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MURRAY E. KING, Managing Editor

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EUGENE V. DEBS, Founder

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OUR PURPOSE
Is to teach Socialism and organize the people politically and industrially to bring Socialism.

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Admiral Magruder Bares Scandalous Waste in the Navy

Figures Show Alarming Growth of the Military Machine Since the War

More than a third of money appropriated for the United States navy is being wasted by the bureaucrats in that department, useless jobs are being multiplied, naval officers are being created at a surprising rate, naval costs are mounting dismally as a result of these wastes and a politico-military machine is being built up. These facts are brought out in an article in the Saturday Evening Post by R. Admiral T. P. Magruder.

Admiral Magruder brings out the following facts:

In 1908, our navy cost \$42,000,000; in 1915, \$111,000,000; in 1926, \$300,000,000.

In 1908, we had 2,294 naval officers; 5,916 in 1915; and 8,574 in 1926.

In 1908, there were 38,500 men in the navy; in 1915, 78,000, and in 1926 there were 82,000.

In 1908, the navy payroll was \$24,000,000; in 1915, \$122,000,000; and in 1926, \$124,500,000.

Soft Jobs in Washington
In 1908, only 144 officers were on duty in Washington; in 1915, with a naval force twice as great, there were 171; and in 1926 there were 519.

"It is instructive to note," the admiral says in his article in the Post, "that the cost of the navy and the number of officers in 1908 were nearly quadrupled in 1926; that is, the cost increases almost directly as the number of officers on the active list increases. The number of men in the navy now is about twice that of 1908 and only a few more than in 1915."

Admiral Magruder charges that the navy is much over-organized. There are 55 admirals on the active list. This adds to the overhead and extends the real tape.

The navy men have a saying now: "the typewriter is mightier than the sword." The equipment of the airplane carrier Saratoga, now nearing completion, calls for 62 typewriters. Here are two other brief quotations from his article:

Simple Extravagance
"To operate, maintain, repair and supply the vessels of the fleet cost \$183,000,000. And to administer this sum cost nearly half as much, or \$77,500,000."

"Before there is real economy—and by economy I do not mean parsimony—for the navy; there must be a demobilization of officers on duty in Washington."

Wall Street-Owned Ambassador Faces A Strong Mexico

Labor Federation And Party Represent Over Half Population

Eighty Morgan, member of the firm of J. P. Morgan and Co., and direct representative of Wall Street in Mexico, has been the express purpose of settling the controversy over the Mexican oil and land laws, will face one of the strongest and most united groups of industrial and agricultural workers in the world.

Significantly, Morgan left an exceedingly powerful and remunerative position to take a comparatively low-salaried job in the capital of Mexico. The conclusion is inevitable that it is not a personal sacrifice. Morgan is confident that he will be able to settle the question over these laws in a manner satisfactory to Wall Street and advantageous to himself, or he would not have chosen this job.

This has resulted in the most complete and direct representation the high financial and imperialist interests have ever had in a controversy directly affecting their interests and their profits. It leaves America and the American people unrepresented in an issue involving the possibilities of war. There is extreme danger that the young manhood of this nation may be called upon to shoulder arms and march into Mexico to enforce a mandate that concerns only Wall Street and the private profits of millionaire and billionaire magnates.

In the meantime, the direct representative of Wall Street in Mexico City faces one of the most wonderful fighting labor and peasant movements and one of the most firmly united semi-labor governments in the world.

This fact was brought out strikingly at the recent conventions of the Mexican Federation of Labor and the Mexican Labor Party. The American Appeal is herewith presenting some facts regarding this movement and government taken from the current issue of the Mexican Press Service, which contains reports of the Federation and Labor Party conventions.

These facts show that if Wall Street succeeds in passing the irrevocable strength of the United States behind its financial and imperialist ventures in Mexico, and consequently in

THE COAL TRUCE IN ILLINOIS

Exactly six months after the beginning of the bituminous coal strike involving a half million organized miners, a truce has been arranged under which the miners of Illinois, one of the biggest bituminous states, will go back to work at the Jackson scale of \$7.50 per day, which the operators tried to reduce. The final settlement of the strike is left to a joint committee of union and operator officials which is to have a new arrangement ready by April 1, 1928.

That the organized miners of Illinois are able to obtain an arrangement to this work under the wage for which they have been fighting pending the settlement of the strike, is a truly remarkable achievement under present conditions in the coal industry. This battle was fairly won by the remarkable solidarity of the 72,000 organized miners of Illinois, who maintained an unbroken front for six solid months in the presence of a most difficult situation. That these miners received from their organization and the labor movement sufficient assistance to do this is deserving of unstinted praise.

The miners were fighting a purely defensive battle. They were fighting to keep from being pushed back to a lower standard of living. Their success in holding their wage during the present truce is a benefit to the whole labor movement and the whole country and will react most favorably on the present struggle of the soft coal miners in other states.

The miners did this despite the fact that there are so many non-union miners in this country mining coal that the country has been well supplied with soft coal all through this long strike. If organized labor can do this much under such extremely unfavorable conditions, it can do a great deal more than this by completing its industrial organization and building up an independent political arm.

If the Illinois victory leads to the preservation of the Jacksonville wage next April and the miners win a similar victory in all the states, the miners will be still where they were at the beginning of the fight and they will still be the targets for future onslaughts of the rapidly organizing and growing operators. Nothing will be really settled. The coal industry will go on with its calamitous waste, its ruinous over-production, its chaos, its war against labor, until like other basic industries, it is trustified.

The trustification of the soft coal industry is not far off. When that is achieved the miners will face a much more powerful and deadly foe. A thoroughly trustified industry employing a large percentage of non-union miners as are now mining soft coal, would have the organized soft coal miners pretty much at its mercy. It could use the non-union miners indefinitely to supply all the demands of the market, and the owners would be none the worse off. The Illinois miners have won a truce because the Illinois owners had to stand all the losses of the shutdown in Illinois. With ownership centralized, so that the owners in one section would not suffer any more than the owners in another, the position of the operators would be almost impregnable.

The truce in Illinois contains a most significant provision regarding the right of the operators to install labor displacing machinery. A trustified bituminous coal industry would have no trouble installing new devices and throwing many thousands of miners out of work.

The Illinois miners held the wage they were fighting for because of the present disorganization among soft coal operators. The soft coal miners ought to fully prepare for future trust and machinery developments, which are bound to come. They need a political party of Labor to take over the trust and the machine, while the union is fighting to prevent the miners from being pushed to a lower level of living.

crushing Mexico, it will have blotted out one of the most promising labor and Socialist movements in the world, undoubtedly a highly desirable achievement in the eyes of Wall Street.

The Mexican Regional Federation of Labor, says Mexican Press Service, represented 2,000,000 Mexican workers. Three thousand delegates were present. They represented 2,207 local organizations. Remember Mexico has only 15,000,000 people, represents workers would probably not number less than 8,000,000 people (including their families and dependents). This would be over half the population of Mexico. The Federation not only represents the industrial workers of the towns and cities, but also the worker farmers of the rural districts. It is a nation of workers organized industrially. This great body placed itself unreservedly behind Calles and the present government and its socialistic policies, and also behind the candidacy of Alvaro Obregón. Nothing but the evil machinations of Wall Street backed by the victimized and dazed workers of America can prevent this tremendous organized force from continuing in power in Mexico until it has transformed Mexico into a real industrial democracy.

Five days after the convention of the Federation met, the Mexican Labor Party, representing the same farmer and worker elements, convened. The Labor Party convention consisted of 1,500 delegates. This Party now has 40 representatives in the Mexican Lower House and 11 representatives in the senate. Calles, the president, belongs to this party. Mexico has 272 congressmen and 58 senators. Other socialistic elements beside the Labor Party are represented in both of these legislative bodies. Five Mexican states—Guerrero, Hidalgo, Mexico, Queretaro and Zacatecas—have Labor governors, while in several other states, the chief executives are classed as sympathetic to the working class.

N. Y. Socialists Greatly Heartened

Heartened by the response the East Side is showing to the appeals issued by the Socialist party campaign managers for help, and the interest being taken in both the indoor and outdoor rallies, Socialists are looking forward to returning Justice Jacob Panken to the Municipal Court bench he has occupied for ten years, and to electing two Socialist Assemblymen and two Socialist Aldermen.


Norman Thomas and August Claessens, candidates for the Board of Aldermen in the 8th and 6th districts, respectively, are the two Aldermen whose election is expected by the Socialists and feared by the Democrats. Samuel Beardsley and Ildoro Korn, Assembly candidates in those districts, are picking up strength as their names are brought before the electorate.

Seeing victory within their grasp, every nerve is being strained by the Socialists, led by Julius Gerber, campaign manager, to carry the fight from the street corners and the four rallies into the houses of the

From The Pen Of Debs

(Compiled by Theodore Debs)

Socialism and Its Assaults



The only movement feared by the ruling classes of the earth is the socialist movement. In socialism they see their doom and hence it is natural that they should exert all their gigantic powers and bring into play all their manifold ingenuities to destroy this menace to their misrule.

If there is a falsehood or slander they have overlooked in their assaults upon socialism and its advocates, it would be difficult to imagine what it could be.

They do not, because they dare not, meet socialism as an economic and political issue, but they do what tricksters, impostors and double-dealers have always done, they misrepresent it, lie about it, and vilify those who stand for it.

Every time-serving politician, every literary hack, every servile lackey and every professional lick-spittle is on the job of slandering socialists and lying about socialism, and yet, in spite of all their venomous attacks and all their solemn announcements that socialism is on the decline, the movement has grown stronger steadily all over the world and is today, notwithstanding its temporary tribulation due to the war, more powerful and more promising than ever before in all history.

On with the Social Revolution!

Warning!!!

When you get this paper, you will have only a few days to order DEBS MEMORIAL EDITION of the American Appeal.

The Debs Special will reach you Saturday, Oct. 15, in time for the Debs Memorial Meeting. IT GOES TO PRESS THREE OR FOUR DAYS BEFORE THIS DATE.

Don't slip up on this. Let everybody help to give it the biggest circulation in the history of the Appeal.

Big Doings in Detroit!

During the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in Detroit, October 15 and 16, the following arrangements have been made in connection with the meeting of the committee: On Saturday evening, October 15, there will be a banquet at the Wolverine Hotel which is located at Witherell and Elizabeth Avenue. On Sunday afternoon at two o'clock, there will be a big mass meeting at the Hotel located at Forest Avenue and Cass Street. The members of the National Executive Committee will take part in both affairs, and all of the readers of the American Appeal are cordially invited to be on hand.

Reading Unions for Socialist Nominees

Three local trade unions visited by John W. Edelman, representing the Labor Party of Berks County, have enthusiastically responded to an appeal for their support in electing trade unionists to office in this city at the forthcoming election, says the Reading Labor Advocate, Pennsylvania, local Socialist and Labor organ.

Edelman addressed the Electrical Workers, the Carpenters and the Painters on behalf of the Labor Party ticket and in each case the trade unionists present agreed to elect to put forth unusual efforts to elect the candidates endorsed by the organized workers of Berks county.

Socialist to Head Buffalo Council

BUFFALO, N. Y.—Assurance that Frank C. Perkins, enrolled Socialist, will be the next president of the Buffalo common council, was given when he was nominated by both the Socialists and Republicans in the primary election held recently.

According to the Buffalo system a candidate may enter the primaries of all three parties and still maintain his affiliation with one particular party.

Perkins won the Republican nomination by a plurality of 7,602 votes, but lost the Democratic nomination. With the Republican and Socialist nominations, however, his victory in the election practically is conceded.

As president of the council, he, together with the mayor and the controller, will be one of the big three of the Buffalo government. The position is for four years and pays a salary of \$6,000 a year. His friends see him as timber for mayor in two years.

THE COAL WAR IN PENNSYLVANIA

Almost at the same time that the organized coal miners of Illinois were winning with their industrial power a truce and wages prevailing before the strike, the organized miners of Pennsylvania lost, through their failure to possess any political power, an injunction suit that may end the soft coal strike in Pennsylvania and bankrupt the union.

The decision is one of the most disastrous that has been dealt labor by the courts in this country. It is the effect that the ordinary and heretofore legal processes of a national coal strike involves interference with the interstate commerce markets, and is therefore illegal and may be prevented by law, and that the striking organization may be subject to damage payments, and the strikers may be evicted under the law from company-owned houses.

Ruling that the federal court has jurisdiction in the injunction action of the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal corporation against the United Mine Workers, and denying the union's motion to dismiss the case, Federal Judge F. P. Schoonmaker held that the company was entitled to injunctive relief. It was expected that corporation counsel would act immediately to make effective a preliminary injunction against the union.

Having its suit on provisions of the Sherman and Clayton acts, the corporation sought an injunction restraining the union from interfering in any way with the operation of its nonunion mines and asking for damages of \$1,500,000. The corporation alleged that the union, its officers, and its members had conspired to prevent the shipment of nonunion mined coal in interstate commerce.

Judge Schoonmaker held that the union and the National Surety company, bondsmen in eviction cases, should not seek, in future, to retain striking miners in company houses, but that eviction cases, already in state courts on appeal, should be disposed of by those courts.

The methods of the union in conducting a strike amount to "a conspiracy to interfere with the interstate marketing of coal produced at the point of production," and this is all undertaken with the intent and purpose to prevent coal mined at nonunion mines from finding its way into interstate commerce," Judge Schoonmaker said in his opinion.

A few days before Judge Schoonmaker made this decision a Pittsburgh news dispatch made the following forecast:

"If the decision in this case should be adverse to the union, it would be a severe blow not only for the United Mine Workers, but for organized labor generally. The union labor counsel, in its arguments, have contended that the legality of the strike is at stake in this case. What ever the outcome of this suit, the company's move is bound to be pointed to as further evidence that big business is intent upon demoralizing industry, and the fact that the greatest progress in combating organized labor is being made in Pennsylvania, where Mr. Mellon reigns, undoubtedly will be capitalized by the opposition to Mr. Mellon and his candidate in the Republican national convention and eventually, his Democratic opposition to any candidate in whose naming Mr. Mellon has a hand."

A similar decision, known as the Taft-Vail decision, was rendered in England before the World War. This court decision made trade unions liable for damages in case of strikes. The British trade unions, up to that time had steadily resisted the pleas of the Socialists for the organization of a Labor Party. This court ruling suddenly jeopardized the very existence of every trade union in Great Britain. It suddenly became clear to the British workers that the reason such an infamous ruling was made was because the workers were not represented in the government and the law-making process; that the only remedy was the organization of a Labor Party to take a hand in the governments and the courts. The rapid rise of the British Labor Party following this led to the annulment of this atrocious decision.

American Labor's only permanent protection against the deadly power of the courts and government in the hands of the employing interests is to organize politically, and become a true and democratic part of the government and courts.

World Socialism Starts Big Drive for Disarmament

Last Weeks of October Set Aside for World-Wide Intensive Activity

The whole force of international socialism will be behind the latest drive for world disarmament started by the assembly of the League of Nations at its present meeting.

Several weeks before the League decision the Socialists had already thrown themselves in this struggle by the passage of a strong disarmament resolution at the meeting of the Executive of the Labor and Socialist International in Brussels on the 11th and 12th of September.

Thirty-five members were present representing 20 countries. Among those present was Morris Hillquit, representing the Socialist Party of the United States.

The disarmament resolution was as follows:

The Executive takes note of the preliminary report of the Disarmament Commission of the L. S. I., and expects representatives of the affiliated parties who are active in the League of Nations, to be guided by the fundamental principles contained in the report, and that the socialist labor parties will vigorously press these endeavors towards international disarmament.

The Executive calls upon the Disarmament Commission of the L. S. I. to continue its work, to examine the fundamental questions not exhaustively dealt with in the preliminary report, including the question of army organization, as well as the amendments submitted during the course of the debates of the Executive, and to draw up a further report thereon.

The Executive, recalling the resolution of the International Socialist Congress in Marseilles, urges the sections of the International to organize during the last fortnight in October a campaign of propaganda in favor of disarmament. This agitation will aim at leading public opinion to demand from governments that they should enter into the shortest possible time to adopt decisive measures of disarmament, and also a general and compulsory covenant restating the principles of the Protocol, acceptance of which was refused by the League of Nations.

A resolution was passed condemning the barbarous treatment of political prisoners in the United States as exemplified in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti and denouncing the treatment of political prisoners in the colonies of Holland, where many communists have been murdered, in Russia and Georgia, where Socialists are being treated with great cruelty, in China, where communists, Socialists and trade unionists are being killed

Mellon Becomes Big Power King Through New Giant Merger

Power Trust Takes Another Step Toward Monopoly of Country

Andrew Mellon, Secretary of the United States treasury and supposed "servant of the people," and supporter of anti-trust laws, has taken another gigantic stride toward the private monopoly mastery of the power resources of this country in defiance of the laws he has taken solemn oath to uphold.

Says a New York dispatch: The Power Trust on Saturday threw aside another of the veils which hide it—more or less—from the public gaze. Plans were announced for a merger which:

Puts the entire gas and electric business of Philadelphia under one management;

Forms a superpower group, including that city, New York, Newark, Trenton, Buffalo, and even Boston;

Links more closely a series of companies with electric interests in 28 states; and,

Gives the Mellon family of Pittsburgh a key position in the Eastern public utility field.

On the surface the merger is to be that of the Philadelphia Electric Co., with the United Gas Improvement Co., and will be carried out by an exchange of values. This creates an absolute monopoly in the Philadelphia gas and current business, held by a company with assets of \$364,000,000. But this is just a starter.

Gigantic Mellon Combine

United Gas owns stock in more than 100 gas, electric light and street car companies scattered through 28 states. The companies which it controls, wholly or in part, are estimated in "the Street" to have assets above \$1,000,000,000. It is associated with General Electric at Niagara Falls, and in the ownership of a string of electric and gas companies covering half this state. These are all to be merged, probably within a few weeks.

Now, the Mellon family of Pittsburgh owns a big block of United Gas stock, a dominating interest, under any ordinary conditions. Under Gas, indeed, may be called the left hand of the Mellon interests, as the Aluminum trust is their right.

After the St. Lawrence

Through United Gas, in alliance with the General Electric, the Mellons have a strong grip on the power developed at Niagara Falls. Through the Philadelphia Electric, now merging with United Gas, the Mellons have a share in the great Conowingo project, in Maryland, which, when completed next year, will be one of the biggest hydro-electric plants south of Niagara. And through the aluminum trust the Mellons hold a one-third interest in the Frontier Corporation, which is trying to grab the St. Lawrence. The other two-thirds are held by General Electric and the Du Pont interests.

The conservative New York Times, never a corporation baiter, declares that this new merger puts the Mellon family in an "unequaled position."

Power Trust Girds To Fight Against Senatorial Probe

A senatorial investigation of the power trust may overshadow the Teapot Dome scandal.

The probe is in charge of Senator Walsh of Montana, who was active in securing the recovery of oil lands that Secretary of the Interior Fall had leased to private interests.

The power trust is a force in the National Capital. It lurks through Muscle Shoals legislation, in the Boulder Dam proposal and opposes New York citizens who would have that State control its water power.

The Federal Trade Commission has already reported to the Senate that a half dozen giants dominate the vast power field and that by "pyramiding" through holding companies small groups are able to control billions of dollars invested in the electric industry. The commission told of one unnamed group which invested less than a million dollars of its own money but was thereby able, through holding companies, to dominate "several hundred million dollars of investment" in a vast labyrinth of subsidiaries.

The Trade Commission went so far as to warn that such undue concentration of power endangered the financial stability of the entire electrical industry.

The Senate committee has a harder task than confronted it in the oil scandal. The situation only involved a cabinet officer who spent money freely, two millionaire oil operators and a few associates. The present probe means that the secrets of the great power combinations will have to be exposed, as well as their political activities, slush funds and intrigues that have been woven into and around the nation's economic, political and social fabric.

A. F. of L. Holds Its Own in 1927

The American Federation of Labor held its own during the year just passed—a year of depression in America for all working class movements—according to the official report of the Secretary of the International of the A. F. of L. convention was assembling, the re-affiliation of the great carpenters' union, one of the largest unions in the American Labor movement, was announced. The break came originally over jurisdictional disputes.

Trade union educational work was induced and praised and progress in many channels was reported. The report explains the purposes of this activity by declaring that "since trade unions depend upon voluntary methods for progress, trade unionists must be in a position to decide their problems wisely."

Georgia has passed a law to enforce racial purity. It permits every kind of white race infamy but one for their belief and particularly in Italy where the barbarous fascist government has recently restored capital punishment in order to re-battle the political opponents of the fascist regime.

The Last Book by Debs

By James Oneal
(Editor, New Leader; Member Socialist National Executive Committee)

Few men in the American labor movement have had a more tempestuous career than Eugene V. Debs and it is certain that not since the appearance of Ferdinand Lassalle has there been a more magnetic personality impressed himself upon the movement in any country. Now that he is gone, Debs is still an inspiration to socialists and millions of people in and out of the labor movement. Steadfast in his views, with the moral courage that has led men to the gallows or the gallows with a smile, pouring out his life for his fellows without regard to his health, passionate in his aversion to injustice in all forms, loving children, though childless and loved by them, by nature a poet and by choice the supreme agitator of his time, Eugene V. Debs traveled the thorny road that all lovers of humanity have trod since the first despot enslaved another man.

It is not surprising that the last literary effort of Debs is a book bearing the title Walls and Bars. Walls and Bars were symbols of the world in which he lived. Walls were erected and maintained to prevent the free flow of ideas. Debs faced these walls at every turn of his life and the bars closed around him three times. But neither walls nor bars could imprison Debs. Even death could not silence such a man. John Brown did not die on a Virginia scaffold. It was the Virginia of Gov. Wise that met death on the gallows. John Brown lives. So does Eugene V. Debs. Brown reaped a harvest. The harvest of Debs will just as surely be gathered. ...

Into this book Debs has packed not only his experiences in three prisons, but also his philosophy of life, his views of barbaric prison regime, his contacts with prisoners, and reasons for his conviction that most of our crime may be traced to economic causes. This economic indictment of crime has brought some vigorous dissent by reviewers of the book in conservative publications. They are quick in defense of the economic basis of society and while paying tribute to the character of Debs, they resent the assertion that economic maladjustment may be responsible for much of our crime.

These criticisms recall a chapter in the first volume of Bruce's Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century where he contrasts the crimes and the criminal code of England with the crimes and the criminal code of Virginia. The colony's code was harsh enough but not to be compared with the terrible English code which punished no less than 300 offenses with the death penalty. In proportion to the population the crimes committed in England were also much more numerous than in Virginia. Why the difference? The population of both was overwhelmingly English. Bruce explains the contrast by the difference in economic conditions.

The following passage is worth quoting: "In Virginia... where the necessities of life were produced in overflowing abundance,—where nearly every kind of domestic animal roamed like wild beasts in the forests,—where two-thirds of the soil embraced in each plantation had not been denuded of the primeval woods,—and where a vast expanse of wilderness lay on the frontier ready for the ax, plough,

and hoe of the settler,—in a community presenting such characteristics as these, the appropriation of the personal and even landed property of another was not likely to be placed on the footing of a capital crime. Killing a hare in a country where only a few persons cared to post their estates; or driving off a cow or a pig, when the woods were overrun with hogs and wild cattle; or stealing food to eat or clothes to wear when the people were so ready to present either to whoever was in actual want; or trespassing on another's estate when the owner himself was not absolutely certain of his own boundaries,—none of these offenses, serious as some of them were, assumed in the Virginians' minds that extraordinary heinousness which they had long assumed in England's in consequence of the more intense conservatism of the mother country, its more aristocratic institutions, its greater concentration of wealth and its sharper struggle for existence going on in its communities."

It is unnecessary to enlarge on this quotation. It fully sustains the views of Debs regarding most of our crimes and criminals. No other writer has given such an intimate close-up view of modern prison life as Debs has in this book. Its grip on the reader is compelling and it is a pleasure to know that it is being widely read. Readers may obtain the cloth edition by sending \$1.50 to the Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago. A deluxe edition on special paper and beautifully bound may be obtained for \$10. As the holiday season is approaching it might be well for the reader to keep the deluxe edition in mind when sending gifts to friends.

Appeal Army Gets Ready for Debs Memorial Activities

The Memorial Edition

Bundle orders for the Debs Memorial Edition are pouring in. This is your last chance to order the best special edition in the history of the Appeal. You will have to order within a few days after reading this. This edition goes to press on Oct. 11. Look for the Bundle Order Blank in this paper and use it at once. Here are a few of the orders we have received during the week:

M. V. Halushka of Chicago orders \$50 for distribution on Debs birthday. Comrade Halushka is one who is never discouraged, not even in Chicago.

B. W. Wilson, Pekin, Illinois—Am ordering \$1 worth of the Debs Special. The Appeal is as good a paper as we have ever had. I was once a member of the Socialist Labor Party. Will send a Five for sub cards soon.

Dr. F. A. Green, our untiring Cleveland worker, orders \$1.50 worth of the Memorial Edition.

Fred Ebling, Chicago, orders 50 copies. If the Chicago comrades are being slow, surely lose at a great distance ought to get busy.

F. X. Holl, Seattle—Here is my check for \$12. Send me 100 copies of Debs Memorial Edition and a copy of the deluxe edition of Walls and Bars.

W. S. Bale, Petersburg, Ill. orders 50 copies.

J. A. Manon, Watertown, N. Y.—Here is \$5 to pay for 250 copies of Debs Memorial Edition. Just get my deluxe edition of Walls and Bars. It is a beauty.

C. A. Priest, Fresno, Cal., sends for 25 copies. Dr. A. J. Adams, Abilene, Texas, orders 50.

Pearl M. Wright of Bend, Oregon, orders 25 copies of Memorial Edition.

Walls and Bars

Walls and Bars is going fast. You will be right on the eve of Debs Memorial Week when you read this. Nothing would be more fitting and fine than to get your copy of Walls and Bars during these sixteen days of Memorial Service to Debs. You will find the order blank for Walls and Bars elsewhere in this paper. Use it at once. This is the way they are ordering now:

Paul Andererg, Merced, Cal.—Am sending \$1.50 for Walls and Bars. We sure do enjoy reading the Appeal every week and are great boosters for it.

Mrs. James B. Miller of Terre Haute, Ind., orders 10 copies of Walls and Bars to sell and takes a bundle of 25 Appeals per week to distribute.

D. G. Tenney, Haverhill, Mass.—Received copy of Walls and Bars yesterday and have just finished reading it. I wish I could find words to express my feeling in regard to the book. It is the finest thing I have ever been my pleasure to read.

Dr. A. J. Adams, Abilene, Texas, orders his first 10 and is going out to sell the book wherever he can find lovers of truth and light.

Eather Friedman, New York City.—The deluxe copy of Walls and Bars so beautifully and tenderly encased, has just come and I am delighted. It surpasses my best expectations. The printing, binding, lettering is all a work of art and I have seen no volume of a like character that would begin to rival it in style or beauty.

Edward P. Clarke, Troy, N. Y.—I have read Walls and Bars through twice. It ought to be a best seller as it is a remarkable book and an outstanding contribution to the subject of penology and prevention of crime. I am delighted to see it bear the union label. I am enclosing list of addresses to which you may send sample copies of the Appeal.

M. N. Reivo, Secretary, Finnish Socialist Federation—I am sending herewith check for \$57.50 to balance past account for Walls and Bars and for five more Walls and Bars. The book is a most interesting and enlightening individual to sell and I think they will sell all of them.

John Rutkowski of Milwaukee orders a dozen Walls and Bars to sell.

John F. Perdue, Ocean Park, Cal. Here is \$1.50 for copy of Walls and Bars and \$1 for Debt Fund.

M. Kushner, Bronx, N. Y., orders two Walls and Bars.

J. C. Watson, Hamlin, Texas—Am sending \$1.50 for Walls and Bars. Am anxious to read the book. Wish I could send more money to help out, but I am a cotton farmer and the insects ate all the cotton up two weeks ago.

J. T. McKinley, Secretary, Local Seattle.—Enclosed find payment for 10 copies of Walls and Bars and 5 American Appeal sub cards. Was instructed to ask if you would extend credit for ten more copies. We are going to hold Debs Memorial Meetings and want some for sale.

The above are only a small part of orders for Walls and Bars and expressions of praise.

Army Record

Army activities are picking up. Here are some of the fine workers for the Appeal and the movement last week:

Nick Weltlich, Massillon, Ohio, renewal and sub cards, \$3; John Dahl, Pencer, Minn., subs \$2; Isabelle Adamson, Salt Lake City, renewal for 2 years, renewal and sub, \$3; John E. Johnson, Vale, Ore., renewal for two years, \$2; Albert Sneed, Knoxville, Tenn., subs, \$2; Theo. Boyd, Uniontown, Pa., sub, \$1.50; F. K. Pair, El Reno, Okla., renewal and sub, \$2; Henry J. Cox, Rutherford, N. J., 3 subs, \$3; L. Peterson, Racine, Wis., 2 subs, \$1.50; John L. Wrather, Mayfield, Ky., sub and literature, \$2; Mrs. J. C. Coons, Brookville, Fla., sends a dollar for samples to 45 addresses; Harry Eckard, New Kensington, Pa., subs, \$3; Harry Eckard, New Kensington, Pa., subs, \$3; W. L. Smith, Greenville, Utah, renewal and sub, \$2; Henry Stailer, Boise, Idaho, renewal and sub, \$2; Eugene E. King, Zanesville, Ohio, subs, \$2; J. P. Carroll, Hudson Falls, N. Y., subs and bundle, \$3; Theodore Boyd, Lamont, Furnace, Pa., subs, \$2.

The following Army members sent in a sub each: G. E. Willis, Duchan, Ala.; Dr. A. J. Adams, Abilene, Texas; August Erba, Toia, Wis.; Mrs. M. Miller, Cleveland, Ohio; George Lloyd, Brooklyn, N. Y.; John H. Josselyn, Sacramento, Cal.; Joseph Mishak, Philadelphia; Tolley Hartwick, Meredith, N.C.; K. C. Kelly, Decatur, Ga.; Edward Otto Meitzen, Halle, Germany; William Stok, Chicago; Frank Schoening, Muscatine, Iowa; J. J. Denninger, Le Mars, Iowa; Edward C. Nelson, Bellflower, Cal.; Tobias E. Larson, Chetek, Wis.; Lorenzo Watson, Thatcher, Ariz.; G. B. Davidson, San Diego, Cal.; C. E. Perry, Longport, Ind.; Charles Neek, Buffalo, N. Y.; Thomas F. Owen, Seabrook, N. H.; C. H. Honey, Newton, Ill.; H. M. Linding, Ossining, N. Y.; Joseph Seid, Modesto, Cal.; W. Somers, Lynn Mass.; J. C. Hogan, Monroe, N. Y.; Walter F. Doud, Pacific Grove, Cal.; Edgar H. Johnson, Emory University, Ga.; T. E. Wells, Morgantown, W. Va.; Theodor Pierce Boise, Idaho; Christian Anderson, Ocasawa on Hudson, N. Y.; H. G. Tucker, Milwaukee; Robert Callahan, Hallows, Kans.; Walter V. Chalcraft, Rexford, Mont.; Tom J. Schreiber, Seminole, Okla.; August Gratz, Imperial, Cal.; Ida A. Coetzal, Chicago; P. J. Murphy, New York City; F. Passovoy, Chicago; Edward Piche, Richmond, Ind.; Dr. H. Perkins, Berkeleyfield, Mo.; Julian Bernarding, Girard, Kans.; I. D. McFadden, Montrose, Colo.; Leonard M. Doud, Jr., Black River Falls, Wis.; William E. Gailor, Milwaukee; A. A. Knight, Winfield, Ark.; William Busching, Versailles, Ind.; C. E. Wardell, Montello, Tex.; M. F. Bocher, Carterville, Mo.; Clarence O. Senior, Cleveland, Ohio; George D. McDonald, South Bend, Ind.; N. Chamkis, Los Angeles; C. Sorenson, Pasadena, Cal.; Archie McDonald, Lees-Boon, Idaho; Wilhelm Rohrig, Geddesburg, Wis.; Joe Gallego, Ronco, Pa.; Marion Hathaway, Seattle.

Special

Andrew P. Wittel, Secretary, Local Essex County, N. J.—Local Essex County has decided to do its share toward building up the American Appeal. I am authorized to place an order for 50 copies per week for four weeks. In addition I am enclosing \$5 for the literature here designated:

A. Levin, Los Angeles—Inclosed find check for \$110—\$100 for the Debs Radio Fund and \$10 for the American Appeal Debt Fund. Give me your best rate on Walls and Bars in quantities and I will be able to have some of the stores here handling it.

Ray Swain, Winston-Salem, N. C. I have not taken any interest in the Socialist movement since 1920, but since the Sacco-Vanzetti murder, I have been thinking, thinking, seriously and have decided that we should make another effort to free this country from such outrages as this. Would it be possible for the National Office to furnish a good organizer to help organize North Carolina. Send me a list of your North Carolina Appeal subscribers.

Alfred Baker Lewis, Secretary New England District—I hope the editor of the Appeal will keep the Deadly Parallel column on the front page. It is very effective.

Mrs. Etta E. Ogilvie, Seattle—The dearly paralleled is the finest thing I have ever read. Long life to the Appeal.

C. Sorenson, Pasadena—Your paper is good and getting better. Hope it will stick.

C. E. Perry, Longport, Ind.—I think you are making the Appeal a better did propaganda paper. None better than the last issue.

Socialist Party News

National Voluntary Assessment

The National Executive Committee has just taken action for a voluntary assessment of all Party members and their friends. Following is the program which will be sent to the comrades in a very few days:

"That in addition to the mass meetings and other work planned for the period of October 20—November 6, the National Office issue a Voluntary Assessment Stamp to be sold by Locals and Branches to the members, each stamp to be sold for the minimum price of one dollar to the members, the proceeds to be divided on the same basis as that announced for collections during this period. Members who can afford to pay more than the minimum of one dollar for a Voluntary Assessment Stamp to do so, thus making up for those members, especially in the West, who are unable to pay even the minimum sum for a stamp. This plan of a special Voluntary Assessment Stamp to be sold to the membership by the National Executive Committee and to be followed by other appeals by the National Office to November 6."

Special Edition of American Appeal

I wish to call the comrades attention to the fact that the Memorial Edition of the American Appeal will be issued on October 15, and I am herewith urging our comrades everywhere to help make this the biggest special edition ever issued by the American Appeal. Please don't forget the date of its issue and get your orders in now.

The memorial meetings should be arranged at once and the National Office should be notified of such arrangements as soon as possible so we may be able to acquaint our readers with such meetings. The special edition of the American Appeal coming out before the date of the memorial meetings will give the comrades good time to have them ready for distribution.

California

Los Angeles Memorial Meeting!

The big memorial meeting for Los Angeles will be in memory of Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman. It will be held at Labor Temple, Sunday, October 23.

Washington

Seattle Linenup for Debs Memorial Meeting

The following is the complete program outlined for the big meeting, with labor all lined up to do honor to our Gene. The program is so complete that we are printing it in full that others may see how Seattle

New England District

Comrade Ethelred Browne's tour was highly successful. The first week of his tour, over to the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, the police forbade several of his meetings. But he had very good meetings in Pittsfield, Greenfield, Northampton, Springfield, Fitchburg, Worcester, Maynard, Brockton, and a large number of good meetings in Cambridge, Boston and Dorchester.

A feature of the tour was that the Boston section of the American Negro Congress, supposed to be Communist-controlled, asked for him and Comrade Lewis as their speakers twice, and sold Socialist pamphlets and distributed Socialist leaflets, and gave him the largest collection of literature of the entire tour.

The Boston Central Branch has elected Louis Rabinowitz as Branch Organizer.

Joseph Bearak has been nominated for City Council from Ward 14. This is the first time in ten years that a Socialist has been able to get enough signatures to nominate a candidate in Boston. Comrade Bearak started out with four rallies in the ward last Saturday. Marvellous to state, the prospects for electing him are good.

Illinois Chicago

A big memorial meeting for Chicago has been arranged to take place on October 29, at the Douglas Park Labor Lyceum, Ordan & Kedzie Aves., at 8 o'clock, and will no doubt be a big affair. Besides a large list of speakers noted in last week's American Appeal, we have been informed that Max Fogorelec has been added to that list. It has also been stated that the Chicago Federation of Labor will be represented by a speaker. Besides the speaking, there will be suitable music for the occasion.

Visitors at National Office

Arthur Robins of New York City, has been visiting in Chicago for several days on his way West, and has given us much valuable information on activity in the East.

Comrade Mary M. Morgan of Fortuna, Calif., has been visiting in Chicago on her way East, and made us a very pleasant visit. She turned in a number of subscriptions for the American Appeal and gladly carried away with her a copy of "Walls and Bars" as a prize.

Prize Winners

Every person sending in at one time assistance to the American Appeal amounting to \$5 or more (subs., cards, bundles, gifts) receives an autographed and numbered copy of Walls and Bars free of charge.

The next three weeks, made sacred by the anniversary of Debs' birth and death, should be the big weeks for honoring Debs' memory by obtaining this splendid memento in this way. Getting Debs is the best way to help the Appeal, the movement, and the cause of the oppressed.

Use it to honor the memory of Debs. You will find the subscription blank elsewhere on this page. Use it to good effect at once.

Here are the Walls and Bars prize winners for the week ending October 1, 1927:

W. E. Stambaugh, Sharpville, Pa., \$2.00 sub.

C. P. Nichols, North Hollywood, Calif., \$5.00 sub. and cards.

L. C. Ruby, Los Angeles, Calif., \$5.00 sub.

A. Hunter, Merchantville, N. J., \$5.00 sub.

A. J. Adams, Los Angeles, Calif., \$10.00 donation.

D. G. Tenney, Haverhill, Mass., \$5.00 cards. (Lithographed picture)

Watson Lison, Green Bay, Wis., \$5.00 sub. and cards.

Mary Janet Miller, Spencerville, Md., \$5.00 cards.

Abner Schmutz, Louisville, Ky., \$5.00 cards.

Statement of the Ownership

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of "The American Appeal" published weekly at Chicago, Illinois, for October 1st, 1927 State of Illinois, County of Cook.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared William H. Henry, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the American Appeal and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc. of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher Socialist Party of America, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago.

Editor Murray E. King, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago.

Managing Editor, Murray E. King, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago.

Business Manager, William H. Henry, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago.

2. That the owner is: (If the publication is owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and

Walls and Bars

addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party:

Victor L. Berger, 920 First Street, New York, N. Y.

James Ouel, 7 East 13th St., New York, N. Y.

Joseph W. Shortz, 805 Commercial Bldg., Dayton, Ohio.

Wm. R. Snow, 908 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Wm. J. Van Eosen, 287 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:

None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom

Walls and Bars

such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, partnership, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceeding the date shown above is: (This information is required from daily publications only.)

Wm. H. Henry, Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of Sept. 1927.

Daniel A. Uretz, (My commission expires May 23, 1928.)

Walls and Bars

The contributors of the Promotion and Sustaining Fund for the week were:

A. Levin, Los Angeles, \$100.

Edward Piche, Richmond, Ind., 1.00

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Thrifty Coolidge Becomes War Waster

A significant development in the fact that President Coolidge has suspended his "economy" program in so far as military expenditures are concerned. Not only does he now sanction the frightful annual expenditure for the army and navy of \$700,000,000, but he has declared in his recent policies that he will ask for no more cuts on army and navy expenditures.

The Latest in Americanization

Four hundred school children of Gary, Indiana, have suffered irreparable evil and injury. Gary started as a "white city." For several years there has been a rapid growth of the negro population. As it has, read negro pupils have constantly invaded new schools.

The Spider's Web

The degradation of the American public was never more strikingly illustrated than in the case of John L. Duval, mayor of Indianapolis, convicted of bribery. Although found guilty and sentenced to 30 days in jail, an adjudge ineligible to hold office for four years, Duval still moves in high places, associates with the ruling clique and defies prison and law.

Mechanizing the Art of War

(Editorial from The Chicago Tribune) Mechanized armies and navies are not dreams but realities. The art of the lathe and the drill, the jig and the gauge—in particular the art of building the internal combustion engine—has revolutionized the art of war.

The New Method of Gobbling Countries

The Caesars used to conquer the world. Now they buy it. They used to overthrow governments but today penetration is the principle of those who march in the holy cause of uplift and usury, which last, unless they are all lying—and they are—is the latest conversion urging them on to bear the White Man's burden.

British War-Makers Turn Toward America

(Ernest Untermann in the Milwaukee Leader) The inconsistency of British official peace policies is drastically illuminated by the news announcing a British demand for an anti-war pact with the United States.

Short Sighted Policy of Illinois Labor

(John M. Work in The Milwaukee Leader) In a resolution that is discouraging to intelligent workers, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, at its annual convention, denounced all organizations that strive for peace.

Fascists Are Tricky

(Editorial, A. F. of L. Weekly News Service) Fascists in this country are as tricky as Communists. In a Baltimore naturalization court a Fascist declared that "one can not be a good Fascist unless he is a good American."

Teacher Corrects Appeal's Mistake

The American Appeal, 2654 Washington Boulevard Chicago Gentlemen: In your issue of September 24, in your report of the Illinois State Federation of Labor meeting, you mentioned Mr. Meade and me as members of the Chicago Teachers Federation. That is a mistake.

Sacramento Bee on Socialism

The following is from a recent issue of the Sacramento Bee, California: Recently the eighth international congress of actuaries was held in London. The Times devoted considerable space to an account of its opening session, on which occasion the lord mayor delivered an address of welcome.

In XII Articles

By Ernest Untermann Article XII To explain human life fully, all sciences are needed. But most specialists are too hemmed in by their self-made boundaries to care for that scientific universality which makes their specialties worth while.

Akron Operates A Paying Farm

AKRON, O.—Akron city officials have things to do these days in addition to looking after their office duties. This week, took a hand in harvesting the city's record crop of luscious fruit at the city's farm.

Masses Unable to Understand Dialectics

The conscious reasoning about any scientific subject requires not only a normal and healthy brain mechanism, but also a certain training and mature development of certain brain areas and fibers. A flabby brain with weak nerve ducts can no more do strong mental work than a flabby biceps with a paralyzed nerve can perform a feat of strength.

Editor's Note

This is the last article in Comrade Untermann's series on the Law of Unity. The editor of the American Appeal has already expressed his opinion on what he considers the proper attitude of the Socialist Party on constructive democracy; how fast a Socialist government may go with its program of socialism; what should be our attitude in view of the possibility of a capitalist breakdown or revolutionary action. The following is an expression of opinion along these lines by Comrade William A. Toole of Baltimore, in connection with Comrade Untermann's articles. —M. E. K.

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT Harry W. Laidler, Editor

The Laws of the Mind

whole animal world from the protoplasm up, has its application also in the development of the brain mechanism. I insisted that the ability to form logical conclusions is also dominated by this biogenetic law, and that therefore the Socialists who desire to unite the workers, or even unite only the "Marxian Socialists," should familiarize themselves with the working of the logical mechanism.

Aiming at Constructive Democracy

We can never rid life of all contradictions, but we can understand the mental laws of development which produce available contradictions and our social science. If we want constructive democracy, we must cultivate those mental tendencies and aptitudes which train the mind in the associative and co-operative practice of classifying the important facts in the network of inter-related events.

Dangers to Avoid

Danger to democracy in the Socialist party and outside it may also come from the opposite direction, from the extreme right of the Socialist party. European Socialists are just awakening to this fact. This danger does not spring from efforts to extend democracy in coalition with other parties or by the formation of coalition cabinets, but from the tendency of elected officials and appointed civil servants to form a bureaucracy and to run things for the purpose of perpetuating their own machines against the general effort to maintain and extend democracy.

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Order Debs Memorial Bundles On This Blank

Debs Memorial Edition of the American Appeal will be its best issue to date. We want it to have the biggest circulation in honor of Debs and for the good it will do. Just the thing to distribute at the Memorial Meetings and elsewhere. AFTER THIS REACHES YOU THERE WILL BE ONLY A FEW DAYS TO ORDER. Use this blank as soon as you see it.

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

Enclosed you will find \$_____ for which send me _____ copies of 'Debs Memorial Edition.' Name _____ Street _____ City _____ State _____

What Should Be the Issues of 1928 Campaign?

A Symposium of Socialist, Labor and Liberal Thought

THE Editor of the Special Feature Department of the Appeal some weeks ago sent the following letter to a number of Socialists and non-Socialists asking them for their suggestions regarding the outlying issues that should be emphasized by a third party—presumably the Socialist party—in the coming campaign. The letter was as follows: I have been asked by the American Appeal, the weekly established by Eugene V. Debs some two odd years ago, to secure the opinion of a selected group of progressives both within and without the Socialist party as to what issues a third party might best concentrate upon in the 1928 campaign and the main demands which should be contained in its platform. (The Socialist party is planning to hold its presidential convention in January, 1928, and at present it looks as if it would be the "third party" in 1928, although other alignments are always possible.) Would it therefore be possible for you as one actively interested in a more realistic alignment in American political life, to send me at your earliest convenience, and, if possible, not later than September 26, a short statement setting forth:

1. The three issues which, in your opinion, should be particularly stressed in the coming campaign, and the order of their importance;
2. The approximate wording of the planks which deal with these issues;
3. Any remarks you might care to make relative to these issues and planks or as to the manner in which the next campaign should be conducted. Should you be able later on to contribute a longer article on a particular issue, we would be deeply appreciative. The replies will be run as a symposium in the American Appeal.

Public ownership of water power, railroads and other public utilities and natural resources, anti-imperial-

ism and anti-war measures and measures for farm relief and for the restoration of civil liberties seem to be uppermost in the minds of those replying. Legislation tending to curb the power of the courts, free trade, abolition of capital punishment, limitation of federal reserve banks; flood relief legislation, increase in large income taxes, ratification of the child labor amendment, federal anti-lynching legislation, alleviation of unemployment, etc., are also urged. Some of the correspondents urge as well a fight for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, and some, as vigorously, believe the party should fight for the return of light beers and wine.

Further replies are still coming in and other letters are being mailed to well known progressives.

Some of the replies are printed below. Others will follow. Other brief replies are solicited. Send them to Harry W. Laidler, 70 Fifth Ave., N. Y. City.

Upton Sinclair
(The briefest answer thus far received came from Upton Sinclair. The planks suggested by this famous writer and Socialist are as follows:

1. Civil liberties.
2. Overthrow of private banking monopoly.
3. Nationalization of railroads and water power.

—Upton Sinclair, Long Beach, Calif.

Civil Liberties—Free Trade Public Ownership Railroads

Oswald Garrison Villard
(Editor of The Nation)

The three issues which in my opinion should be particularly stressed in the campaign are:

(1) The restoration of civil liberty and the defense of the people against official lawlessness.

(2) Free Trade or, if you please, tariff reform.

(3) A revival of the Wilson program of 1912 coupled with the public ownership of railroads.

I regret that I have not the time to elaborate these points, or to write an article for the American Appeal, but I am of the opinion that a third party should be placed in the field, even if its candidates could only be nominated in a few states.

The alternative of having to vote for Al Smith, Coolidge, or Hughes, is too much for me. I have for years consistently maintained that there is no difference whatever in principle between the Democrat and Republican parties. One is just as crooked and corrupt as the other, both are equally deserving of anything like a political program or sound, American principles.

—Oswald Garrison Villard, New York.

Anti-Prohibition—Farm and Collective Ownership Planks

Mary Raoul Millis
(Atlanta, Georgia)

Among other things I favor the following planks:

1. Prohibition — Changes in the Eighteenth Amendment to allow free use of light wines and beer, and the sale of liquor under such restrictions as would bar the re-establishment of saloons.
2. Agriculture—Enactment of legislation of sufficient scope to render life on the American farm at least as good as that of the best paid American industrial worker or craftsman.
3. Natural Resources—Collective ownership and governmental operation of our national wealth—mines, oil, and water power.

It is impossible to overstate the importance of the Prohibition question. If it were possible to balance the relative weight of actual crime under our old system and the new regime, the chances are that the scales would go down against our present method. But a far more serious count against Prohibition is, that when we adopted the Eighteenth Amendment, we put a premium on lying, deceit, law-breaking, and hypocrisy. This is a grave situation for a nation to face. Worse even than that, when a bare majority attempted to suppress the desires and restrict the personal liberty of the other half, there was generated a mental force of resentment, hatred, and violence, which cannot fail to be externalized in extreme forms of disaster.

—Mary Raoul Millis, Atlanta, Ga.

Public Ownership—Outlawry of War—Prohibition

Rev. J. Haynes Holmes
(Pastor, Community Church)

Three issues it seems to me should be stressed.

First, the classic and basic social issue of public ownership of public utilities and natural resources as the basis of true industrial democracy.

Second, the abolition of war through the specific program of outlawry.

Third, Prohibition as the greatest step toward social legislation attempted in this country since the abolition of slavery.

It is a matter of constant amazement to me that the Socialist Party does not support Prohibition wholeheartedly as a thoroughgoing example of the socialist ideal and the socialist method.

—John Haynes Holmes, New York.

Nationalization of Power Imperialism—the Farmer

Elizabeth Gilman
(Secretary, Christian Social Justice Fund)

I would like to see the following three issues emphasized:

1. Nationalization of Great Power — not expected that of Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam, the latter being used as a pre-venture of future floods in the South.
2. Against Wall Street — Imperialism in backward countries—the prohibition of using our military forces without the consent of Congress.
3. Legislation favoring the Farmer and discouraging the Oil Monopolist.

—Elizabeth Gilman, Baltimore.

Disarmament—Abolition of Capital Punishment

Dr. John Lovejoy Elliot
(Director, Hudson Guild, N. Y. City)

The difficulty which your letter presents to me is one of elimination. There are so many things which it seems to me need the backing of a national party that I do not know which to indicate. Also my own judgment is not good in the matter of knowing what things will appeal to other people so it is possible that the things which I would suggest would be those which ought to be avoided.

However, I do not see how it would be possible for an honest party to avoid issues on:

1. First, international relations, with special reference to armaments. Connected with this point is the matter of establishing better relations between racial and national groups in this country itself. Also our relations toward foreign countries. Particularly our relation with China and Russia I think would appeal.

Secondly, I believe that a good campaign could be taken up in the matter of the abolition of capital punishment. This issue will not be touched by any other party and I think would find a great response today.

There are so many others that come knocking at the door that I will only make these two suggestions.

—John Lovejoy Elliot, New York.

Limit Dividends—Reform Law Arbitrate National Disputes

William Floyd
(Editor of The Arbitrator)

In order to curb the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few a federal law should be enacted limiting dividends of corporations to six per cent a year on the actual investment. Salaries, improvements and surplus for emergencies should be limited to a fixed proportion of gross income. When the net income of any corporation shall exceed four per cent the excess should be divided equally between stockholders and workers until a total of eight per cent shall have been paid; then the price of the commodity should be reduced for the benefit of the consumers. No stock dividend or bonus, should be allowed and no incorporation for an amount greater than the actual value of the property.

2. The federal Government should reform legal procedure in Massachusetts and other States in order that the prosecution in criminal cases may not withhold evidence valuable to the defence; that appeals may be argued before a jury other than the trial judge; that the courts of appeal shall review the evidence as well as the law; that Public Defenders be appointed and capital punishment abolished.
3. For the sake of international peace, treaties should be negotiated

with all other nations providing for obligatory arbitration of all disputes that may arise between them, thus declaring war outlawed under all circumstances. Disarmament, except for a national police force, should follow; also the repeal of the espionage act and the abolition of conscription.

—William Floyd, New York.

Nationalization—Imperialism Relief for the Farmers

Evelyn Preston
(Committee on Power, N. Y. League of Women Voters)

I find it quite impossible for me to select the three most important issues for the 1928 campaign. There are so many of almost equal importance, and it seems to me rather arbitrary and futile to hit on through. For example, restricting the use of the injunction and reforming the court procedure is to me immediately important, but I cannot include it in the first three.

I can give you three issues that should come in somewhere, but am not a bit sure of the order of their importance.

1. Nationalization of natural resources, beginning with bituminous coal mines and large waterpower sites.
2. Anti-imperialism—an acceptance of the principle that private business operating in a foreign country accepts the laws of that country; the submission of all disputes to international commissions or courts of arbitration.
3. Farm Relief—I know nothing about this but am convinced that it is of major importance in the U. S. The "third party" movement should never be guilty of the prime mistake of the other established parties, that of thinking always in terms of urban life and industrialism.

—Evelyn Preston, Red Bank, N. J.

How to Stop the Robbery of Farmers and City Workers

Socialize Rent, Declares Farmer Emil Knips
(Fairhope, Alabama)

Among the numerous valued news items and suggestions in your August issue the one as to "The Farmer Trouble and Remedy" is good as it is—yet neglected the most vital point as to a remedy.

The fact of the matter is, the reason the farmer as well as the laborer can not buy back as much as they reasonably should—is evident to any minded person when other goods where the above pinches. Recently a lot sold in New York City for six millions of dollars on which is to be put a business block—the rent of this lot should go into the people's treasury instead of as now into the pockets of some private person, all goods, buildings and laboring taxes—an immense saving for the people.

Furthermore, a piece of wild land was a drug on the market at fifteen dollars per acre—a lot of men were delegated (at public expense) to construct a hard surfaced road through this tract connecting with other good roads. Now let us get straight on this vital and important point, the land in question immediately changed hands at eighty dollar per acre—should a farmer later develop a going farm here—our laws tax (fine) him on all his improvements, (taxer robbery) and give the land hog a free gift of thousands of dollars for values that have been created by the expenditure of public funds.

It is a cinch the farmer is handicapped for he cannot (as does the manufacturer and merchant) add his over head (taxes) and then have to sell—anybody through ignorance or otherwise upholding the present system of land tenure and taxation is a partner in the legalized hold-up game, and a load on the farmer.

The landlord sucks up millions of values of labor products, and as a landlord only, gives not one cent of service or value in return—so let's get together on this and knock the vicious injustice in the head and even save the farmer from being camouflaged with hopes in the foolish McHarry Haugen Bill which should it pass will be another bill that will give farmers and laborers a worse belly ache than they had before.

And you can bet your sweet life when we are wise enough to formulate laws, untaxing all useful labor pro-

ducts, homes, goods and factories—collecting all the economic ground rent into the public treasury, thereby freeing the land and overcoming the grip of monopoly, we will not have any Mellons or Coolidges or Kelloggs in high public office.

Editor's Note

The editor of the American Appeal has pointed out in previous articles that while rent undoubtedly represents a frightful robbery and the single tax undoubtedly would partially relieve this problem, the question of the robbery of labor and that includes the robbery of farmers, goes much deeper than this. Robbery begins with the private ownership of the means of employment and the means of distributing the products of the farming and industrial workers. These private owners, because they control the means of employment and the distribution of the products of labor, are able to extract profits directly from productive labor. The basic system we are up against is not a rent system or interest system, but a profit system. After the industrial and commercial capitalists take out their profits, from productive labor, rent and interest are taken out of these accumulated profits by the landlords and bankers. Now, if we were to socialize rent and interest, the profit process would remain to rob and enslave labor.

Labor might free itself from the unearned tax imposed by the landlords and bankers, but the sources of employment and of distribution would still be privately monopolized by the industrial and commercial capitalists. These would still have a preponderant industrial control, which would give them political control. With their monopolistic powers they would impose just as heavy a tax on labor as now. On the other hand, with the state absorbing the unearned increment of landlords and bankers, these latter would not remain in business. The state would have to take over and operate their enterprises, in the long run.

Now the point of all this is as follows: the private interests represented by the landlord, banker and commercial and industrial capitalist are now so closely interwoven and interlocked that they practically represent one family of interests. They represent the ruling and royal family of America. They are the capitalist class. Their power to rule politically and

direct wealth is all based on the same thing—private ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. There is no sense in attacking just a part of these interests and a part of their interlocked process of robbery. They will resist such a flank attack with as much power as they will resist a frontal attack on their whole system. The thing to do is to get rid of all of them at once by a general program of constructive socialization, in which no doubt, the single tax will play its part.

We are pleased to note that the next writer on this topic in this issue of the Appeal takes the same view.

Says Abolish Whole System of Robbery

Pierre De Nio
(New York City)

Having read with much pleasure the article by Mr. Tolby Hartwick dealing with the problem interest as it affects the American farmer, I am forced to the conclusion that Mr. Hartwick is "all wet."

I think the citation of a practical example of a far more serious form of farmer exploitation will help Mr. Hartwick and others to see the limitations of his theory.

Interest is truly a very serious and ever increasing burden to the farmer, but in comparison with freight rates it is a poor second.

In the first place the profit system, in all its ramifications is the force that driving the American as well as the foreign farmer back into a form of peasantry, and if we allow ourselves to single out a particular phase of that system as a cause of his plight, we are either biased or lack of knowledge of the social forces that are at work.

Mr. Hartwick lives in part of the country that is greatly dependant upon the railroads. Within recent years ranchers in the west have had to send a check after the sale of a carlot of commodity to appease the avarice of owners of the railroads of the Northwest.

The cost of shipping a bushel of corn from Kansas City to San Francisco is thirty-four and sixteen one hundredths cents, and from Chicago to New York the rate is sixteen and eight tenths cents for the same amount. There, Mr. Hartwick and other Single Taxers, is a form of brigandage that makes the Shylocks of our fair land look like Santa Claus. Here in the East the rates are just

as high. From the two hundred mile one freight rate on milk is approximately one cent per quart. A car of milk contains from three hundred to three hundred and eighty cans of forty quarts each, that will pay the railroad one hundred and twenty dollars for hauling it two hundred miles, and it is a greater menace to the farmer than interest.

There are many farmers who own their own homes and who are little better off as far as independence and security is concerned than those who pay interest.

The facts of the matter are that all these forms of robbery are inextricably bound up, one with the other, and it is entirely futile to single out any one and say that it alone is responsible for the present economic plight of the farmer.

The socialization of all forms of public utilities as well as the Banking Business must be accomplished before we can hope for any improvement in our social health.

If Marx was wrong in his theory of a "Capitalist Breakdown" the burden of proof lies upon those who propose this theory, considering the problem in the light of post-war developments.

It would seem to the writer that a differentiation should be made between Marx the agitator and Marx the philosopher and economist. As agitator he was bound to want to hurry up things. It was useless to agitate for something and ask that sacrifices be made for that something while its realization lay off in the centuries.

As philosopher and economist Marx wrote not for his immediate time but for the future. He saw the direction which capitalism was carrying on, and he saw also the great possibility of a smash up, that he felt that the only way was the ability of capitalism to extend its basis through colonization of the conquest of backward lands sufficiently to prolong its existence.

When Marx wrote a comparatively small portion of the globe was under capitalist influence, today there is a very small portion, indeed, that is not. What Comrade Untermyer does not see is that what Marx thought would exist for a small portion of the globe covered by capitalist domination in his time, really threatens the very large portion of the globe under capitalist conditions today.

A breakdown of capitalism today would be a far more serious matter than in the time when Marx conceived writing Capital. It is not conceded here that a catastrophic breakdown is inevitable. The Editor of the American Appeal expresses the opinion of the writer exactly when he says that "it depends largely upon the conduct of ruling capitalist interests and the development of the Socialist movement."

Poor Because He Produces Too Much

NEW YORK.—"The present plight of agriculture is not due to lack of productive power," says the New York Trust Company, in its monthly Index.

"Less than 4 per cent of the farm laborers in the world are found in this country," it is stated. "They produce nearly 70 per cent of the corn, 60 per cent of the cotton, 50 per cent of the tobacco, 25 per cent of the oats and hay, 20 per cent of the wheat and flaxseed, 10 per cent of the barley and 7 per cent of the potatoes of the world. Nor has this growth in American agricultural output been unaccompanied by improvement in efficiency."

"In 1890 between seven and eight million actual producers of farm products had an output worth \$2,000,000,000. In 1920 the number of workers had increased to nearly eleven millions, but the value of their products had increased to \$7,000,000,000. In 1925 this figure fell to \$13,000,000,000.

"Since 1890 the increase in the number of farms, in the rural population, and the number of producers, has been 50 per cent, against an increase of 500 per cent in the value of farm products.

"This increase in output may be attributed in part to improvements in agricultural machinery. Within the last three or four years the combined harvester and three-her has been coming into use more and more, bringing a considerable saving of both money and time to the farmer."

To say, as Comrade Untermyer does, that the mental development of the workers may run ahead of capitalist development is to talk through one's hat. In Germany it looked that way at one time. But we know now that the pre-war success of the Socialists of Germany was for the most part due to the fact that it was the only political party that stood for modern democracy against the autocracy of the Kaiser. In fact its popularity was based mostly upon this stand. That it was not entirely Socialist was very clearly shown by its conduct in the great war.

The response of the workers to the appeal of Socialism will be in the same proportion as they see the necessity of Socialism, i.e. the failure of capitalism.

The writer claims no special knowledge upon the subject but it seems to him that the Socialist movement is missing a very great opportunity in not meeting the great social and economic issues as they should be met. It is true, perchance, that the experiences of the war have deprived our membership of its moral courage?

DEALY PARALLEL—PRODUCTION THROTTLED WHILE MILLIONS WANT

Plutocrats Curtail Wealth Production Men of 40 Organize Against Starvation

Warren Brecher, writing in the Magazine of Wall Street points out that following the 1921 depression the national industrial machine, made it possible for a few men, after normal conditions were restored to produce well above the line of unfilled orders.

"In short, potential productive capacity exceeds market demand," says Brecher. He shows that in 1925 the automobile industry was operated but 83 per cent of capacity and cement 74 per cent. Other basic industries, such as petroleum (refining), pig iron, shoes, steel (ingot), sugar (refining), textiles and tires ranged as low as 50 per cent capacity. Railroad locomotives was lowest, with an estimated 30 per cent. Mining operations and mineral resources are not reducible to figures, it is stated, "but production in these industries greatly exceeds demand."

"A recent analysis of corporate income tax returns reveals the amazing fact that during the past six years an average of 41 per cent of the manufacturing companies in the United States reported an operating deficit or at least no net income. Putting it another way, for every \$100 earned by successful concerns, \$22 was lost by unsuccessful ones," says Mr. Brecher.

"This unique situation has been commonly attributed to keen competitive conditions with their resulting low prices and narrow profit margins which obtain in so many lines of industry.

"While this is undoubtedly true as far as it goes, the condition more properly finds its genesis in the tremendous capacity, both actual and potential, of the major branches of manufacture.

"The stimulation of the World War period brought agriculture and all divisions of industry and trade to a high stage of development, but naturally far in excess of peacetime needs, and was in many instances adjusted by the rapid deflation, amounting to price crashes in many commodities and restricted buying in others, which took place in 1921 and 1922. This adjustment, radical as it was, did not, however, reduce the physical potentialities of manufacture. Plant equipment and other producing facilities still stood ready to resume extensive operation.

"As a matter of fact, the period of deflation had little more than passed before further expansion of manufacture was resumed. More and more capital sought investment, price continued a downward trend and mass production at low profit became the common attribute of nearly all lines.

"In short, potential productive capacity exceeds the market demand."

A retired business man of Brooklyn, who prefers to be known merely as "Mr. Action," is leading a new movement of the middle aged against the merciless dictum of business which requires men past forty as too old to keep pace with young workers. Some 250 persons, according to Brooklyn Eagle, recently met at his call in the Prospect Park branch of the Young Men's Christian Association of that city, told of their vain efforts to find work, and formed an organization to fight the prevalent idea "that on his fortieth birthday some awful change comes over a man to unfit him for new tasks."

"Mr. Action" said he had to face the uncertainty of job-hunting after the age of forty, and at a later meeting, with about 300 present, he helped to launch what is to be known as the Cooperative Action Membership Corporation, devoted to "helping the elderly who need work." Its members, we are told, will include helpful publicity for the unemployed and practical catering to the needs of old players.

Cheering tales of men and women who have won success in new fields after having reached the fateful age were related at these meetings. Most of the stories were like that of the following letter—one of hundreds that came in.

"I've walked the streets of New York for nearly four solid months now for a job at any price. Business hires only youngsters today, telling them they have a future. In that way they secure workers at such cheap prices that a man with a family just can't compete.

"Business uses these youngsters and when they are forty they, in turn, will find that the future that business has for them is also in the gutter to die."

The captain of industry is him usually well over forty years old. He marks the Brooklyn Eagle, yet makes rules insisting that newly employed persons in his various departments must be under forty. When this usually the case? The answer goes on to answer that the young man is indeed less "pliable" than youth; that he has not the necessary energy of the young man. But thinks a more potent reason is that in the fact that "workmen's insurance laws, with premiums higher for older men, offer a thirt-first reason for preferring younger persons."

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Carl Marx and the Capitalist Breakdown

(Continued from page 3)

kets, investments and raw material, does not do the job beforehand.

It has been well said that the recent advance in the use of machinery in this country is almost equivalent to another industrial revolution. It is this is true then there must necessarily follow in its wake, and in the same proportion as the change in the economic basis of the nation, a change in the political and social consciousness of the people of the nation.

It would be equally true that a very rapid change in the economic structure would bring an equally rapid change in the social consciousness.

While it may be true that Marx in his time could not foresee everything for all time, it is equally true that any pre-war criticism of Marx such as that of Knautsky, which Comrade Untermyer quotes, cannot fit to the present circumstances in America considering all the changes wrought by the great world war.

The Meaning

Poverty in the United States today is purely artificial—enforced for private profiteering purposes. Machinery that is able to produce plenty for all is kept down to as low as 20 per cent of its productive capacity, that prices can be kept up in the interest of private profiteers. This is an enormous amount of unemployment. This unemployment falls first and heaviest on the older men. Capitalism is in such a position now that it selects the youngest and strongest to speed and drive to the limit, while throws the men of 40 and over, men still strong and capable who should be the prime of life, on the scrap heap to starve and die.

Industry is owned mainly by old and middle-aged men. These men deem themselves perfectly able to manage and exploit industry, but just workers over 40 are too old to operate industry. So great is the power which our system clothes the private owner that against all the interests of the nation, against humanity, civilization and decency, he may weed out from industry and doom to untold suffering and death whomsoever he chooses.