

Industrial Democracy

American Appeal

One Dollar a Year 50 Cents 6 Months

Foreign Rates \$1.50 a Year

8 Cents Per Copy for Bundles

No Wrong Can Live Long Under Free Discussion

MURRAY E. KING, Managing Editor

EUGENE V. DEBS, Founder

WILLIAM H. HENRY, Business Manager

Published Weekly by the Socialist Party of America at 2653 Washington Blvd. Phone Seelye 0740

Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 7, 1926, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., Under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. 8—No. 14

CHICAGO, APRIL 2, 1927

Price Five Cents

U. S. Paves Way to Arm Foes of Mexican Labor Government

Preparations Made to Mobilize 100,000 Troops and Vast Supplies on Border

As the American Appeal goes to press events of the most sinister import connected with the Mexican situation are transpiring. The Coolidge-Kellogg administration in Washington has terminated what is known as the smuggling convention with Mexico. This agreement, among other things, prohibits the shipment of arms to Mexican revolutionists without the knowledge of the Mexican government. This action removes the last obstacle from the lifting of the presidential embargo on the shipment of arms into Mexico. The Mexican anti-labor revolutionists, whose main headquarters are in El Paso, Texas, are making full preparations to send all their forces to upset the labor government in Mexico beginning with this virtual lifting of the arms embargo on March 29. Ominous War Moves. The War Department before the adjournment of Congress had prepared for the mobilization of 100,000 troops, representing all branches of the service on the Mexican border. Vast quantities of materials and supplies are being purchased and transported to the border depots, according to talk freely expressed in Washington. Orders have been issued for the mobilization on the border of every air craft in the country and it is predicted that the order will be given effect before the first of May. The War Department confronted with these statements has admitted that there is to be a concentration along the Mexican border, but says that this is a "military maneuver without special significance. An Invitation to Revolt. Speaking of the sudden termination of the smuggling convention with Mexico, Senator Norris, progressive, said: "That's an outright invitation to revolution. It is significant that no substantial reasons are given in this statement. It means that we are going to permit the shipment of arms and ammunition without restriction into Mexico. It is notice to all who want to overthrow the government of Mexico that the United States will put nothing in the way. Most ominous of all is the attitude of the organs of capitalism and imperialism in America on the ending of the smuggling convention. THEY ACCEPT IT AS THE BEGINNING OF THE OVERTHROW OF MEXICO." (Continued on page 3)

Morgan's Partner May Succeed Kellogg

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON—Dwight Morrow, partner in Morgan & Co., and college roommate of Calista Coolidge, may succeed Frank Kellogg as secretary of state within a few weeks. Morrow and Charles Evans Hughes have been staying at the leading hotel in Washington, midway between the temporary white house and the presidential office. Morrow, for the first time since Henry P. Davidson discovered him on a commuters train in prewar days and took him into Morgan & Co., has begun to court political limelight. His confidential talks with Coolidge are more frequent now than his hat. Kellogg has been shown his hat. In spite of solemn assurance to the contrary, coming from Coolidge himself, Kellogg is to be dropped. His friends are now confidentially urging press correspondents to "lay off" attacks on him, so that he may retire gracefully, and not under fire.

Prevent This Horror!

Colonel D. P. Bloch, of the French army, paints a picture of the "next war" calculated to give one the horrors. Yet he is writing in the coldest technical terms, and much of what he sees for future conflicts would have been witnessed in the last one had it lasted a few months longer. The first thing to be done in the "next war" there will be no "fronts." Attacks will be delivered by airplane hundreds of miles behind the frontier. Next, there will be no non-combatants; every one will be swept into the war machine, and every one will be in danger. If the World War had lasted till the spring of 1919, the German trenches would have been drenched with "lewisite," a deadlier gas than any yet used, and one defying all then known forms of protection. This gas was the invention of an American college professor, and its manufacture would have been on a quantity basis of several thousand tons per week by March 1919. On the other hand, Ludendorff had all plans laid to destroy Paris and London by a rain of "electron bombs," chemical fire makers which will start a blaze in anything burnable. Colonel Bloch sees the American and German inventions combined in the next war; fire bombs used to drive people into the streets, and gas bombs to overcome or kill them when in the open. It would be totally impossible to fit out a whole population with gas masks and train them in the use of such devices. Even if defense is found against one gas, another may be invented, and a week or day of its free use before the defense against it is found, may be sufficient to wipe out all resistance to it paid via the war.

Kellogg Confesses U. S. Armed Diaz in Nicaragua War

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 24.—The American government has backed up its recognition of the Diaz regime in Nicaragua by selling it arms and ammunition. The sale was made nearly a month ago at the very time that President Coolidge's Nicaragua policy was drawing heated fire from Chairman Borah of the senate foreign relations committee and other members of congress. Announcement of the transaction was made officially by the state department last night. It said the war department had sold the Diaz government 3,000 Krag rifles, 200 Browning machine guns and 3,000,000 rounds of ammunition. The price was \$217,718, to be paid by a series of notes, the first of which will be due Jan. 31, 1929. The munitions already have been shipped to Managua, the Nicaraguan capital. They were represented by the Nicaraguan government, the state department said, "as being urgently needed to maintain law and order in the country and suppress revolutionary activities which not only threaten the constitutional government of Nicaragua but also the lives and property of Americans and other foreigners. In singular contrast to this admission is the official statement issued by Secretary Kellogg on March 14. On that date, 20 days after the sale of these munitions, Washington newspaper dispatches quoted Kellogg as flatly denying favoring the election of Diaz. It stands out in amazing contrast also to the charges made so much of by Coolidge that the Mexican government was selling arms to Sacasa, Liberal president of Nicaragua, made only a week or two before the sale. Officials of the Nicaraguan legation in Washington insist with the arms and munitions obtained from the United States Diaz will be able to crush Sacasa.

Our Trusts Behind Cuban Labor Terror

American financial exploitation is responsible for the most horrible crimes committed against labor, including assassination of labor leaders and most brutal and outrageous suppression of trade unions under the bloody regime of President Machado. The charge is made by Chester M. Wright, English secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, whose sensational expose of the situation facing Cuban workers, made in a number of newspaper articles, has attracted wide attention. The biggest investors in Cuban industry, in the order of their importance, are the American Sugar Refining Co., the General Electric Co., and the American Tobacco Co. These corporations, according to Mr. Wright, are tied in with the National City Bank, the Chase National Bank, and the Guaranty Trust Co., and President Machado of Cuba is regarded as the handy-man of these institutions. Two years ago President Machado issued an edict limiting the acreage which could be planted to sugar, and Mr. Wright says this ruling was inspired by the American Sugar Co. Its object, of course, was to limit production and keep up prices in the United States. No real Socialist will refuse to get that sub or pay for one in the big emergency drive ending April 19.

A Plain Talk to the Readers of the American Appeal

To the Readers of the American Appeal: After fifteen months of growth the American Appeal has attained a circulation of almost 28,000. The present circulation is too small, the present rate of growth too slow to meet the tremendous emergencies that are arising in the war situation; the super trust situation; the political situation and the international labor situation. WE MUST HAVE VERY SOON AN ORGAN OF NATIONAL CIRCULATION AND POWER THAT WILL COMMAND ATTENTION, STRIKE THE ENEMY WITH FEAR, RESTRAIN HIS SINISTER INTENTIONS, DRIVE HIM TO COVER, when it attacks these great major issues. The American Appeal staff has planned a series of powerful drives in a great circulation campaign, which will soon mean vastly bigger and better things for the Appeal and the Movement in the near future, IF YOU WILL LEND YOUR ASSISTANCE. The first move in the campaign for a greater circulation and a greater paper is a month's drive ending April 19 IN WHICH EVERY READER OF THE APPEAL IS EXPECTED TO OBTAIN OR PAY FOR AT LEAST ONE SUB. IN CONNECTION WITH THIS DRIVE WE ARE OFFERING FOR THE LAST TIME FOR \$5 WORTH OF SUBS OR MORE THE LAST PHOTO DEBS HAD TAKEN OF HIMSELF, AS A MARK OF HONOR FOR SERVICE TO THE CAUSE. The success of the present drive will in every way constitute the foundation for the future drives in the big circulation campaign. It will constitute a real test of our dependable workers. If, when we check up results we find them encouraging, we will go on to bigger things. If the response is impressive, the success of the Appeal and the Movement will be rapid in the near future. IT IS UP TO YOU, INDIVIDUAL READER OF THE AMERICAN APPEAL YOU CAN VERY LARGELY MAKE OR UNMAKE THE MOVEMENT BY YOUR WILLINGNESS OF UNWILLINGNESS TO PERFORM THE VERY SMALL SERVICE OF GETTING SOME ONE TO SUBSCRIBE OR OF UNDERTAKING THE VERY SMALL EXPENSE OF PAYING TO PUT SOME ONE ON. This is a showdown with all who claim to be Socialists. Is your Socialism worth a dollar or fifty cents in service or cash, when that service or cash will unquestionably open a new chapter of progress for your paper and your Movement? Your answer will unquestionably determine whether or not the circulation campaign planned for the Appeal beginning May 1, can or cannot be carried out. If you are for a strong forward advance, a powerful paper, a growing movement, use the new subscription blank at the top of page 2 immediately and thousands of others will follow your example before this drive closes.

Break Radio Trust With Debs Station, Morss Lovett Urges

NEW YORK—In accepting an invitation to become a trustee for the \$250,000 fund being raised to establish the radio station WDEBS in honor of Eugene V. Debs, Robert Morss Lovett, of Chicago, widely known liberal leader, and president of the League for International Democracy, made the following statement: "I am very glad to serve as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund. It seems to me that no better memorial can be provided for the common good and believers in freedom of speech than an enterprise which will make speech effective as a means of enlightenment throughout the length and breadth of the land. The control of broadcasting by vested interests is an outstanding menace to free institutions. We have already learned what tyranny a reactionary company can exercise. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company allowed William J. Burns in broadcasting from its station to denounce by name workers for the common good. The Civil Liberties Union requested permission for Mr. Norman Hapgood to broadcast in reply to Mr. Burns. Although Mr. Hapgood submitted his proposed speech, which consisted entirely of quotations from Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, the A. T. and T. refused to allow him to speak on the ground that his subject was controversial. Anything that we can do in the name of Eugene V. Debs to break this tyrannous monopoly will be an honor to his memory." Trustees in Session. The first meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund is now in session in New York City. The board is composed of leading liberals, labor leaders and Socialists in all parts of the country. At its first meeting it is hearing reports of the excellent progress made thus far. Plans are being formulated for putting the campaign for \$250,000 over the top before many months have elapsed. Interest in the drive is being shown in all sections of the labor movement, among Socialists as well as non-Socialists. Individual contributions are pouring in, all accompanied by some expression of support of the proposal to erect Station WDEBS in short order.

From The Pen Of Debs (Compiled by Theodore Debs)

The Power of Unity.

There is increasing evidence day by day that the workers of all trades and occupations are beginning to realize at last the essential unity of the working class and are getting in closer and closer touch in the struggle for emancipation. Only the effective unity of the working class can emancipate the working class and when this simple fact is clearly understood, as it will be in the near future, there will be such a mustering of the sturdy sons of toil as has never been before known. The weakness and the sole weakness of the labor movement, both economic and political, is its lack of cohesiveness, solidarity, and this is due in the main to the still benighted condition of many of the workers who fall easy victims to the wiles and connivances of the scheming emissaries of the master class, whose business is to see to it that the wage-slaves are kept divided and at war with each other as the sure means of keeping them in helpless subjection. It is not only the wily politician who deceives and misleads the trusting workers but not infrequently the very fellow who poses as a union man, wears the largest badge and is most blatant in his profession of loyalty to the labor movement. Such creatures infect the unions for the very purpose of sowing the seeds of disruption and where they are tracked to their holes they should be promptly exposed and rendered harmless to further betray the cause. But while it is necessary to keep a sharp lookout for such spies and sneaks it is also well to bear in mind that undue suspicion of one member by another is equally to be avoided and quite as certain to be fatal to efficient unity of the rank and file. The workers themselves must insist upon getting together, uniting their forces and acting in concert for the good of all. Too much reliance upon leaders is not the part of wisdom or good policy. After all the best of leadership can do little for the workers and plays but a relatively insignificant part in the great struggle of the workers to free themselves from wage-slavery. The solidarity of the workers based upon the intelligence and self-reliance of the workers themselves, is all-important and when this fact is realized the very stars in their courses will fight for labor's emancipation.

U. S. Plays Leading Role In Move Against New China

Perfect New Horror For Next World War

PARIS.—Silent airplanes, painted the color of night, which can neither be heard nor seen after dark, soon will be the practical accomplishment of the French aviation service, it was reliably stated. Recent experiments with new silencers demonstrated the airplane could not be heard a distance of 300 feet from the ground.

Hands Off China, Is Labor Cry In British Dominions

SYDNEY, Australia.—Labor and Socialist organizations, political and industrial have announced a Hands Off China policy. At scores of meetings motions are being carried calling upon the workers to refuse to join any expeditionary force for China and to refuse to handle munitions or foodstuffs for troops in China. At a huge meeting in Sydney, held at the town hall and presided over by the Labor lord mayor, a resolution was adopted calling upon the British government to withdraw all armed forces from China and cease interfering with the Chinese people. The Seaman's Union of Australia decided that the seamen will refuse to man the boats should any attempt be made to send troops, munitions or foodstuffs to the British soldiers in China. The railwaymen's union adopted a similar decision. The Australian workers union, the largest industrial organization in Australia, carried a resolution demanding that the government should not embroil Australia in imperialist warfare.

New Zealand Wellington

WELLINGTON.—The New Zealand Labor party and the labor organizations have taken up a Hands Off China attitude. The Labor party has called to the British Labor party that it will support action to prevent armed intervention by the British government in China. Similar cables have been sent to the Labor parties in Australia and Canada.

Canadian Labor In Move for Its Own Unions And Party

MONTREAL, Canada.—The movement toward a national organization of Canadian labor independent of the American Federation of Labor has taken formal shape in a convention here in the formation of the All Canadian Labor Congress composed of 12 independent national unions. President A. R. Mosher, of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees is president. The new congress claims a membership of 100,000, none of whom are now in the American Federation of Labor. Among the affiliated organizations are the Canadian Federation of Labor, the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, Electrical Communication Workers of Canada, One Big Union, Mine Workers Union of Canada, Bricklayers & Masons Federation of Quebec, Independent Street Railwaymen's Union of Toronto, Canadian Assn. of Railroad Enginemen, and the Electrical Trades Union of Canada. The movement in Canada to form an independent labor party like the British Labor Party is progressing encouragingly. The success of the independent trade union movement of Canada will further the growing labor party tremendously as the union in Canada affiliated with the American Federation of Labor oppose a labor party and insist on the A. F. of L. nonpartisan policy.

Commissioner Admits Private Rail Failure

WASHINGTON.—In an address to the Political Study Club, Commissioner Thomas F. Woodcock of the Interstate Commerce Commission expressed doubt whether the railroads can longer be conducted "with the best results under private ownership." The speaker intimated that the time is not far distant when the railroads will have to look to the government for credit.

Killing of Eight Whites in Nanking Raises Menace of Imperialism

The great movement in China toward democracy and Socialism founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, flowering in the Kuomintang and the Chinese revolution, now embracing in its conquered areas fully 60 per cent of the population of China, is seriously menaced by movements of the imperialist powers following the killing of eight foreigners, including one American, three British, two French and two Japanese nationals, and the slaughter of many Chinese (some estimates being as high as 2,000 men, women and children) by American and British gunboat crews, while fighting was going on following the entrance of Nanking by Cantonese troops. Although the Cantonese army leaders, Chiang Kai-shek and Gen. Pai Chung-hsi have expressed extreme regret and officially disavowed Cantonese responsibility for the killing of the foreigners, news states that the killing, were in all likelihood the work of irresponsible elements attaching themselves to the Cantonese cause, developments growing out of this affair have already resulted in placing the imperialist powers definitely on the side of the northern Chinese militarists and in a dangerous concentration of foreign battleships and armies. It is significant that the Japanese who lost two nationals in the Nanking riots do not consider the affair sufficiently important to warrant special action. A Tokyo dispatch of March 28 says: "The Japanese navy department and foreign office maintain that the situation growing out of the Nanking riots does not warrant any immediate change of policy. They hold that there is no evidence that the nationalists (Cantonese) were responsible for the attack upon the Japanese consulate in Nanking. They attribute the destruction of property there solely to a frenzied mob." (Continued on page 3)

Armed Christianity In China Protested

CHICAGO.—"Missionaries ought to go to China at their own risk." "It's wrong to send war-ships to enforce Christianity on the Chinese." "Christianity has no more rights than any other religion." These sentiments, shouted by Chinese college students attending the conference on Pan-Pacific relations at the University of Chicago, threatened for a time to break up the meeting. The Chinese, their anger stirred by a discussion of the present crisis in their native country, leaped on chairs and disregarded the chairman's gavel to make known their opinions. The disturbance was finally quieted by students of other races.

Munition Interests Incite War in China

URBANA, ILL.—China's war lords could not fight without munitions supplied by foreigners and smuggled through the foreign concessions. Tien Lai Huang, leader in the Chinese youth movement and former Chinese army officer, said in an address at the University of Illinois. "For instance, a retired United States general about a year ago," Mr. Huang stated, "offered me a liberal commission if I would help dispose of in China about \$5,000,000 worth of munitions, mostly stored in the Rhine valley. I refused. Later he informed me that he and his associates had sold most of the munitions to Chinese war lords and they had been smuggled in through the concessions."

God Forgive My World War Hate, Minister Prays

PARIS, March 20.—The Rev. Joseph Wilson Cochran, pastor of the fashionable American church in Paris, publicly expressed regret in his pulpit today for his own verbal excesses during the war. Speaking of disarmament and urging support for President Coolidge's naval reduction program, the Rev. Mr. Cochran, who served during the war as an American army chaplain, said: "When I recall the exaggerated statements of animosity and hatred which I personally made during the world war I get down on my knees and pray for forgiveness." His hearers gasped. The pastor, who is 50 years old, went on: "I fought that problem out, testing my words by the standard of Jesus and I must admit that my attitude was anti-Christian and unworthy of the master. I hope I will be pardoned. I hope we all will be pardoned for the uncharitable words of hatred we uttered when we should have heeded the Christian precepts to love our enemy."

Socialists Named In Milwaukee By Large Majority

MILWAUKEE.—Glorious gains in the Socialist movement of Milwaukee and proof that it is coming back rapidly were afforded by the results of the primary just held to nominate candidates for the school board and civil judges. Every Socialist candidate for the school board was nominated by margins running up to 6,000 above the "Nonpartisan" candidates, who represented a coalition of all other parties against the Socialists. In addition the Socialist candidate for civil judge received more than 2,000 votes more than the vote of the highest "Nonpartisan" candidate. The following is the result of the poll:

Table with 2 columns: Candidate Name and Votes. School Board: Mrs. Meta Burger (Soc.) 14,185; William L. Smith (Soc.) 8,743; Martin C. Baumann (Soc.) 8,501; Louis F. Reuter (Soc.) 8,496; Edward Schroeder (N. P.) 8,470; Loyal Durand (N. P.) 8,229; William G. Otto (Soc.) 7,872; Elizabeth M. McMan (N. P.) 7,083; Willard D. Isham (N. P.) 5,678; M. H. Traub (N. P.) 4,699. Civil Judge, Branch No. 4: Judge W. F. Quick (Soc.) 7,620; Francis J. Jennings (N. P.) 7,449; Henry H. Bodenstab (N. P.) 5,924; D. D. McGuire (N. P.) 5,392. Of the 10 nominees for school director, five will be elected April 5, when the voters also will choose between Mr. Jennings and Judge Quick. Six wards heretofore "Nonpartisan" swung to the Socialist side in this election. The outstanding feature of the vote was the strong indorsement of Mrs. Meta Burger, wife of Congressman Victor L. Berger, and Judge William F. Quick whose splendid records in office brought the high votes. Three of the "Nonpartisan" candidates nominated for the school board were the special candidates of the combination of open shoppers led by the building contractors. A significant phase of the election was the fact that the Socialists in their campaign opposed militarization and gagging of free discussion in the schools. One Socialist plank demanded that in the teaching of history more attention be paid to economic and social movements and less to war. The Milwaukee vote indicates a growing liberal and anti-war sentiment.



Ten Reasons Why You Should Use The Blank at the Right at Once

This is a subscription blank at the right designed expressly for your use IMMEDIATELY in the American Appeal One-Month Emergency Circulation Drive.

The following are ten good reasons why you should use it AT ONCE:

1.—A national organ of Socialism, Labor and Peace is absolutely necessary in America today in the midst of the present chaotic and confusion and on the eve of more definite political line-ups.

2.—The only national organ of that kind in America now is the American Appeal. It is also the only organ that represents the final life-work of Debs; bears his name as its founder; perpetuates his spirit and ideals, his Living Monument in the world today, and carries with it the appeal and power of his personality.

3.—As such, the Appeal is the best possible medium for holding the movement together during this chaotic period, preserving the Socialist ideals and PREPARING THE MATERIAL THAT WILL DETERMINE THE NATURE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL LINE-UP IN AMERICA WHEN IT COMES.

4.—A national organ like the Appeal, going to the subscriber every week for 52 weeks in a year IS THE BEST MEANS OF MAKING SOCIALISTS IN THE PRESENT CONFUSED ERA.

5.—It is also the easiest method of educating under conditions wherein the majority of American Socialists have become disinclined to approach individuals personally on the subject of Socialism.

6.—Under present conditions, the Appeal exactly fills the bill. A hundred thousand Appeals going weekly to readers in this country would steadily be carrying on a work of education of incalculable

magnitude. (Two hundred thousand weekly Appeals would soon fill the air of America with talk of Socialism. A half million weekly circulation would perceptibly affect public opinion and act as a definite check on the sinister moves of war-makers, super trust law-breakers, labor slave-drivers and all betrayers of the public.

7.—The Appeal offers the best opportunity for a large number of Socialists, without undue risk, without much expense, without big small and pleasant work, TO GET THE PROPAGANDA HABIT WHICH NEARLY ALL OF US LOST AS A RESULT OF THE WAR AND CONDITIONS GROWING OUT OF IT.

8.—If the Appeal can attain soon a hundred thousand or more circulation, we need not worry about the future. A hundred thousand American readers in constant touch with the Socialist interpretation of events and the Socialist world developments WOULD CONSTITUTE A THOUGHT FORCE GREATER THAN ANY OTHER DEFINITE THOUGHT FORCE IN THE PRESENT CONFUSION AND CHAOS IN AMERICA AND WOULD POWERFULLY INFLUENCE ANY NEW POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC MOVEMENT OF THE WORKERS.

9.—The present Emergency Drive will build the foundation for future drives for these hundreds of thousands of readers. If this month's drive is not a success we will have nothing to build on. MAKE IT A SUCCESS BY USING THE BLANK AT THE RIGHT AND SENDING IN ONE OR MORE SUBS IMMEDIATELY.

10.—IF YOU WILL USE THIS BLANK AT ONCE THE RESULTS THAT WE WANT TO REPORT NEXT WEEK WILL MAKE A BIG SUCCESS OF THIS DRIVE. DON'T DELAY. DON'T FAIL US.

EMERGENCY SUBSCRIPTION LIST FOR GREATER CIRCULATION

I, the undersigned, vote the following subs for a bigger paper and Movement:

AMERICAN APPEAL, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

RATES \$1.00 A YEAR; 50 cts. 6 MONTHS

Table with columns: NAME, Rural Route or Street Address, Box No., City, State, Amount Paid

Remittance

Appeal Army Activities

Fund Report

Apart from the big gift of \$500 from the Forward Association last week, the Promotion and Sustaining Fund makes a much better showing this week than last.

- Contributions: Dr. Maurice Caspe, New York City \$5.00; Arpad Molnar, Sr., Milwaukee, Wis. 1.00; C. W. Broom, Kensington, Md. 2.00; L. A. Claus, Dayton Ohio 5.00; M. Rosenthal, Chicago 2.00; John D. Dubelman, Chicago 1.00; Tony Skotak, Sharpburg, Pa. 2.00; Frank Pittner, Penn. Pa. 1.00; Louis A. Colombo, West Hagen, Conn. 1.00; Miss Eva Kennedy, Coalinga, Calif. 1.00; E. R. Rosevear, Juniata, Pa. .50; Joseph Seid, Modesto, Calif. 2.00; James Heaver, Los Angeles, Calif. 1.10; Total \$23.60

On Pledges: Wm. F. Janke, Milwaukee, Wis. 1.00; M. Larena, Clothier, W. Va. 1.00; H. Latzer, New York City 1.00; Total \$3.00

Total on Funds \$27.60; Previously \$2,389.44; Total gifts since Jan. 1 \$2,517.04

Army Report

The Appeal Army and readers are swinging into line magnificently in the month's Emergency Circulation Drive. The returns from the Army are nearly twice as large as those of the previous week.

- Prize Winners: More than twice as many Army members came under the line this week than the previous week with a row of scalps which won for them Debs' last photo as a prize for service.

What's So And What Isn't: John M. Work's celebrated book, revised, enlarged and brought up to date by the author. Our best up-to-date propaganda book.

Timely extract from the Fifth Anniversary Review.—"Comrades, we should seek opportunities and make opportunities to meet and greet and help our Yipsels. Heaven preserve us from the dull cynicism of ungenerous criticism of our Y.P.S.L. Rather, let us generously cooperate with them to fill their ranks and gladly welcome them to our ranks as the enthusiastic, warm blooded, energetic, invaluable cooperators that they are."

Order Berger's Great Speech Now: The speech of Victor L. Berger on U. S. action in Latin America is ready for distribution. All that is necessary is for you to pay for the printing of them, which is \$5.00 per thousand. No profits are made by anyone, but we must pay the Government for the printing.

Two Fine Debs Pictures Order Now: We have two fine pictures of Eugene V. Debs that our comrades and many of their friends of Debs will want. The prices are made unusually low, so that all the friends of Debs may secure one for their homes, their offices, or for the organizations of which you are a member.

FOR THE COMRADES WHO READ ITALIAN: La Parola del Popolo is the only Socialist Newspaper in the United States, in Italian language, affiliated with the Socialist Party and the Socialist International.

Volks-Stimme German Socialist Weekly: Subscription Rate, \$2.00 Per Year Write today for a Sample Copy

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

THE NEW LEADER: A SOCIALIST WEEKLY 10 Pages Each Week

Vorwaerts GERMAN SOCIALIST WEEKLY: The only one in the Middle West

Socialist Party News

Important Notice

The big May Day issue of the American Appeal can be made the biggest issue we have published up to this time if the comrades everywhere will act and act now.

We also suggest that Locals and Branches place an ad in this edition, giving place and date of meeting of their organizations. This will be a good way to reach not only the prominent readers of your community, but also those who will receive the bundle that you distribute.

Notice

The National Organization, in cooperation with the State and County Organizations, is in a large amount of propaganda and organization work, to be started early in the spring and carried throughout the summer.

New England District

Comrade Lewis will speak in Norwood on April 10th. The Subject selected by the Branches is "Is Socialism Disloyal?"

The State Convention will be held on April 24th at 21 Essex St., Boston. Branches which have not elected delegates are urged to do so at once.

Yipsels

A Junior Yipsel Circle has been organized at Norwood. The Maynard Yipsels have had a successful play and entertainment, and have promised to take up some educational work in earnest immediately after the Yipsel Convention on April 5 and 6 is over.

Illinois Chicago

(A message from the Socialists of Chicago to the Wage-earners of Chicago on the Spring Election of 1927.)

The Socialists of Chicago wish to call attention to the following matters of first class importance in the municipal campaign of 1927: FIRST: Evers, Thompson and Robertson and their campaign managers are grossly ignorant of the dominant parasitic purpose of the corrupt and corrupting practices, and of the degrading results of the capitalist system of industry; or, if they are correct, they are indifferent to the matter of industrial justice for the workers that they scorn to pay any attention to such fundamental matters; or, they are so completely under the control of and in the profitable favor of the exploiting, plundering, corrupting capitalist class of this city that they dare not speak out clearly and defiantly in defense of the workers.

SECOND: In this campaign not one of those candidates has uttered one correct fundamental truth or principle in municipal statecraftship involving such complete policies as would free the workers from exploitation and free the city from the outrageous robbery and corrupting influence of the industrial masters of Chicago.

THIRD: Not till the workers of Chicago understand the largest fact of these candidates and their methods in the industrial class struggle in which struggle the candidates named above are on the side of the capitalist class, not till then will the workers of this great city be able to defend themselves intelligently and effectively with their vast strength united as a class politically in a political party of the working class.

Under these circumstances, the Socialist Party of Chicago of course decline to give any political aid and comfort in any way whatever to any of these candidates and their methods; they urge the workers, all the workers of this city to rouse to a realization of their political power when united politically as a class; and rouse to a clear realization also, that as long as they divide their great political power among candidates who craftily praise them, secretly despise them and cunningly help the employer class to loot them—just so long the worker will find himself pathetically helpless on the political field in the matter of self-defense as a class.

The supreme need of the workers of Chicago in the present campaign—and in the great campaign of 1928—is a political party of the working class. Eventually the workers MUST meet this issue, this supreme issue of a political party of the working class for the working class. If eventually, why not now?

New York

State Secretary Merrill announces that numbers of our speakers can be got on existing radio stations if the State Office only had the finance necessary to meet the charges made for this service. The income received from sale of dues stamps to members is altogether insufficient to undertake this sort of propaganda, but pending the realization of the Debs Memorial, to which every comrade should contribute "until it hurts," occasional Socialist speeches will be put "on the air" if comrades will only purchase Debs' Liberty Bonds for 1927. As previously announced, every subscriber for one of these Bonds of \$5.00 denomination and upward will receive as a premium a splendid photograph of Eugene V. Debs.

Young People's Department

National Office: YOUNG PEOPLE'S LEAGUE, 25 Townsend St., Fitzhugh, Mass. Aaron J. Parker, Nat. Director.

With The Circles

New York City.—The Bronx Yipsels of the Greater New York League are issuing a mimeograph bulletin, presumably weekly, which contains the circle news, announcements, editorials and articles by the circle members.

Norwood, Mass.—A new circle of the Y. P. S. L. was organized in Norwood two weeks ago. A charter has been issued to the circle and the group is making fine headway under the direction of Comrade Aho. Alfred Baker Lewis of Boston addressed the organization meeting and reports a fine spirited group of young people.

Announcement

In accordance with the decision of the last National Committee meeting of the Y. P. S. L., a special fund for the American Appeal is being conducted in the American Appeal under the direction of the Young People's Department. A prize of \$5.00 shall be awarded the best article, submitted according to the rules of the contest, every two weeks.

Mrs. Brown, Indiana Comrade, Passes Away

Mrs. Brown, mother of Lilith Wilson of Reading, Pa., died at the home of Comrade Lilith and Birch Wilson at Sinking Springs, Penna., on Tuesday March 29. Funeral was held in Anderson Ind., from Brown & Waltz Undertaking Parlors, on Friday afternoon, April 1st.

National Office News

The International of Socialist Youth Conference or Leaders will be held June 24, 1927 in Denmark, at the Castle Hindagavi. If the circles of the League, or members of the Executive Committee desire to propose motions for the agenda of this meeting, such motions will be received by the national office up to April 15th.

Mrs. Brown, Indiana Comrade, Passes Away

Mrs. Brown was one of the active members of the fighting Socialist Local of Anderson for many years, and a leader among women for Socialism in the Indiana Socialist movement. For some time Comrade Brown has been with her daughter Lilith, where she was taken care of during her illness.

So far, man's greatest efforts, as expressed through governments, are directed against his fellow men. When will man learn to combine for mutual benefit by directing all his energies toward conquering the forces of nature and making those forces serve mankind on a basis of equity and justice to all?

Mrs. Brown, Indiana Comrade, Passes Away

Mrs. Brown was one of the active members of the fighting Socialist Local of Anderson for many years, and a leader among women for Socialism in the Indiana Socialist movement. For some time Comrade Brown has been with her daughter Lilith, where she was taken care of during her illness.

So far, man's greatest efforts, as expressed through governments, are directed against his fellow men. When will man learn to combine for mutual benefit by directing all his energies toward conquering the forces of nature and making those forces serve mankind on a basis of equity and justice to all?

Mrs. Brown, Indiana Comrade, Passes Away

Mrs. Brown was one of the active members of the fighting Socialist Local of Anderson for many years, and a leader among women for Socialism in the Indiana Socialist movement. For some time Comrade Brown has been with her daughter Lilith, where she was taken care of during her illness.

So far, man's greatest efforts, as expressed through governments, are directed against his fellow men. When will man learn to combine for mutual benefit by directing all his energies toward conquering the forces of nature and making those forces serve mankind on a basis of equity and justice to all?

AMERICAN COMMUNISM

BY JAMES ONEAL Author "The Workers in American History" Editor, The New Leader

A history of the origin and development of the American Communist movement, its numerous organizations formed since 1919, their programs, their relations to the Communist International, the Trade-Union Educational League, their work in the trade unions, their policies and methods.

It is documented with excerpts from Communist and other sources, many of them no longer available to the student of this movement.

The book will prove to be a standard authority on a phase of American labor history which has provoked considerable controversy. 256 PAGES PRICE \$1.50

The National Office, Socialist Party 2653 WASHINGTON BLVD., CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



NEWS AND VIEWS

Tories Drop Worst Labor Bills Fearing Rising Labor Vote

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Germany Raises Real Disarmament Issue

Germany has confronted the League of Nations with a proposal calculated to thoroughly test that body as a peace force. Stresemann, former German premier, who presides at the League's session, has asked that the League either bring about disarmament among the member nations, or permit Germany to arm to the extent of the member nations.

A Victory for Clean Government

(Editorial, Labor, Washington, D. C. March 26, 1927) Harry F. Sinclair, oil baron of Teapot Dome, has been convicted of contempt of the Senate for refusing to answer questions put to him by an investigating committee. He is liable to a jail sentence.

Old Age Pensions for Pennsylvania Soon, Maurer Says

PHILADELPHIA — "The old age pensions' movement is winning. The poor houses must go," said James H. Maurer, triumphantly at a Philadelphia mass meeting called by the American Association for Old Age Security.

Socialists Explain Their Objections to Communism

The former articles in this series, the communists' attitude toward violence, toward dictatorship and democracy has been considered, and the socialist criticism of this attitude.

The Case for and Against Soviets

Article V In the former articles in this series, the communists' attitude toward violence, toward dictatorship and democracy has been considered, and the socialist criticism of this attitude.

Radicalism and Young China

(Editorial, Chicago Tribune, March 27, 1927) There has grown up at Canton a radical régime, at first under the influence of the late Sun Yat-sen, who had developed into a radical doctrinaire, and later under bolshevik

Enormous Profits of A "Dissolved" Trust

Table showing Standard Oil Cash dividends from 1912 to 1926. Total dividends exceed by about \$47,000,000 or 30 percent the dividends paid in 1926 which at that time were a record. They are more than 3 times the dividends paid in 1914.

Soviet Arming of Junkers Enrages Many Communists

BERLIN — The German Communist party and the Moscow government have been notified by some of the German Communist leaders that Soviet Russia cannot expect to be defended against capitalist attacks by the German workers after the revelation showing that German monarchists were supplied with shells to kill German Communists.

U. S. In Move Against China

(Continued from Page 1) Line Up Against Cantonese "The immediate result of the Nanking tragedy," says a Peking news dispatch, "was an order from the American legation for the withdrawal of all Americans within the nationalistic occupied territory.

Public Ownership Under Labor Rule Is Success

SYDNEY, Australia—State-owned and controlled business enterprises in New South Wales earned big profits for the year ended June 30, 1926. The state brickworks turned out a record output and made a net profit of \$1,799,860 for the year, after \$45,965 had been distributed to the employees over and above their wages, in accordance with the Labor government's policy of profit sharing.

Communists Attack Debs Radio Fund

An attack on the proposed radio station memorial to Eugene V. Debs has come from the Communist Party through its official organ in New York City. Headquarters of the Debs Fund, when shown the report, declared it would not make the slightest impression on the movement.

Milwaukee Socialists Plan Municipal Phones

MILWAUKEE — The Socialist party of Milwaukee will make a supreme effort to establish a municipal telephone system next year. All the plans have been drawn up for the system, which will be many other arrangements have been made. It is probable that funds to place at least the first unit in operation will be set up in the 1928 budget.

Chicago Solution of Race Problem

The death rate in Chicago's Negro population of 160,000 is 22.5 per thousand, twice the rate for the entire city, and will continue to be high until public opinion demands the establishment of health agencies in the Negro sections. These facts and opinions are contained in an article by Dr. E. L. Harris Jr., published in the Social Science Review at the University of Chicago.

Minnesota Students Win Great Victory

MINNEAPOLIS — A notable victory has been won in behalf of the right to teach scientific knowledge in institutions of higher learning in America through the persistent efforts of the students of the University of Minnesota and their official papers. More than 6,000 students signed a petition protesting against an anti-evolution law sponsored by Rev. Riley, Baptist, and Fundamentalist leader in the attack on scientific

U. S. To Arm Mexico's Foes

(Continued from Page 1) ICOS LABOR GOVERNMENT BY COUNTER-REVOLUTIONISTS SUPPLIED WITH ARMS AND MUNITIONS AND MONEY FROM THIS SIDE OF THE BORDER. This effect was dispatched to the consuls. Outbreak of anti-foreignism in all parts of China are feared, as Chinese versions of the Nanking affair spread through the nation.

Army Men Hopeful of Trouble

"Joining in this opinion," says "are high officials of the various American services along the frontier: The immigration service, the border patrol and the regular army. I have just visited all these services and I found the viewpoint unanimous.

Our Bold War-Makers

The brutal boldness of the American war-makers has just been revealed in connection with the story given out on March 27 in Washington that extremely provocative war-making notes between Washington and Mexico had been proved to be forgeries by deliberate trouble-makers.

Sinister Development

The regrettable Nanking affair is the first instance since the revolution began involving Cantonese elements in the murder of foreigners. On the other hand, there have been for about a year a series of affairs in which foreigners were slain by soldiers of northern armies. An outstanding instance was the one on the upper Yangtze river when a northern general seized British boats for transporting his troops, which led to the shooting of several British soldiers and the massacre by the British of 5,000 men, women and children.

Russell on Self-Government

Bertrand Russell, critical of Bolshevik methods insists that, if the workers would avoid the evils of violence, on the one hand, and of parliamentarism on the other, they should strive to obtain a greater amount of self-government in industry. For self-government can be brought about gradually, by stages in each trade, and by extension from one trade to another.

Next week this series will close with the concluding chapter and a summary of the points brought out.



# Should Socialists Support League of Nations?

## Editor's Note

One of the problems most earnestly discussed at the last convention of the Socialist Party held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was the American socialist attitude toward the League of Nations. The discussion led to no final action by the Party. The question is an important one and socialists of this country should adopt a definite policy in regard to it. The readers of the American Appeal are, therefore, given an opportunity to see both sides of this question set forth by two of the best thinkers in the movement.

Dr. Jessie W. Hughan, author of "American Socialism of the Present Day" and of an introduction to "International Government," and candidate last year on the socialist ticket for United States Senator from New York, presents the point of view of the opponents of the League. Morris Hillquit, the brilliant international secretary of the Socialist Party of the United States and its most prominent spokesman, presents, in his opinion, the socialists in this country should urge America's participation, despite the inadequacies of the League as at present time. It is hoped that this symposium will lead to further discussion in the columns of the Appeal.

The editor wishes to thank both Dr. Hughan and Hillquit for their able presentation of these two conflicting points of view.

—H. W. L.

## No

By Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph. D.

When discussion turns on the League of Nations, we Socialists find strange bedfellows. Instead of the liberals and moderate pacifists so often our allies in such demands as free speech and arbitration, we find ourselves here lined up with Mr. Coolidge and the American Legion. What is the reason? Is it jealousy on our part of a world federation founded by non-Socialists; is it vexation that Russia is not invited; is it mere contrariness and bad temper?

No, there are important reasons for our refusal thus far to support the League, and these are entirely independent of the arguments of the G. O. P. and the hundred percenters. The League advocates are quite right in their contention that Article Sixteen carries no danger of our soldiers being forced into European wars. The League is not the Monroe Doctrine, (a doubtful blessing at best), is not in the least impelled by the League Covenant, and that the United States cannot afford any longer to smile in prosperous isolation while the rest of the world goes to the dogs.

**Objections to League**  
Yet we have objections to the present League of Nations that seem to us conclusive; and here they are:—

1. The League constitutes an oligarchy of a dangerous type.
2. It has accomplished little or nothing toward the prevention of wars that could not have been achieved quite as well without it.
3. It has made itself the bulwark of a "bigger and better" industrial imperialism.
4. The League Covenant leaves no loop-hole for reform.

**Unrepresentative of Peoples**  
The League of Nations is in every respect a league of governments rather than of peoples. In the first place, the Covenant contains absolutely no provision for either direct or indirect election of representatives, or for their responsibility to the people while in office. The principle of representation according to population is totally ignored, each in the first place. The Covenant is the same power in the Assembly and in all its committees. According to this "rotten borough" system, Liberia is equal

ly powerful with Great Britain and Haiti with France.

**Power of Council**  
Since, however, this comic opera equality of all governments cannot be regarded seriously by the Great Powers, the League Council has reserved to itself the decision on almost all important matters, thus reducing the Assembly to the status of an excellent free-for-all debating society. It is this brilliant and picturesque but largely futile group that so captures the imaginations of visiting Americans at Geneva.

In practically all affairs except the admission of new members, the Council of eleven holds decisive power. The crowning point of the hierarchy, however, is that only six of the eleven are elected by vote of the Assembly; the other five, Great Britain, Italy, France, Japan, and now Germany, hold seats in perpetuity. To cap the climax, unanimity is required in all that any one of these permanent members may veto any measure to which the others may agree.

**The League vs. our Constitution**  
The Constitution of the League has been compared to that of the United States. Imagine ourselves under the League Covenant; and then think kind fortune for Jefferson and even Hamilton. Here is the picture: a House of Representatives appointed equally by all the state governments, without popular election or control; a Senate to whom almost all decisions are reserved, consisting of eleven members from upwards of fifty states, six of these being elected by the lower house, and five representing permanently those states which in 1789 were the most powerful,—say Pennsylvania, Virginia, Massachusetts and New York, with the later addition of Illinois; lastly, the requirement of unanimity in both houses with the consequent power of the League to block action in the House and of the select group always to block action in the Senate. Add one detail of the League Council, that the permanent members have been chosen, not for their intelligence, democracy, or peaceful tendencies,—as in the case of Switzerland, Italy, and the Scandinavian countries,—but probably best qualified,—but solely for their industrial and military superiority as demonstrated in the years 1914-1918.

**Accomplishments of League**  
Is it then a matter for surprise that no important steps in international progress have yet been taken by the League of Nations? Consider the brilliant men who figure in its debates (usually from the non-Council nations) are forced to confine their effective action largely to such innocuous matters as the standardization of passports or the repatriation of fugitives?

Let us look now at the accomplishments of the League, an organization which in 1919 had the world at its feet.

Next to the polyglot Assembly, what most appeals to the visitor at Geneva is the excellent secretariat—a clearing-house of international bureaus, where research and well-fare work of many kind is efficiently carried on. He is inclined to forget, however, that most of these bureaus were not created by the League but merely taken over by it, and that the most important world organizations are all the International Telegraph Union, the Universal Postal Union, and such special associations as the Danube Commission, have owed little if anything to the League of Nations.

It may be noticed, furthermore, that all of these activities of the Secretariat are concerned with the routine work of the world, analogous to that of the traffic and fire departments of a city, work which it is the farmer's interest to support and to the interest of few important groups to interfere with. Can the marvelous traffic squads and fire departments of our great cities blind us to the serious defects of their municipal governments?

**Little Toward Disarmament**

The job for which the League of Nations was established was to prevent war and the fear of war among nations, and in this it has lamentably failed in its six years of trial. Article Eight of the Covenant specifically directs the Council to formulate plans for the reduction of armaments and the prevention of the evils of private manufacture of munitions, and requires League members to exchange full and frank information as to armaments and military programs. Not only has the League failed thus far to carry out these specific provisions, but its preparatory commissions have not yet gathered up sufficient courage even to call a general conference to consider them. The Washington Conference, inadequate as it was, received no authorization or assistance from the League of Nations.

**Arbitration Clauses Ineffective**  
Articles 11-15 of the Covenant provide for arbitration and mediation among League members. Article 16-17 for the immediate financial, economic and personal boycott of states refusing such settlement, and for the use of military force according to quotas recommended by the Council. They provide also that disputes not outstanding when the League was created by the Council in similar fashion. We have yet to hear, however, of a single case of this complicated machinery being called in to action, although during the entire existence of the League the world has not once been free from international war. Enthusiasts point, indeed, to such matters as the settlement of the Vilna dispute in 1922 and of the Greco-Bulgarian difficulty in 1926 as signal triumphs of the League of Nations. An examination of the checkered story of Vilna, however, with the compensatory seizure of Memel by the Lithuanians, speaks better for the intentions of the League than for its efficiency.

As to the Greco-Bulgarian achievement, the League advocate sometimes fails to consider that, long before the League was established, during the period from 1874 to 1914, the Concert of Europe was usually able to settle Balkan and other squabbles whenever their settlement was to the advantage of the Great Powers. In the 30's, for example, the peacefully divided Africa in 1874, the peacefully divided Algeria in 1896 they settled the Algerian affair between France and Germany. The League is as important now as was the Concert of Europe then to prevent wars in which one or more of the Great Powers were interested. It did nothing to interfere with the Greco-Turkish War, as full of atrocities as the World War itself; it allowed the Moroccan conflict of Spain and France to rage unchecked to a conclusion; and it voiced no protest against the military domination of Haiti and Nicaragua, League members, by the United States, an outside power.

"We point to Locarno," say the League advocates. Yes, the Locarno treaties indeed show how several nations of Europe independently achieved a peace agreement among themselves after the League had failed for the settlement of disputes had dismally failed.

**Exploitation of Mandated Territory**  
But the Socialist indictment of the present League is not merely negative. The League has accomplished something, and that is to the seal of liberal approval upon industrial imperialism. Before the World War, the nations, Germany among them, were frankly scrambling for possession of the undeveloped world. Sanction was given to the victors in the scramble when the League became sponsor for the mandate system, which divided a trust for humanity, handed over to the colonies of the conquered nations to swell the empires of the greater military powers.

These mandatory Powers are responsible to the League, to be sure, but to the Council of the League, in which each of them has a permanent seat. A few local abuses have been checked, and these accomplishments have been widely heralded. On the other hand, the League has from the outset allowed the Mandatory Powers to exploit these territories in their own benefit through the recruiting of troops and the establishment of monopolies; and it has taken no effective action to prevent such outrages as the slaughter of the people of Syria, who had appealed to the League for protection against their French guardians.

**A Step in the Right Direction?**

"We recognize the failings of the League," say its friends, "but it is at least a step in the right direction. Let America enter and use her influence to make an ideal world federation." Here we are checked, however, the "step" may be in the right direction, but it leads us into a stone wall. Article 26 of the League Covenant expressly provides that no amendment can be valid until ratified by all the members of the League whose representatives compose the Council. That is, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Germany enjoy a perpetual veto upon any and all reforms in the League. It is easy to imagine a miracle by which these five nations should simultaneously possess governments so altruistic as deliberately to renounce their right to the work rules afforded them by the present Covenant? And until that miracle is imminent, would not American liberals in their espousal of the League, find themselves after the ceremony in somewhat the condition of the woman who married a drunkard in order to reform him? The modern bride is inclined to demand the reform while she still holds her trump card.

**International Labor More Effective Than League**

A real federation of peoples is impossible while we have imperialism; imperialism will last as long as we have armed governments; and armaments will continue as long as the governments have confidence in the readiness of their people to fly to arms at the drop of the hat. The capitalist imperialism of Great Britain is receiving its first check, not from the League of Nations, but from the solid opposition of the Labor Party. For the first time in history all nations, no matter how small and humble, are offered a public forum to present their claims and voice their grievances before the world. This tends to make their oppression a little more difficult, a little less ruthless. The League has always been eager to secure minority representation in national or local parliaments and similar bodies because they afford an effective tribunal for propaganda. Why should we disdain a world-wide forum for similar purposes?

The League has always been eager to secure minority representation in national or local parliaments and similar bodies because they afford an effective tribunal for propaganda. Why should we disdain a world-wide forum for similar purposes?

The League has always been eager to secure minority representation in national or local parliaments and similar bodies because they afford an effective tribunal for propaganda. Why should we disdain a world-wide forum for similar purposes?

## Yes

By Morris Hillquit

Far be it from me to defend the League of Nations against the just criticisms of Conrad Hughan. The Socialists of all lands have always been most vigorous in their condemnation of the League as at present constituted and functioning and personally I have constituted my ratable share of denunciation.

The League of Nations is a capitalist and imperialist institution as the world we live in is a capitalist and imperialist world. But this very obvious fact cannot determine the actual Socialist position towards the League. Other pertinent facts must also be taken into account.

**Extent of the League**  
To begin with we are not confronted with the question of creating a League of Nations. The League is an existing institution and is firmly established. It includes all nations of Europe except Russia, all of Asia

except Turkey and Afghanistan, all of Africa except Egypt, all of America except the United States, Mexico and Ecuador and all of Australia and New Zealand. Out of the 66 sovereign nations of the world 56, representing over 80 percent of the globe's total population, are members of the League.

The League of Nations, moreover, is the only international organization of governments designed at least ostensibly to avert or minimize wars and maintaining some kind of machinery for the purpose. There is no choice between it and a more efficient institution.

**Socialist International Not a Substitute for the League**  
The international Socialist and labor movement cannot be considered as a substitute for the League. This movement operates within each country to check the militaristic and imperialistic policies of the separate capitalist governments. Internationally it represents a union of political opposition parties, not of ruling governments. It cannot take the place of the League of Nations. It cannot remain indifferent to it. It must mobilize its forces to conquer the League or to destroy it. To my mind it is more difficult than the League, and conquest is more promising and profitable than destruction.

Bad as the League is, it is not an unmitigated evil. While it is probably true that all the good it has accomplished in the seven years of its existence might have been achieved by the great powers without a League, the reverse is equally true that the wrongs perpetrated in international relations during that period could and would have been inflicted on the world in the absence of a League at least as effectively. The League has not aggravated the evil of imperialism even if it has not materially checked it.

**A Public Forum**  
On the other hand the fact that the League Assembly represents, in the words of Conrad Hughan, "an excellent free for all debating society," to my mind no means achievement.

For the first time in history all nations, no matter how small and humble, are offered a public forum to present their claims and voice their grievances before the world. This tends to make their oppression a little more difficult, a little less ruthless. The League has always been eager to secure minority representation in national or local parliaments and similar bodies because they afford an effective tribunal for propaganda. Why should we disdain a world-wide forum for similar purposes?

The League has always been eager to secure minority representation in national or local parliaments and similar bodies because they afford an effective tribunal for propaganda. Why should we disdain a world-wide forum for similar purposes?

The League has always been eager to secure minority representation in national or local parliaments and similar bodies because they afford an effective tribunal for propaganda. Why should we disdain a world-wide forum for similar purposes?

## Farmer Would Nationalize Marketing of Farm Produce

Editor's Note

In the issue of the American Appeal of February 5, Benjamin C. Marsh, managing director of the Farmers' National Council, contributed an article showing why the farmer must become a collectivist and work jointly with his fellow farmers, instead of an individualist, if he is to save himself.

Shortly after the appearance of this article James H. Job of Reelville, Indiana, a farmer, presented a plan which would make collectivists of the farmers in the selling end of their business.

About that time the fight on the McNary-Haugan bill grew hot and took up this space in the Appeal and the publication of Mr. Job's article was postponed. We now take pleasure in presenting Mr. Job's plan, which we think is well worth considering. While we have been postponing Mr. Job's article until we could find space for it, a number of other farmers have contributed opinions, which we shall be glad to publish in this space soon.

The agricultural problem has become so acute that it has become imperative that all fighters for the real workers and producers get together and come to an understanding. We shall be pleased to hear from the farmers in the future. Kindly make your observations as brief as possible and to the point. Otherwise, we will be forced to publish only parts of them, but we will not change them in any way when we whittle them down.

—M. E. K.

By James H. Job

(Reelville, Indiana)  
I beg to offer a few thoughts in reply to Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh's article on page 4 of the American Appeal issue of Feb. 5th. Mr. Marsh says we farmers must become collectivists. If he means to limit collectivism to the selling end of our business, I am in agreement with him, but he means that we must become collectivists as both producers and sellers, I take issue with him.

Four hundred years ago this country was, for most part, a vast unoccupied wilderness, which had been settled up by individuals, not collectively, but individually. Under the existing conditions they could not have done otherwise. Every man became the owner of his own tract of land on which he erected his domicile to be occupied by himself and family. What an inspiring thought it is, for a man to realize that he is the owner and sole proprietor of his own farm and home. He appreciates and proceeds to make it such as he would have it. It was in passive obedience to this noble impulse that has made this country what it is. Conditions then, served to force farmers to choose to become individualists, both as producers and sellers of their products.

In as much as combinations in the form of trusts and corporations on the part of the capitalists on the one hand and trades unions of the workers on the other, has resulted in a price-fixing regime on their part, farmers now find themselves forced to follow their example by ceasing to be individualists at the selling end of their business. It is neither practicable nor desirable that we become

collectivists as producers. In the very nature of the case that part of it is a very long job. But that does not forbid that we should combine the selling end of our business, for we are now able to produce an abundance of the necessities of life for all.

And today, we are the only class of workers and producers who are blindly competing against each other, both in the field of production and world markets. We all know that competition is war, and in this war we are killing each other off by the thousands. With 12 cent cotton, 50 cent corn and \$1.20 cent wheat, we are losing our farms. Right now the farmers of my county (Putman) are paying an interest on \$1,250,000 Federal farm loans, besides all other loans.

Mr. Marsh says the farmer's problem is an international problem. Under present chaotic conditions he is correct. But with a protective tariff to back it up until all other nations of the world adopt a similar measure, I would adopt the following plan, which would serve to make us collectivists at the selling end of our business.

It is as follows:—We must have a great national sales corporation which would automatically and simultaneously embrace all the cotton, corn, wheat, rice and such other farm products as necessity might require, that may be offered for sale, and sell for actual consumption only as a fixed minimum price, based on cost of production. If at the end of the year a surplus of any given commodity should appear, let the group that produced it, in due proportion, bear the burden of carrying over such surplus.

## Workers' Share of Product Shrinks Steadily Since 1909

By Leland Olds

Are you getting your share of the unexampled prosperity which in 1928 boosted the national income to the record total of \$28,822,000,000? In the national income report of the national bureau of economic research, W. I. King, a leading authority, offers figures showing not only the yearly totals since 1909 but also the average national income per person gainfully employed throughout the country.

The \$28,822,000,000 produced by the country in 1928 would mean \$2010 per person if distributed equally among the 44,600,000 individual gainfully employed in that year. In 1914 the national income distributed on this basis would have yielded \$836 and in 1909 \$791.

King gives the income per person gainfully employed in dollars and also in 1913 dollars as shown in the following table. The column expressed in 1913 dollars shows the average purchasing power of the country for each year.

Year	Current dollars	1913 dollars
1909	\$ 823	\$ 823
1910	809	823
1911	812	821
1912	844	850
1913	854	854
1914	836	828
1915	861	843
1916	924	819
1917	1,232	947
1918	1,386	879
1919	1,569	934
1920	1,851	907
1921	1,537	887
1922	1,586	979
1923	1,821	1,113

## California Keeps Syndicalism Law

SACRAMENTO—The campaign of the California branches of the American Civil Liberties Union for the amendment of the California criminal syndicalism law has met with defeat. The senate judiciary committee has refused by unanimous vote to report the Fellom amendment to the floor. It has been tabled.

This action followed a hearing on March 1 during which representatives of the American Civil Liberties clash-ed with the union. Company executives, injunctions, yellowdog contracts and state constabulary make organization of West Virginia miners difficult and often dangerous. Now every means of communication with the miners is controlled by the bosses and barred to union men.

Get at least one union, or pay for some one else's sub between March 19 and April 19—that is the program for all Appeal readers. Will you do your part?

## Ohio Miners Plan Big Radio Station

BELLAIRE, O.—Erection of radio station on the miners' tent in Bellaire to broadcast the message to nonunion miners in West Virginia was approved in a resolution adopted at the convention of the district 5, dist. 6, United Mine Workers.

Subdistrict 5 is the largest in West Virginia, where the operators have broken with the union. Company spies, injunctions, yellowdog contracts and state constabulary make organization of West Virginia miners difficult and often dangerous. Now every means of communication with the miners is controlled by the bosses and barred to union men.