

Industrial Democracy

American Appeal

No Wrong Can Live Long Under Free Discussion

MURRAY E. KING, Managing Editor; EUGENE V. DEBS, Founder; WILLIAM H. HENRY, Business Manager

Published Weekly by the Socialist Party of America at 2653 Washington Blvd. Phone Seeley 0740; CHICAGO, MAY 7, 1927; Price Five Cents

Fascist Charter, Enslaving Labor, Is Put Into Effect

All Strikes, Boycotts and Independent Action by Workers Prohibited

ROME, Italy.—In the session of the grand council of the Fascist party, which ended last week, Fascism's new labor charter was promulgated. Present at the session, in addition to the customary members of the council, were the heads of the corporations and syndicates affected directly by the new charter.

The charter, in thirty articles, lays down the duties of workers and employers toward each other and the duties of both toward the state. Many of its provisions—such as compulsory vacations on full pay, workmen's insurance and accident insurance already have been completely developed in the United States. The new code provides for a six day week and extra pay for night work. On other points, however, the charter is unique.

State Is Supreme The Fascist principles of iron and conscious discipline for all within the state, and the doctrine that the state is the supreme end of the individual and collective lives of the population, are enunciated in the document. Under the charter the state is made the guardian of labor and property. Capital and labor are to be organized into syndicates and will carry on their dealings with each other through collective contracts. Corporations, which will be the agents of the state, will control the activities of both capital and labor. Special labor courts will settle disputes between them which cannot be solved in any other way. The charter assures judicial equality for both workers and employers.

Non-Fascists Without Power While non-Fascist workers and employers will be permitted to function under the Fascist regime, they will have no power and they will have to comply with the terms of the Fascist syndical contracts applying to their particular fields. The labor charter forbids strikes, lockouts, sabotage and boycotts. When they are actuated by political motives they will be considered as rebellion against the state. Fines are provided for violations of rules. The charter opposes set wages for any certain task, contending that workers with special ability should receive more than those less competent. It insists that wages should be based on living conditions and the conditions of production. Provision is made for state aid to languishing industries.

Dutch Socialists Increase 13 Seats AMSTERDAM.—In the recent provincial elections, the Dutch Socialist party gained 13 seats in provincial assemblies, thus taking the majority away from the old parties. The Communists also made some gains. The main issues of the campaign were taxation and opposition to the treaty with Belgium concerning the navigation of the mouth of the Schelde river.

Coolidge Admits Imperialism While Attempting to Deny It By Art Shields

NEW YORK.—American steel kings and bankers are giving a royal welcome to President Machado of Cuba, the slayer of more than 200 union men in the last two years. Machado—America's tool in the administration of the sugar and iron island—landed in New York as the guest of Coolidge the same day that President Coolidge was selling dinner at the 20th anniversary celebration of the United Press Associations that the United States government had no imperialistic designs on the island and continental countries of the Caribbean.

Dodging the Cuban issue entirely Coolidge sought to paint the foreign policy of the United States a lily white in regard to Nicaragua, Mexico and China. But while the white house spokesman was making his protestation the OIL leaked out of the sack, and the motives for the imperialism he was denying stood revealed. Coolidge admitted that the crux of the difficulty between America and Mexico was the Constitution of 1917 (nationalizing oil and other mineral properties) and he went on to say that though he believed in the principle of arbitration he had grave doubts whether the property issues at stake were arbitrable. Oil again seeped out when Coolidge was discussing Nicaragua. There did not happen to be any oil in that particular land he pointed out, as some critics have been asserting, but he laid down the theory that America had the right to go after oil in other countries. In two sentences he defined America's foreign oil intentions as follows: "Our country consumes vast quantities of oil and gasoline in its use of automobiles, gas engines, and oil-burning furnaces. If these products are to be kept within a reasonable price, which is very important to a great body of our citizens, our people who go abroad to develop new fields and to increase the supply ought to have the encouragement and support of our government."

New Fascist State Is Greatest War Menace in World

The newly completed Italian fascist state, with its group of more or less Fascist states now consisting of Hungary, Bulgaria, Roumania, Spain and Tory England, is the world's greatest single war menace and the greatest single menace to democracy, liberty and the progress of the workers toward a better system.

Italy's peace-time army consists of 220,000 men. The militia which claims 300,000 is a supplementary fighting force, which can be quickly mobilized. It is equipped on a war footing. A French expert, Jean Fabry, believes that Italy could put seventy divisions in the field very rapidly. He considers the Italian army, as it is being reorganized, an extremely efficient force.

The naval budget has about doubled since Mussolini came into power—from \$30,000,000 to \$60,000,000. Terrible Air Menace But the air force is Mussolini's dearest preoccupation. He found Italy with 400 airplanes in her military establishment. She now has 1,200 in permanent service with 1,700 pilots. By 1931 she will have 2,000 with 3,600 pilots. Her seven aeronautical schools are capable of turning out 500 pilots annually. Italy is specializing in hydroplanes in which her airmen are specially expert. The air budget has increased from about \$2,250,000 in 1920-21 to \$4,000,000 in 1923-24 (Mussolini's first year of office), to \$25,250,000 in the current budget.

Nothing is known about Italy's preparations for chemical warfare, but it may be taken for granted that Mussolini is devoting special energy to such a typically modern weapon. It is understood that Italian armament factories are working intensively, and it is known that Italy is buying war materials abroad.

Whole Nation Conscripted Under the new law the whole population, in wartime, will be under the dictatorial orders of the government. "Every one must be a fighter when the country is in danger." Already the Balilla (the fascist Boy Scouts, who include pretty nearly all the lads in Italy between the ages of 8 and 14) are drilled on military lines. One later sees them in any day in Rome, in their little black shirts, marching eyes front, alert for new commands. A fascist newspaper has recently demanded that they be given arms for practice.

Fascist War Maniacs The terrible rapidly building war machine has behind it the world's most marauding war psychology. Mussolini's frank and openly stated philosophy is the philosophy of nationalistic glory via diplomatic skill, dexterity and war. The whole Fascist mind machine is of the same mind and temperament. The Dark Ages has

arisen out of the past and become the Iron Heel of the present. Nothing but the rapid rise of the Labor, Socialist and Peace forces to power throughout the world can head off this monster.

812,000 Fascists Rule 40,000,000

PARIS.—Italy is ruled by 812,000 Fascists. That is the Fascist organization, according to Augusto Turati, secretary-general. Turati claims a total membership of 2,168,323. Of these, however, he lists only 111,996 as real "Fascisti." Then there are 12,5060 university students, 141,410 women and girls, 656,857 boys, and more than a half million public employees, who have to belong to the organization to hold their jobs. The population of Italy is about 40,000,000. At the highest estimate the population represented by the 812,000 Fascists is not over 4,000,000 and all real power is concentrated in an inner circle whose membership is counted, at most, by hundreds.

League of Nations Disarmament Fails

GENEVA, Switzerland, April 26.—The League of Nations' general disarmament scheme went into a temporary eclipse when the preliminary commission decided to adjourn until after the assembly at least. It adopted a report showing the disagreements of the various nations. In the draft of articles, there is hardly an issue free of reservations, and three important phases were passed over entirely to the plenary conference—if it is ever held. The British listed ten reservations, the Americans five, the Germans half a dozen, and the Italians, Japanese and others likewise.

Socialists Make Good Increase in Austrian Election

Win New Seats Despite Union of All Other Parties Against Them The Socialists of Austria made another advance in the elections for Parliament last Sunday. The Austrian Parliament is a body of 165 members and as we go to press returns are known in all but two districts. The Socialists have gained three seats, giving them a total of 70, while all the other parties won 93. The Socialists not only have controlled Vienna for a number of years but they are also the strongest party in the nation. A coalition of bourgeois parties is necessary to maintain any anti-Socialist government in Austria, and the majority is reduced by three.

The total vote cast was 3,607,854—an increase of 10 per cent. The Socialist received 42 per cent of this vote, or 1,515,300—an increase of 10 per cent in the Socialist vote. The Socialists carried the cities by large majorities. The Communist vote declined from 26,000 to 6,000. The trade unions lined up solidly with the Socialists in the campaign and cast their solid vote for Socialism.

McDonald Expounds Labor Party Truth to American Labor

President Green Lauds Work of Socialist Leader at Big Labor Reception Washington, D. C.—"We will ask no quarter and we will give no quarter in our opposition to the present attempt of the Tories to destroy the British trade unions," declared Ramsey MacDonald, Socialist leader and former Labor Party premier in Great Britain, at a dinner given in his honor by the American Federation of Labor on Wednesday evening at the Hamilton Hotel. President William Green presided. About the table were gathered the representatives of every branch of the American labor movement, including the Transportation Brotherhoods. Other guests included Sir Eame Howard, British Ambassador to the United States; Hon. Vincent Massey, the new Canadian minister; Secretary of Labor James J. Davis and former Secretary of Labor Wil-

From The Pen Of Debs (Compiled by Theodore Debs)

"Preparedness" and Poverty

(In this editorial Debs tells exactly what is behind the military preparedness movement of the capitalist class. These words of Debs apply to the present "preparedness" campaign with startling directness and prophetic truth.)

The industrial condition of the toiling masses in this country is set forth clearly and shockingly in the report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations. The facts and figures here presented and supported by incontrovertible proof tell the tragic story of labor-poverty-stricken and wretched condition under the prevailing industrial system. One-third of all the workers in the land are the victims of chronic poverty and one-fifth of the whole number are in a state of continuous unemployment and to protect this beneficent system and to perpetuate this delectable condition, a program of "preparedness" has been formulated by the ruling class which appeals in clarion tones to the patriotic fervor of every poverty-stricken toiler in the land.

The zeal and ardor and burning "patriotism" of the barons of industry, the pirates and the buccaners on the high seas of labor, is of course readily understood, but how any workman or any sympathizer with the working class can fall for this patriotic scheme and to establish a military dictatorship, and thereby buttress the industrial system which robs, pauperizes and brutalizes the great mass of honest toilers, is not easy to account for.

CAPITALIST "preparedness" means the security of this nation's robbers against the same class of robbers of other nations. To the workingclass it means that the class that robs and impoverishes them is in danger and that it is their "patriotic" duty to fight and die like mad heads to perpetuate the plutocratic misrule of their thieves, plundering masters and their own poverty, servility and degradation. Danger to the ruling class is a thing to rejoice over and take advantage of, and not to worry over and prepare against. The ruling class owns the nation, controls the government, and waxes fat on the spoils wrung from the workingclass. Let the ruling class fight their own wars and defend their booty. The workers they have depouled use them no allegiance or protection and the workers themselves have nothing to protect but their poverty and nothing to lose but their chains.

Plutocracy, patriotism, and preparedness, poverty and pauperism are interlinked in the military program of Wall Street, and if the workers are not totally blind they will steer clear of that devil's snare and launch a scheme of preparedness of their own, which will give them the power they will have to fight for their lives, if they are not to be completely crushed beneath the iron hoof of a military autocracy.

NO WORKINGMAN has any business to enlist in a capitalist class war or fight a capitalist class battle. It is our duty to enlist in our own war and fight our own battles. But first of all we shall have to organize, equip, train and drill our army, and his army consists of the industrially plundering, war-breeding, man-killing, heart-breaking, soul-destroying system, AND FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKINGCLASS AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF PEACE OF ALL THE WORLD.

American "Kultur"

"War is a human virtue. Pacifism is the wildest dream of an adolescent imagination. Most wars in all time have saved for humanity much more than they have cost. The last great war really was a benefit to humanity. It really made the world safer for democracy. Right of small nations are respected more than they used to be and woman suffrage was pushed ahead at least 50 years." The above barbarous and blood-thirsty declaration was made by one of the teachers of higher learning and "Kultur" selected for us by our capitalist masters—T. V. Smith, professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago. He states now in the interest of American militarism exactly the same thought in almost identical words the same words that Derhardt, German militarist writer, used in his infamous book before the world war, which our malign and hypocritical historians now call "German frightfulness" and now call "American patriotism."

Governor Fuller Refuses Sacco-Vanzetti Commission

Gun Expert Gives Proof of Vanzetti, Sacco Innocence

By Harvey O'Connor Boston—"I'll wager \$100,000 that the mortal bullet that killed the paymaster in the South Braintree holdup seven years ago was not fired from Sacco's gun."

This is the challenge hurled in an exclusive interview with Federated Press by Wilbur F. Turner, Boston's famous photo expert. Turner, in conjunction with Albert H. Hamilton, a gun expert, studied the markings on the mortal bullet and on Sacco's gun, from which it came in the conclusion of the prosecutor. They were able to prove, by microscopic photographs, that there was no connection between the gun found on Sacco three weeks after the Braintree holdup, and the mortal bullet. "I've offered wagers to my associates repeatedly on the conclusive nature of this evidence, and not a one has ever taken me up on it," Turner declared. His photographs show immensely enlarged photographs on trial bullets fired from Sacco's gun, and compared in minute detail with the mortal bullet. Not the slightest resemblance in distinctive markings to be seen. "My recollection full of cases where Massachusetts judges have bulled through on prejudice and special interest, regardless of the evidence in the case, Sacco and Vanzetti are as innocent as I am." Turner, from a Boston liberal, or a man with a show-string business, but a man of affairs with strong conservative leanings. Turner is the only master photographer in Boston who is called in criminal cases and much of his practice is in the courts.

Berger Predicts Nation-Wide Labor Party Here Soon

Victory in Britain, Declares MacDonald's Daughter at Forward Celebration NEW YORK.—The growth of an American Socialist movement equal to that of Great Britain soon was declared to be inevitable as a result of the growing concentration of wealth into the hands of a small group of American capitalists, by Representative Victor L. Berger, Socialist member of congress, at a meeting held yesterday at the Century theater to commemorate the 20th anniversary of The Jewish Daily Forward.

"Capitalism and capitalist concentration must produce the same results in this country as it has produced in every other country," Mr. Berger said. "Soon we will have two nations in our country, each of them of native growth. One of them will be very smart in numbers, overfed, cowardly and tyrannical. The other, very large in number, very poor and very desperate. Left to proceed unhindered, that situation can produce only one result: a terrific explosion which might retard or even abolish civilization."

"We do not want it, and we need not have it, if both sides wake up, learn from history, and consciously direct the economic forces in accordance with economic evolution and economic necessity." The 30th anniversary of The Forward was celebrated by the entire Jewish labor movement in America. The celebration, however, was not without its disappointments. A. Caban, the founder and editor of The Forward, and also the guest of honor, Ramsey MacDonald, former Labor premier of England, were both ill. Mr. Caban did finally appear and made a short address.

Mr. MacDonald came from England especially to attend The Forward celebration. But in his place Isabel MacDonald, his daughter, delivered a short address. "An independent press is essential. Its creation requires sacrifice on the part of labor, but it must be achieved if civilization is to survive the clash of economic interests between those who control the means of living and those who are dependent on those means." "There is no reason to fear for the future of our party," she said. "We have a great reason for hope in the next election. At present we are concentrating on a campaign of education in the rural sections of England, Scotland and Wales and we consider the people going into the villages to be doing the best work of our party." Three thousand persons attended the celebration.

What Is Socialism?

Socialism is Industrial Democracy. To understand what that means try to think of the meaning of political democracy. Political democracy is the collective ownership of the government by the people. Industrial Democracy or Socialism, likewise, is the collective ownership and operation of the industrial system by the people. Complete democracy in government and industry is the ideal of all real Socialists.

British Workers Open Battle On Anti-Labor Bill

Start Most Intensive Union And Socialist Drive In History of England LONDON.—The British trade unionists fired the first gun today in the campaign against the government's bill to make strikes, illegal. A conference of leaders decided a resolution condemning the bill as the worst piece of anti-labor legislation in the last four generations.

Strenuous efforts by the communist elements to tack an amendment on the resolution calling for a general strike as a weapon to combat the bill were rejected. The organization for a country-wide campaign was perfected. The country was divided up into fifty-six districts, in which "intensive agitation" will be carried out daily at meetings addressed by Socialist speakers. The 60 delegates filed into the labor hall last night declaring "All Together Against the Government" and "Another General Strike Rather than the Stab's Protection Bill."

George Hicks, president of the Trades Union Congress general council, addressing the delegates, said: "The general strike was a nobler, better, bigger and a braver fight than any battle in the great war and redounds more to the honor of the British people than any action in the European war." The task now is to mobilize the people against the bill, but of defeating the Tory government, which is the most class conscious ever known, serving as an instrument for the meanest, most brutal class interests. The bill puts the pocket in dock, immobilizes the seab and makes a saint and martyr of the blackleg." Arthur Henderson, speaking of the political aspects of the bill, declared the first duty of the next Labor government would be to remove it from the statute book. Meanwhile, the Laborites in parliament are planning to use every obstructionist method possible when the bill comes up.

Helen Keller Makes Plea for Debs Radio

By Helen Keller I like the idea of Debs Memorial Radio Station. I trust that the response of his friends will be a generous one. It is essentially a love-offering. It is our opportunity to express in a visible way our appreciation of our beloved comrade, and our wish to see the work of his life perpetuated. Our offerings will be generous in the degree that they represent what we are able to give. Their value will be increased manifold because they are made gladly, and from grateful hearts. The Debs Radio Station will not only carry to a large audience eulogy of a great man who had a prophetic vision of the nobler destiny of mankind; it will also keep alive in our hearts the exalted ideals for which he lived and suffered. Some individuals rise like mountain-peaks from the commonplace level of humanity. They are elevated by the nobility of their souls. Eugene Debs will one day be revealed to the world as one of these alpine peaks of human greatness. Such men seldom come; but when they do appear, a thrill of hope and courage runs through the whole world. The foreign policy of capitalism, ending in war, is that of sending good men after bad money. It is always the rich who talk about the pleasures of poverty and the worries of wealth.

May Appoint State Officials to Pass on Fate of Prisoners

By Harvey O'Connor BOSTON.—Governor Fuller will not appoint a formal commission to review the new evidence in the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

From sources close to the governor at the State House, this announcement was made today, ending apparently all speculation as to the personnel of the board for which labor bodies representing millions of workers, and liberals and lawyers representing the best legal mind of the nation had appealed.

Governor Fuller however has not yet formally ratified the death sentence imposed on Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti by Judge Thayer, whose vicious partiality and prejudice have been repeatedly challenged by members of Harvard and Dartmouth law faculties and other legal authorities. In fact, he may ask Frank A. Brooks, chairman of the state board of appeal and possibly Arthur K. Reading, attorney general, to pass upon the evidence. Brooks is said to be ignorant of the evidence in the case and of the Department of Justice activities with reference to the imprisonment of the two workers and their frame-up in the South Braintree payroll holdup and murder. Labor unions, central bodies and workers' organizations of all kinds must not relax in their splendid efforts to stay the hand of Massachusetts "justice" which for seven years has kept two innocent workers in the shadow of death.

Government Won't Intercede for 60 Doomed Socialists

False "Non-intervention" Excuse Punctured by New York Socialists NEW YORK.—The administration at Washington will not intercede to save the lives of 60 Socialists about to be court-martialed by the monstrous Lithuanian Fascist dictatorship on the ground that the transmission of a resolution of protest would be contrary to the principle that governs international relations.

At a recent convention the Socialist party of New York passed a resolution to transmit its protest to his government. In its convention assembled, received by cable today news that sixty Socialists were arrested in Korno by the Lithuanian Government. They are now before military court-martials, which presages death sentences and executions. We herewith protest emphatically against these wholesale arrests of political opponents. We call upon the State Department of our country to urge upon the representative of the Lithuanian Government in the United States to transmit our protest to his government. No democracy can survive without freedom of political opinion. To this resolution Robert F. Kelly replied for the Secretary of State as follows: "I regret to inform you that the Department is not in a position to accede to your request in this matter, since, under the accepted principles governing international relations, it would involve the interference of the Government of the United States in the administration of the internal affairs of a foreign country, or attempt to suggest to other countries the civil rights which those countries should accord to their own citizens."

In reply to this, Norman Thomas, recent Socialist candidate for governor of New York, wrote: "Our letter made clear the fact that we asked no interference except the transmission of a letter of protest. It is interesting that the State Department, which holds so high a doctrine of national sovereignty, that it cannot accede to this request presents so different a face to the peoples of Nicaragua, Mexico and China. Only this morning dispatches inform us that Rear Admiral Lintimer has occupied another town in Nicaragua in time to prevent an attack by the liberal forces upon it. Is not Nicaragua a foreign country and are we not interfering in its affairs by measures far more drastic than the transmission of a letter of protest? One can understand a doctrine of absolute non-interference or non-intervention in the practice of occasional interference, at least to the extent that we asked in the case of the imprisoned Socialists in Lithuania. What is puzzling to a layman is the strange mixture of the doctrine of non-interference with the practice of intervention in the policy of our government."

NEWS AND VIEWS

The Fascist Versus The Socialist State

The Fascist theory is that the state is supreme and that the individual exists to serve and glorify the state. The Socialist theory is that the individual is supreme and that the state exists to serve the individual. The Fascist theory is that the state is to make his life freer, safer, more secure, prosperous and happy than would be without the state. Although Fascism exacts unlimited service and sacrifice from the individual for the power and glory of the state, it does not exact this equally from all. It preserves the existing system of classes that exists under the capitalist system. It perpetuates the owning class and even together with all the privileges, power and higher standards of living that go to these classes. It continues to employ the class to continue to exercise the power of a master class and to extract private profits from the sweat and blood of labor and to hold a higher and more remunerative position under the state than labor. Although it claims that this master class is to be subjected to the state and is to have its private actions and profits controlled in the interest of the state, WHAT IT REALLY DOES IS TO INSTITUTIONALIZE, SAFEGUARD AND PERPETUATE A PRIVILEGED MASTER CLASS IN INDUSTRY. Conversely, it FIXES THE POSITION OF LABOR AS A PROPERTYLESS UNDERLING CLASS SUBJECT TO DOMINANCE AND EXPLOITATION BY ANOTHER CLASS WITHIN THE STATE. In other words, it institutionalizes wage-slavery. Not only does it force labor to serve the state, but in addition it forces labor to serve the master class and upholds the master class in robbing labor and keeping labor in eternal servitude and poverty. But it does not stop at this. It denies labor and all liberty of action, all independence of action, all organization of its own. It denies all labor existence in the state except as Fascist labor—that is labor that upholds and supports its own slavery. Under the insolent pretense of syndicalist

representation the Fascist state lumps labor, which represents the majority of the population of Italy as one group, and makes all other classes with representations that completely swamp labor. The little banker group is as largely represented as all labor. So are the manufacturers. So are the traders. So are the professional classes. But Dictator Mussolini makes a joke even of this—HE RESERVES THE RIGHT TO APPOINT THE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE "SYNDICALIST" BODY. LABOR WILL ACTUALLY HAVE NO MORE THAN 50 REPRESENTATIVES OUT OF ABOUT 600. BUT THESE MUST ALL BE FASCISTS. In other words, the Fascist state not only institutionalizes the servitude, robbery and poverty of labor, but it denies it all real representation in the state. A MORE HIDEOUS ALIT OF BLOOD AND SLAVERY WAS NEVER DEvised. To enforce the doctrine of state supremacy and exact extreme service and sacrifice from the individual, and then on top of that to perpetuate superior and inferior classes within the system is monstrous injustice. The only condition upon which any rational doctrine of state supremacy could be founded is a condition of absolute equity and equality within the state. FASCISM IS MERELY CAPITALISM INSTITUTIONALIZED—CAPITALISM WITH ALL ITS BRUTALITIES, OPPRESSIONS AND INJUSTICES AND WITHOUT ANY OF ITS PRETENSIONS OF DEMOCRACY. FASCISM IS A FINAL DEFENSIVE FORM OF CAPITALISM. Not only does Socialism deny the inequality of Fascism, but it denies the whole doctrine of the supremacy of the state. The Socialist ideal is a state that merely serves the highest good and the best interests of the individual—all individuals. Its ideal is the state in a modern sense, matching thoughtfully the state as it has become according to his efforts—A GREAT CLEARING HOUSE IN A UNIVERSAL AND EQUITABLE EXCHANGE OF SERVICE BETWEEN FREE AND SOVEREIGN INDIVI-

DUALS. Under such a system there could be no classes, no inequalities in the treatment of individuals—ONLY DEMOCRACY, COOPERATION AND FRATERNALISM IN THEIR HIGHEST, FULLEST AND FREEST FORMS. "Press Agenting" A Loan to Mussolini (Editorial, Labor, Washington, D.C.) The last issue of the Literary Digest is called a "Special Italy Number." It would be more accurate to call it a "Special Mussolini Number." The special section is prefaced with a full-page picture of "Il Duce," wearing his usual glare. "His flat should clench and his brow should glow, His eye should glare and his throat should growl, His foot should stamp and his chest should protrude, And this should be his customary attitude." Following this comes a misleading story about the "March on Rome," and the columns on columns of ranks press-agent flattery, fulsome that a movie star would find it nauseating. Finally, in the regular department of the magazine known as "Investments and Finance," one finds the heading: "How Fascism Is Solving Italy's Economic Problems" and under it, about nine columns of fine print, all designed to make you think that the dictator is a financial wizard. There isn't a suggestion that there is another side to the story. Unless all signs fail, this boost of Italy's financial standing is the reason for the whole press agent stunt. In all probability, an effort will be made soon to float a new Italian loan in this country. It is to be hoped that Americans will not send their dollars to uphold Fascist tyranny when there is so much to be done for those dollars at home. But what shall be said of magazine which, under the guise of applying accurate and impartial information, lends itself to such outrageous propaganda?

now. In fact Denmark has the largest number of Socialist locals in the rural districts in proportion to the population in the world. In the last election in early this year the Socialist Democratic Party was by far the strongest political party emerging from the conflict. It received 37 per cent of all the votes cast for all parties in Denmark. It has only to swing 7 per cent of the vote from the conservative and reactionary side to obtain a majority. New Move in Sweden In Sweden the small farmers and tenants are organizing with a new purpose. Small organizations have been welded into a union for the whole country known as the Farm People's Union. The expropriation of company farms, of big landlord properties, and of the inherited farms of the nobility is demanded. The move is not a blind uprising, but a studied effort to secure more scientific and social use of the land. The demand is for division of part of the big farms into small farms and operation of others, where mass production would prove advantageous on a cooperative basis. Some farms are now worked cooperatively altogether. To achieve this program close relations with the trade unions are demanded by the small farmers, tenants and laborers. "All power to the workers and farmers" has been proclaimed as the new battle cry. The trade unions in Sweden, as in Denmark, are almost entirely Socialist. The swing of the small farmer and tenant movement is another important factor. 37,000 big farmers own a total of nearly 5,000,000 acres—practically as much as the entire 390,000 small farmers. The farmers have already learned the value of organized methods in the great Swedish cooperatives, and now these are being attacked and endangered by adverse legislation, further driving the small farmers and tenants toward Socialism and the cooperative system it advocates and defends. Big Cooperative System More than 50,000 members of the Swedish Cooperative Union of Consumer Cooperatives—the Kooperativa Forbundet. This central organization, founded in 1899, was immediately challenged by retail merchants, who tried to restrict its bank credits. Then the margarine trust started a second fight. The cooperatives bought a margarine factory and smashed the trust by 1911. The cooperative bank today has \$10,000,000 on deposit. In 1923 the Kooperativa smashed the flour trust. It now produces 25 per cent of Sweden's flour, enough to control the market price. The rubber monopoly was successfully challenged by the movement. Members of the cooperatives last year bought nearly \$7,000,000 of small funds to finance the fight. A weak industry with inflated prices of rubber dropped 25 per cent. One fourth of the entire trade in Stockholm is through cooperatives. Retail merchants are trying to force through an 8 per cent tax on sales turnover, regardless of profit, hoping to tax the cooperatives out of existence. The question is now before parliament. With the Social Democratic Party of Sweden much the stronger of the political parties, commanding in fact close to half the votes, and with the small farmers and tenants, and the labor movement, and the forward Socialist, one of the surest things is that the Socialists will soon have full control of Sweden.

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Post War Socialist Thought

Kautsky on Methods of Socialization

In Six Articles Article III

In his Labor Revolution (1925), Karl Kautsky also discusses, among other things, the problem of compensating capitalists for the industries transferred to public ownership. A reasonable compensation, he declares, ought to be paid to those who have left their undertakings in a state of efficiency and conducted them with good commercial success. It ought not to be paid for obsolete, neglected, and badly managed undertakings, which as a rule only keep above water by the shameless exploitation of their workers. "By this means only will it be possible to solve the process of socializing the means of production in those spheres where it has come up as a practicable question, whilst ensuring the continuance and energetic development of production upon a capitalist basis in those spheres where the conditions of socialization do not exist. The most suitable means of compensating the expropriated capitalists will be to allot to them state bonds, the interest of which would be equal to the total former profits of the socialized undertakings. They could also be paid in cash from the proceeds of a loan which the state would raise. Taxation and Compensation Kautsky agrees with the Webbs that the money for the property socialized should be raised from taxes on large incomes, property and inheritances. "This method, which affects the whole class and not a few individuals," declares Kautsky, "remains the best under all circumstances, even after socialization has commenced. This would be more rational from an economic standpoint, and more just according to our moral ideas than the plundering of a few capitalists who happen to be rich, whereby we should seriously obstruct and jeopardize the whole economic system. Not only could the burden of payment be lightened by taxation, but by a redemption from time to time of state bonds, and their redemption would only have occasion to intervene when extraordinary and far-reaching innovations were projected, or when great disturbances and conflicts arise. Socialization Will Be Gradual Kautsky maintains that socialization must be gradual in its nature and that it should begin where conditions are the most favorable, for example, with railways, mines, and various municipal services. Fortified by experience, these acquired socialization would then gradually extend its influence to more complicated and difficult provinces. Shall Pay Be Equal Under Socialism? The success of a socialized industry will depend in considerable part, he

argues, on competent organizers. A socialist administration, therefore, must offer these organizers advantages equal at least to those of capitalist business. "For this reason it is impossible to give effect to the demand put forward by Marx and adopted by Lenin, that nobody employed in the state services should receive a salary in excess of workers' wages. This principle may be in harmony with labor sensibilities and our socialist conceptions, but it is incompatible with economic requirements, which always enforce themselves. We shall do well to recognize the fact from the start and, allow it to guide our actions, instead of becoming wise after bitter experience. On the other hand, writes Kautsky, "in a completely socialist society, where the socialized undertakings have no longer to compete with capital, the great organizers will find no other fields of activity than the service of society. Then they will be obliged to reconcile themselves to receiving no better pay than other intellectuals. Despite this, striking achievements will not be things of the past either in the art or in science or the sphere of organization. The inner urge, ambition, delight in power, and reputation will be sufficient incentives to such achievements. "But this will not apply to the period of transition from capitalism to socialist production. As long as capital is in a position to produce surplus value, it will try to attract great organizers by offering them important advantages, and thereby attain to a position of superiority over all undertakings that are not able to offer equal advantages. There must be no hesitation about paying extraordinary remuneration if this is the only way to secure the services of capable organizers. Industry Should Be Independent of State Bureaucracy In addition to securing able organizers, a state industry should be made independent of the state bureaucracy and should be invested with the self-governing attributes of an industrial democracy. "On account of the widely extended division of labor, which renders special knowledge necessary for the most efficient organization and conduct of each trade," he writes, "it would be well to establish each trade as an independent body as possible to accord it the utmost freedom of self-government, and to create proper machinery to ensure that the consumer's interest is not lost sight of. Once the whole organism is functioning properly, the central committee would only have occasion to intervene when extraordinary and far-reaching innovations were projected, or when great disturbances and conflicts arise. Cooperation of Workers, Technicians and Consumers More specifically, Kautsky believes that each branch of production is transferred from capitalism to state or municipal ownership. A new organization should be created which would enable the workers and the consumers, as well as science, to exercise the necessary influence upon the adaptation of the processes of production. "The cooperation of these three factors would produce the happiest

results. If every branch of industry were abandoned to its workers alone, there would be a danger that the workers would raise wages, reduce hours of labor, diminish the volume of production, and increase the prices of their products, without troubling about the community. The essential workers would be in a position to do this the soonest. The dispensable workers would soon find there was a limit to forcing up the prices of their products. The whole process would culminate in the domination of the essential workers over those who were at least temporarily dispensable, such as the dominant coal miners over textile workers, tailors, shoemakers, joiners, etc., a state of affairs which would be as intolerable as capitalist exploitation. "But if the decisions respecting any branch of industry rested with the consumers, there would be the risk of their striving to force down prices at all costs, even at the expense of the workers. "If workers and consumers were combined in an association in such wise that neither section could dominate the other, the result would be an endeavor to overcome their antagonism by means which would be beneficial to both. "To discover these means is the task of the men of science, whose services would be enlisted as the third party in the organization of economy. Their duty would be to ensure that the most perfect technical appliances and organization were adopted in the undertaking, so that the greatest possible result would be obtained with the smallest expenditure of energy. Socialism and Farming Kautsky deals, in his post-war volume, not only with industry, but with agriculture. While immediate socialization of the land would be out of the question, he declares, socialists, if in power, would aim at the progressive nationalization of the land. This could be commenced as soon as labor possessed the necessary power and before conditions were ripe for the socialization of the farming industry. "Such a progressive policy of nationalization of the land, without confiscation," he adds, "could be applied by conferring upon the state a right of purchase whenever a piece of land or an estate were alienated. The socialist regime, declares Kautsky, would encounter its greatest difficulties when it commenced to socialize agricultural undertakings. In that field, a start might be made in socializing estates, which offer particularly favorable conditions, in order that the process might be gradually extended on the basis of experience thus acquired; later would come the socialization of small holdings and their amalgamation into larger estates. A union of agriculture and industry should be worked out, so that the industry be worked with the great cities and transferred to the country side. This opens to the workers the possibility of a few hours work in the open air, in field labor, and a few hours in the factory, thus abolishing the soul and body-deadening monotony of one-sided labor." —Harry W. Laidler.

Coolidge Prosperity Sideswipes Northwestern Farmer and Worker

Editor's Note
The following article by James D. Graham of Livingston, Montana, written for the May Day edition, arrived too late, after a journey to New York to our Feature Department editor, to appear in its regular place. It is published here with great pleasure in publishing it now.

By James D. Graham
(Montana member of National Executive Committee, Socialist Party)

With a general business depression greater than it ever was in 1914, banks continuing to fail extensively throughout the country, Congress and the various state legislatures adjourned without doing anything to relieve the situation. Judging from the conduct of the legislators one would conclude that a convention of economic Morons had been in session at the various state capitols.

Bolstering Up the System
With farmers still being dispossessed by the sheriff, and the general collapse of agriculture still in full sway, the representatives of the two old parties, assembled in Washington, with the aid of Non-Partisan Friends, LaFollette and the progressives, after much labor and mental strain, produced a "Comedy of Errors" and called it the McNary-Haugen bill, a measure designed to cure the ills of the farmers and to produce immediate relief for agriculture, but it was only an iridescent dream as President Coolidge vetoed the bill, with the air of a man who thought there had been much ado about nothing.

For the past seven years capitalism in the United States, has been disintegrating. In a state of crystallization, erosion and decay, and to all appearances this condition is well advanced today.

To bolster up the capitalist system, when banks commenced to fail, legislators controlled by progressive and non-partisan leaguers passed measures to aid Non-Partisan depositors. In the Dakotas and Kansas the bank depositors guarantee laws

have broken down, being unable to take care of all the depositors of solvent banks. The legislators would not think of doing anything to stop exploitation by working for the nationalization of banking or extending the functions of the postoffice saving bank, what they desired to do was preserve capitalism, which will not persevere.

North Dakota has become the unwilling owner of 3,709,564 acres, because the owners of the land could not pay the tax assessed against the same by the state. What to do with this land that the state has become possessor of was one of the problems that the legislators of North Dakota had to face and was left by them as unfinished business.

Six counties in northern Wisconsin, the state of Bob LaFollette and the progressives, are facing bankruptcy because of the inability to collect taxes from owners of property who have not the wherewithal to pay.

In many small communities fire insurance companies will not write policies on buildings and fixtures, as the temptation to liquidate by fire is too great. Many communities cannot borrow money to carry on public improvements, such as building schools, county court houses and even jails, as their bonds are not considered worth the paper they are printed on.

Flight of Western Labor
Common laborers west of the Mississippi average ninety days work in the year, building trades one hundred and twenty-seven days and coal miners one hundred and sixty-five days work in the year, and the poor professional men have a time getting by. Lawyers have many clients who cannot pay cash and have to accept a fee a mortgage on personal effects, and the second hand stores have a surplus stock on hand.

Everywhere the business of the country is drifting, businessmen are in a state of watchful waiting for the business that never comes, in other lands is the only hope for a return of general prosperity, in this country, under capitalism, and after

that conditions will be worse than ever. Capitalism, the competitive system, has failed, it is being stricken by a slow creeping paralysis, and the upholders and believers in the system do not know what is the matter. The two old parties, together with the progressives, are mentally bankrupt, they lack the statesmanship to grapple with the problems confronting the nation.

While there is a world wide breakdown in agriculture, conditions in this country have reached such a state that the only nationalization of certain farm industries can solve the problem. Socialization of farm industries in the United States is the only cure for the ills of agriculture.

The Socialist party must build itself up in the cities in order that the state take over the operation of the public utilities to stop exploitation, to stop the increasing burden of taxation, to save democracy.

Need Only The Will to Win
There is no reason for the socialists of this country to be pessimistic. The outlook for the Socialist party is very bright. It is the only party in this country that has a later and policy that can bring prosperity and economic security to the inhabitants of the land.

The Socialist party of the United States should be and can be made the most advanced and greatest Socialist movement in the world, if its membership will only will it so.

Nowhere in the world, Britain not excepted, has capitalism reached a condition more suited for a change to Socialism than in this country, the period of transition from capitalism to Socialism can be made shorter and easier than elsewhere if we but will it.

The United States can be made, by the Socialist Party, the hope of the world. This country can be made the one that will help save civilization and the race from international misery. This will require work, super-effort on the part of the Socialists, a desire and determination to do things. To work them!

2,155,000 Quit Farms in 1926
Washington, D. C.—Desperate conditions now governing agriculture in the United States drove more than 2,155,000 persons from farms in the United States during 1926, the Agriculture Department estimated during the week.

In turn 1,135,000 city persons found life under Coolidge "prosperity" so painful, that they drove and unsatisfied, they migrated to the farms with the hope of bettering their conditions.

The net movement away from the farms during the 12 months was 1,020,000 persons, but there were 658,000 births on the farms as compared to 371,000 deaths, so that the net decline in the agricultural population of the United States was 649,000 in 1926.

The number of persons living on farms on Jan. 1, 1927, was estimated by the government at 27,922,000, against 28,541,000 on Jan. 1, 1926.

The agriculture department estimated that in New England states 72,000 persons left farms last year, while 52,000 city folks went to farms. Other districts follow: Middle Atlantic states, 155,000 from farms and 100,000 to farms; east north central, 319,000 and 164,000; west north central, 338,000 and 193,000; south Atlantic, 354,000 and 133,000; east south central, 266,000 and 101,000; west south central, 402,000 and 194,000; mountain, 130,000 and 95,000; Pacific, 119,000 and 102,000.

MacDonald Expounds Labor Party Truth
(Continued from Page 1)
I am B. Wilson and his daughter, Agnes. Tribute to Mr. MacDonald President Green paid a warm trib-

Massachusetts Sees Light on Public Ownership Issue
Wendell F. Farrington who render service in the creation of that wealth shall enjoy it. "I am not the company to be served by acquiescence to the companies' demands. Two alternatives are open to the state, according to the Commission. Out of the present confusion and growing difficulties in the utilities situation only two measures are feasible: 1. Public operation of such utilities. 2. Operation by private capital in those instances where the public utilities are willing to enter into a contractual relationship with the public whereby the rates may be readily and effectively and inexpensively regulated and adjusted, and the initiating of free and unlimited competition by municipalities in those areas whose companies are engaged in business which are unwilling to enter into such contractual relationship. Believing that should the Supreme Court decide that controversies over rates and capitalizations between state commissions and public utilities are subject to review in federal courts, that this method would be too cumbersome, inefficient and expensive to be tolerated, the Commission declared that there must be direct regulation of the companies by the state, or public ownership and operation. For the Reports reads: "Public ownership and operation of electric plants is not an untried experience in this commonwealth. There are at the present time over 40 municipal plants in successful operation. In most of these municipal plants the rates for electricity are lower than the rates of private companies operating in adjacent territory." Needless to say, little attention was given to this significant statement by the newspapers. The capitalist press always maintains a discreet silence over most ideas that mean less swollen profits to a privileged class. But little do they realize that cheaper light and power would be of great benefit to all classes; public ownership of utilities in Massachusetts would be tremendous help to all, and especially to the workers.

Capitalism is Driving Farmers of Scandinavia to Socialism

Editor's Note
The facts in the following article are taken largely from a recent article written for the Federated Press by John B. Chapple, managing editor, Ashland Daily Press, who has just made a study of agricultural and labor conditions in various European countries.

While the large farmers in Denmark and Sweden—real employers of labor—have become stronger opponents of Socialism than ever before since the Social Democratic Party, the cooperatives and the trade unions have attained their present great power, there is a marked drift among small farmers and farm workers toward Socialism, that may be significant for the whole movement of the producers throughout the world.

The larger landholding and more prosperous farmers of Denmark, have developed a marked antagonism toward the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions. This antagonism has developed with the prosperity that has come to them as a result of their adoption of a great system of cooperative marketing, although real cooperation is the basis of Socialism.

Reason for Antagonism
The reason for this antagonism is that these farmers employ considerable labor and want the cheapest labor they can find, while the Socialists and trade unionists have consistently endeavored to better the condition of labor. This class of farmers support the Liberal party, which in reality has become a conservative party. But with other farm elements the

drift is toward Socialism. The 60,000 farm workers, for instance vote the Socialist ticket almost solidly; 13,000 of them already belong to trade unions.

The small farmer in Denmark has only 18 and a half acres to the farm. This class forms the left wing of the farmer movement, has been largely with the Radical party and now offers a most promising field for the Socialists.

Socialist Prospects
Following its recent experience in a coalition with the Radical party, the Social Democratic Party is through with all merely reform parties that stand for the present system and will go it alone in the future to build up a majority under its own banner. The small Danish farmer is coming to the Social Democrats. There never was so much Socialist organization in the rural districts as

in the rural districts in proportion to the population in the world. In the last election in early this year the Socialist Democratic Party was by far the strongest political party emerging from the conflict. It received 37 per cent of all the votes cast for all parties in Denmark. It has only to swing 7 per cent of the vote from the conservative and reactionary side to obtain a majority. New Move in Sweden In Sweden the small farmers and tenants are organizing with a new purpose. Small organizations have been welded into a union for the whole country known as the Farm People's Union. The expropriation of company farms, of big landlord properties, and of the inherited farms of the nobility is demanded. The move is not a blind uprising, but a studied effort to secure more scientific and social use of the land. The demand is for division of part of the big farms into small farms and operation of others, where mass production would prove advantageous on a cooperative basis. Some farms are now worked cooperatively altogether. To achieve this program close relations with the trade unions are demanded by the small farmers, tenants and laborers. "All power to the workers and farmers" has been proclaimed as the new battle cry. The trade unions in Sweden, as in Denmark, are almost entirely Socialist. The swing of the small farmer and tenant movement is another important factor. 37,000 big farmers own a total of nearly 5,000,000 acres—practically as much as the entire 390,000 small farmers. The farmers have already learned the value of organized methods in the great Swedish cooperatives, and now these are being attacked and endangered by adverse legislation, further driving the small farmers and tenants toward Socialism and the cooperative system it advocates and defends. Big Cooperative System More than 50,000 members of the Swedish Cooperative Union of Consumer Cooperatives—the Kooperativa Forbundet. This central organization, founded in 1899, was immediately challenged by retail merchants, who tried to restrict its bank credits. Then the margarine trust started a second fight. The cooperatives bought a margarine factory and smashed the trust by 1911. The cooperative bank today has \$10,000,000 on deposit. In 1923 the Kooperativa smashed the flour trust. It now produces 25 per cent of Sweden's flour, enough to control the market price. The rubber monopoly was successfully challenged by the movement. Members of the cooperatives last year bought nearly \$7,000,000 of small funds to finance the fight. A weak industry with inflated prices of rubber dropped 25 per cent. One fourth of the entire trade in Stockholm is through cooperatives. Retail merchants are trying to force through an 8 per cent tax on sales turnover, regardless of profit, hoping to tax the cooperatives out of existence. The question is now before parliament. With the Social Democratic Party of Sweden much the stronger of the political parties, commanding in fact close to half the votes, and with the small farmers and tenants, and the labor movement, and the forward Socialist, one of the surest things is that the Socialists will soon have full control of Sweden.

use to Mr. MacDonald, tracing his career from the time when, as a boy, he tended his father's sheep on the hills of Scotland to the day when, as the leader of the Labor party, he became premier of England, and assumed responsibility for the government of that country. American workers appreciate the serious character of the difficulties now confronting the workers of Britain," said Mr. Green, "and they want their comrades on the other side to know that they may depend on the support and sympathy of the entire labor movement of this country." At the conclusion of President Green's remarks, the audience stood and applauded and it was sometime before Mr. MacDonald could proceed. In replying MacDonald told of the point where it became the opposition party and assumed for nine months the reins of government. Speaking of the necessity for a labor party as well as for the trade unions, he said: "The labor movement is divided into two parts, the industrial and the political. There is no conflict between them. Each has a distinctive field and we believe both are essential. "One bargains concerning wages, hours of labor and working conditions. The other concerns itself with the political rights of the workers, their status before the law and their interests as citizens. "We say to the trade unions, 'You cannot accomplish your purposes by industrial work alone.' We say to the political movement, 'You cannot construct the new order of things that is going to bring peace and happiness and justice by your efforts alone.' "We say to both, 'Work together and only parts of the same movement, one working through the voters, each holding the other firmly by the hand. Champion of World Peace "Your chairman has quite properly referred to what we did for peace. The history of the peace movement can never be written without the name of the Labor party appearing in that history in letters of gold. If the world is ever to enjoy peace, if the disarmament is to come because the nations have discovered that national security depends not upon military force but upon moral righteousness, it will be owing to the vision, to the insight and to the courage shown by the Labor party during the nine

months that it held the reins of office on the other side. "Now, my friends, I am not a prophet and I am not the son of a prophet, but all appearances do show that opinion in Great Britain is coming more and more in our direction. What Labor Will Do MacDonald told of the bitter fight against the present attempt of the Tories to hamstring the Labor Party and trade unions and predicted that the Tories, who have a majority of 200, will pass the bill, but that this will be the beginning of the end of Toryism and capitalism in Great Britain as it will greatly increase Labor's already good chances of winning power in the next election. Speaking of some of the things a Labor government would do, he said: "A Labor government will rule in the interest of the nation, will promote peace, will endeavor to show the world that it is possible to have peace and has the capacity to rule and that its rule, far from destroying, will lead to a more prolific creation of wealth. "It will also see to it that those

who render service in the creation of that wealth shall enjoy it. "I am not the company to be served by acquiescence to the companies' demands. Two alternatives are open to the state, according to the Commission. Out of the present confusion and growing difficulties in the utilities situation only two measures are feasible: 1. Public operation of such utilities. 2. Operation by private capital in those instances where the public utilities are willing to enter into a contractual relationship with the public whereby the rates may be readily and effectively and inexpensively regulated and adjusted, and the initiating of free and unlimited competition by municipalities in those areas whose companies are engaged in business which are unwilling to enter into such contractual relationship. Believing that should the Supreme Court decide that controversies over rates and capitalizations between state commissions and public utilities are subject to review in federal courts, that this method would be too cumbersome, inefficient and expensive to be tolerated, the Commission declared that there must be direct regulation of the companies by the state, or public ownership and operation. For the Reports reads: "Public ownership and operation of electric plants is not an untried experience in this commonwealth. There are at the present time over 40 municipal plants in successful operation. In most of these municipal plants the rates for electricity are lower than the rates of private companies operating in adjacent territory." Needless to say, little attention was given to this significant statement by the newspapers. The capitalist press always maintains a discreet silence over most ideas that mean less swollen profits to a privileged class. But little do they realize that cheaper light and power would be of great benefit to all classes; public ownership of utilities in Massachusetts would be tremendous help to all, and especially to the workers.

Horrors of White Imperialism in China!

AS TOLD BY AN APPEAL ARMY MEMBER EYE WITNESS

Editor's Note

George H. Shoaf, until a short time ago one of the best Appeal Army hustlers in Southern California, here sends us an eye witness account of the brutal and highly provocative acts of the foreign imperialist forces in Shanghai, China. Incidentally he lifts the curtains on the horrible acts of the Chinese militarist tools of the white imperialists and furnishes us enlightening views regarding the Chinese revolution and prominent leaders in the Kuomintang.

Shoaf's letter is dated April 6. The conditions he describes in Shanghai were those that existed before the Kuomintang split and betrayal of the revolution by Chiang Kai-shek, chief commander of the Kuomintang armies. His description of the then developing split, between the right and left wings is highly significant, as is also his description of the maltreatment of the Chinese by foreigners in view of the impending imperialist ultimatum to China.

The pictures in this page are the two most horrible of four sent the Appeal. The other two describing the punishment administered to labor radicals by the Chinese militarist tools of foreign imperialism are too atrocious to be reproduced here.

Shoaf has promised to send the Appeal accounts of conditions connected with the world-wide struggle between the workers and shirkers in his journey around the world.

—M. E. K.

By George H. Shoaf

SHANGHAI, April 6—Just a little while ago this city, known the world over as the Paris of the Far East, was not only the busiest commercial metropolis of Asia but it was the rendezvous for every foreigner bent on having a good time. With its population approximating two million it presented a kaleidoscope of human life that found no replica anywhere. Today business is shot to pieces, armed troops swagger through its international settlement, barricades and machine-guns are everywhere, and its principal thoroughfares, the river-front swarms with nearly a hundred gun-boats large and small, from the Powers, more than one hundred thousand organized workers are on strike with thousands more threatening to join. The international settlement area is unrecognizable, while a look of sullen defiance appears to depress the faces of the Chinese citizenry in all quarters.

At the outset I believe I can safely say that the foreigner who would liberally provide a quarrel there will be no trouble here at least not until the Nationalist forces from the south have consolidated their gains, captured Peking, and reestablished a

republican form of government. Authorities representing the revolutionary movement assure me that they positively contemplate no action against foreign interests until after they have tried measures of conciliation and arbitration; then if peaceful measures fail force undoubtedly will be used.

About "Soviet Influence"

Much has been made of the so-called "Soviet Influence" in this Chinese upheaval. Unquestionably Moscow is sympathetic towards the efforts the Chinese are making to unite their country, but to say that this revolutionary movement found



Work of foreign marines at Shanghai.

its inspiration in Sovietism or that it is being financed from Moscow, as is represented by the Shanghai English-written press and by capitalist correspondents abroad, is saying that which is not true. G. M. Melamed, vice-consul of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in Shanghai was explicit on this point. In a two hour interview I had with him today he said:

"I want to stress the fact that the Chinese revolutions are receiving little financial aid from Moscow at the present time. They have our moral support and we wish them well. Quite likely many Russian communists are fighting with the southern troops as it is undeniably true that White Russians are in the ranks of their adversaries. But we have no money to spend buying doubtful victories for any Chinese faction, and our propaganda has been limited largely by suggesting the Chinese proletariat in the ideals of liberty."

"It would be foolish for us to expect to immediately sovietize China, and we are not attempting it. We are friends of the Chinese because they are an oppressed people and if ever a nation needed a friend it is

China. The first thing China must do is to unite itself, establish its integrity as a nation, improve the conditions of the laborers and farmers, and begin a system of universal education.

"There are a few Chinese communists in larger industrial centers in the north as well as in the south, but compared to the population of the country the number is so small as to be utterly negligible. Take the unions for example. There are probably ten million organized workers in the whole of China. While this number seems large it is incredibly small when you consider



Kuomintang's Immediate Program

Wang Ching-wei, since Dr. Sun Yat-sen idol of the Kuomintang, in a statement published today in the Sun Shanghai English daily and in about a dozen Chinese dailies, said:

"To Members of the Kuomintang and Communist Party:

"Comrades, despite our military successes, a large number of our enemies are still retaining their power. They are trying to find out our weaknesses and take advantage of them. The success of the revolutionary campaign depends on our solidarity, and the present moment demands it more than ever."

"The rule of the proletariat is but one of the remote aims of communism in all countries. Judging from recent tendencies of the Chinese revolution the question of the rule by the proletariat will certainly not arise at the present nor in the near future. What China needs now is a democratic form of government by all classes of people that have been suffering from the rule of the anti-revolutionaries, but not the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"Comrades, our enemies are not only attacking us by force, but also by propaganda aiming at the internal disintegration of the Kuomintang. They have adopted the policy of attacking our party through its organs, through the press, through the revolutionary principles. Comrades, do not play into the hands of our enemies and regard each other with suspicion, but present a united front to our foes. Remember that

the discussion with his club. Use Indians for Dirty Work

Indian soldiers or "rag-heads" as they are called in the Pacific coast states west of the Rocky mountains have been brought here by the British government and have been assigned to duty as crossing policemen. Each "rag-head" is armed with a rifle and revolver and each one looks as important as a drum-major. Hourly these fellows knock down and drag out Chinese citizens who commit the crime of mistaking the crossing signals. Yesterday, glory be, one "rag-head" got what was coming to him. Stung by some insult previous-

though we (Communist Party and Kuomintang) have different political programs, we are always fundamentally united."

Much British gold it is said is exchanging hands in an effort to corrupt the leaders of the Kuomintang. By far the greater portion of the foreign concessions in Shanghai are British owned and the value of them mounts into the hundreds of millions. But the attitude and actions of the British and American troops toward the Chinese here are rapidly neutralizing whatever effect money might have with members of the Kuomintang.



Northern Chinese militarists beheading Communist at Shanghai.

Foreign Atrocities

I could recite instances of outrage and unprovoked barbarity on the part of foreign troops toward innocent and unarming Chinese citizens in the last ten days that would fill pages of the American Appeal. Less than an hour ago I witnessed the spectacle of three burly American marines, half drunk, at the dock on the river-front deliberately assault without cause a ragged Chinese coolie down and then all three proceeded to kick him like a football clear across the pavement into the street. A score of armed American soldiers standing about grinned encouragement to the bravo trio.

Earlier in the day, according to a California physician who sat inside the Palace Hotel and saw the act, a Chinese rickshaw coolie was beaten severely over the head with a hard rubber club wielded by the uniformed hotel door attendant, who followed the beating with a kicking during which the rickshaw was overturned and damaged. A passenger had stepped out of the rickshaw and was having some words with the Coolie when without invitation the door attendant stepped forward and settled

the two million Chinese toward the river he looks like an open mouth of gaping cannon. In talking to military officials, foreign business men the most prominent in their country relative to the existing status—FORCE. These white guards the slaughter of Chinese nonchalantly as though the would like to open up on the strange contrast with the forces complete their work of alizing China and before the emers can invest the modern military equipment, the international settlement is in possession of the Na but the main body of the marching north to the com Peking.



Sowing Dragon's Teeth

Strange as it may seem, the only peace-loving headquarters, where war talk prevails in the offices of the building at the head of the which flies the red flag on the head of the Soviet of the heads of the Soviet of the heads of American and British business men and military attach the British first, followed by cans quickly, and other national sowed dragon's teeth in China. A tremendous harvest of deat desolation is waiting.

Maughan, the novelist, in his books in drawing a comparison of the ancient civilization of the order with the western brand Chinaman to say:

"And now you are teaching young men the secret. Do you it will take us long to learn what will become of your super when the yellow man can make good guns as the white and fire as straight? You have appea the machine gun and by the ma gun shall you be judged!"

Thus far Japan is maintaining strict neutrality in the Chinese and when I was in that country several weeks ago was informed Japanese journalists were warning men that that neutrality would time in spite of British propa to the contrary. Several Japanese war-ships are in the river here Japanese marines are taking only a factory part in the military demonstration and to date no clothed in a Japanese uniform has insulted or assaulted a citizen of China, at least as far as can be ascertained.

Amalgamated Proves Constructive Unionism Beats Destructive Kind

By J. S. Potofsky

Assistant Secretary, Amalgamated

In the February issue of the *New Masses*, Scott Nearing reviews *New Tactics in Social Conflict*, the little book published by the Vanguard Press, containing the proceedings of the conference of the League for Industrial Democracy held last year. Professor Nearing finds fault with the conference because, as he says: "There was scarcely an adult present whose income was below \$35.00 per week. Most of the conferees were well above the \$50.00 level." All through the review the "social position" of the participants in the discussion is emphasized. Smartly he changes the title of the book to *Comfort under Capitalism*, all with the view of indicating the presumable bourgeois mentality of the discussion. He wishes to stir up a family row by asking the League members: "If the members of the League for Industrial Democracy want to know what the new tactics represents, there is only one way for them to find out at this stage of the game: take a job; bring up a family of \$25.00 a week; for the tamper of the American masses! And then, what? Nearing modestly prefers not to say."

\$25 Per Week Philosophy

This mighty old theory of the I. W. W. of evaluating title to leadership by the yard-stick of earning capacity, does not look any cleverer in the light of the new day. Coming from an economist, it is still less convincing. The average weekly wage in 1926, according to the New York State Department of Labor, was \$28.97. Does Mr. Nearing propose to reduce that level? For if he thinks that only a \$25.00 a week psychology can be the proper basis for the labor movement, surely he will not want to demoralize the movement by keeping wages above that level. And does Mr. Nearing practice what he preaches? This talk of remuneration is pure demagogic cantation to stir up the crowd against those "in power" and to create mistrust and confusion. What other purpose can it have? There may be some who are interested in the job only. Aren't there such people in the communist movement? Are there such in any organization? Is there a perfect anywhere? Are we to condemn the leadership of the entire labor movement because there are such? On the whole, the officers are there because they like the organization, swing the fight for power, they love social service. Officers who could and did earn more money in the shop. I know also those who could command salaries in business institutions two and three times larger than what they receive from

their union. Yet, they are charged with lack of idealism.

Class Collaboration

Dr. Nearing makes the following three points:

First—Radicalism—Can an organization be successful and remain radical?

Second—Class Collaboration—Can a union maintain friendly relations with employers and remain true to its historic mission, that of striving toward the assumption of power and control of industry by the worker?

Third—Leadership and Wage—Can labor men, union officials, remain loyal to the cause of the workers, sincere and idealistic, understand their problems, aims and sufferings, when they are well paid by the union?

Nearing Attacks Amalgamated

Nearing answers these questions in the negative. He says in substance: "The Amalgamated had some fighting qualities in the past, but now it is no longer radical because it owns eight corporations, etc."

B.—The American labor movement has forsaken labor, "joined hands with the Chambers of Commerce to make most of capitalism" by a system of class-collaboration and business enterprises, for want of anything else to do. "It has gone the dividend road."

C.—Leadership has been contaminated by capitalism. High salaries and "soft jobs" make the leaders forget the workers' problems. They work hand in hand with the bosses.

Let us see how far these charges are true. Has the Amalgamated remained true to its original course or has it collaborated away the interests of the workers? Has its leadership been contaminated?

At the League Conference, my estimate of labor banking was based largely on my experience in the Amalgamated. Here too I shall draw on Amalgamated experience.

Achievements of Amalgamated

The radicalism of the Amalgamated has been placed under question. But why? Simply because it is successful? I shall not refer to the struggles and achievements prior to 1920, for Scott generously conceded that for a time the Amalgamated was a fighting organization. What has been its record since? In brief, it is this:

1920-1922. Fought a six month lockout in New York, Baltimore and Boston, during the post-war period of deflation, when employers throughout the country carried on an intensive campaign for the open shop. Another battle is yet to be recorded in the annals of our industrial life. The trifling sum of four million dollars in damages was sought from the Amalgamated by these manufacturers. We spent two and a half million dollars to win the battle.

1922-1921. It established unemployment insurance in Chicago, and to date \$2,530,000 in benefits has been paid to the unemployed, increased wages, despite unfavorable conditions. Conducted strikes against 200 firms. Defended itself against forty employers who began injunction proceedings.

1921-1926. Fought the largest and richest special order clothing firm in nineteen week strike and won a complete victory. Fought other important strikes against the Curlee Clothing Company in St. Louis, the Finkelstein firm in New York. Conducted innumerable strikes in other cities: Philadelphia, Buffalo, Montreal, etc. Organized the Cincinnati market, Pasadena, etc. Checked in part the out of town movement. Assisted financially the cloakmakers and furriers on strike.

Aim Social Service not Dividends

D. It is true that during the years 1921-1926, we organized a cooperative enterprise, Labor Bank, Credit unions, Housing cooperatives, the Russian-American Industrial Corporation. What for? Certainly not for dividends, though that is not to be shunned. These institutions were organized for social service, and a social service to workers is important. They are, just examine the small loan service of the bank, the credit unions, the housing cooperative, etc. But this is not all. The demonstration that labor can operate and manage such complicated works as banks that we have achieved is even more important. That our enterprises pay dividends only proves that they are built on sound economic principles. With both stock and dividends limited in all the Amalgamated enterprises, Dr. Nearing need not fear that officers or members will ever become millionaires. And as for the union, the richer, the better.

But, to come to the industrial end of the Amalgamated.

Throughout its history, the Amalgamated has shown fight when such was called for and kept the peace as long as that was possible. It was capable of insuring peace because of its fighting quality, and when it secured what it wanted, it was zealous to keep it. The building up of labor's power has become its objective and activity, and when it acquires power it is careful not to abuse it. Its policy is one of action. It is fearless. It is constructive. It has maintained friendly relations with employers because in doing so it strengthens the union. What would you rather have it do, always be on strike? Is that possible? But if you have proof that the Amalgamated defended the bosses against the workers, why, let us have the facts. Its spokesmen are fearless on problems affecting the industry. They

contend that the welfare of the members depends on the welfare of the industry. They speak for production rather than for consumption. They are against class collaboration is based upon our having developed collective bargaining machinery. The question is, has this weakened or strengthened the union? We have had collective bargaining agreements since 1916 with the firm of Harry Schaffner and McMillan of Chicago. The union has maintained peace with this firm in all these years. What is the strength of the union in the shops today? Ask the rank and file. They will tell you.

Facts Versus Formulae

The difference between us, Dr. Nearing, is this: For forty years you and others have been teaching the gospel of the class struggle. You have insisted on hanging them on the necks of the workers. You have been shouting off a lot of phrases which in practical life did not mean anything. After forty years of hard labor you are as insignificant, in terms of power, as you ever were. The workers did not bite. Your theories fell flat in the face of every day problems. Not that there exists a harmony of interests between labor and capital. No one seriously concerned with the labor problem will deny that. But our approach to this fact is altogether different from yours. We are the people who live the class struggle. We want results. We want a new deal, a different relationship. We are sick of doctrine, essentially meaningless, and stand on a system of class collaboration. We applied ourselves to the job of ameliorating these bad conditions. Instead of talking about the class struggle we proceeded to organize and bring about the changes that were desired in our industry. We do not care for formulae. We do care for results and our work speaks for itself.

And after we secured a certain amount of relief through struggle and privation we realized that we cannot live in a constant state of war. We must get to work and solve our problems. So we evolved a method of solving these problems. We have not surrendered our principles or aims. We applied our common sense. We have come to understand that we have more to gain in power and prestige through this new method than otherwise. What is wrong with it? Read the preamble to our agreements on which we are charged with class collaboration. They definitely state that it is the intention of the workers to strengthen and solidify so that it may command respect and be able to carry out its provisions.

What is Radicalism?

We are after the same thing as you claim you are, Scott—a better world to live in. We are no less idealistic than you are. We need make no apologies for our principles and for our radicalism. We are just as proud of them as you may be of yours. The point of difference between us lies in our realism, and your unrealism. In our judgment,

radicalism does not exclude anything that makes for a constructive change. In fact, we think that the essence of radicalism in your opinion radicalism ends where success begins. That is the difference.

Commune vs. Russian Revolution

Compare the two great labor revolutions of the age. The French Commune and the Russian-Soviet revolutions. One was uncompromising and short-lived; the other adopted a realistic approach in its treatment of capitalism and is successful. Which shall it be? It is the crux of the problem. Would you rather go the way of the enlightened leadership of Russia and subsidize, or the visionary leadership of the Communists and be extinct in a few weeks? We chose the way of living an industrial change. We take your view as an experiment in a failure because it is a success.

May First and International Solidarity

You talk about international solidarity of labor and practice it to the extent of taking a trip to Europe each year. We of the Amalgamated, proclaim May First as an International Labor holiday, the day on which all of our people from Louisville to St. Paul, from Frisco to Vineland, lay down their tools and express the international spirit of solidarity. We, of the Amalgamated demonstrated our international solidarity by assisting workers in other countries—Germany, Russia, England. Only months ago have we done our share by the British Miners. Through the Russian-American Industrial Corporation and our banks, we shipped in to Russia twenty million dollars in remittances. You call it going the dividend road. To the Russians it was tangible help.

Steps Towards a Better Order

When Foster, Browder and others speak about our impartial machinery as class collaboration and also the fact that our banks have influenced the union in adopting a policy of class collaboration, they simply display their ignorance of our policies and tactics. We do not pretend that our impartial machinery and our banks and our other cooperatives are cure-alls for all the social ills. We do not advance them to take the place of substitutes for the entirety of the industrial struggle, but we contend that these innovations are instruments destined to play their role for the better day when labor control will come. Consider the Russian cooperatives. The success of the Russian revolution is largely due to the existence of Russian cooperatives which took over the supply of food stuffs and machinery through the length and breadth of the land. Everybody knows that during the period of intervention, it was the cooperatives which helped to save Russia from the clutches of international capitalism. With our labor banks, credit union, housing corporations we are building cooperatives and training the workers to do the same work.

Power Comes Through Responsibility

Through our impartial machinery

we are adjusting our daily complaints, solving the everyday problems as they come up, and taking on more responsibility in our industry. This is the price we have to pay for more power. Power can only stay through the assumption of responsibility. You would rather have Gary wield the power? We do not feel that way about it, and we have enough courage and confidence in ourselves and the movement not to be afraid of losing our souls. We know what we want and we are at all times conscious of the responsibility that leads to a practical and working program. It is a means to an end. Is there another industry so well organized as the clothing industry?

We have had enough of loose talk and play of words that mean nothing. Let us make a pact. Let those who are afraid of themselves run. We shall stick and follow the course we have mapped out for ourselves which we believe leads to the ultimate goal, your goal as well as ours. We do not fear contamination for we firmly and sincerely believe in our goal and in ourselves. We have dedicated our lives to the service and advancement of the labor movement and shall remain loyal to it. What the movement needs is less demagoguery, less frozen shibboleths, less of the stuff that you and your new comrades are dish-ing out, and more of the practical idealism such as we have in the Amalgamated. We need vigorous, courageous and intelligent devotees of the labor movement even in its most imperfect form. We need people who are untrammelled by partisanship and factionalism—people whose loyalty is first and foremost to the organization of the workers. We did not belong to any special school of thought. That is perhaps why we have managed to keep out of the mire in which all the factionalists have succumbed to the complete detriment of the workers' interests. What we are primarily interested in is the cause of the workers, and it is poor logic to ask the labor movement to reduce levels of wages in order to promote the cause of labor.

The future of labor, Dr. Nearing, lies not in the man who will support a family on \$25.00 a week, but in a closed and more unified relationship of all the unions, such as they are, and in an aggressive and effective campaign for the organization of all those working by hand or brain on this continent.

Send Branting's Son

To Probe Sacco Case

Stockholm, Sweden—Swedish labor and the newspapers have shown a great interest in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The labor forces today resolved to send a Swedish lawyer, George Branting, son of the famous Socialist leader Hjalmar Branting, to the United States. In an interview Branting says that his mission is to give Swedish labor first-hand information about the events leading to the imposition of the capital penalty on the Italian radicals.

Power Comes Through Responsibility

Through our impartial machinery

New Socialist Law Bars France from Aggressive Wars

Cannot Declare War Without Consent of League of Nations.

PARIS—The Socialist Party of France has come in for considerable pacifist criticism for having introduced the law passed recently which prohibits conscripts' service during any time, but conscripts the entire life of the nation. In reply to the critics Socialist leaders in France explain that they supported the law only because it prevents aggressive wars by France. Under its provisions they declare that France cannot go to war until the League of Nations has first passed upon the situation. They asked France to fulfill her international obligation to defend herself when unjustly attacked.

In a recent article Paul-Boncour, author of the bill says:

"This new law provides distinctly that this universal mobilization shall be ordered only in case of a direct attack on France. This means that it applies only under conditions which have been anticipated in the statutes of the league of nations. In other words, the French army can be mobilized only with the consent of the league of nations and march under its orders."

Leon Blum explains: "The Socialist deputies have defended the law, because it cannot come into effect unless the country is internationally attacked by another nation, and after the league of nations has asked France to fulfill her international duties as provided in the covenant of the league of nations."

Granite City, Ill., Elects A Socialist

GRANITE CITY, ILL.—This town again has a Socialist mayor, Mayor E. Kirkpatrick, who held the office for several years, again was elected mayor at the recent municipal election.

Kirkpatrick received 2,900 votes, defeating his opponent, Mayor Robertson, by 699 votes.

Kirkpatrick ran as an independent.

The sole anxiety of President Coolidge, as he says himself, is to protect American lives and PROPERTY in China. If we are involved in a war over China, the word "IMPERIALISM" will be crossed out and "humanity and democracy and a war to end war" will be written in its place.