).

The curve of wages in the two industries is almost identical. Both reached their peak in 1920, dropped to a ghastly level in 1922, struggled back a little in 1923, 1924, and slumped disastrously in 1926.

But, wretched as are the full-time wages given in the table, they do not tell the whole story. Those figures represent the amount that the employee would earn if he worked every hour of the weekly schedule. What he—of the actually earns is a good deal less.

Actual Earnings Per Week The government bulletins do not figure the difference between actual and theoretical earnings for the entire industry, but they give it by (Continued on page 2)

DEADLY PARALLEL—DOLLARS VS. MEN IN UNITED STATES

Investment Value of American Dollar

The Wall Street Journal has compiled some interesting facts on the subject of the General Motors company. If a man had bought 100 shares of General Motors common stock in 1904, at the par value of \$100 per share, his total investment would have been \$10,000.

If he had simply held tight to those shares, without making any further investments, he would now have 5,047 shares, worth \$1,165,000 in the market, and in the meantime he would have received \$265,000 in dividends.

If he had exercised the right of "fired him of buying stock" and sold his shares at the time of the first dividend, this time would amount to \$99,500. Of course, he could have paid this out of the dividends. But he would have now 7,269 shares, worth \$2,024,000, and he would have collected \$350,000 in cash dividends.

This illustrates the tremendous "earning" power American capitalism at its peaks has given to dollars, or to mere ownership of invested dollars. THIS BY INVESTMENT AND REINVESTMENT. IT WAS POSSIBLE TO FORCE A TRIBUTE OF \$2,358,000 FROM \$10,000 INVESTED DOLLARS IN NINETEEN YEARS!

Every dollar thus invested and manipulated would extract from productive labor twelve and a half times its value EVERY YEAR FOR NINETEEN YEARS!

What This Means The above parallel represents American capitalism at its highest present point of development IN THE EXTRACTION OF PROFITS FOR MERE OWNERSHIP. The General Motors is an exceptional example of the smooth perfection of the triple game of monopoly, dividend drawing and stock dividend looting, but it represents a condition toward which corporations generally are more or less tending. The whole trust system is being built up to the end of perfecting the process of extracting profits on this wholesale scale. The number of trusts and combines that will be able to do something resembling what General Motors is now doing will constantly increase.

The blind tendency of capitalism is toward DIVERTING ALL INCOME TO MERE OWNERSHIP OR INVESTMENT AND AWAY FROM PRODUCTIVE OR CREATIVE LABOR. Since such a goal is not possible—since it is in its very nature destructive of productive effort, and therefore self-destructive, capitalism contains in its very structure the seeds of its own death. SOMEWHERE IN THIS BLIND PROCESS OF GOBBLING ALL INCOME FOR THE MERE INVESTING OWNER AND TAKING IT ALL AWAY FROM THE PRODUCTIVE WORKER THERE IS A BREAKING POINT!

But capitalism cannot stop short of this breaking point. It is driven toward its impossible goal by irresistible economic forces. The appearance on the horizon of such economic Molochs as General Motors is the signal of the approaching end of the capitalist system.

Socialism must of necessity succeed the present monstrous system, because Socialism is based upon the following principle: NO INCOME TO MERE OWNERSHIP; ALL INCOME TO CREATIVE AND PRODUCTIVE EFFORT.

In order to convey to Appeal readers the idea of the swift ascent to the very threshold of power of the Iceland Socialists, we reprint the following extract from an article in a recent issue of International Information, bulletin of the Labor and Socialist International.

"Since 1916 the Party has taken part in all elections, and now has 2 parliamentary representatives, one in the Lower House, consisting of 28 members, and one in the Upper House, which has 14. The last elections in 1923 showed that relatively the Labor Party has made greater progress than any other Party. It obtained 7,000 votes out of about 40,000 and accordingly was entitled to a considerably greater representation. The anomaly is due to the unfortunate distribution of the constituencies, among which the agriculture districts elect proportionately more members than the urban districts. Moreover the minimum voting age is 35. At a bye-election in the autumn of 1925 the Party maintained its seat in the capital. In the town councils of three places the Party has a majority, and in several others holds from one-third to one-half of the seats."

Judge Panken Spurs Republican Nomination

New York—Possibility of a Republican endorsement for Municipal Court Justice Jacob Panken, Socialist, in New York City, was shattered when Justice Panken indicated in an interview with the New Leader, that he would not accept the Republican nomination.

"I am a Socialist and can only be a candidate of the party which represents the workers," Justice Panken said. "I am serving the workingmen and will live and die with them."

From The Pen Of Debs

(Compiled by Theodore Debs)

Brotherhood and Peace

Is there any mortal outside of an asylum who would not hail with joy the advent of brotherhood and peace in this weary and sin-cursed world?

Brotherhood and Peace! Who shall tell of the benign influence, the softening effect even the dream of human brotherhood and of peace and of good will among men has had upon mankind?

But brotherhood and peace, in all things the opposite of selfishness and strife, beautiful and elevating as they are as dreams and ideals, can only come upon earth when material conditions are ripe for their realization.

Class rule, whether in an autocracy or monarchy or a republic, is always and everywhere fatal to brotherhood and peace. The material relations that men and nations bear to each other determine largely their social and ethical relations. If their material relations are mutual they will be friendly; if antagonistic they will be enemies.

The capitalist class and the working class can never be friends and brotherhood and peace can never be realized until the war between them is ended by the abolition of class rule, and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

To this end the Socialist movement is educating and organizing the working class and preparing the people for the inevitable change.

The Socialist movement, based upon the philosophy of mutualism and embracing the whole of humanity, is at once the revolution of the masses, the overthrow of class rule and the historic agency, material and moral, for the reconstruction of society upon the foundation stones of brotherhood and peace.

French Unions Vote Cooperation With Socialists

Events Drive Federation of Labor from Its Former Non-political Stand

Although French labor has been more or less radical for many years, and the majority of the organized workers have voted the Socialist ticket, the recent annual national convention of the French Federation of Labor at Paris, for the first time in its history adopted a political plank and voted cooperation with the Socialist Party.

The former non-political stand was not due to the influence of capitalism and the capitalist political parties, as in America, but to the influence of the anarchists and syndicalists. These elements originally organized the French Federation of Labor and until the recent year have managed to influence them away from any indorsement of political action and the Socialist Party.

Despite the active opposition of the anarchists and syndicalists, who disavow all voting and political action by the workers and proclaim their policy of direct action, the French trade unionists have repeatedly developed strong tendencies to open indorsement and support of the Socialist Party.

Before the War French labor was drifting toward cooperation with the Socialist Party when the War came and the Socialist Party took an anti-war stand and the Federation of Labor a pro-war stand. After the War organized labor was again drifting to indorsement of the Socialist Party, when the Communist movement arose and presented a Labor-Socialist combination.

However, post-war conditions have strikingly brought to the organized workers of France the fully of a non-political stand and the value of non-political action. Although not officially indorsed by organized labor, the French Socialist Party continued unwaveringly to function as a Labor Party. This attitude of the Socialists and the dire need by the defense against the forces of capitalism, convinced the moderate majority in the Federation, which is neither anarchist or syndicalist, of the wisdom of indorsing the Socialist Party.

The motion to affiliate with the Socialist Party was carried by this moderate majority against the opposition of the anarchists and syndicalists. The convention repudiated direct action and the Communist party by an overwhelming majority. The general secretary and veteran leader of the federation, Jouhaux, openly avowed himself a partisan of the Socialist party, although not a member of the party. This and his recommendation for a close cooperation between these two organizations to this convention the stamp of the highest historical significance. From now on, the majority of the French trade unionists will march shoulder to shoulder with their brothers in other countries of Europe.

Bloody, Nation-Wide Suppression "Closes" Sacco-Vanzetti Protest

Former Allies Arm Germany Secretly For War on Russia

Powers Plot to Restore German Militarism in order to Prevent Socialism

Ten years after the war to "destroy German militarism and end war" finds both sides in this former battle "for peace and democracy" secretly plotting together to militarize Germany against the workers and make irresistible war upon soviet Russia, the only workers' republic in the world.

The treaty of Versailles holds Germany down to a small army. The German reactionaries now in control of the government fear that this army would be too small to defend the interests of the ruling class in case the workers were goaded to revolution by unemployment or intolerable conditions in industry. The reactionary leaders of the Nationalist party, therefore, have evolved a very cunning plot to get their former foes in the World War into a willing frame of mind to permit the arming of Germany.

The plot is nothing less than to constitute the reactionary government of Germany as the special agent of Western European capitalism, especially British capitalism, to make war on soviet Russia and take a prominent part in the contemplated destruction of the soviet government by the Western Powers.

These startling facts have been revealed by Social Democratic party papers of Germany, following an announcement by the Belgian war minister to Broqueville and the French general Guillaumet, commander of the French army, occupation on the Rhine, that they had reliable secret information to the effect that the German government was surreptitiously preparing for a war of revenge against Belgium and France.

These charges were grave enough to induce the German official department to give out an official denial. The German Socialists declare that this denial deserves no credit and that it dodges the main issue altogether.

The German Socialists point out that the German war department is making preparations for a war quite not secretly, that these preparations are aimed against Russia, and that they are made with the full knowledge and connivance of the British government.

The German war department has worked out a bill for the reorganization of the German army, which was to be submitted for approval to the British, French, Belgian and Italian governments. This bill was drawn up after secret conversations between the German and former allied governments.

The secret military organizations of the German monarchist groups which alarm the Belgian and French army leaders are merely a part of the open reorganization plan which all allied governments already know. The facts which the Belgian and French army leaders charge upon Germany, that they had reliable secret information to the effect that the German government was surreptitiously preparing for a war of revenge against Belgium and France.

The German Socialists assert that the German Nationalists are no longer trying to prepare secretly and illegally for a war against France and Belgium. To that extent they have given up their opposition to Foreign Minister Stresemann's Locarno policies.

Employment Still Declines in U. S. Washington—Employment and pay rolls decreased in July, as compared with June, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics reports. Employment dropped 2 per cent and pay rolls 4 1/2 per cent.

The level of employment in July, 1927, was 2.8 per cent lower than in July, 1926, and pay roll totals were 2.3 per cent lower.

The largest employment decreases reported last July were in the pottery and stove industries, 20 1/2 and 16.4 per cent, respectively; iron and steel fell off 2.1 per cent; automobiles, hosiery, rubber boots and shipbuilding over 6 per cent; woolen goods, glass, agricultural implements and pianos over 4 per cent and confectionery, 5.7 per cent.

They are giving persons in Chicago with alleged criminal records sanity tests in order to find some way to lock them up, because the ordinary processes of law have broken down from corruption. What's the matter from corruption? What's the matter of testing the sanity of everybody responsible for this crazy and dangerous procedure?

Debs Memorial Edition Coming!

A DEBS MEMORIAL EDITION OF THE AMERICAN APPEAL WILL BE ISSUED IN TIME FOR THE SERIES OF DEBS MEMORIAL MEETINGS TO BE HELD ALL OVER THE UNITED STATES, AS ANNOUNCED IN THIS AND LAST WEEK'S ISSUE OF THE APPEAL.

This special edition will touch the high points in Debs' life and character and in addition will contain the best propaganda material for making Socialism obtainable. You know what an excellent edition we got out last week for American Labor Day. Many of you are sorry now that you did not order it in time. Be warned and get in on the big DEBS MEMORIAL EDITION.

This issue will appear Saturday, October 15, so as to reach Memorial Meetings all over the United States that will be held October 20, or thereabouts.

Plans connected with the MEETINGS AND THE TWO WEEKS OF ACTIVELY BEING HELD IN DEBS' DEATH AND BIRTH—OCT. 20 AND NOV. 5—are being worked out by the National Office in cooperation with the State and Local organizations and will be announced later.

Police Training in Chemical Warfare Alarms Labor Paper

(From the Toledo Union Leader) Gas and bullets are not deemed by the instructors who are in the saddle in Toledo and who see the police force as their own personal property as sufficient protection against "mobs."

Numbers of policemen are now to be trained in the use of chemicals in handling any of the common herd as may get hungry this winter and demand work or in the big manufacturers of the city desist from advertising in outside cities for workers when there is not work here for the home folks.

Two weeks ago Police Chief Jennings and Mayor Mery gave their approval of a gas gun, a large number of which it was proposed be bought for police use.

A salesman was in the city demonstrating the gas apparatus which the mayor said was "for use in capturing prisoners."

For Home Use Most folks are under the impression that a "prisoner" is one who already has been captured.

"Use of chemicals in domestic disturbances will be taught police teams from Toledo who are to go to Camp Perry," it is reported in the daily Press.

Then we are told that the training of these men in the use of chemicals will put them in a position to return and act as instructors for the other policemen.

Put Down Citizens? Just what is meant by "domestic disturbances" is not hard for the common herd to understand. Of course, a strike could easily be interpreted as a "domestic disturbance" as long as it was not foreign.

A gathering of the citizens anywhere to protest against any wrongs in municipal management, evidences by officials, to demand action by public officials who are getting the taxpayers' money, or insistence on the enforcement of the law—a right guaranteed by the constitution—might easily be called a "domestic disturbance" and the police with gas and lead and chemicals turned loose upon such an assembly.

Those who ride on the backs of the wage working and producing class are determined to ride harder and harder and not be unhorsed it would seem from all appearances in Toledo.

And who is it that inspires these expenditures? No lodge, union, church, civic society or any of the plain people have requested them. Then who has? Do you think it would be hard to guess?

NEW YORK, Sept. 2.—The following statement on civil liberties in connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti case was issued today by the American Civil Liberties Union:

While the eyes of the world were focused on the great figures of the recent tragedy in Massachusetts, the police authorities of many of the larger cities in the United States engaged in activities which, summed up, constitute an all-time all-American record for the ruthless violation of constitutional rights of free speech and assembly.

Peaceful Pilgrimage Smashed Outstanding instances of the legalized violence which brought about this condition include the following: Scores of protestants who joined the first caravan from New York to Boston on August 10 were arrested and roughly treated by the Boston police when they attempted to parade or hold protest meetings the next day on historic Boston Common. Permits for meetings in public places were denied by the police who also prevented the holding of a charge of speaking without a permit, he was fined and then charged with unlawful assemblage and attacking an officer. The arresting officer testified that Hapgood had not attacked him but he was nevertheless sentenced on the charge to six months in prison. His case was appealed and while he was out on bail, he was again seized by authorities and taken to the psychiatric ward of a Boston hospital where his clothes were taken away from him and he was held a prisoner. After many hours deliberation, the learned doctors of the hospital were forced to admit that Hapgood was normal and above the average in intelligence. He was released. Later, (Continued on page 3)

Profits of War Trust Stagger The Imagination

America's new war-making trust, composed of the Munition Trust (the du Ponts), the Steel Trust, gigantic manufacturer of armor for battleships and other war material, and the Auto Trust, or General Motors, which will supply the mobile machinery of the West War, is furnishing the people of America a foretaste of its future power and ability to extract profits. These members of this combination have become the supreme profiteers of America, even in present so-called peace times. They stand at the head of the profiteers column in Wall Street, furnishing a spectacle of the greatest interest in war profiteering, the greatest urge toward war and the greatest war-making influence America has ever seen.

General Motors cleared \$129,000,000 in the first half of this year. That is the biggest peace time profit ever made in the same period by any corporation in the world, and is surpassed only by steel trust profits in 1916.

The du Pont interests, which control General Motors, have bought in the last few weeks 114,000 shares of United States Steel common. While not a controlling interest, this gives the du Ponts tremendous influence in steel politics.

The discovery of this buy by the du Ponts sent U. S. Steel to a price of \$124.50 per share for common stock, the highest on record, when the recent 40 per cent stock dividend is taken into consideration.

Seventy-eight Millions a Week That jump in price added \$78,000,000 to the market value of the Steel Corporation in a single week. This boost did not come because Steel is doing any more business, for it isn't. It is purely a market affair. The du Ponts have been such lucky investors that the discovery of their buying into any corporation sends up a stock. Ultimately, of course, the public will pay; the investing public if the stock goes down, the consuming public if high prices manage to keep the stock up.

The rise of the du Ponts in the financial world has been spectacular. Prior to the war they dealt in chemicals and munitions, especially munitions; and stuck pretty close to their knitting. The war brought them such gigantic profits that they had to branch out somewhere, and they got a big return in General Motors.

There are 8,500,000 shares of common stock of General Motors outstanding. It is a question whether these shares represent a single dollar of invested money. Certainly a large part of them were issued as stock dividends.

But the earnings of General Motors for the first six months in chemicals amounted to \$14.35 a share on every share of this "watered" stock.

Sinclair Novel on Sacco-Vanzetti

In the following telegram to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, Upton Sinclair, the renowned Socialist author, announces a forthcoming novel based on the Sacco-Vanzetti case:

"Your invitation just received. Regret I cannot attend Conference. Am coming next month. Will make my contribution to the cause in the shape of a novel entitled 'Boston' which Sacco and Vanzetti as the proletarian heroes. No blacker crime has ever been committed in America than their execution. Their names will live in our history with John Brown."

WALLS AND BARS Arousing Nation-Wide Interest

The American Appeal is overwhelmed by a rising flood of praise for Debs' great book, WALLS AND BARS.

With this rising tide of praise comes a rising tide of orders from individuals, from organizations, and from the Appeal Army workers for the book as a memento and prize.

Here is the Prize Winners list for the week ending Sept. 3, 1927. Some of these orders were accompanied by six month subscription lists that bowed the Appeal staff over.

- J. A. Manson, Watertown, N. Y. \$3.00 bundles.
Chas. H. Kingston, Spooner, Wis. \$3.00 sub.
Joseph Andrejcz, Merced, Calif. \$3.00 sub donation.

Here are a few of the many letters of appreciation of WALLS AND BARS from friends and comrades:

JOSEPH E. COHEN, PHILADELPHIA.—"Walls and Bars" arrived. It is Gene Debs at his very best. Never was that incomparable, noble spirit of his, in all his long and splendid career of unflinching service to humanity, put to finer purpose than his description of the cruelty and barbarism of prison life and its need for complete change.

MRS. KATHERINE M. DEBS, TERRE HAUTE, IND.—I have received the book and I want to say how pleased and delighted I am with it.

MRS. JAMES B. MILLER, TERRE HAUTE, IND.—I received WALLS AND BARS which I prize above all other books.

S. A. WANBERG, MIDVALE, UTAH.—I note that WALLS AND BARS is ready to be distributed. Enclosed is \$1.50 for the book.

Among the organizations that ordered WALLS AND BARS during the week were: Local Baltimore voted to take 100 and sent in check for first ten.

from the heart of one of America's leading military centers to America's greatest champion of peace and justice.

Remarkable Book By Eugene Victor Debs

A number of interesting books have recently been donated to the Public Library. One of the most striking is called "Walls and Bars."

A Christmas celebration and feast was held, at which Debs presided. The spirit of fellowship was as cordial there as in any home or church.

and farm will take its place. In that day we shall succeed in taking the jail out of man as well as taking man out of jail.

He blames the present economic system for the astounding injustices perpetrated against prisoners and other victims of official cruelty.

Again we call attention to the various ways you may get this wonderful book.

1—THE BEST WAY—Send in \$5 or more worth of subscriptions for the American Appeal, or buy \$5 worth of subscription cards and sell them and get your money back, or contribute \$5 toward the extension of the circulation of the American Appeal, and get a copy of WALLS AND BARS free.

Socialist Party News

Party Activity Ohio

A big meeting has been arranged for Cleveland, Ohio, for September 11, Sunday at 4:30 P. M. at 14711 Lake Shore Blvd., formerly May Co. summer home.

Pennsylvania

Comrade Darlington Hoopes, State Secretary of Pennsylvania, has pointed out in a communication to his organization that they did not get in touch with the State Secretary of that state and become members of the Party and cooperate.

Missouri

The comrades of St. Louis are making arrangements for a meeting similar to the Detroit and Cleveland roundups, where plans for Party work and Appeal support will be taken up.

Illinois

William R. Snow, State Secretary of the Socialist Party in Illinois and organizer for Cook County and Chicago, is putting in his time principally selling a large number of the Debs book "WALLS AND BARS."

Indiana

Indiana Socialists are not as active as they should be and so much as they were some time ago.

Michigan

A rousing, enthusiastic meeting of Socialists at Detroit was held on September 2. The arrangements were made by the members of the Jewish Socialist Branch.

Debs Memorial Meetings for October 20th

The National Organization calls upon the local branches and members at large to arrange and carry out big memorial meetings on or near the date of October 20th.

Army Record

The Appeal Staff is happy and hopeful again and will be able to do better work because the Appeal Army is steadily regaining the ground it lost when apparently about half its membership went on a summer vacation.

Charity Should Begin At Home

This is an old saying, but in many cases it is not a fact, a good many of our mortals want to let the other fellow know what a good philanthropist we are by donating to all known charities, but in doing so we, in a good many cases, totally neglect our own.

The Debt Fund

Following the successful meeting in Detroit, Debt Meetings have been arranged in Cleveland and St. Louis and will soon be arranged at other points.

Sub-A-Month Pledges

In spite of the slowness in enrolling an Appeal Army pledged to get at least one sub or its equivalent for the American Appeal every month.

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Hours Lengthen Wages Slump And

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Women's Wages Are Lowest

The average theoretical earnings of the women and girls were \$18.95 per week. Their actual earnings were \$18.52 per week.

More Votes on Appeal Come In

Notes of opinion on the Appeal continue to arrive, some in the form of letters and some on the blank form formerly appearing in the Appeal.

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Dollars vs. Men

William Stellema, a Holland fruit dealer, has deposited \$1 in a bank with the stipulation that it be left to draw interest compounded semi-annually for 500 years.

The Labor World

Oldest continuous weekly Socialist paper in the U. S. Room 204 Grand Bldg. San Francisco. 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 N. 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 of the Socialist and Labor Movement here and abroad.

Vorwaerts

GERMAN SOCIALIST WEEKLY The only one in the Middle West Editor, HEINRICH BARTEL \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months Published at 139 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.

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

BOOKS YOU SHOULD HAVE

Table listing books: Walls and Bars—Debs (Cloth) \$7.50, American Communism—Ouel (Cloth) 1.50, What's So and What Isn't—Work (Cloth—revised) .50, etc.

DEBS' PICTURES

That you will be proud to own. In sizes suitable for homes, offices and halls, all beautifully finished—not cheap prints. Photos, 8x10, the latest and favorite photograph of Comrade Debs, taken especially for the Socialist Party national headquarters and never distributed previous to his death; made direct from the original negative. \$1.00 each, \$10.00 per doz.

NEWS AND VIEWS

McCray Released

Former Governor Warren T. McCray of Indiana, convicted and sentenced to ten years in a federal prison for the crime of "using the mails in furtherance of a scheme to defraud," was released after serving exactly one-third of the sentence. Apparently he is in good health, being able to lie to the report circulated about a year ago that the president contemplated pardoning him on account of his ill health. No evidence has appeared to show that McCray's release was anything else than one of those friendly little deals among politicians, after they feel that the original scandal has blown over and the public has forgotten.

About a year ago, the immortal Eugene V. Debs pointed out in an editorial in the American Appeal, at a time when McCray's prospective release was being discussed, the contrast between the attitude of our capitalist government toward mere criminals or felons, like McCray, and the lofty minded, unselfish and courageous fighters for the working class who dared to lift their voices against the existing order or its established authority.

McCray's early release is perfectly understandable. Not only was he a member of the gang and undoubtedly a "good fellow," but he proved by his filthy and inflammatory ravings of idealists and champions of the workers that he was an essential "patriot." He is the man who incited by his mendacious and inflammatory remarks Legionnaire "Anastasia" who led almost to the mobbing of the great humanitarian, McCray is a fair example of the stuff out of which "super patriots" are made.

It is significant of the present class character of American "justice" that McCray's release follows the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. It follows the break down of attempts to bring former Attorney General Daugherty, former Secretary of the Interior Fall to justice. Doherty and Sinclair are still outside of prison. Debs the real lover of his country the real fighter for true democracy to his last breath is still in prison than McCray the convicted scoundrel.

Prosperity Slipping

Our friend, George R. Kirkpatrick, sends in a marked financial page of the Chicago Herald-Examiner. Three items right together in a bunch are worth this information: Only 190 furnaces out of 362-52 per cent—are now in operation. There was a net loss of eight furnaces during the month. The steel trade is now running at 65 per cent of its capacity. The railroads of the whole country have 291,287 empty cars they are not using now. This is an increase in surplus cars of 8,591 over the preceding week.

The average worker and voter doesn't read the financial page. He reads the headlines in the front page that tell about the "unexampled and growing prosperity of the nation." On the financial page he reads the real truth over to the business men.

As a matter of fact, prosperity of the capitalist brand is slipping precipitately all over the country. American capitalism with its enormous machinery of production again finds itself choking on its own surplus and will have to slow down and throw millions out of work. It has a surplus because it limits the purchasing power of the people by paying as small wages as possible and they can't buy all they produce. The owners limit the purchasing power of the people in order to make profit. Trying to MAKE PROFITS BY INCREASING PRODUCTION and DECREASING CONSUMPTION at one and the same time is a species of economic suicide that will finally put an end to the present system, and pave the way for a system based on production for use and for profits, which pays the workers all they produce so that they can buy back the entire product and have no unsalable surplus to clog the wheels of industry.

How Wars Are Made

The American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai has just had an outbreak which plainly shows the stuff out of which imperialism is produced and how wars are made. The Nationalist government in Shanghai slapped on a high tariff in order to raise funds to win the war. It was a high war tariff, a very common thing among the "advanced" and "civilized" nations. The Shanghai American Chamber of Commerce as everywhere is composed of profit takers. This tariff interfered with the sacred process of taking profits. Although it was an emergency tariff to save a country in a critical condition and has hundreds of "civilized" precedents with which to justify itself, that didn't make a bit of difference with the hard boiled American profit-takers of Shanghai. They immediately cabled to the usually obliging administration in Washington and "demanded" the word is not ours—"demanded" that American marines bow on duty in China to be used to prevent China from enforcing increased tariff rates on United States goods.

The quotation is in the exact words of the news dispatch telling of the event. It means that in the eyes of capitalist traders and imperialists living as "guests" in other countries, the perfectly legitimate and correct use of the army and navy is to change tariff schedules in other countries, even in time of civil war, if these tariffs interfere with the sacred profits of Americans abroad. This is exactly the same doctrine that Coolidge stated in relation to the Nicaraguan situation. We know now how faithfully imperialists the system that does this try to rivet our attention on the paltry half billion a year wanted by THEIR inefficient government!

Mexican And American Labor

The General Confederation of Labor in Mexico has just completed a notable convention in Mexico City. There were representatives of 2,000,000 organized workers present—2,000,000 trade unionists in this one federation in a country of only 15,000,000 inhabitants. If the workers of the United States were as extensively organized the American Federation of Labor would have 15,000,000 affiliated members, instead of 3,900,000. The reports at the convention showed that a large percentage of the membership of the Confederation of Labor is farmer or peasant. This organization upheld and reinforced a socialistic political stand. It is political as well as industrial, voting solidly the Labor ticket and constituting the chief power behind the present Calles government. Already it has secured one of the best sets of labor laws in the world and has helped put through many beneficial Socialist and agrarian measures. It has been the power behind the restoration of 15,000,000 formerly monopolized acres to the peasants.

Why this difference in the Labor movements of Mexico and the United States? bordering countries? How comes it that the relatively backward country, the semi-industrialized country has seven times the percentage of labor organization, has a much more advanced labor movement and a powerful political arm of labor? THE MAIN REASON IS THAT AMERICAN LABOR BECAME POLITICALLY ENSLAVED AT AN EARLY DATE—MERGED IN TWO CLOSELY RELATED AND ESSENTIALLY CAPITALISTIC PARTIES—THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. American Labor leadership became so completely involved in these capitalist parties and so subordinated to them that, so far, American Labor almost alone in all the world has remained capitalist.

Capitalist labor cannot take a wholly independent stand even in the industrial field. It is capitalist. It idealizes the capitalist of industry—the very men it is forced at times to fight. It will never take an independent stand as long as it is capitalist against capitalism or the owners and leaders of capitalism. AND IT IS CAPITALIST BECAUSE IT IS CAPITALISTIC POLITICALLY.

On the other hand, Mexican Labor recently emerged from a long and finally successful revolution which gave it an independent political consciousness. Mexican Labor is Socialist. American Labor is capitalist.

Socialism Is The Opposite of Anarchy

The best government is the one that governs least. In these or similar words is expressed the probable philosophy of Jeffersonian Democrats. They believe that government serves its citizens best which places the fewest restrictions on them, which allows them the fullest opportunity to live their own lives as they see fit, so long as they do not transgress on the rights of others. It is, indeed, the essence of the American theories of government.

Anarchists carry this theory to its logical extreme. The best government, according to philosophical anarchists, is no government at all. They visualize a state of society in which every person would be so considerate of his neighbor that no government would be required. Anarchy, in its true meaning, is a beautiful dream—and only that.

It is a very different thing from the average concept. The average person thinks of Socialism and Anarchy as closely related theories. But Socialism is the opposite of Anarchy. Your Socialist is one who would have all affairs of life managed by the government.

—Scripps-Howard Editorial.

Editor's Note

Socialists advocate government ownership, municipal ownership and the building up of real cooperatives and cooperative systems as the logical, natural and easiest steps to Socialism. The final idea of Socialism is a cooperative organization of the people to handle basic production and distribution APART AND SEPARATE FROM THE POLITICAL GOVERNMENT AND THE POLITICAL MACHINE. The Socialists have always called this ideal cooperative system the COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH, OR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY. It would probably render unnecessary much of the political machinery and political government we know today.

Concerning Waste

Faulty governmental organization is costing the people \$500,000,000 annually, says the National Industrial Conference Board in a recent announcement. This board, which is composed of big capitalists and their retainers, said nothing about the waste from the faulty organization of industry. In faulty organization, general inefficiency, competitive duplication of efforts, advertising, fighting for trade, trust suppression and prevention of wealth production, stoppage or slackening of industry on account of the low purchasing power of the people, unemployment, lockouts and strikes, and the wasteful gutting of natural resources, the present system wastes more every year than it produces. It wastes more than the annual national income of 60 to 70 billion dollars. And these capitalists who maintain the system that does this try to rivet our attention on the paltry half billion a year wanted by THEIR inefficient government!

Perpetuating Wealth by Inheritance

The American oligarchy of wealth is determined to perpetuate itself and fasten itself on the backs of the American people to the end of time by keeping its bloated fortunes intact at the death of the owners and handing them on to the unborn generations of the future. This fight at present centers on the federal inheritance tax which takes part of such fortunes for the use of society at the death of a magnate. The following editorial from Labor, Washington, D. C., throws considerable light on what the big interests are doing and intend to do shortly on this issue.

"Senator Smooth of Utah, 'Old Guard' Republican, declares that the Federal inheritance tax must be repealed at the next session of Congress. Senator Fletcher of Florida, Democrat, says substantially the same thing. Senator Smith adds that several state legislatures have passed resolutions asking that the Federal law be repealed and this source of revenue left to the states.

"To anyone who knows how such things are managed, this announcement is proof that the powerful and well-financed interests are working for the repeal of the Federal inheritance tax has been clever enough to slip resolutions through the state legislatures without any real debate. The claim that this source of revenue should be left to the states is one of the most dishonest arguments ever made on behalf of an inheritance tax, acting separately, cannot make the inheritance tax function; because very rich men always can get legal residence in a state where there is no tax or a very small one.

"Florida has a provision in her constitution, prohibiting the legislature from ever levying an inheritance tax. California and Colorado are said to be considering similar action. With four or five states exempting inheritances from taxation, all the big fortunes would go free.

"On a Federal tax will work in this field, and a powerful combination in both parties has decreed that the Federal law must go. It would be interesting to know just how much money has been collected to lobby against this law.

"The greatest fortunes the world ever knew are now held by a few old men. Each of them realizes that his time is short. Each of them wishes to hand down his 'kingdom' unimpeded. Collectively, they would give millions to repeal this law. Probably they have given millions; for the expenses have been heavy, and lobbyists who were poor when the repeal movement started are well to do now.

"For example, how much has Frank Mondell of Wyoming, once Republican leader in the House, received during the last two or three years for his attacks on the inheritance tax?

"The fight will be a hot one. Every progressive in both parties will line up against repeal; but repeal may come, nevertheless, unless the people wake up and make their wishes felt.

"The inheritance tax is a just and wise means of raising revenue; but it is a means of maintaining liberty. It is a menace to free institutions. If allowed to grow and consolidate by inheritance, they will constitute financial empires that may wreck the republic.

"Make ready to fight for the inheritance tax!"

Muscle Shoals

Make Muscle Shoals a yardstick to measure power costs by having it publicly owned and operated, says Senator Norris. Since Muscle Shoals is already owned by the government, one may well wonder why such an obviously intelligent and just plan is not carried out. The answer is very simple: The private power interests know that a measuring stick of actual costs would put them out of business. The public power, which is the truth about public versus private ownership of power, private ownership would be abolished in a few years.

Worse Than War

That American capitalism has the nice little habit of casting its disabled women workers in the scrap heap to starve and die, when they meet with accidents in industry, is admitted by the Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. This government bureau reports that it interviewed 385 of the 536 permanently injured in one year and a very large per cent, the government does not say how large, were denied re-employment in the industries in which they suffered injuries in line of duty. They don't treat the workers that way, even in war. Capitalist exploitation is more barbarous than war.

Stop This Robbery

Land values have decreased from 78 billion dollars after the War to 66 billion dollars—a total loss to the farmers of \$22,000,000,000 from this source alone. During the same period interest and dividends to capitalists more than doubled annually, increasing to about \$5,000,000,000 a year. It was a clear case of where the farmers' stolen values went. During the same period, according to government reports, the productivity of Labor decreased twice as much as its income increased. Farmers and other workers should unite politically and stop this robbery.

Even Attack Funeral

Consistently following this policy of brutality all during the period of protests against the murders in Boston, the police did not show the slightest feeling of humanity, even in the presence of death. When the funeral cortege went through the city, it was near the state house was blocked off by torn-up streets and city trucks turned sideways and stalled. Mounted policemen rode past the thousands of people who marched behind the biers, swinging their clubs and injuring many.

Brutalities In New York

In New York, meetings which took place in Union Square were treated in the same manner, hundreds of policemen hounding about the speakers and audience while mounted troops waited a few paces away for the order to charge—and the order was frequently given. At one time, a young woman who had not participated in the meeting but who was passing across Union Square was knocked

Business Men Limit Output

(From the American Federation of Labor News Service Bulletin)
Talk of business men limiting production a few years ago would be considered unreasonable.

Now it is safe to discuss a subject that is given the soothing title, "stabilizing output." Workers, however, are still exempt from the new system. Any suggestion by them to shorten the work week is opposed.

Southern cotton growers publicly agreed last year to reduce this crop, and bankers refused to extend loans when the agreement was broken.

Only recently a cabinet official called on farmers to "stabilize output," and oil operators are now discussing a nation-wide check on oil production that endangers prices.

These business men are encouraged by the inaction of the Government in the case of oil operators in the Seminola field of Oklahoma who appointed an oil czar to limit their output. The plan was cautiously launched, and as no public protest was made, it is proposed to extend the scheme.

The business men's new viewpoint is one of the many revolutionary changes that are taking place in industry and which seem to be unnoticed by the general public.

Waste and Lunacy In Coal Industry

Stuart Chase, John Brophy and W. S. Rauschenbusch have told about the waste, poverty, unemployment, injustice and oppression in the coal industry. The story is an old one. But these men are publicly labeled as radicals, and who can believe a radical? Harper Leech, however, has no taint of radicalism in his blood. He is a business reviewer for the Chicago Tribune. And what does he say about the coal industry? He says that under present methods of operation "40 per cent of recoverable coal in many mines will be left in the ground forever, because the inefficient mine must skim the cream to live." Moreover, he says that with an effective organization of the industry, coal can be produced at anywhere from 25 per cent to 50 per cent lower cost than at present and at the same time eliminate the waste.

When will such an organization be effected? In his opinion it will be a long way from being a public will, in order to insure profits on the additional capital invested for a consolidation of the industry. It is a charming prospect! If it were not sanctified by the fascinating name of individualistic industry it would seem to have come from a lunatic asylum.

—From The Baptist, Church Organ, Chicago.

Bloody Nation-Wide Protest Suppression

(Continued from page 1)
at a gathering on the Common, a policeman recognized him and slapped him on the face, reminding "we are tired of arresting you."

Haggood's sentence of six months' imprisonment is now on appeal.

Gets Year for Quoting Thayer
Miss Mary Donovan, secretary of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, was sentenced to one year' imprisonment by a Boston Municipal Court judge for quoting a placard among the floral offerings to the two dead men which read: "Did you see what I did to those two anarchistic bastards?" Judge Thayer. "She was charged with attempting to incite a riot and disturbing anarchistic literature. This was the first appearance of Judge Webster Thayer as an author of anarchistic literature.

Describing the actions of the Boston police as "needless, unprovoked brutality," Creighton J. Hill, in a letter to the Boston Herald, gives the following description of the breaking up of a meeting on Boston Common:

"In fifteen years of newspaper reporting, I have never witnessed a scene equaling that on Boston Common this afternoon for needless, unprovoked brutality on the part of the Boston police. I saw one policeman knocked down by a blow from a policeman as she was trying to move away. Had there been the least sign of mob danger to warrant Superintendent Crowley's conduct, it might have been at least understandingly brutal in handling the people, but there was not the slightest pretext for what took place. No disorder had occurred. Neither the people in charge of the meeting nor the audience showed the slightest evidence of 'inciting to riot' or in any way doing more than engage in the exercise of their constitutional right of free speech."

Some Chicago Outrages

In Chicago, permits for meetings were refused and use of private halls withheld by the same method practiced by the Boston police—intimidation of the owners. For passing out handbills urging a strike to save Sacco and Vanzetti, seventy persons were arrested by the police shortly before the execution. Included among

Washington Bares Fangs

In Washington, D. C., two outstanding instances reveal the trend of the official mind of free speech and civil liberty. Representative Albert Johnson, Chairman of the House Committee on Immigration, issued a warning that aliens who participated in Sacco-Vanzetti protests would be arrested and deported. Mrs. Lenora H. Jones, a Quaker, 53 years old, was indefinitely suspended from her position as a tourist guide in the Capitol Building, because she remarked that she would be willing to die to save the lives of Sacco

States Police Injure Hundreds

At Cheswick, Pennsylvania, scores of bricklayers, miners and their wives and children were injured and one trooper was killed when state police attacked a Sacco-Vanzetti protest meeting. The troopers charged the mine people time after time, riding over them and clubbing many. The injured numbered over two hundred. The trooper was killed by a pistol shot fired by an unknown person. Twenty miners were arrested and charged, with rioting. There were no disorders at the meeting until the troopers appeared and charged. Representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union are investigating the case with a view to aiding in the defense of the miners who were arrested.

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Between Bernstein and Lenin

In XII Articles

Article VIII

By Ernest Untermann

Back in the nineties of the last century, Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein tried to straighten out some kinks in the Marxian economics and dialectics. But neither of them had a science of thinking that could be used in practice. Just as Moliere's bourgeois gentleman talked prose all his life without knowing his science, so Kautsky and Bernstein discussed a question of mental dialectics without a science of thinking. Naturally they raised a lot of heat and friction, but did not settle anything. They became personal enemies, instead. Only quite recently, in a maudlin mood to make up, Kautsky forgave himself all the insults which he had hurled at Bernstein. He had himself become a Bernsteinian as a result of the war and the German revolution.

Bernstein said in that famous debate that he had gradually changed his mind about Marxian economics and historical materialism. He had told Engels so. His conviction was that Marxian economics needed a thorough overhauling, that the middle class was not falling into the proletariat as Marx had prophesied, and that the minds of the workers did not reflect changes in economics as simply as they should according to Marx.

Bernstein's Position

From these partly true premises Bernstein argued that the class antagonisms were on the whole getting softer. The Socialist party should therefore drop all tactics that aimed more or less indirectly at a violent climax or waited for a catastrophe. The Socialists should talk less of the final theoretical aim of Socialism and work more at the possible democratization of social institutions under capitalism. They should not talk so much about materialist dialectics which were unintelligible to most workers, but devote themselves more to applying them in practical education of the workers for the every-day tasks or organization in the shops and offices.

Could this be done without science? Well, said Bernstein, Socialism is a long way from being a practical science. The majority of the workers will never be scientists. It is all right to develop Socialism into a better science and carry more and more of it into the daily work of the workers, but devote themselves more to applying them in practical education of the workers for the every-day tasks or organization in the shops and offices.

Kautsky's Reply

This acted on Kautsky like a red flag on a Wall Street bull. He probed himself on his scientific Marxism—namely, on his ability to carry science to the workers. He went at Bernstein with all the skill of a Marxian boxer. It was a great scrap, but it left little useful information for the practical problems of the labor movement. The argument was going just about as Marx and Engels had predicted. If the middle class was not falling into the proletariat, at least it was losing its economic significance and political buffer role. Class antagonism, on the whole, were getting harder. The party should stick to the "history-crowned revolutionary tactic" of "no compromise, no political trading" which Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel had inaugurated. There was a joke that few saw at the time: Bebel was a clever politician, who knew the value of compromise. And Wilhelm Liebknecht, who wrote "No Compromise, No Political Trading,"

Lenin Becomes Comprimoiser

little information on what will happen when a majority, in a climax of capitalism's normal development, will seize the political power and begin to socialize the industries. But the Leninists proclaimed their style of revolution the model of the coming early world revolution, which would presently be copied by all revolutionary workers.

Lenin's renunciation of historical materialism and return to Kantian mysticism seemed a crime to Kautsky, exceeded only by Bernstein's doubt of the claims of Marxian science. So there the fat was in the fire. The old animosities perpetuated themselves and dragged along, until in 1902 Lenin came along and picked a quarrel with Kautsky over tactics.

Lenin Urges Revolution By Minority

Lenin treated Kautsky just as Kautsky had treated Bernstein. The true Marxian, Lenin said, was himself. Kautsky was only a little German bourgeois posing as a revolutionist. A real hero of the revolution will not play the futile and tiresome game of opposition in parliament.

Lenin cited chapter and verse from Marx. He wasn't squeamish about tearing Marx's sentences out of their context. Marx said in The Communist Manifesto that the proletariat will socialize capitalist private property by force. In his Capital he had written: "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power." In Marx's text, these statements were part of a historical view which figured on the expropriation of a small minority of exploiters by a majority of another class, rising irresistibly to power as a climax of mature social development. Lenin believed in violent revolution by a minority regardless of historical conditions. He said: We don't have to wait for a majority. A daring minority can start a revolution at any time, regardless of the stage of maturity in which this or that nation or capitalism is. We must force it. We can democratize and socialize later.

Kautsky's Answer to Lenin

Kautsky replied truly that this would not be a social revolution in the Marxian sense. It would be an artificial political revolution, which is an economic revolution, just the sort of thing that Marx had ridiculed all his life. But Lenin didn't care. He insisted that his perversion of Marx was true Marxism, and that Kautsky was trying to make a bourgeois Marx.

So Kautsky, the recognized disciple of Marx and Engels, the authorized trustee and executor of their literary testament, suddenly found himself between Bernstein's opportunism and Lenin's radicalism, fighting for the recognition of the Marxian A.B.C. The Marxian science can and must be improved. The Marxian science must be made available for practical use in the daily labor struggle. Its flaws and inconsistencies must be removed, so that nobody can question its longer life in behalf of foolish adventures.

The Bolsheviks have to cook their radical soups with opportunist water, just like the despised Bernsteinians and middle of the road Marxians. Force, the midwife of capitalism pregnant with Socialism, cannot do any good by interfering before the baby is ready to be born. Society abhors a vacuum just as much as nature does. And the worst vacuum that needs filling right now is the vacuum in some Marxian heads between natural, social and mental laws of evolution. As a first step in this direction, they might familiarize themselves with Josef Dietzgen's work.

Sign On The Dotted Line And Get Things Started

Sub-A-Month Membership Pledge Organized Army of the American Appeal

American Appeal, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago:
I hereby agree to obtain for the American Appeal in the future at least one subscription per month, or its equivalent. Enroll me in the Organized Army of the American Appeal.

Name Address

Detroit Trolleys Prove Public Ownership

Make Money for City While Charging Low Fares, Making Vast Improvements And Giving Splendid Service

Editor's Note

In the last two numbers of the American Appeal were articles telling of the phenomenal success of public ownership in Sweden and under the Labor Government of Queensland, Australia. But we do not have to go outside of capitalist America to find conspicuous proof that public ownership is essentially superior to private ownership in the operation of utilities and industries.

In many ways America's outstanding example of the success of public ownership is found in the municipally-owned street railway system of Detroit, Michigan. Detroit has more than a million inhabitants and is one of the fastest growing cities in America. A street railway system in an industrial city of this size, is a great industry itself employing thousands and encountering all the difficult problems of a great modern industry. It presents far more difficult problems than the public ownership of utilities less industrial in character, such as waterworks, or power and lighting plants, or even telephone systems. In these latter utilities there are many examples of successful public ownership in the United States, but in street railways public ownership and operation, examples are few in America. The success of a publicly owned street railway system is like America branching out into public ownership in the industrial field. The following article is particularly valuable because it is written by the editor of a capitalist newspaper con-

stant and does not represent the effort of a propagandist trying to make public ownership in Detroit appear to be more successful than it really is. Undoubtedly under a better, cleaner and less capitalistic political system than we have in America today, the municipal system described here could be made much more successful even than it now is.

—M. E. K.

After five years experience with municipally owned street railways, Detroit finds herself with one of the cheapest and best systems ever operated. Not only has the city-owned railway given unusually good service, but it has actually earned a big profit in those five years. It has been subjected to all sorts of criticism, within and without the city, but it is now in a position to refute such criticism with facts and figures that cannot be disputed.

Showing of Company. The fare has never been more than 6 cents, with a penny transfer, paid by about one-third the riders. For a time the system subsisted on a 5-cent fare—the only one in the country with so low a rate. Upon that fare, the company's records show the following major accomplishments:

All expenses have been paid and the company has earned a profit of \$12,000,000, which has been applied to reduce its bonded debt. This is the sum which had the company been owned by individuals would have been paid to them in dividends. In-

stead, it goes back to the pockets of citizens.

Moreover, the company carries all of the expenses common to private companies. It pays \$700,000 a year in taxes. It mows streets between the tracks and, because Detroit is widening many streets, this item has amounted to more than \$1,000,000. There can be no subsidy from other city funds. The street railways company is created by its charter as a thing apart from the city government. It only money comes from the fare of its riders.

Problem of Growth to Meet As to service. Perhaps no city in the country, during the five years, has presented so harassing a problem in transportation. Even Los Angeles, Detroit is the fastest growing American city. New thousands were appearing monthly demanding to be carried. New residence sections were being built up rapidly. Keeping pace with growth of the city was a task nothing short of stupendous.

The city-owned railways, in the five years, has bought or contracted to buy 600 new street cars. Buses were placed in service to new residence districts—710 of them, most of them pneumatic-tired, traveling routes totaling 180 miles. Approximately 27 miles of street car track extensions were built. The residence area served by the street cars and buses has been doubled in the five years. The property that Mayor Couzens bought in 1922 from the De-

troit United Railways was in bad repair. During the years in which the city and company had been in litigation, the company had purchased the property to deteriorate, spending virtually nothing for maintenance, disbursing all earnings in dividends.

In the five years that followed purchase, the city has rebuilt an average of 100 miles of overhead trolleys each year. It is replacing old cars at the rate of 80 a month. So far this year, 10 miles of track have been constructed in modern, heavy, rail fashion. Five new power substations have been built. The property today is in better physical shape than at any time in its history. The dense traffic of Detroit presents operating difficulties. Yet, it is asserted that the average speed of Detroit street cars is the highest of the large cities in the country.

Subway Plan Proposed. No one pretends that service is satisfactory in all sections and to all of the city. Detroit is planning to build a subway. Detroit recognizes that it is outgrowing surface transportation and its Rapid Transit Commission was ready this year to submit the first unit of a \$200,000,000 subway plan. The vote was postponed from last April because Detroit at the time was suffering from partial industrial depression. Moreover, street-widening projects had placed a burden upon property and it was felt that the burden should not be increased until the city had recovered from last year's depression.

Politics Charge Denied. He exploded. "We are appointed by the Mayor, but we take orders from no one, the Mayor included," the commissioner said. "We run this system as we would our own business. We do not permit politics to enter the street-car business." The same question was put to D. A. Smith, general manager. Smith has been with the Detroit railways for 21 years, so that his appointment cannot be regarded as po-

litical favor. He came out of the ranks. Smith said that his conduct of the company was not embarrassed by political requests. "We have 6500 employees," he said. "The turnover has been reduced to less than 1-2 of 1 per cent a month, a record which many private industries envy. We pay, with Chicago, the highest wages in the country to our trainmen. Politics, in the meaning that is intended in the criticism, may be said to be virtually absent."

Senator Couzens, during his operation of the railways, often said that the Mayor who would play politics with the railways was a "fool." "Good street car service will give a Mayor greater strength with his people than any political machine," Couzens said.

Situation at Present. It is true that the present city administration, from time to time, has been charged with playing politics. It is likely that there are more politics in the Detroit railways now than at any time since the city bought them, but it also is true that no ill effect has yet been felt upon service or the freedom of the managers of the railways to conduct its vital affairs.

Detroit required many years to acquire its railways. The city and riders were dissatisfied with service and the lack of desire of the owners of the railways to better it. There grew up a definite sentiment for municipal ownership, the platform that carried Couzens to the Mayor's office. Couzens asked \$5,000,000 for the construction of new

lines which the growing community needed, but which the private company was unwilling to build. When the money was voted, Couzens began a war of extinction upon the old company.

Fight to Take Over Lines. His cast longing eyes on the Woodward avenue and Fourth street lines, comparable in revenue importance to the Olive and Broadway lines in St. Louis, which he desired to lop off the private companies and annex to the city lines. There had intervened a fortuitous event. The franchise of these lines had expired. They were being operated upon day-to-day permits and Couzens made overtures to the company for purchase of its property—its entire property. The company demanded approximately \$43,500,000, an exorbitant price. Couzens scaled it down to \$20,000,000 and asked the public to ratify the price. It refused. The price still was too high.

Couzens accepted the verdict and intensified his war against the company. He ordered it to remove its tracks from Woodward avenue. That started the legal struggle which ended five years ago in an issue. In 1921, the United States Supreme Court held that the company was without a franchise and the city, if it chose, could tear up the Woodward avenue tracks. The company capitulated. Couzens drove a hard bargain. He hammered down the \$43,500,000 original demand of the company to a price of \$19,000,000 and the city took over the lines.

Debate: Best Way to Unite Voters to Remedy Conditions

Editor's Note

After a week devoted to the Labor Day issue of the Appeal, we return to the series of questions put by Tolley Hartwick, a farmer of Meredith, Montana. We will now take up the first point or question contained in a letter from Mr. Hartwick of August 14.

By Tolley Hartwick

(Meredith, Montana) The two old political parties have thousands of able, noble men in their ranks, but both of them are helplessly strangled by the ruling bourgeoisie from all-odds-on boot-legging. It therefore seems hopeless for the American farmer to realize any relief through their action.

So I am watching intently to see whether the Socialist leaders may not seize upon the biggest opening for them, the biggest opening since the time when Roman financing parasites crashed in the ruin of that ancient empire. I am hoping they will be so shrewd as to concentrate on a definite project that will WIN THE HEARTS OF MAJORITIES, rather than AT FANATIZE the peasant matter if a doctrine be heaven-inspired, it cannot get to first base unless it appeals to ELECTORAL MAJORITIES. So I yield to friends and letters from several states, and keep trying to make suggestions for the APEL based on the position of a fair, intellectually honest, and willing to entertain "free discussion" and to consider the opinions of its friends.

Editor's Reply

The Socialist Party without doubt would be glad to give prominence to any issue that would really ameliorate the condition of the farmer in a manner just to all, but the Socialist Party, in doing so, cannot abandon or slight the main issue of the national position. It presents the MAXIMUM condition for disagreement and division, instead of the MINIMUM. In other words, it is an issue that would do more to DIVIDE than to UNITE.

In the first place, you never could get the majority of the farmers to agree on this particular way of attempting to abolish interest, while on the other hand, the majority of farmers, no doubt already agree that the interest burden should be lifted from their backs, or that the money system should be nationalized. Most of the expressions I have noted from the majority are those favoring the nationalizing of money along the lines laid down by the American Constitution, which says that Congress shall have the power to issue money. Other farmers would have other ideas of HOW TO DO IT. It might be comparatively easy to educate the majority to agree that THE INTEREST BURDEN SHOULD BE LIFTED, but there would inevitably be many different ideas as to how to realize this. The Appeal has already pointed out that the direct and logical thing to do is to establish the government ownership of the money and banking system at once and operate it for the benefit of all the people at the cost of the service. If

we confiscated interest by means of a tax, this is what we would have to do anyway, as such a tax would hit the private bankers and loan agencies out of business.

The second place, it would be impossible to get a majority of the people, or even a majority of the farmers, to agree that the MONEY QUESTION should be stressed at the expense of all other questions. I know many farmers who feel sure that the first thing we should tackle is the government ownership of railroads. These men would not be willing to see the railroad issue pushed into background. At present an actual majority of the farmers seem to be agreed that some bill embodying the idea of governmental financial assistance in marketing the American farm surplus should take precedence over all other issues.

But if there are all these DIVERSE elements connected with the selection of Mr. Hartwick's SPECIFIC issue, it is themselves, the disagreement would be considerably greater among the wage workers, and the farmers cannot put over any specific measure without the vote of a very large percentage of the wage working class. THE MONEY QUESTION AND THE TAX QUESTION ARE CAN'T BE SEPARATED. IN WHICH THE WAGE WORKING CLASS CAN EVER BE UNITED. The wage workers have too little property to be primarily concerned in a tax proposal and too little collateral to make loans and obtain the use of money, even if we had the most perfect money system in existence.

The narrower you make an issue the more you divide people. The broader you make a struggle the more you tend to unite the common victims in that struggle. In the midst of a struggle such as we have in America YOU CAN'T PULL THE MAJORITY OF THE VICTIMS AWAY FROM THE STRUGGLE AND GET THEM TO PUT THEIR FULL FIGHTING STRENGTH IN SOME LITTLE PHASE OF THAT STRUGGLE. The smaller that phase the harder would be your task.

What, then, is to be done? YOU HAVE TO FORMULATE THE MAJOR DEMANDS AT THE BOTTOM OF THAT STRUGGLE AND KEEP YOUR COLORS FLYING. In broad outline the struggle in America, is that the real producers—on farms and in factories and mines—are rendered dependent and subservient and are ROBBED through the CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT BY THE ROBBERS. We are HELD UP industrially because we are HELD DOWN politically. We are up against the broad

fact of social CONTROL. We couldn't be robbed if the exploiting interests did not control in law and government. We cannot stop the robbery except by removing this ADVERSE control and establishing OUR OWN control.

Reforms, whether they be money reforms, tax reforms, railroad reforms, marketing reforms, will turn out to be a huge joke and disappointment IF WE LEAVE THE SYSTEM UNDER ITS PRESENT CONTROL. Our painfully established reforms will either become impoperative or will be repealed or set aside by those who control against us.

With CONTROL in our hands, we can make our reforms good; we can correct our own mistakes, learn by experience and certainly in time establish the conditions we want and can maintain them. There is only one question then confronting us. IF IS CONTROL BY THE PRODUCERS OF GOVERNMENT SO THAT THEY CAN CONTROL IN PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION AND ESTABLISH THE CONDITIONS THEY WANT. They can't get, or maintain the conditions they want in any other way.

Control by the people of their own affairs is the broadest and most unifying issue that exists and the least divisive. It is pure democracy. It is positively irrefutable. The only thing that will ever unite the majority of the farmers, wage earners, and other producers and useful people is the fundamental proposition THAT THEY ARE IN THEIR PRESENT CONDITION BECAUSE THEY HAVE LOST CONTROL OF THEIR OWN AFFAIRS AND THAT THEY CAN HAVE ANY CONDITION THEY WANT BY ESTABLISHING CONTROL OF THEIR OWN AFFAIRS.

Once we are anchored in this basic revolutionary fact, reforms acquire real significance and are useful in interesting and educating and uniting people. BUT REFORM NOT PRECIPITATED ON SOCIAL CONTROL IS A SNARE, A DELUSION, A QUAGMIRE, A SOURCE OF ENDLESS DIVISION. This is proved by the steady, permanent rise of the Socialist movement to the strongest political movement in the world. The Socialist movement has won first and second political place in most of the civilized countries of the world, regardless of adversity or slow growth and divisive effects of scattered reform, because it has held steadfastly to the program of UNITING THE PEOPLE FOR THE CONTROL OF THEIR OWN AFFAIRS.

After Massachusetts, What?

Editor's Note

The following article by McAlister Coleman was intended for the Labor Day edition of the Appeal last week, but he got the word from Black Hill that Coolidge was not going to run again and that the field was open for a new labor-hating hero.

What do those things mean? Do they not indicate that labor is impotent so long as there is no organization on the political front? So long as labor continues to compromise with labor's most deadly enemies, so long will futile mark every effort for the good life.

On Labor Day just past we entered into a new year with the deep scars of the last still living upon us. Shall we go forward with another, beaten, despised and scorned by those in the high places? Or shall we resolve here and now to put behind the overwhelming superiority of our numbers the driving force of collective intelligence and start forth at length upon that long delayed struggle for political and industrial democracy without which the lives of every last one of us are so tragically meaningless?

LABOR-SOCIALIST MEMBERS IN THE WORLD PARLIAMENTS Harry W. Laidler

THE great and increasing power of Socialist and Labor parties throughout the world is strikingly brought out by the figures given in the Labor Year Book of 1927 recently published by the British Labor Party and just received in this country. The table setting forth the parliamentary representation of these parties of the workers at the last elections indicates that over 20 per cent of the representatives are labor or Socialist in Queensland, New South Wales, W. Australia and Tasmania; that between forty and fifty per cent of the representatives are labor or Socialist in Austria, Belgium, Sweden and Tasmania; that between thirty per cent and forty per cent represent labor or Socialist constituencies in Australia, Denmark, Finland, Latvia, and S. Australia; between twenty and thirty per cent in Germany, Great Britain, Danzig, E. Thonia, Netherlands, Norway, and Switzerland; between ten and twenty per cent in Argentina, France, New Zealand, Luxembourg, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania and S. Africa; from five to ten per cent in Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy and Poland, and less than five per cent in Canada, Iceland, and the United States, with Russia, Armenia, Georgia and the Ukraine possessing illegal social democratic parties. In April, 1925, Bulgarian representatives were expelled from office.

The only country reporting no labor or Socialist parliamentary members is Spain, where the Chamber was suppressed. The United States comes next to Spain in its lack of strength in the federal congresses with but one representative out of over five hundred members.

Another significant fact brought out by the table is the extremely small number of Communist parliamentary representatives outside of Russia. Only in Czechoslovakia do the Communists outnumber the Socialists in the National Chamber.

PARLIAMENTS REPRESENTATION SEATS

Country	Total seats in elected chamber	Last Election Results		
		Labor and Socialist	% of total	Communist
Argentina	156	21	13.0	0
Australia	75	23	30.6	0
New S. Wales	90	46	51.1	0
Queensland	72	43	59.7	0
S. Australia	46	16	34.8	0
W. Australia	60	27	45.0	0
Tasmania	30	16	53.3	0
Austria	165	71	43.0	0
Belgium	247	79	42.2	2
Bulgaria	185	29	11.8	Members expelled April, 1925
Canada	245	4	1.6	0
Czechoslovakia	300	29	9.7	41
Czech S. P.	—	17	5.7	0
Denmark	120	30	25.0	11
Denmark	149	53	35.6	0
Estonia	100	25	25.0	—
Finland	200	60	30.0	18
France	600	105	17.4	27
Germany	493	131	26.6	45
Great Britain	615	156	25.3	1
Hungary	245	14	5.7	0
Iceland	28	1	3.6	0
Ireland	153	15	9.8	0
Italy	535	Unitarians 24 Maximalists 22	4.5 4.1	13 0
Jugo-Slavia	315	33	10.5	0
Latvia	100	Majority S. D. P. Minority S. D. P.	3.0 4.0	0 0
Lithuania	78	15	19.2	0
Luxembourg	47	8	17.0	0
Netherlands	100	24	24.0	1
New Zealand	80	12	15.0	0
Norway	150	32	21.3	2
Poland	444	—	—	—
Polish Soc. P.	—	41	9.2	—
German Soc. P.	—	1	0.4	—
Roumania	369	0	—	0
Spain	400	7	1.8	0
Sweden	240	104	45.2	5
Switzerland	198	49	24.7	3
South Africa	135	18	13.3	0
Union of United States	531	2	0.4	0

* Exceptional political conditions.
* The Unitary Socialist Party was dissolved after the Mussolini "March" of November, 1925.
* Chamber suppressed.

McAlister Coleman

(Newspaper Man, Writer, Columnist, New York)

At a time like this with that brooding tragedy of the Charleston death house at one's shoulder, it is next to impossible to write of anything except the Sacco-Vanzetti infamy. You come away from the four-riders blowed State of Massachusetts with a sense of infinite futility. You had seen men and women of great influence in their communities, of the highest intellectual standing in the nation scorned and harried by bigotry in policeman's uniform, by the government of the so-called Commonwealth. You had seen the head of the nation's most honored educational center take on the role of murderer ex-officio. You had hoped against hope that the great outcry raised by the combined intelligence of the civilized world might be heeded by even the petty placemen running in and out of the Governor's office. And then, with still incredulous eyes, you read how they took them out at night and burned them to death, the fish peddler and the shoe-worker who dared to dream of a better order of society.

Futility. Like pounding naked fists on steel walls. Does life hold anything worse than this overwhelming sense of helplessness that is ours today? And must it be thus to the end? Must we forever be beaten down by intolerance, bigotry and greed? Have we nothing with which to combat the weapons of the mean, shoddy, second-rate men and women who are custodians of our lives and fortunes in America today?

I think we have. I think this dreadful thing should serve to wake us rudely from any dream that there can be compromise with a system which enthrones the Beast in man and crushes out the Beauty. From time to time we have seemed to think that the enemy was, after all, becoming harmless, that somehow those vague forces called "economics" were working with us for the bringing in of a new day. We had blind fools we were! The sound of feral padding might have fallen more softly on our heedless ears but the beast was always there behind us, ready to spring and tear when the chance came.

Futility! We were futile because we were, in the long run, not together. We did not represent in the minds of those Massachusetts executioners anything actually articulate in the American symphony. They listened to voices nearer and more familiar, the voices of all the little manufacturers and merchants of New England, the Open Shoppers and Company Unionists and labor baiters, howling for blood. And what sounds of protest organized labor in the East was able to raise were drowned in this awful baying.

It is indeed hard for one who was not in Boston on those last dreadful days to realize the all-important part that politics played in the final act. Two weeks before the execution Governor Fuller sent a confidential agent all through the State to find out what would be the effect upon his political future if he went ahead and gave the order for the burnings. That man reported back that all the substantial elements in the State were four-square back of the Governor and added the further significant comment that in most places even the workers were indifferent to the outcome. He told the Governor that the Jews in the garment trades in Boston and the Italians who live in the mean shacks on "The North Side" where the Sacco-Vanzetti Committee had its headquarters made up the few excep-

A capitalistic headline says that Chicago is able to feed one-tenth of the United States. Chicago doesn't produce a pound of food from the soil, but it knows how to get the food away from the farmers.

The government now admits that the cost of living figures compiled monthly are unreliable and favor the capitalist interests against the workers. Undoubtedly government figures on income tax returns, distribution of wealth, wages, and the number of millionaires and billionaires, are manipulated to favor the interests and the political party in power, and prevent too much dissent, but the joke of it is that our capitalist government is forced to admit so much that its statistics damn the whole system. That is why the Appeal so often quotes government figures.