

Opposition U. S. Party Imperative

Congressman Berger Shows Why the Two Old Parties Are Same Thing

By Victor L. Berger (Socialist Congressman)

That political business in Pennsylvania is rotten. The worst of it is our social con-

Dems. Just as Bad

Two years ago there was a great because Donby spent \$119,000 in

Opposition Party

main difficulty in present condi-

People Lose Interest

President Coolidge has noted that

Not Much Difference

The two old parties are alike on

Dutch Socialists

Barred by British

London.—The British government

Women March in Thousands Against War

Converge on London from All British Isles in Vast Demonstration

London.—The most remarkable

Thousands of women from all parts

In every town and city the women

One of the women tramped 300

The final meeting in Hyde Park was

Lord Parmoor, who was Lord Pres-

He said there was no prospect for

The Incentive

By Sarah N. Cleghorn

I saw a sickly cellar plant

Drop on its feeble stem, for

Of sun and wind and rain and

Of Freedom!—Then a man came

The cellar, and I heard him say,

"Poor, foolish plant, by all

Contented here; for—know you

This stagnant dampness, mould

Are your incentive to grow tall

And reach that sunbeam on the

—Even as he spoke, the sun's

Withdrew, and left the dusk

more dark.

Dictionary Definitions of Socialism

By Webster's dictionary—Socialism

"A political and economic theory

of social reorganization, the essential

feature of which is governmental

control of economic activities, to the

end that competition shall give way to

operation and that the opportunities

of life and the rewards of labor shall

be equitably apportioned."

By Dictionary of American Politics,

by Edward C. Smith—Socialism—"The

political and industrial doctrines that

the control of all the forces of a na-

tion should be placed in the hands of

the wealth-producing classes for the

purpose of bringing about public

ownership and operation of the principal

means of production and exchange."

By American Yearbook—Socialism

"To be regarded, not primarily as a

theoretical system or scheme of social

reorganization, but as a class

movement growing out of the facts

of capitalist society, which has developed

a body of theory and a program to

meet its needs. It aims at the estab-

lishment of economic liberty, interna-

tional peace and social harmony

through abolition of private ownership

and control of socially necessary

means of production and distribution,

and the substitution thereof of public

ownership and democratic administration,

with production for use instead

of profit."

By New International Encyclopedia

"Socialism—"An ideal economic sys-

tem in which industry is carried on

under social direction and for the ben-

efit of society as a whole."

By Encyclopedia Britannica—Social-

ism—"That policy or theory which

aims at securing by the action of the

central democratic authority a better

distribution, and in due subordination

The Real Independence Day to Come

Every Independence Day that has

In a world where the independence

Independence from what? Independ-

The time has come to ask, "What is

In a world where the independence

Almost without exception through-

These governments exist solely for

Within this system the people are

"liberty" is possible without inter-

They are allowed to vote; they are

But let them vote in opposition to

THAT THERE CAN BE NO INDE-

Let us celebrate, then, the REAL

INDEPENDENCE DAY—OF ALL HUMAN-

Let us celebrate, then, the REAL

INDEPENDENCE DAY—OF ALL HUMAN-

the defenders of the existing order. AS

They cannot face essential facts;

In such a world the people must re-

INDEPENDENCE IS AN ECONOMIC TERM;

Let us celebrate, then, the REAL

INDEPENDENCE DAY—OF ALL HUMAN-

Let us celebrate, then, the REAL

INDEPENDENCE DAY—OF ALL HUMAN-

Government of Britain Joins War on Miners

Baldwin Takes Definite Stand With Owners on Time and Wages

London. As the British miners near

A tour of the mining districts, re-

The attempt of the government to

The meeting of the representatives

Reports of violence increase.

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Ontario to Do Marketing For Farmers

Huge State System Will Handle Produce at Cost

Kemptville, Ont., Canada.—The On-

The scheme was outlined here last

It has caused a storm of protest,

Butter, eggs, apples, and anything

Full details of the scheme have not

been worked out, but these will soon

be completed and the enterprise

launched without delay.

launched without delay.

launched without delay.

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The March of the Nations



Facts About Socialism You Should Know

Some persons in this country dis-

The Socialist movement is the most

There is an organized Socialist

Two continents—Europe and Aus-

Forty per cent of the people of Eu-

Almost half the citizens of the

In one Australian state a labor

By Encyclopaedia Britannica—Social-

One European country has a So-

had Socialist ministries within a year,

Fact 8

In four European countries more

Fact 9

One large American republic has

Fact 10

The Socialist vote throughout the

Fact 11

The trade union movement throu-

Fact 12

The main trade union federation of

Fact 13

All the bonafide labor parties of the

Fact 14

The bulk of the co-operatives are

Fact 15

The largest country in the world is

who are now socializing the great in-

Fact 16

This is a Socialist age. The world

Fact 17

This great world movement of the

IS NOT THE VAST SPREAD OF

IS IT NOT WORTH INVESTIGATING?

IS IT NOT WORTH UNDERSTANDING?

Read the Socialist Roll Call of the

most of these statements.

Acknowledgments

The American Appeal is indebted to

Trade Union Movement and Co-op-

It found these books a mine of

every year. The volume covering

1925 was issued recently. The ad-

dress is Rand School of Social Sci-

ence, 7 East 15th Street, New York

City.

Lowden Indorses Danish Co-ops.

Chicago.—The American farmers

must organize co-operatively, after

the Danish methods. There must be

Why the Socialist Movement Alone Will Save Democracy

The world war and the Russian revolution ushered in an epoch of social conflict of far greater magnitude and consequence than most people realize.

To preserve a popular belief in capitalism through the control of the agencies of information, news and education.

slaughter in America and elsewhere on civil liberties; the red scares, red raids, deportations; unbelievable oppression and cruelties; the new violent and lawless war on all ideas and opinions opposed to the existing industrial system?

classes toward democracy has steadily become more openly and violently hostile. Never before in modern times has there been such a wholesale overthrow and destruction of democratic forms and constitutional governments.

approval. The same capitalist papers, the same captains of industry and finance and pillars of government and society that shrieked their rage when a dictatorship of the proletariat was set up in Russia, have not one word of disapproval for these vastly more undemocratic, despotic and harsh military dictatorships of Southern Europe.

popular opinion has slipped, capitalism throughout the world during the last eight years has scrapped the machinery of political democracy and gravitated nearer and nearer to government by brutal military might.

FESSION OF BELIEF IN POLITICAL DEMOCRACY AND A DENIAL OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

Appeal Army Scouts Beat All Records of Past Two Months



EUGENE DEBS

And again the Appeal Army gets its hike, increases its stride and makes the office force sit up and take notice.

This is the fifth week of the drive for a hundred thousand readers to the American Appeal, and we are sure to be hitting on all cylinders in another week or two.

More members of the Army are getting into the battle and the front trenches are getting filled up with the Army and they are there for keeps.

Here comes a list of ten, all yearling but not a least for this excellent work. He just says his name as John Yankovich and he lives in Harborton, Ohio.

Comrade A. E. McMann of Colorado Springs, Colo., rushes in twenty-two months' subscription and informs them to tell us to send Comrade D. G. Smith the credit, since the Doctor took his own cash and handled the subscription.

I have had one of the good books I've wired down in Lapeer, Ind., come through with his subscription for the Appeal.

Comrade T. H. Lath of Watertown, N. Y., rushed to tell with his subscription and remarks: "Here goes a hundred dollars."

Win Adams of Pittsburgh, one of the very best fighters in the American Appeal, has just sent in another batch of his subscription.

H. M. Beach of Los Angeles, Calif., sends in three years' subscription and says he would have been doing better but for the fact that he lost over a thousand dollars in the stock market.

Here comes T. A. Smith of South, N. D., with two years' subscription to show Comrade Adams and Van Eosen that they are not the only hustlers in the Smoky City. I bet old Pittsburgh will be clean as a whistle when the Appeal Army gets through with their cleaning up.

Here is a new town heard from, Comrade Harry Mottish, by good, comes lunging in from Eaton, Colo. R. E. No. 2. Let her be a railroadman, but she is not a railroadman, she is just as anxious to hear from the men on the ranch as she is from the old city.

Another letter from Comrade A. D. Schell of Huntington, Ind., with a subscription. But that's nothing new for Schell, for he is just as regular as the wind on the great lakes. If all our Army members would take the cue from Schell they would have to report with subs every week.

Joseph Johnson of Jeannette, Pa., rushes in with two years' subscription and says: "I wish the Appeal a long life." So be it, Comrade. The life of the Appeal will be long and useful when each good member as yourself keep up the good work.

H. C. Huff of Hamlin, Alta., Can., comes in with two subscriptions just to let us know that the Appeal is the same all over the globe.

Another hustler heard from away off California. Comrade H. Fisher of Berkeley rushes in with six yearly subscriptions to start some real progressive thinking just

the university city. All right, Comrade, we suspect there are several left in that city who would do a little enlightenment.

Comrade E. J. Williams of Cleveland, Ind., writes to let us know that he will do better work in the future. Williams will send his subscription to the Appeal, and that is the way to do it.

Comrade Pittsburgh is heard from when Comrade E. W. Smith sends in two years' subscription. O. J. Beck, watch Pittsburgh.

Yes, what's the matter? Here comes H. M. Beach of Los Angeles, Calif., with a subscription. He says he thinks of sending less than two subs at one time. They have the right habit.

Comrade N. Y. is heard from when Comrade E. J. Williams sends in two years' subscription. These double-barreled battles have got the Army Editor guessing.

And you ever hear of Canton, Pa., where the Debs are held? Well, there is plenty of help there for you. Comrade N. Y. is heard from when Comrade E. J. Williams sends in two years' subscription.

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The bundle orders for the Special Independence number are too numerous to print. We will tell about them next week.

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Appeal Fund Still Grows

The American Appeal Promotion and Sustaining Fund went up 181 during the week ending June 26, 1932 as the result of the following contributions and pledges:

Table with columns for LUMP CONTRIBUTIONS and MONTHLY PAYMENTS, listing names and amounts.

Republican Politician Confesses

"OUR WHOLE SYSTEM IS BASED ON THE THEORY THAT THERE ARE TWO PARTIES WATCHING EACH OTHER AT THE POLLS. WHEN IN REALITY THERE IS ONLY ONE PARTY. CONSEQUENTLY, THAT ONE DOES JUST ABOUT AS IT PLEASES WITH THE BALLOTS"

Testimony of T. Henry Walnut, attorney and chairman of Governor Pinchot's Philadelphia Committee, at the Senate investigation which uncovered an expenditure by the three Republican factions in the primary election for the purpose of corrupting the Pennsylvania electorate the sum of \$1,900,000.

So Much Good Human Ability Goes to Waste

A long time ago Vida Scudder, in an article on Socialism and Sacrifice in the Atlantic Monthly, wrote: "The most stirring times are those of transition, when it is the hardest to distinguish the trend of living forces from the notes of the passing age."

About sixteen years ago, in a character sketch of Senator A. B. Cummings I used the above quotation and applied it to him, saying that he had failed to distinguish the trend of living forces from the notes of the passing age, that he had not read the mind of the age aright and was not cooperating with its true purpose.

The writer ran against Cummings for governor of Iowa in 1902 and for United States senator in 1908, but this did not prevent him from admiring

Party Activities Continue—Oklahoma Ready to Organize

Kentucky Names State Ticket

Kentucky Socialists have named John J. Thobe for United States Senate, and M. A. Brinkman for Congressman, 6th District. Other nominees on the ticket will probably be named later.

Wrather on the Job

Comrade John L. Wrather, of Mayfield, Ky. has sent in for a big batch of books and sub cards to the American Appeal, and has started out to cover all County Seat towns in Western Kentucky. Wrather likes to attend places on Court Day.

Iowa

Comrade Friedrich H. Reckler, of near Newton, farmer, writes for a batch of literature and asks for a speaker. He also asks for a bunch of application blanks, that he might secure some new members to the Socialist Party. He will assist in selecting a State ticket in that State before the election.

New England District

Comrade Frank Grossman, one of our active party members in Boston, has been elected president of Local 157 of the Carpenters' Union.

The Meyer London memorial meeting at Faneuil Hall proved a big success. In addition to Judge Paiken, the principal speaker, there were representatives from the Fur Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the Workmen's Circle, as well as the Socialist Party.

The branches in Rockland, Whitman and Braintree-Weymouth have had meetings and elected delegates to the State convention on July 18, and the members of Local Attleboro promised to do the same thing.

Comrade Lewis reports that he met with a favorable reception from the Fellowship of Youth for Peace at their conference in Concord. He spoke on the subject of "Capitalism as the Cause of War."

Boston is on the job. They have ordered "Don't of the Burger speech, The Old Social Question—Still New."

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvanians desiring to learn more about the Socialist Party can do so by writing Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, 415 Swede St., Norristown, Pa. News rooms concerning labor and Radical groups should be sent to the same address for publication in the American Appeal.

State Office Notes

Comrade S. A. Nelson, of Gallitzin, one of our comrades, has been unusually active during the past few weeks, and has sent in two applications for membership. One of these was that of Powers Hapgood, who is now working as a miner in central Pennsylvania. Local Allegheny and its constituent branches are doing everything possible to boost the sustaining fund of the State Office. The Local has also contributed \$50.00 and promised as much more.

The Debs, Jewish and Headlock branches have also sent in contributions and promised to continue them every month during the rest of this year. This is the kind of work that will make possible the putting of a real campaign in Pennsylvania this year, and comrades in all parts of the state are urged to do their part. Contributions of from \$1.00 to \$5.00 per month from each branch or from individual members who are in a position to contribute personally will give the State Office sufficient funds to do the necessary organizing and campaign work. Let us hear from all of you in the near future.

Allegheny County

Allegheny County orders 1,000 of Berger's speech, "The Old Social Question—Still New."

Oklahoma

Oklahoma is going to have a Socialist ticket this year and expects a big vote.

New York

The 1932 State Convention of the Socialist Party will be held in Finnish Hall, 255 8th Avenue, near 127th Street, New York City, on Saturday, July 2, at 1 o'clock, and remain in session for two days, or longer.

Delegates to the Convention are receiving special notification, but alternates are requested to keep in touch with the delegates of their Local or with local secretaries, so as to be prepared to attend the Convention in event the delegate is unable to go. Delegates have been requested to notify alternates or local secretaries immediately if they find they are unable to attend the convention.

The comrades' attention is especially called to the Convention banquet, which will be held in Finnish Hall, Saturday evening, July 3, at 7:30. Advance reservations for this banquet should be made by communicating with August Claassen, Room 401, 7 East 15th St., New York City, \$2.00 per plate.

Comrade Herbert M. Merrill urges the comrades up state to take advantage of the fact that July 5 is a holiday, which will give them an opportunity to see the big city, and also meet well-known Socialists, with whom they would be glad, no doubt, to come in contact.

Only two hotels are considered fair to organized labor. They are the Aberdeen and Cadillac. The Aberdeen Hotel is situated at 17 West 32nd St. between 5th Avenue and Broadway, while the Cadillac is on Broadway at 43rd Street, adjacent to Times Square. Rates are moderate and both are near express subway stations on the 7th Avenue line, from which an uptown Bronx Park & East 180th Street train can be taken, to reach Finnish Hall, passengers alighting at 125th Street and walking east to 5th Avenue, thence north to the hall.

Indiana

Indiana Socialists are trying to get Party activity by rushing in subs to the American Appeal, and they will succeed. Many farmers are signing up.

Oakland City

Plans are under way to organize a chapter of the I. I. D. in Oakland City County.

Illinois

Illinois Socialists are planning some big work. State Secretary Snow is in Chicago assisting the Cook County Socialists to get a County ticket elected at a convention which will be held on July 11, at Douglas Park Auditorium, Keddle and Ogden Sts., Chicago.

Mid-West Student Conference

The following letter was received from the chairman of the Mid-West Student Conference, which was held in Kansas City on June 12-14-15:

My dear Mr. Henry: We wish to thank the Socialist party heartily for the literature which it sent to the conference, and for suggesting Comrade Pifer, who addressed us, as you will note from the enclosed program.

Most of us, as you will remember, belong to the I. I. D. and want to do everything in our power to further the understanding of the Socialist movement by the college students especially. I am president of the Sociology Club of Kansas University and in charge of speakers for the Y. M. C. A. If you have a national organizer in this vicinity anytime during the coming school term, will you please let me know, so that I can have him speak to some of the groups here? Mr. Blanchard, L. I. D. field secretary, will not be through here next year and I want to keep the ball rolling.

If you could send us a copy of the American Appeal which contains the Conference story, we would like to have it for our publicity file.

Sincerely yours, CLARENCE O. SENIOR, 904 Louisiana Ave., Lawrence, Kansas.

British Miners' Relief

Contributions to the British Miners are appreciated by them. The following letter has just been received:

"I should like again to express my appreciation to the Socialist party of the United States for the long way in which they have expressed their support for the British miners." (Signed) ARTHUR HENDERSON

Henry Ford's whip is an endless chain which speeds the workers by bringing them work as fast as they can do it. By driving like the devil he gets his billions.

AGENTS WANTED

Men and women to sell for James M. Green's family medical work. A few can in the home. A booklet sent free. Big commission. Agents wanted daily who never sell a book in their lives and who in ten years have sold 100,000 copies. Address: E. C. Vaughan, General Agent, 1114 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

Volks-Stimme

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

THE NEW LEADER

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY. 10 Pages Each Week. Indispensable to anyone who desires to be well posted on the program of the United States Socialist and Labor Movement here and abroad.

THE NEW LEADER

1 Good 15th Street, New York City

The Carolina Independent

Protagonist of Progress. Champion of Labor. Enemy of Reaction. A new voice from the most progressive states of the new south—North Carolina.

The Carolina Independent

Raleigh, N. C.

Two Books That You Want at a Bargain Price

THE AMERICAN EMPIRE: By Axel Hanning (cloth) Regular Price \$1.50 THE WORKERS IN AMERICAN HISTORY: By James O'Hara (cloth) Regular Price \$1.00

RAND BOOK STORE

7 East 15th Street, New York City

Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund

of the United States of America. Organized 1884. Main Office: 8 Seventh St., Cor. Third Ave., New York.

A Socialist Roll Call of All the Nations

Argentina
In the elections in 1924 the Socialist party received one-sixth of the total vote. It elected 13 members to the House, which has 153 members, and 2 to the Senate, which has 24 members. The principal trade union federation is affiliated with the Socialist International Federation of Trade Unions. Several of the large cities have Socialist administrations. The Socialist vote in Buenos Aires, the largest city in South America, is out of 170,000.

Australia
Australia bids fair to soon become a Socialist continent. Five of the provincial governments have Socialist administrations. The Labor Party, however, lost the federal election in 1925 through the operation of the new compulsory voting law which brought hundreds of thousands of politically ignorant voters to the polls who rarely vote. The largest vote, however, in the history of the continent was cast over a million for Socialism in a continent which has but little more than 6,000,000 inhabitants.

The following shows the make-up of the Australian governments at present:

State	Members	Anti-Socialist	Labor
Queensland	45	27	18
South Wales	47	42	5
Victoria	36	36	0
South Australia	26	24	2
Western Australia	18	12	6
Federal Parliament	29	47	12

The Labor Party started out years ago as a non-Socialist trade union political party. Its struggles against capitalism literally forced it to take the Socialist position. It now openly proclaims Socialism as its goal and it backs a complete program of socialization.

Austria
With a total population of 8,121,000, Austria has 2,000,000 wage workers, of these 1,200,000 work in industry and commerce. OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS, 1,117,192 ARE ORGANIZED. THIS IS 87.7 PER CENT ORGANIZATION. THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA HAS 600,000 DUES-PAYING MEMBERS. VIENNA ALONE HAS 100,000 OR ONE FOR EVERY FOUR ADULT IN THE CITY. The Labor and two-thirds of the city council are Socialists.

In 1923 the Social Democratic Party polled 1,311,370 votes or 49 percent of the total vote, and elected 85 members of National Council, out of 165 members. This was an increase of 150,000 votes. Four per cent of these Socialist voters are dues-paying party members and 41 per cent of the membership of the trade unions are dues-paying party members.

Belgium
In no country in the world do the great forces of Socialism work with more perfect balance and harmony than in Belgium, the most highly settled and one of the most highly industrialized countries in the world. The Trade Union organizations have a membership of 714,305 out of an industrial population of 2,650,000 workers. The cooperatives, the Belgium Labor Party, embrace practically this same membership. The Socialist Party has a dues-paying membership of more than 500,000. Fully 600,000 or 700,000 workers of the various consumer co-operatives, producers' co-operatives and cultural and amusement co-operatives of the workers that cover Belgium.

In the general elections, April 5, 1925, 2,206,559 votes were cast for Socialism, an increase of 143,000 votes over the previous election. Forty per cent of the Belgian vote now is Socialist representation in the upper house was increased from 22 to 25; the lower house from 68 to 79. THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN BELGIUM WAS CHANGED FROM THE SECOND LARGEST PARTY TO THE LARGEST PARTY. The present Belgian government is composed of four Catholics, four Catholics and one Liberal.

Brazil
Brazil, South America, an immense, backward, agricultural country, has the beginning of a Labor and Socialist movement. Several thousand workers have organized in Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo and other large cities. The Socialists held a re-education conference and adopted Socialism in 1925.

Bulgaria
Bulgaria affords a splendid example of the conquering persistence of Socialism in the face of an armed and vicious Fascist dictatorship. Right after the war and Russian revolution the Socialist and communist movements developed at a rate in Bulgaria which thoroughly alarmed the ruling class. In the parliamentary election of 1923 50 Socialists and 49 communists were elected. In 1924 after the revolution which established the Socialist dictatorship the Socialists cast 54,500 votes and elected 10 members of the parliament. The Socialist trade unions had a membership of about 40,000 in 1924. These organizations have persisted in the face of one of the bloodiest regimes

of terrorism since the war in which thousands of workers and peasants and their leaders were murdered or executed.

Canada
At the end of 1923 the Canadian Socialist and Labor parties had 85 representatives in the various provincial legislatures and two labor representatives in the federal parliament. In the parliamentary elections of October 29, 1925, Labor made no gains but managed to retain its two members. The activities of the provincial parties have continued with a few increases in representation in legislature. The Socialist party has a representative in the legislature of British Columbia. The various provincial Labor parties and the Canadian Labor Party largely follow the lines of the British Labor party, a Socialist organization.

Chile
The Socialist Labor Party was formed in 1912. It joined the communist international in 1919. The workers elected two representatives to parliament in 1922. They have representatives in various city councils. The labor forces received 70,000 votes for their candidate against 171,259 votes for the opposition candidate in 1925 and elected 6 representatives to parliament, which has a total of 118 members. The labor organizations have a total membership of about 58,000.

China
Although organized from time immemorial in their ancient guilds, the Chinese workers are throwing away their old form of organization and organizing along the lines of modern trade unionism at a rate that is astounding the world. With the rise of the trade unions has come a Socialist movement that has already alarmed the capitalists.

Trade union organization did not make itself felt until after the world war. In 1925 it was estimated that there were 200,000 workers organized along modern lines. In 1925 came the great awakening. The massacre of Chinese workers caused a mass strike which spread through all the cities of China. The Shanghai trades council, said to represent 200,000 organized workers, led this general strike against foreign capitalists in China. It is still in effect and out of it are growing most remarkable developments.

It has brought prominently to the front the Kuomintang, the People's army. This organization has approximately a million members. Its purpose is to put in effect the teachings and principles of Sun Yat Sen, the great Chinese Socialist, who died March 12, 1925. In this organization are many Socialists and communists. It is seeking to establish a democratic and Socialized China by the armed overthrow of the present military dictators of China. To this end it has an army of several hundred thousand which is waging a mighty war.

Colombia
Colombia, South America, has a national trade union organization of labor called the National Socialist and Labor Directory. The Socialist Party has about 120,000 adherents.

Cuba
Cuba has a national labor body with about 200,000 organized workers. On March 29, 1925, the Socialists formed an organization and launched a movement to organize a Labor Party.

Czecho-Slovakia
Shortly after the war the Socialist vote in Czecho-Slovakia was 45 per cent of the total vote. It was more than 2,000,000 out of a total vote of about 6,500,000. In 1923, although the reactionary government tormented the voters and prevented the Socialists from nominating tickets in 6,000 of the 15,000 communes, the Socialists emerged from the election as much the strongest of the parties. The result showed 87 Socialists elected to parliament; 41 German Nationalists; 40 Agrarians; Catholics, 31; National Socialists, 24; Communists, 22; National Democrats, 19; Traders' Party, 6; Progressive Socialists, 3; Magyars, 6. In the 1925 elections the Socialist vote fell off almost one-half. Only 48 Socialists were elected in a parliament of 200 members. The Communist vote almost doubled. Their representation in parliament increased from 22 to 42.

This result was caused by nationalistic divisions and jealousies in the Socialist ranks. There are six Socialist Parties—Czech, German, Hungarian, Polish, Ruthenian and the Socialist Union. The Socialist and Labor International re-established unity between these groups this year. The workers of Czecho-Slovakia, who are nearly all Socialists, will soon establish a socialist republic.

Denmark
Denmark has a Socialist ministry. The Danish farmers have established the greatest co-operative system in the world. There is better understanding and more rapidly growing unity between the workers and farmers in Denmark than in any other country. In 1920 the Socialist vote was 389,653. The Socialists elected 48 members of the lower house. The Social

Democratic Party was then the second party in strength in Denmark. The largest party was the Party of the Left, the party of the wealthier and more conservative farmers. The radical farmers' party then received 149,262 votes and elected 18 members.

In the April, 1924, election the Socialist vote increased to 469,949 and the number of representatives to 55. This made the Social Democratic Party the largest party in Denmark. The conservative farmer representation decreased from 52 to 48. The radical farmer vote increased to 166,176 and the number of representatives to 20. The Socialists and radical farmers had a majority of 1 in parliament and a Socialist ministry was formed. The Socialist vote is now 36.7 per cent of the total vote of the nation. The trade union membership is 238,000. There are 1,504 farmers' and workers' co-operative societies with a membership of 337,000, representing more than half the families of Denmark.

Egypt
Even Egypt, though predominantly Arabic and Mohammedan, and most ancient of countries, has a modern labor and Socialist movement. Trade unions began to develop in 1919. By the end of 1921 there were 21 unions in Cairo and 17 in Alexandria. The General Federation of Labor was launched in 1921 with 60,000 members in 21 unions.

In 1922 the Egyptian Socialist Party made its appearance and urged the proletariat to unite and to organize the trade union forces and the peasants for political action. In 1923 the Egyptian Socialist Party voted to join the Communist International.

Ecuador
Ecuador, South America, has a nationally organized trade union movement, whose Socialistic tendencies have alarmed the government and precipitated a reign of persecution and terrorism.

Estonia
Estonia is one of the countries carried out of Russia intended to compose a sanitary cordon against the advance of Socialism from Russia into Western Europe. In 1923 16 Socialists and 10 communists were elected to parliament, which has 100 members. Later six of the communist representatives joined the Socialists. In the election in May, 1925, the Socialists received 419,000 votes out of a total of 522,000 votes and increased their representation to 25. The Socialist percentage of the total vote was increased from 18.7 per cent to 21.5. The trade union movement dominated by the communists has been practically suppressed. There are 284 co-operative societies with a membership of 7,547.

Finland
Finland is a striking example of the impossibility of drowning the Socialist movement in blood. Finland is the first country in the world that cast an absolute majority of votes for Socialism and elected a clear Socialist parliamentary majority in the lower house. This occurred in 1918. The reactionary upper house prevented any fundamental Socialist legislation. In the next election the Socialists were ousted out of this parliamentary majority by the reactionaries. Then came the communist revolution in Finland which was crushed by Mannerheim, the bloody dictator, with the slaughter of thousands of the most radical of the workers. It is estimated that 20,000 workmen fell in the fight, 10,000 were executed by military courts, 12,000 died in prison, and 50,000 were disfranchised.

From that dark depth the Socialist movement has been steadily rising to its former power every year. By 1922 the workers had so far regained their strength that there were 53 Socialists and 27 communists in the parliament. 80 representatives of the workers out of a total of 200 in parliament. In the 1924 election the Socialists won 60 seats and the communists 18. The Socialist vote was 256,672, or 29 per cent of the total vote cast. The communist vote was 91,661, or 10 per cent of the total vote cast. The trade unions have 48,000 members.

France
The French Socialist Party polled 1,700,000 votes in the May, 1921, elections, electing to the Chamber of Deputies 102 members. On October 31 the party held a banquet to celebrate the attainment of 100,000 dues-paying members, an increase of 50,000 since 1923. In the same election the communists received 931,000 votes and elected 29 members of the chamber of deputies, making the whole working class vote 2,631,000. Following the general election the Socialists made the greatest gains in years in the municipal elections. There are now in France 10,000 town councillors and many large cities and towns have Socialist administrations.

Germany
In spite of the war, the revolutionary period of bloody suppression, the period of occupation and starvation, the bitter and destructive split between the Socialists and communists, Socialism is again making splendid, solid advances toward victory in Germany.

Great Britain
The British Labor Party, an avowedly Socialist organization, became the second party in strength in Great Britain in 1923 and in 1924 Great Britain was ruled by a Labor ministry for the first time in its history. This Labor cabinet was forced to resign by the combined vote of the Conservatives and Liberals after it had held office nine months.

The election that placed it in power and the election following its resignation strikingly illustrates the rapidly growing power of Socialism in Great Britain. The vote of the leading parties in these two elections is shown in the following table:

Party	Vote	Seats
Conservative	5,359,690	254
Labor	4,348,379	191
Laboral	4,251,575	157
Liberal	1,751,767	411
Labor	5,515,849	151
Laboral	2,971,442	41

The Social Democratic Party cast 7,800,000 votes in the general election, December, 1924, and elected 130 members of the Reichstag. This was an increase of 1,800,000 votes and 30 members of the Reichstag over the election in May, seven months earlier. In the same period the communist vote declined from 3,720,000 to 2,700,000 and the number of communist representatives from 62 to 45.

The combined vote of these two parties is about 10,500,000, or about 40 per cent of the total vote of the nation. On March 31, 1925, the United Socialist Democratic Party had a membership of 1,267,983. There were 50 district unions and 10,000 locals. The Young Socialist Workers had 1,600 branches and 105,000 members.

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Greece
There are six Socialist representatives in the Greek parliament. The Party claims a paid-up membership of 3,500. The Appeal has no figures on the vote, as the Socialist members of Parliament became Socialists after they were elected as radicals.

Holland
Holland had a parliamentary election July 1, 1925. The Socialists obtained 76,317 votes, 22.9 per cent of the total, and won 24 seats of the 100 in parliament. In 1922 they cast 567,772 votes, which was 19.4 per cent of the total vote, and elected 29 deputies.

In Amsterdam, world center of the Socialist trade unions, the Socialists control 37 per cent of the votes. In 1924 the Dutch Socialist Party had 30,250 dues-paying members.

Hungary
The Hungarian workers are overwhelmingly Socialist and communist. The Socialist movement survives and is gaining ground in spite of one of the bloodiest Fascist dictatorships in Europe, which was set up following the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet by the Allied armies.

In the last election, in spite of every species of terror and corruption, 25 Socialists were elected to parliament, which has a membership of 245. Suffrage is limited, but despite this and reactionary terrorism the Socialists elected 24 members of the Budapest city council in May, 1925. The membership of the Hungarian Council of Trade Unions and the Social Democratic Party is the same. In 1924 this economic and political organization had 192,705 members.

Iceland
The Socialist movement is gaining ground in Iceland. At the elections of 1919 the Socialist Party obtained 7,000 votes against 15,000 for the progressives and 20,000 for the conservatives.

India
India with its 350,000,000 inhabitants is rapidly developing a large trade union movement which has begun to turn to political action. Socialist groups in India issue several Socialist papers. Leaders of the All-India Trade Union Congress took the first steps early in 1925 toward the formation of an Indian Labor Party. Out of 140 members of the Legislative Assembly, Labor has one.

Ireland
In 1923 14 candidates of the Irish Labor Party, a Socialist organization, were elected to the Dail. In 1925 the Labor Party elected three candidates to the Senate. Three Labor Party members were elected to the legislature of North Ireland. The Labor Party won quite a number of local elections. The membership of the Party is the same as the membership of the Trade Union Congress, which is 250,000.

Italy
The persistence of the Socialist Movement in Italy since 1922 in the face of the violent efforts of armed

and enthroned Fascism to root it out is remarkable.

In the height of its power after the war the Italian Socialist party had 155 members in the Chamber of Deputies, which has 535 members. In 1921 in the midst of Fascist terrorism and violence 122 Socialists and 16 communists were elected to the Chamber of Deputies. After three years of Fascist assassinations, burnings, wreckings, after the plant of the Socialist official organ had been destroyed by fire three times, the Socialists and communists cast 1,300,000 votes out of 6,000,000 in 1924, electing 15 Socialists and 17 communists to the parliament. As late as 1925 the United Socialist Party had 72 provincial branches and a membership of 32,000. Giustizia, the party paper, had a circulation running from 60,000 to 150,000.

Japan
The heaven of Socialism is working powerfully in the growing trade union and organized farmer movements of Japan, but every attempt of these elements to organize a Labor party or Farmer-Labor party since the enfranchisement of about half the workers and peasants last year, has been forcibly blocked by the government. Three or four parties more or less Socialistic have been formed and later dissolved by the government. On March 5, 1926, a conference at Osaka of trade union and peasant leaders planned a new Labor party and will attempt to give it a program moderate enough not to provoke an attack from the government.

Jugo-Slavia
Alarmed by the rapid rise of the Socialist and communist movements after the war, the barbarous and reactionary Yugoslav monarchy set up by the Allies began in 1921 the murderous suppression of these movements. All Socialist organizations and propaganda were declared illegal. By 1922 there were only three Socialist representatives left in the parliament and no communists, although the strongest party had been one of the strongest in the kingdom. In spite of all this persecution and suppression the Socialist Party reported a membership of 6,000 in 1924. In the 1925 election the last Socialist representatives in the parliament were lost as a result of governmental violence that in some instances resulted in the murder of the Socialist speakers.

Latvia
Latvia is another of the Baltic countries set up after the war by the Allies as a wall against Socialism. The wall is becoming socialized. In the parliamentary elections of 1925 the Socialists received 260,000 votes as compared with 242,000 in the election before. Thirty-three members were elected to the parliament as compared with 31 before. The Socialist is now the largest party in Latvia and commands 33 per cent of the votes. The majority of the soldiers are Socialists. Paul Kalnins, a Socialist, is speaker of the house. The party has 85 locals and 4,355 dues-paying members in 1925.

Lithuania
Lithuania is another section of the anti-Socialist wall, or "sausage cordon," as it was called in France. In an election which was held, the Socialists polled 102,000 votes and elected eight members of the parliament. In the municipal council in Kovno they increased their number of seats from one to eight. In Schaule they won 19 out of the 40 seats. On May 10, 1925, in the parliamentary elections the Socialists increased their vote to 170,000 and their representation in parliament to 15 seats. There are 85 members in this body. The party had about 3,500 dues-paying members in 1924.

Mexico
One of the most remarkable developments since the war is the amazing progress of Socialism in Mexico. The Mexican Labor Party by a large majority controls Mexico. Behind the Mexican Labor Party is the Mexican Federation of Labor. It is the same organization through and through functioning sometimes industrially and sometimes politically. It has a membership of 1,500,000. These members with their families constitute about half the population of the republic of Mexico. Half of this great labor body is composed of agricultural workers. The President, Plutarco Calles, is a member of the Socialist Party. The Socialist groups in Mexico are parts of this body and an increasing Socialist purpose permeates the whole mass.

This organization was formed only eight years ago. In 1923 it had 600,000 members. In 1924 it had 800,000. Its membership has nearly doubled since 1924. The only shadow that lies across its path to Socialism is Wall Street backed by American militarism.

New Zealand
The New Zealand house of representatives has 80 members. Its makeup in 1922 was Reform Party, 38; Liberal and Independents, 25; Labor Party, 17. An election was held on November 4, 1925, in which the Labor Party representation was reduced to 13 members by combinations of the other parties. It definitely became a

minority party in 1923 when it amended its platform and announced as its objective the socialization of the means of production and distribution. The membership of the Labor Party in the membership of the trade union movement, which is about 100,000.

Norway
Norway is the one Scandinavian country where the communist split struck deep and gave the Socialist Party a serious setback from which it is now recovering. After the 1922 election the Norwegian house of representatives, which has 150 members, had the following complexion: Conservatives, 57; Liberals, 37; Communists, 29; Agrarians, 17; Socialists, 8; Democrats, 2. After the 1924 elections the representation was as follows: Conservatives, 54; Liberals, 32; Labor Party, 24; Agrarians, 23; Socialists, 8; Communists, 6; Democrats, 2.

The new Labor Party was composed of Socialist elements formerly in the Moscow International who withdrew and took an independent stand. In the municipal elections, December 7, 1925, a decided drift back to the Social Democratic party was disclosed. A total of 287 Social Democrats, 416 Laborites and 109 Communists were elected to local councils. The Socialist Party had 8,900 dues-paying members in 1924.

Palestine
In the middle of June, 1925, it was reported that there were over 15,000 Jewish workers employed in Palestine, not counting civil servants, teachers and writers. The General Federation of Jewish trade unions reported over 10,000 members. At a recent election of the trades councils of the towns, which are the trade union and co-operative centers of the Jewish workers in Palestine, a three-cornered fight developed between the Socialists, conservatives and communists. Two-thirds of the votes were cast for the Socialists, who won a majority of the seats in all the towns. Many producers' and consumers' co-operatives are being built up, with the assistance of the United Hebrew Trades of America.

Poland
Poland, the main link in the "cordon sanitaire," erected by the Allies against Socialism, is proving to be a weak link. In the 1922 elections the Polish Socialist Party cast approximately 1,000,000 votes and elected 41 members of the house of representatives out of 444 members and 7 members in the upper house. The National Labor Party, which collaborates closely with the Socialists, elected 18 members of the lower house. The communists elected 2 members.

In the municipal elections in 1925 the Socialists made extraordinary gains. The Polish Socialist Party reported 29,600 members in 1924. In addition there are in Poland the German Social Democratic Party and the Independent Socialist Party, both affiliated with the Socialist and Labor International.

Porto Rico
Porto Rico, island taken from Spain by the United States in the Spanish American war, is one spot under the American flag where the workers are Socialists. In 1920 the Socialist Party of Porto Rico had 4,000 dues-paying members, obtained 6,000 votes and elected one member of the senate and two representatives. In 1924 the Socialists carried the election, but were counted out, according to all the trade union and Socialist leaders on the island. In this election the Socialists carried 35 municipalities against 25 for their opponents.

Portugal
Portugal has a Socialist Party with a dues-paying membership of 2,500 affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International.

Queensland
Queensland, one of the six Australian provinces, deserves special mention. It has had a labor government continuously for 11 years. It is the oldest of the labor republics soon to cover the whole earth. It represents the evolutionary methods of the Socialists toward Socialism rather than the revolutionary methods of the communists.

These methods have proved highly successful. Real socialization has been achieved. Banks, an insurance system, mines, mills, marketing facilities, butcher shops, oil wells and other industries have gradually been taken over by the people. The result of this system is that the workers of Queensland are better fed, have better housed, better clothed, and protection than in any other part of Australia, while the cost of living is lower, wages higher, unemployment less and hours of work less, says W. Francis Ahern, Australian correspondent for American Labor and Socialist papers.

This system, after 11 years' trial, has just had splendid endorsement. The Labor government on May 8, 1925, was returned to power with an increased majority. The Labor members of the legislature have been increased from 43 to 46, while the Conservative members have been reduced from 29 to 27. A significant phase of the election is that the farmers voted

the Labor ticket in greater numbers than ever before.

Russia
After Quensland, Russia is the oldest Labor Republic. Russia represents the most tremendous and significant socialization effort in the history of the world to date.

Transportation, intercommunication, the basic financial institutions of the country, the big industries, foreign trade, a great part of home trade, are owned and operated by the state. A large part of home trade and some part of the great system of production is carried on by the greatest co-operative system in the world. The state-owned industries produced a net revenue of one billion dollars for the government last year. Production increased 46 per cent in the state industries. Foreign trade increased 48 per cent, according to the Russian Information Bureau, Washington, D. C.

Successful socialization as it is attempted in Russia would break down the whole capitalist system of the world.

Roumania
Roumania had an organized labor movement in 1920 with 200,000 members and a Socialist movement which had elected 19 representatives to the parliament. A wave of Fascism has since deluged the country in terror and blood, and wiped out all Labor and Socialist participation in the government. By 1921 the trade union membership had been reduced to 26,000; the Socialist representation had been reduced to one by 1924. But in spite of murderous persecution the party membership was still as high as 12,000 that year. In May, 1926, utterly farcical elections were held under military terrorism in which the workers were deprived of all representation in the government.

South Africa
The South African Labor Party, which adopted the aims and purposes of Socialism in 1923, elected 12 representatives to the parliament of 130 members. Two Laborites were elected to the upper house. In 1924 21 representatives of the Labor Party were elected to the lower house.

Spain
Three Socialists were elected to the Spanish lower house in 1920. In 1924 the party cast 50,000 votes and elected 7 members to the lower house. The Socialist Party reported a paid up membership that year of 8,094. In 1925 the Spanish Fascist dictatorship was established under which the Socialists face a cruel and paralyzing terrorism.

Sweden
In 1923 there were 50 Socialists in the Swedish upper house, which has 150 members, and 92 Socialists and 12 Left Socialists in the lower house, which has a membership of 230. A cabinet entirely controlled by the Socialists was organized—the first entirely Socialist ministry in north-western Europe. It was overthrown by a combination of Conservatives and Liberals in the parliament in a few months.

In 1924 the Social Democratic Labor Party cast 725,841 votes in the parliamentary elections, increasing its vote 48.5% and increasing the Socialist seats in the lower house to 104 and in the upper house to 52. The communists elected 6 members of the lower house, bringing the workers within 6 seats of a majority. Again a purely Socialist cabinet was formed. This cabinet was finally overthrown by the opposition majority in June, 1926, because it insisted that workers thrown out of work by strikes were entitled to the government doles.

The Social Democratic Labor Party reported a dues-paying membership of 138,450 in 1924 and a membership of 17,000 in the Socialist Youth movement.

Switzerland
In 1922 43 Socialists were elected to the lower house of 198 members. In 1925 Socialist membership in the lower house was increased to 49. The Party also scored considerable gains in the large cities. The Socialist Party reported a membership of 22,000 in 1924.

Turkey
Turkey has a trade union movement and a Socialist Party affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International with headquarters in Constantinople.

Uruguay
Uruguay, South America, has a Socialist Party with several representatives in parliament.

England has nothing on us. We may boast that the sun never sets on the American loam.

The president objects to so few voting on the ground that it makes minority presidents. He is one himself.

Oh, very well; since New York doesn't want anything done for the American farmer, the administration will do nothing for him.

Religion is a mighty good thing. If it is religion. But if it is merely exploitation masquerading as religion it is despicable.

The Forces and Instruments of the Socialist Movement

Socialism and Labor Movement

The Socialist movement is far more than a political movement. IT IS THE ENTIRE MOVEMENT OF THE WORKERS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TOWARD INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

these, 16,302,692 belonged to the International Federation of trade unions, a Socialist organization; 5,245,889 belonged to the Red International; 13,138,456 had not yet joined an international organization.

In most countries trade union organization preceded Socialist political organization. In a few countries Socialists organized the trade union movement.

Socialism and Farmer Movement

Socialism is basically a labor movement committed fundamentally to the proposition of freeing all labor from exploitation.

For this reason more than for any other the farmer belongs in the Socialist movement.

Statistics issued by the agricultural department in 1920 show that 85 per cent of the average farmer's income is from his own labor and the labor of his family, while 15 per cent of his income is from the labor of others.

In other words, his labor interests are worth more than five times as much to him as his own interests. He is 85 per cent a worker and 15 per cent an employer.

As a worker and producer he is robbed to such a scandalous extent by the railroads, middlemen and market monopolists and speculators that his income in 1925, according to recent figures of the Department of Agriculture, amounted to an average of only \$730 a year, making him the lowest paid worker in the United States, in

spite of his farm and equipment. Socialism would remove every agency and interest now robbing the farmer. It would make the farmer a part of a democratic, co-operative system in which he would get transportation and marketing service at cost, and would get for his products their full labor value.

IT WILL TAKE MORE THAN CO-OPERATIVES FUNCTIONING IN THE MIST OF INTRENCHED CAPITALISM AND MONOPOLY TO SAVE THE FARMERS: IT WILL TAKE A CO-OPERATIVE SYSTEM THAT HAS SUPPLANTED AND REPLACED CAPITALISM TO SAVE HIM.

It is significant that the farmers are coming to the Socialist movement and to Socialism through the co-operative route. Co-operatives are all that are left to save the farmers. The farmers all over the world are turning to these. Where they have built up an extensive co-operative system, as in Denmark, they are getting nearer the Socialist and Labor movement every year.

The Danish Socialist Party had a dues paying membership of 146,496 in 1925. It had 999 locals. NINE HUNDRED OF THESE WERE IN THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS. THERE ARE ONLY 1,300 COUNTRY DISTRICTS IN DENMARK. THE FARMERS OF THREE-FOURTHS OF THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS IN DENMARK HAVE BEGUN TO JOIN THE SOCIALIST PARTY. THEY ARE DOING SO UNDOUBTEDLY BECAUSE THEIR EXTENSIVE CO-OPERATIVE ENTERPRISES HAVE TAUGHT THEM THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH, OR SOCIALISM, IS THE DESIRABLE GOAL OF HUMANITY.

Here is another significant development: In Queensland, Australia, they have had a Labor government for 11 years. This Labor government has tried to help farmers by aiding and supporting co-operatives and establishing publicly owned marketing facilities for the use of the farmers. The farmers have been coming increasing-

ly to them in recent elections. There has just been an election in Queensland that ended in the return of the Labor government by increased majorities. The new votes came from the farmers. THEY ARE SLOWLY LEARNING IN QUEENSLAND THAT A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT IS THEIR GOVERNMENT.

Socialism and The Cooperative

The co-operative movement is closely associated with the Socialist and organized labor activities throughout the world. Increasingly the co-operative movement is becoming a workers' and a farmers' movement. Increasingly it is becoming an integral part of the Socialist movement.

IT IS AN IMPORTANT ECONOMIC PHASE OF THE DEVELOPMENT TOWARD SOCIALISM.

The real co-operative goal and the Socialist goal are the same thing—the Co-operative Commonwealth—a thoroughly co-operative and democratic society of workers and producers who produce for use and not for profit.

Co-operatives here and now may or may not have significance in the development toward such a social order. There is every shade of co-operation from the enterprise that differs little from the corporation to the real co-operative which operates democratically and yields service and products at cost.

The real co-operative has very great significance if it is a farmers' or workers' co-operative employed by these producers in connection with movements and struggles of their class, and if it is backed by the conscious purpose and effort to build the new co-operative system.

But co-operatives must be more deeply grounded in the Socialist movement even than this in order to have an assured place in the building of the new social order. If they are not backed by political power of Social-

ism and the economic power of Labor, they may at any time be wiped out by the powers of capitalism.

Mussolini has already destroyed the splendid co-operatives built up by the Italian workers. Zankov, Fascist dictator of Bulgaria, has wiped out the workers' and many of the peasants' co-operatives there.

The growing realization of these facts is developing more and more each year a co-operative movement vitally connected with the trade union and Socialist movement, where here and now workers are trained in the new way to build the new society. The co-operative membership throughout the world in 1925 was reported as 50,000,000.

Socialism and Public Ownership

Socialism and public ownership have been mentioned so many times in connection with each other that many people conceive of Socialism as merely an extension of the public ownership we see all around us in the world today.

Socialism is far more than that, because Socialism would fail of its purpose were it to become merely an extension of the bureaucratic public ownership we see in the world today. Socialism would be more like co-operation universalized than public ownership extended.

Nevertheless, the extension of public or government ownership is a very essential and important part of the process of socialization, because it constitutes the most immediate and effective method of changing the ownership of existing enterprises and utilities.

The use of the powers of present governments to acquire possession of great properties, industries, utilities and institutions is the greatest weapon that exists within the reach of the people for changing the present system.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IS MAINLY VALUABLE FOR REMOVING ALL IMPROPER AND WRONG PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

After public ownership has performed this function the utilities and industries taken over can be reorganized on a truly co-operative and democratic scale under the government and regime of the workers.

One should not expect too much of public ownership under the present political and economic system. It would be foolish to expect the men who oppose and fear public ownership to make a conspicuous success of it, when by doing so they would uproot themselves from their present position of profit and advantage. It would be futile to expect an exemplary development of public ownership under the partisan, corrupt, and bureaucratic political system of today.

Notwithstanding these limitations of public ownership under the existing system, the Socialists all over the world are using public ownership as their most important instrument for changing the system and are pushing their way into political power as fast as possible so that this instrument will be used to the best advantage to bring real industrial democracy.

Socialism and Political Action

We cannot travel the road to Socialism solely by way of the labor organization.

We cannot build straight out of the present system into the co-operative system solely through the co-operative movement.

The one big and sufficient reason why we cannot in either of these cases is because THE PRESENT OWNING

CLASS IN CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY WOULD PREVENT US FROM DOING SO BY THE EXERCISE OF ITS POLITICAL POWER.

This political power in the last analysis means military power.

Scores of cases have developed since the world war to prove that several countries are strewn with the wrecks of smashed co-operatives and demolished revolutionary unions where attempts have been made by the workers to change the system without the use and protection of political power.

The whole present system of public ownership and class rule is built up and preserved and enforced by the use of political power.

The workers must develop political power in order to make permanent changes in the existing system.

The slow development of political power within the present state possesses strategic advantages that the workers cannot obtain in any other way. It enables the workers finally to use the barricades and defenses of the enemy to protect themselves to utilize the enemies' system of "democracy" law and order. Thus the workers place themselves in a position where the ruling class cannot destroy them without destroying their own foundations of security. Italian Fascism had to come outside of the government and become a mob to attack the political movement of the workers in Italy. It tried to repeat this performance in France, but political Socialism—social democracy—had dug too deeply into the French system. It has dug too deeply into the Czechoslovakian system and into the German system and into the Belgian and Austrian system to be bombed out by Italian Fascism.

The greatest defense of the workers on their march to Socialism is the spirit of democracy and orderly progress and the methods of democratic and orderly progress which they build into the present system as they slowly gain political power, locally, nationally, internationally.

Two Bankers Serve Ultimatum on a So-Called Great Nation

By Lincoln Phifer

The most amazing fact in history, as I see it, is that after more than twelve years the people have not yet awakened to the fact that the great war was due to a BANK CONSPIRACY to put plutocracy in control of the world. Even many Socialists remain in darkness to the fact that industry is now fully controlled by the banks, and that national life the world around is practically destroyed.

The last ten years since the war have been devoted to fastening the rule upon the world, and this has been adroitly done, by virtue of giving the old ruling class, the capitalists, unusual profits, in order to insure the undermining of the nations, or political rule, and the newspapers great prosperity for their propaganda against Socialism as calculated to overthrow the very rule they (the plutocrats) have been destroying.

Under cover of silence afforded by the great British strike, important international negotiations closely affecting America have been going on for stabilizing the French finances, with the result a FINANCIAL ULTIMATUM has been issued to France by the BRITISH AND AMERICAN FINANCIERS. If it is accepted, France may be saved from national bankruptcy and the franc stabilized.

The negotiations were carried on in a room at the Ritz hotel, London. The participants were Benjamin Strong, governor of the Federal Reserve Bank; Montagu Norman, governor of the Bank of England, and Jean Parmentier, French financial expert and former controller of funds in the department of the French ministry of

finance, and, although now not occupying an official position, a man who is entrusted with most confidential financial missions for the French government.

On the second day of the strike, Mr. Parmentier flew to London to meet Mr. Strong, expecting to be able to deal with him alone, with the assistance of Aime Joseph De Fleuriau, French ambassador to London. Mr. Strong insisted Mr. Norman be called in on the ground whatever plan was worked out MUST INVOLVE CLOSE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN BRITISH AND AMERICAN FINANCE.

Here you have negotiations concerning the fate of France, participated in, not by representatives of any government, but by FINANCIERS of England, America and France. These financiers meet in secret. It may have been disclosure of the facts concerning their ULTIMATUM to France which led to the apparent collapse of the general strike in England; for financiers must be pretty sure of themselves when their representatives from England and America will meet and issue an ULTIMATUM to France as the price of stabilizing her money. Let us see some of the demands made by two financiers to the nation of France as an ULTIMATUM:

The French parliament MUST pass legislation taking away control of finances from political influences on lines discussed in Washington when Seymour Parker Gilbert, agent general for German reparations, and Mr. Norman took part in the discussions. The first step in this direction is that French finances be governed by a law giving great power to an expert finance committee free from all political influences. The Bank of France MUST be made independent of the ministry of finance and must become an

independent institution with a governing entirely free from influence of the ministry. The statutes of the Bank of France MUST be altered to permit the free use of the gold reserve, at present the second largest in the world, and which has lain locked up in the bank for four years, unemployed.

It is getting pretty bold for two men to issue an ULTIMATUM to a nation like France, and tell her what the government MUST do. But France will do it. Germany before her was beaten to her knees by the depression of her money, and doubtless she too was told by Dawes and others what she MUST do; for she did it.

The fact that English and American bankers dare unite for such demands indicates that they consider those two countries helpless in their hands. As a matter of fact they are. At the very time when this conference of bankers was held in London, England was faced with a general strike and doubtless Stanley Baldwin was told what he MUST do, and the strikers themselves understood for the first time what they were up against, for they yielded. In the United States there has not been a move on the part of either the legislative, executive or judicial departments of government for the last five years that has not been dictated by the bankers. The farmers were denied aid except to borrow from the banks. The nation unloaded "the debts owed by Europe on the American people to make these nations safe for other bank loans.

Equally amazing is the fact that the political governments of the earth have been OVERTHROWN, and the rule of committees and chambers of commerce substituted therefor, and the further fact that the people have not yet caught on to the greatest REVOLUTION ever brought about in history, is that the newspapers, now

Farmer-Labor Man in North Carolina Gets 65,000 Votes

(The following news was sent to the Appeal by the editor of the Durham, North Carolina, Progress, a Farmer-Labor publication.)

Durham, N. C.—The sleeping giant of organized labor in North Carolina bestirred itself from its slumbers at the primary last Saturday and aimed a blow at Senator Lee Slater Overman that drove terror into the hearts of machine Democrats. Workers, farmers and progressive citizens generally piled up nearly 65,000 votes for Attorney Robert R. Reynolds of Asheville against Overman's 99,000 for the Democratic nomination. A transfer of 17,000 votes from one column to the other would have nominated "Bob" Reynolds and sent Overman home from Washington.

Third Party Planned in Solid South as Result of Vote in Primaries

The farmer-labor combination polled such a heavy vote under such tremendous odds as to spell certain victory in the near future. The Carolina Independent of Raleigh, aided by Durham County Progress of Durham led the fight for the Asheville man.

The grip of the Simmons machine is almost broken. The power of the farmer-labor group will steadily gain with this first and surprisingly encouraging demonstration of strength. Talk of a third party in North Carolina that will crush the reign of the bosses of both old parties is now widespread. The wage workers, co-operating with the farmers, feel that the time has come for effective independent political action. They have so far voted WITHIN the old parties. They are now planning to vote OUTSIDE of both.

In Durham county, organized labor, the farmers and others believing in

Scandalous Robbery of People Revealed in 1925 Oil Profits

Overwhelming justification for the claim of oil workers to a larger share in the proceeds of their work is found in the annual reports of leading oil companies for 1925. Common stockholders in 12 of these concerns got away with a combined net profit of \$48,624,192 for the year.

Standard Oil of N. J., the original trust, leads with a 1925 profit of \$111,231,355. This is a gain of \$20,000,000 over 1924 and is about twice the 1923 profit. After deducting preferred dividends \$87,233,252 remains for the common stock, a return of eighteen and nine-tenths per cent. But if we take into account the four hundred per cent stock dividend of 1922, the 1925 profit means ninety-five per cent on the stock originally purchased by the owners.

Standard Oil of Indiana follows with a 1925 profit of \$52,932,648, compared with \$40,788,868 in 1924. The 1925 profit means a return of twenty-three and four tenths per cent to the owners of common stock. But owners who have held their stock continuously since 1912 have received stock dividends of two thousand nine hundred per cent, one hundred and fifty per cent and one hundred per cent, giving them 150 shares for each share originally purchased. So a return of twenty-three and four tenths per cent in 1925 really means something like three thousand five hundred per cent on money invested prior to 1912. If we ignore the 2,900 per cent stock dividend declared just after the dissolution of the trust, the year's return remains one hundred and seventeen per cent.

Standard Oil of Indiana is now paying dividends at the rate of fifty per cent a year on the par value of the stock prior to the two postwar stock dividends. On this basis the dividends paid since 1912 total four hundred and twenty-two per cent. When reckoned on the par value of the stock prior to the two thousand nine hundred per cent stock dividend of 1912 current dividends mean a return of one thousand five hundred per cent a year on each share of stock held prior to 1912, while cash disbursements since 1912 mean a total return of twelve

thousand six hundred and sixty per cent.

The 1925 profits of the 12 concerns, with the rates of return on the actual investment of the owners in common stock, were:

Table with 3 columns: Oil Profits 1925, Amount, Percent. Rows include Standard of N. J., Standard of Ind., Standard of Calif., Standard of N. Y., Vacuum Oil, Humble Oil, Texas Co., Gulf Oil Corp., Pan-Am. P. & T., Maryland Oil, Associated Oil, Standard of Ky.

Standard of N. J., \$111,231,355, 95%
Standard of Ind., \$52,932,648, 35.00%
Standard of Calif., \$43,625,295, 54%
Standard of N. Y., \$41,580,286, 217%
Vacuum Oil, \$24,500,091, 39%
Humble Oil, \$22,823,789, 81%
Texas Co., \$20,605,078, 28%
Gulf Oil Corp., \$19,000,761, 96%
Pan-Am. P. & T., \$17,335,594, 20%
Maryland Oil, \$14,789,069, 29%
Associated Oil, \$14,645,249, 19%
Standard of Ky., \$7,188,490, 143%

Company Unions to Be Tested by New Labor Law

Watson-Parker Law to Be Invoked to Smash Bogus Labor Organizations

(The following article by Esther Lowell, in the opinion of the Appeal, foreshadows an important development. Corporations have been attempting to build up company unions (company-owned unions) throughout the United States for a number of years. It is their present dangerous form of attack against all independent labor organization. The Watson-Parker measure recently passed and signed by the President, attempts to set up machinery by which organized employees and employers can settle disputes between themselves, without recourse to the strike. How far will it permit them to exist? The case cited by Esther Lowell is perhaps one of the first and most important that will decide this important question.)

By Esther Lowell

Boston—(FP)—Company unionism in the Boston & Maine railroad shops will be challenged again as soon as Pres. Coolidge appoints the human factors in the new machinery for taking up rail labor disputes. Behind five discharged workers, fighting to regain their places in the Billerica shops, practically the whole shop force of the B. & M. system is watchfully waiting. A large number are secretly joining American Federation of Labor railroad shopcraft unions or the industrial American Federation of Railroad Workers, a national independent organization.

Company unionism and the piece-work system have been grievances of Boston & Maine shop workers for a long time. The company union failed to take up their complaints. The agents of the Mechanical Employes Association as the company union is called, are paid \$33 by the railroad to \$16 by the company union. But

the agents didn't show even that proportion of attention to the workers. Men who couldn't keep up with the production standards set under piece-work were dropped. Finally, the five officers of the independent unions loyally were discharged in March.

The workers appealed to the U. S. labor department. Boston & Maine general manager B. R. Parker refused to allow the commission to attend the company union board of the discharged workers' case. The fired men then withdrew but later succeeded in having the labor commissioners attend a hearing with the manager. Decisions went against the men and they are still fighting for reinstatement. Their next move is to try out the new machinery created by the Watson-Parker act.

T. H. Cond, a second vice-president American Federation of Railroad Workers, has been assisting the discharged shop workers. For over 29 years he was employed in B. & M. shops and for 13 years served as general chairman of the system organization. He says there are about 1000 shop workers employed at Billerica, the main shop of the B. & M. Normally there are 1,400 at the shop.

"There are more stool-pigeons than workers," one of the discharged workers said when I asked whether the B. & M. had an industrial espionage system. Any worker discovered belonging to any union is fired.

Chattel Slavery Covers 19 Areas of the World

Washington.—(BLES)—That slavery still exists in many parts of the world, and that the United States government itself is not free from the taint of forced labor, was pointed out last week by the Federal Council of Churches in a letter to the state department, urging American participation in the international conference on slavery and forced labor to be held in September.

Direct slavery exists today in 19 distinct areas of the world, particularly in Africa, the council's investigations have revealed, and forced labor is practiced even in the United States territory, forms of peonage exist in certain regions of its insular possessions.

The kings "managed" too; so did slave drivers and pirates.

This administration is sectioned. It has united the Northeast and South to kill the West.

The South was kept on its feet by protected mill owners for 25 years; but now, with the supreme court killing the child labor law, the South again has its slaves and the mill owners are locating factories there to take advantage of it.

A Word to the New Reader

This is a special propaganda number of The American Appeal. The regular issues of this paper carry the most significant and interesting news of each week and accounts of the startling developments in the present changing world, as well as other interesting and educational matter.

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