

Coolidge Stand Enhances Danger of War in China

Rejects Borah's Proposal to Remove Americans from Civil War Zone

President Coolidge would rather take the risks against world peace and against the lives of American soldiers...

Let the rest of the American people carefully consider the following statements and interpretations in connection with one of the regular interviews of the President in Washington:

"President Coolidge has made it known that he does not purpose to ask Americans to quit China to seek safety from the civil strife raging in that country, as urged by Senator Borah (Rep., Idaho), chairman of the senate committee on foreign relations.

"On the Chinese question the President sees his way more clearly and states his position more positively than he has ever done before."

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German Socialism Is Imperiled By Junker Ministry

Hindenburg Betrays Government and Army to Monarchists and Militarists.

BERLIN, Germany.—Socialism and the cause of the workers is probably skating on the thinnest ice since the World War as the result of the fulfillment of the autocratic demand of President Hindenburg that an anti-Socialist and anti-Labor cabinet be formed out of capitalist and Junker elements and that the German army remain under the control of monarchist and Fascist officers.

This has been done, although Germany is supposed to be a republic and the professedly republican parties are in the majority. It was done because part of the professedly republican parties are capitalist parties and prefer monarchism, or even Fascism, to democratic rule by the workers.

Such a party as this is the Catholic party, heretofore professedly progressive and republican, but now founder of the most reactionary cabinet Germany has seen since the war, by virtue of the selection by Chancellor Marx, Catholic leader, of the members of the new cabinet at the behest of President Hindenburg.

The Nationalists, heretofore avowed monarchists even to the point of violent rebellion against the republic, whenever the opportunity seemed to present itself, actually are the predominant element in the new cabinet. These desperate and lawless enemies of the republic and deadly foes of the worker merely swore lip-service to the republic and were forthwith entrusted with its destinies.

The Nationalists have four members in the new cabinet—the blackest of reactionaries; the People's Party, Germany's leading capitalist party, has 10 members, both with reactionary records; the Catholics have three members—reactionaries.

Dr. Gessler, who has been the instrument of the ruling class in building up the control of the German army by monarchist officers, and who played this dark role after turning traitor to his own party and going over to the Nationalists at the bidding of Hindenburg, will remain Minister of War.

Under the government thus formed in Germany, Fascist dictatorship can be set up by the ruling class any time the latter chooses. This new autocratic machine practically nullifies republicanism and democracy. The Socialists were moving to prevent this condition when Hindenburg turned against the republic and put down the Iron Heel.

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Berger Uncovers Real Plot To Overthrow Calles Regime

The Mexican war peril still exists as a dangerous possibility. The unanimous indorsement of the principle of arbitration by the United States senate is not enough. While it constitutes a terrific rebuke to Coolidge and Kellogg, these high officials still have the power to prevent or precipitate a war situation.

Another fire might be built under them by the indorsement of arbitration by the House. This might smoke them out into the open. No effort should be spared to influence the House to take such action: BUT THE REAL PLOT OF THE WARMAKERS AS REVEALED IN THE RECENT GREAT SPEECH OF SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN VICTOR L. BERGER MAKES WAR POSSIBLE DESPITE THE SENATE.

Among other things, Representative Berger said: "We seem headed toward precipitating a revolution in Mexico to overthrow the Calles government and substitute a reactionary government which would assure the property rights of American capitalists in Mexico."

Such a revolutionary movement is already definitely organized. It is generally directed by its leaders from the United States—Washington, Los Angeles and El Paso. American capitalists owning industries and land in Mexico are its principal supporters. Their candidate for the presidency is De la Huerta, now in the United States. His program is to suspend by military decree the 1917 constitution, which is objectionable to the "interests," to substitute temporarily the 1857 constitution, and subsequently to call a new constitutional convention that will serve American vested property rights.

Lifting of arms embargo would precipitate that kind of a revolution. Mexican revolutionists already have some arms and munitions, most of which were smuggled from the United States. Sacasa also got his arms in this way from New York.

Regular war between the United States and Mexico is improbable. Naval and military forces would be used "to protect American interests" against "revolutionary chaos," and to help Huerta after he is recognized by the United States.

Socialists Demand Argentine Boycott U. S. Imperialists

Buenos Aires, Argentina.—The socialist members of the Argentine senate have begun a move for the withdrawal of Argentina from the Pan-American union as a protest against the United States' intervention in Nicaragua.

The leader of the socialist bloc introduced a resolution asking the minister of foreign affairs to send to the senate all the information he has regarding the intervention, including the names of any American citizens whose lives or property were endangered. He told the senate that if the minister's reply confirms the newspaper reports the socialists will demand the removal from the budget of Argentina's subscription toward the maintenance of the Union of American Republics building in Washington.

Argentina will be in a state of vasallage," said the Socialist leader, "so long as it maintains its membership in that union. The imperialism of the United States is developing in an audacious manner. The United States fomented revolutions in the weaker republics to obtain its own selfish designs and protect trusts, exploiting the Latin-American countries, while using every means within the government's power to prevent the same trusts from operating within its own borders. The United States has put itself outside the spiritual and intellectual relationship with the other American republics which are thinking and acting harmoniously from Mexico to Argentina."

"The Monroe doctrine has lost any spiritual significance it may have had and we repudiate its material significance, which is that the United States claims the Latin-American territory as its own exclusive feeding grounds for the Wall Street vultures."

The following are extracts from one of the circulars with which the Mexican Catholic Party is flooding Mexico in cooperation with the revolt program of Rene Capitan Garza, rebel leader, who is organizing a rebellion against Mexico on this side of the line, in El Paso, Texas:

"Mexico is not an exception to the rule, but falls within the track laid out by destiny for all nations. Eighty per cent of the population is dependent on the other 20 per cent for a living, and for the elevation of the social and moral scale. This elevation cannot be won without work, well paid, on a vast scale. Work, or organized effort can be had only through the encouragement of foreign capital, of which Mexico has room for not only millions, but billions."

"It would take more than \$1,000,000,000 to carry on the vast plans for irrigation necessary to make the arid and semi arid lands of Mexico produce, but the results would be worth many billions. The sum of \$1,000,000,000 invested in Mexican irrigation would double the income of the nation and government. The National Party of Liberty—the Catholics—would not only encourage for-

Announcement! In Laidler's department next week: "No More War," by Arthur Ponsonby. Debate on Prohibition by Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee and John Haynes Holmes.

Fascism Fails Industrially-Turns Toward Socialization

Lloyd George Buys Liberals With Coin From Sale of Titles

Disgraceful Finish of Middle Class Party Paves Way for Great Liberal Victory

LONDON.—Last week Great Britain's Liberal Party was sold on the auction block to the highest bidder. The Liberal Administrative Committee, which is the supreme power in the Liberal party, met in London. Lloyd George offered to finance the party in the next campaign if he and his friends were given a free hand in the matter of selecting the party's candidates and formulating its policies.

This was agreed to by a vote of 16 to 12. Lloyd George is, therefore, in position to select every Liberal candidate for parliamentary honors in the next general election. Should a candidate unsatisfactory to him be put up in any district, he can withdraw financial support as well as the official party blessing.

How does it happen that Lloyd George, who entered politics a poor man and who has never engaged in any business except politics, is in position to put through this unprecedented scheme?

In order to answer that question we will have to go back a few years. While he was premier, Lloyd George sold titles and honors right and left. Apparently any one who had the money could become a knight, a baron, and even an earl.

In this way he accumulated a war chest of between \$5,000,000 and \$6,000,000. He invested some of the money in newspaper properties.

Recently he sold one of his newspapers, the Daily News, for \$3,000,000 for his war chest, as well as \$500,000 for the private bank account of Lloyd George.

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Arch Foes of Socialism Turn to Socialization As Their System Collapses

Italian Fascism won't work. The biggest attempt in all history to perpetuate the capitalist system by military force is failing, because the economic system of capitalism will not work. The boasted economic "success" of Fascism cried from the housetops by every banker, business man and prostitute journalist who has visited Italy has turned to be mere propaganda bunk. The Mussolini regime built up expressly to crush Socialism now faces a most severe industrial crisis and is turning toward the nationalization of industry, a basic Socialist proposal, to save itself.

These startling developments are described in the following news dispatch:

MILAN, Italy, Jan. 23.—Italian industry, particularly in the metallurgical and textile branches is traversing the most critical period since the advent of Fascism.

The increased value of the lira is choking competition abroad, while the lack of liquid cash is greatly restricting the home markets. Factories are compelled to get rid of stocks of raw materials purchased abroad with the lira at 50 to the dollar, while now the lira has improved to about 25 to the dollar. Already one automobile firm has closed its doors—the Officina Metallurgica di Milano—while at least two others are on the verge of closing. In the textile industry the big firms have on hand stocks totaling approximately 1,500 tons, for which, at present, there is no market.

Work 5 Days a Week. The immediate results have been a reduction in the staffs of most steel and iron plants by one-third, while the cotton mills work with reduced forces five days a week.

The bankers indicate that in their opinion the cause has been a too rapid deflation. Most of them agree that the deflation policy is sound in the long run; but they are of the opinion that Premier Mussolini and Finance Minister Volpi proceeded too rapidly with these measures.

Nationalization. On the other hand there is considerable talk of some sort of nationalization of the more important industries, particularly the silk industries. This would take the form of a great national trust under government control, but with the present stockholders of the factories having a share in the new national venture. Premier Mussolini, however, is keeping his own counsel until the relations of the workers and employers have been definitely fixed by the new labor regulations.

The nationalization of the metallurgical, cotton and silk industries would not be inconsistent with the present policy of state control and the concentration of industry. It would dovetail into his "call for the state" policy. But the industrialists do not expect serious action unless the situation gets much worse.

Rome Approves Armed Catholic Rebellion

ROME, Italy.—Mexican ecclesiastical circles here have asked for a formal ruling by the two chief Catholic universities—the Gregorian (of the Jesuit order) and the Angelican (of the Dominicans)—as to whether the present armed action by the Mexican Catholics against the allies government is lawful according to Catholic doctrine.

Both universities have responded that such armed action is not only lawful, but that it is also obligatory, since it is not an insurrection but a defense.

If government was as inefficient as private and corporate business is, it would cost ten times what it does now.

Now for a vote of thanks to Fall and Doherty for saving the country by absorbing much of its property.

From The Pen Of Debs

(Compiled by Theodore Debs)

The War for Peace

The whole world is crying for "peace" but there can be no peace while the working class is in slavery.

Peace and slavery are as opposite and antagonistic as light and darkness. Where slavery exists, peace may seem to abide but it is the kind of peace that sits upon the lips of a volcano.

If peace and slavery were compatible and co-existent the race would be doomed and the future without a star.

But slavery, deadening as its effects are upon the minds and morals of its victims; crushing as its cruel weight is upon their hopes and aspirations, there is still that within it which guides its victims to fight against it and to sacrifice their very lives to escape its brutal and blighting power.

Industrial peace is the high hope of the class-conscious workers of today but it is the peace that comes with freedom and is based upon justice.

The war to achieve that peace is now on and it is the bulkiest war ever waged by man for the emancipation of man from man's cruel inhumanity.

There can be no peace while the Rockefeller are allowed to privately own the earth and the factories thereof and countless millions are trespassers and denied access to the means upon which their lives depend and without which they are doomed to slavery and death.

Ludlow was written in the blood of slaughtered babies in solemn and tragic protest against the capitalist system and its monstrous crime of shutting out the common life from the means that sustain it and vesting the title of the earth's ownership in a cannibalistic plutocracy as despotic and remorseless as ever cursed the world.

Industrial peace will prevail when industrial freedom has been achieved and industrial justice is done.

This can never be while the capitalist system, rooted in the slavery and misery of the producing masses, is allowed to stand and only those workers who have intelligence enough to understand this and manhood enough to enlist in the war for capitalism's overthrow are true to their class and to humanity, and only they are champions of industrial freedom and the apostles of industrial peace.

sign capital, but would go after it as a means of raising the standard of living among 80 per cent of the people. We must make Mexican citizens out of the peons and peasants, but we cannot do it by taking work from them and making them hate our international neighbors."

And now the British kink condemns the mine workers for not yielding, yet says not a word against the mine owners for not yielding. The people pay the kink and he spits on them.

General Motors has issued a stock dividend of fifty per cent, not to mention the regular quarterly dividend. Under Socialism mine cars would cost less than half what they do now.

Poland, England and France Backed Lithuanian Revolt

Helped Smash Socialist-Populist Government—Now Plot End of Latvian Socialist Rule

(The following is by Junius B. Wood, special correspondent for the Chicago Daily News.)

MOSCOW, U. S. S. R.—The Polish revolution, encouraged by France and Great Britain, which it is said produced a recent successful revolution in Lithuania, are now operating in Latvia, where the liberal party is in power. When the correspondent of The Daily News was in Riga recently, the possibilities of an uprising of the Latvian fascists against the present social-democratic ministry were openly discussed on the streets.

Discussion of the two treaties of non-aggression and commerce with Russia, recently re-announced and described in cables to The Daily News last week, has given Latvian Fascist sympathizers a most anticipated incentive for early action. Poland certainly does not favor the signing of any non-aggression treaty between Latvia and Russia.

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British Labor Hits At War On Chinese

LONDON.—The executive of the British labor party, in a public manifesto, declares that the only policy towards the struggle in China which promises good results is one of arbitration and friendly co-operation.

The manifesto demands withdrawal of warships from Chinese waters, strict neutrality by the British government between the warring factions in China, and efforts by the British government to induce the other governments to agree to a strict embargo on arms and munitions to China. Labor organizations are urged to protest vigorously against a policy of intervention.

Santa Claus is a bigger man than Jesus, and a much better salesman. That is why he is a bigger man under commercialism.

Labor Party Plan Beaten At Annual Miners Convention

Nationalization of Mines and Railroads and 5 Day-Week Are Indorsed

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—The annual convention here of the United Mine Workers of America defeated the proposal of the insurgents to found a labor party, to indorse the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States government, and practically every other resolution offered by the insurgents led by John Brophy, who was recently defeated by John L. Lewis for international president of the union.

Purely communist resolutions calling for condemnation of the British unions and the Amsterdam International for alleged failure to support the British miners' strike, received no consideration.

On the other hand, the resolution committee reaffirmed the declarations in favor of the nationalization of the mines and the railroads; a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti was demanded; demands were formulated for a six hour day and a five day week; wage increase demands from 20 to 60 per cent were indorsed, and a short term contract, preferable for a year, was indorsed.

In the face of considerable opposition the pay of Lewis was raised from \$8,000 to \$12,000 a year, and that of Vice President Murray and Secretary-Treasurer Kennedy was increased from \$7,000 a year to \$9,000 a year each.

"The American labor movement," said President Green, "is for the preservation of peace between the two nations by bringing about the settlement of all questions in dispute by peaceful means and without resort to unfriendly acts or any acts of war."

In his definition of "unfriendly acts" Mr. Green included the lifting of the embargo on arms and recruiting of insurgent bands of Mexicans on American soil.

Panama Rejects Pact Binding It to U. S.

COLON, Panama.—The proposed new treaty between the United States and Panama is virtually a dead letter, as a result of the Panama national assembly's action in voting to return it to the president of Panama for further negotiations "to attain a solution which shall fully satisfy the aspirations of the nation."

The flood of renewals now pouring in is most gratifying and encouraging. Today's mail transcends all records.

We want all of our readers—Socialists and other progressives—to remain with us in this great adventure of restoring a movement, a social faith, a hope and a vision.

WE ARE GOING TO DO IT AND WE WILL WANT AND WILL NEED YOUR SUPPORT AND YOUR FAITH.

It will be a great adventure, a pleasant adventure, a thrilling adventure, in which we all will touch, week by week, the vast living issues of the world, the big developments, the vital contacts of humanity.

YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO LOSE TOUCH WITH US AND WE CAN'T AFFORD TO LOSE TOUCH WITH YOU.

When you read this: SIT RIGHT DOWN AND RENEW.

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Socialist Locals Join In The Battle For The Appeal

Lithuanian Socialists Branch 71, Cambridge, Mass., has a fine photograph of Debs as a mark of honor for the following work for the Appeal: One yearly renewal and \$5 donation.

sets a magnificent example for Socialist organizations: "Westmoreland County Local took action at its regular meeting last night on the American Appeal and the D.E.B.S. broadcasting station.

Every LOCAL, LANGUAGE, STATE, AND DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS SHOULD MAKE IT A POINT TO SEE THAT THEY GET ONE OF THOSE MAGNIFICENT PORTRAITS OF DEBS TO HANG UP AT HEADQUARTERS. THIS LAST PHOTO OF DEBS, MADE EXPRESSLY FOR THE PARTY AND EARNED BY SERVICE TO THE CAUSE IS THE BIGGEST YOU CAN WIN FOR YOUR LOCAL AT THIS TIME.

activity. The Maynard Yipels have again become a prominent factor in the new officers of the circle are Comrades Aili Lindfors, William Saarela, Helmi Hiipakka, Ranghild Mark, Ellen Jaakkola.

peal. This is a fine plan. "Our good and faithful comrade, Mrs. Emma Draut, votes "Yes" on the motion to keep the splendid organ of the Socialist Party of America in the field for working class emancipation."

missing copy. Alfred Baker Lewis, secretary New England District, fires in 12 three-month subs for trade union officials in Pittsfield, Mass., and has arranged with Pittsfield Socialists to go after their renewals.

is \$7 for subs and 60 cents for a bundle. The Appeal can afford to wait in cases like that. "My renewal and an extra dollar in grateful memory of "our Gene," to help advance the work so dear to his heart for which he lived and died."

Socialist Party News

On January 16, as previously arranged, the Socialist Party held its annual convention in the Labor Temple and proceeded to reorganize the Socialists of Texas.

largest audience of the season being present. Mr. Thomas' subject was "The United Mine Workers or the United Garment Workers."

February 17, at Koppel Brothers restaurant, 2782 West Division St., Chicago. Comrade Mrs. Kirkpatrick served the county organization with-out compensation for one and a half years, during which time she donated generally out of her own means to help support the party.

Army Casts 136 Votes for Appeal And Movement. The Appeal Army cast a total of 136 votes for the American Appeal and the Socialist movement in America during the week.

Army Record. Hurrah, again for the second time this week! The Army magnificently gloriously struck the New Year's stride with which it began the Appeal.

Prize Winners. Here are the names of those who sent \$5 or more to the Appeal during the week ending January 29, for subs, sub cards, and gifts, and who received the Debs Photo.

Near Prize Winners. These members of the Appeal Army sent in more than 2 subs, but less than \$5 worth.

New York. The meeting of the State Executive Committee, originally scheduled for January 30th, has been postponed until Sunday morning, February 6th.

Tour of Jessie Stephen. The tour of Miss Jessie Stephen, brilliant English woman speaker, and member of the English Labor Party, will begin at Buffalo March 1st.

Circle Activities. Milwaukee, Wis.—Circle One has completed arrangements for a Mark Ball to be given in the near future.

The Fund Drive. Some one has ventured to ask what the object of the Yipels Organization Fund Drive is. We can be quite frank about the reason for the drive.

Young People's Department. National Office, 2036 P. St., Pittsburgh, Pa. Aaron J. Parker, Nat. Director.

Prize Winners. Here are the names of those who sent \$5 or more to the Appeal during the week ending January 29, for subs, sub cards, and gifts, and who received the Debs Photo.

The Labor World. Oldest continuous weekly Socialist paper in the U. S. Room 204 Grant Bldg. San Francisco.

Pennsylvania. Philadelphia. A study was made in the "Cardinal Principles of Socialism" for newer members of the Party and others who may be interested in the subject was launched last Monday evening at Labor Institute, 808 Locust St.

Ohio. Comrade Willert, State Secretary of Ohio, reports to Headquarters that the comrades in Ohio are showing more life now, and hopes they will continue to increase their activity all along the line.

Circle Activities. Milwaukee, Wis.—Circle One has completed arrangements for a Mark Ball to be given in the near future.

The Fund Drive. Some one has ventured to ask what the object of the Yipels Organization Fund Drive is. We can be quite frank about the reason for the drive.

Young People's Department. National Office, 2036 P. St., Pittsburgh, Pa. Aaron J. Parker, Nat. Director.

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

Connecticut. New Haven. The January Forum meeting of the Trades Council, which was addressed by Norman Thomas of New York City, was very successful, the

Socialists to Dine. Mrs. Kirkpatrick. The Socialists of Cook County, Ill., will give a dinner in honor of former county secretary, Mrs. George R. Kirkpatrick, on Thursday evening,

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Renew Your Sub On This Blank. AMERICAN APPEAL, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. SUBSCRIPTION LIST. RATES \$1.00 A YEAR; 50 cts. 6 MONTHS.

NEWS AND VIEWS

War Front Moved to China

While the war danger smoulders in the West, and Szechuan, the constitutional government of Nicaragua is being cut off from supplies and trapped by a steadily increasing force of American Marines and war vessels, the movement toward emancipation and the peace of the world is imperiled in China.

There is a tremendous imperialist and capitalist motive for war in the Chinese situation. The Cantonese or Nationalist forces have a distinctly Nationalist and anti-imperialist program. They are in close cooperation with Russia. A victory of the Cantonese forces would constitute in the long run the greatest defeat capitalism and imperialism has ever suffered.

The Marriage of War and Capitalism

Recent events in Europe are of the most startling character and they are all parts of one piece. After two generations of slow, difficult scattering, imprisoned of Lithuania became sufficiently enlightened in democracy to elect a majority composed of Socialists and Populists.

Socialism Possible In Russia Now, Says Stalin

MOSCOW.—The official opinion of Soviet Russia, as expressed by Stalin in the December meeting of the executive committee of the Russian Communist party, is emphatic in asserting that it is possible to develop Socialism in the Soviet Union even though the rest of the world is ruled by capitalism.

According to the stenographic report published by International Press Correspondence, Stalin took this position in repudiation of the policy espoused by the Trotsky opposition.

At Stalin sees it, this question simmers down to the problem: Can the Russian proletariat overcome the Russian bourgeoisie? He thinks it can and will.

Party Maintains Power Stalin affirms this question, because he holds that the Communist party has the power to overcome the bourgeois elements of Russian life and to hold them under control.

CRUSH CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

This condition is the result of the terrible scientific efficiency of modern weapons of destruction. They are so deadly in their power that a MERF HANDFUL OF PERSONS COMPLETELY MONOPOLIZING THEM CAN CRUSH AND ENSLAVE A WHOLE NATION.

The predatory class whose roots go back to the cave man, finds himself threatened with elimination by the orderly process of democracy. HE STANDS NEAREST THESE DEADLY IMPLEMENTS OF DESTRUCTION. THAT IS WHY THE SUPREME PERIL THAT THREATENS THE WORLD TODAY IS THE PERIL OF MILITARY DICTATORSHIPS.

Farmer-Laborites of Minnesota Plan A National Party

ST. PAUL.—A national Farmer-Labor Party for the presidential election in 1928 was the objective of a preliminary meeting of representatives of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the remnants of the Non-partisan League of Minnesota, representatives of the railroad brotherhoods and the Minnesota State Federation of Labor held here during the week.

Affiliation of all farmer and labor organizations will be sought by the state party which controls 1 U. S. senator, 2 congressmen and about one third of the membership of each house in the legislature, being second only to the republican party in Minnesota, with the democratic nowhere. It polled over a quarter million votes last November.

Berger and Maurer Made Members, Old Age Pension Body

WASHINGTON.—Representative Victor L. Berger has accepted membership in a committee of 100 which is to meet in New York City to launch an organization committee to the establishment of a national old age pension system.

Nearly All Danish Dairies Cooperative

Only 260 of Denmark's 1,660 registered dairies are in the hands of individual owners, all the rest being cooperative dairies, according to the Danish paper Tidende, 1600 of the dairies produce butter for export, and more than one third of the butter export trade is conducted by cooperative butter export associations established in various parts of the country. The British Cooperative Wholesale Society has establishments in Denmark for the purpose of exporting Danish agricultural products to Britain.

Minimum Wage Law of Arkansas is Voided

WASHINGTON.—Arkansas laws regulating the minimum wages of women were declared void by the U. S. supreme court last week in upholding a decision of a federal district court.

University Man Sees the Light

OTTAWA.—Dr. Stephen Leacock, McGill University Professor of Political Economy, warned a large audience here in an address at the Professional Institute, that if the problem of distributing wealth was not solved the world would "blow up." After terming it an economically unjust world in which one man was wrongly valued at two or three dollars a day while another received \$200,000, he declared: "We must go at least that far with the Communist and Socialist. We cannot analyze the world and find there is justice in it, and we cannot solve the problem of social injustice by denying that it exists."

New Bids Menace Muscle Shoals

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Approval of an offer by the American Cyanamid company to take over the power and nitrate plants at Muscle Shoals under conditions held to be more advantageous to the government than the Henry Ford offer is provided in a bill introduced in the house by Representative Madden (Rep., Ill.).

Evolutionists Win In West Virginia

West Virginia has refused to follow Tennessee on the anti-evolution trail. A resolution was introduced in the West Virginia House of Delegates the other day, providing "That the teaching of evolution in the free schools be prohibited."

Labor College Drives for Two Million Goal

KATONAH, N. Y.—Indorsement of the \$2,000,000 building and endowment fund drive which Brookwood Labor college is launching has been given by the New York State Federation of Labor and the New York Central Trades & Labor Council.

Army Scout Dies

A letter from Baltimore tells of the death of an Appeal Scout there—Comrade Lang. "He was a hard worker for the Appeal," says the letter. "He never went out unless he carried a copy of the Appeal in his pocket. He died sick on the street and died shortly after in a hospital. The Appeal hears of this death of one of its faithful workers with deep regret. The movement and the paper need them all at this critical period."

Coelidge Prosperity Hits Vincennes, Ind.

Approximately 300 families of regular workers are jobless in Vincennes, Indiana, and dependent on public charity, as a result of the present winter wave of Coelidge prosperity. This news is conveyed in a clipping from the Vincennes Sun, sent by an Appeal reader in Vincennes. Great suffering is reported as a result of increasing unemployment and coelidge charity. Three hundred families would represent at least 1,500 persons, a substantial percentage of the entire population of Vincennes.

Lloyd George Buys Liberals

George Lloyd has a reserve fund of \$2,000,000, invested that is probably producing \$500,000 or \$600,000 a year. He proposes to spend this income on the task of rehabilitating the Liberal party, provided always that it will obey his orders and recognize him as chief.

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Progressivism In America

By ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS "The trouble with the communists is that they lack a sense of humor. "Economics" he declared, "have a way of their own. Their development depends upon resources, methods, psychology, religion, marriage, birth control, politics, climate and the rainfall. Most of the problems of Society, even from an economic viewpoint, are individual. The whole thing refuses to fit into a pattern. The Conservatives have a pattern—the preservation of the present. The Socialists have a pattern—Society must move so and so. The Communists

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Which Shall It Be—Communism, Progressivism or Socialism?

A Symposium by Solon DeLeon, Garfield Hays and Norman Thomas

Editor's Note

In the January 22 issue of the AMERICAN APPEAL, appeared the address of Morris Hillquit on the "Future of Socialism in the United States," delivered in a symposium of the League for Industrial Democracy, where the line up was primarily one between the upholders of capitalism and the upholders of a new social order. Mr. Hillquit's brilliant summing up of the situation made a profound impression on his hearers and later on the readers of the APPEAL.

At the same conference another symposium was held in Philosophy for Industrial Democracy some 25 college students and graduates from two scores of colleges. This symposium dealt primarily with the difference between the Communist, the Progressive and the Socialist positions in America. It, too, elicited keen interest.

The Communist tactics were presented by Solon DeLeon of the Labor Research Department, who urged the need of centralized control from Moscow. The Progressive approach was given by Arthur Garfield Hays, the New York attorney representing the Civil Liberties Union in the Scopes Case and Chairman of the New York State Progressive Committee in the La Follette campaign, who praised the Liberals on the ground that they were slaves of no dogma. Norman Thomas, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy and former Socialist candidate for Mayor and Governor in New York, pleaded for socialism as opposed to the dictatorship of communism and the aimlessness of liberalism.

Communist Viewpoint

Solon Spiro, the first speaker, said in part: "Progressivism" he declared, is the political faith which aims to maintain a social balance between labor and capital. It would leave labor alone to exploit and cheat out of the best thing of life—Socialism is the political faith which aspires toward a Cooperative Commonwealth, but which has neither the desire nor the power to enter upon a determined effort to establish it. Hence it dissipates its energies on making the capitalist system bearable. Communism is the political faith which bases itself on the economic necessity and inevitability of a Cooperative Commonwealth, and conducts an aggressive campaign of revolutionary activity on all possible fronts to effect the establishment of a Commonwealth at the earliest possible moment.

"As direct consequences of its avowed and determined revolutionary purpose, the Communist movement in America as elsewhere has adopted the policy of systematic terrorism. Communism is the political faith which bases itself on the economic necessity and inevitability of a Cooperative Commonwealth, and conducts an aggressive campaign of revolutionary activity on all possible fronts to effect the establishment of a Commonwealth at the earliest possible moment.

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fundamental principle is a certain tolerance and belief in individual liberty. There is a great deal to be said for the liberal attitude of which all too little is left in the United States. Nevertheless, liberalism as a philosophy is wholly inadequate. It shan seem to be: We don't know where we're going but we're on our way. It is often more concerned about the condition of the road than the destination. Granting that an adequate social analysis is difficult it is nevertheless vital to any constructive program. No social movement has ever succeeded, without some sense of direction.

"I am a Socialist because Socialism, better than any other theory, seems to me to supply the need for some sort of analysis of our social order and some guiding principles of reconstruction. I do not mean that Karl Marx was infallible or that any social theory must not keep sufficiently plastic to meet the test of facts. Socialism, especially in America, needs restatement in the light of what we are learning of human psychology, and the immense fund of social data that have acquired an objective history since the World War. Nevertheless the guiding principle of Socialism—its faith in collective ownership and democratic management of land, natural resources and the principal means of production—is sound and its emphasis on the necessity for some sense of social solidarity among the workers is absolutely vital to our social salvation.

"I am a Socialist and not a Communist because Socialism is cast in a less rigid and dictatorial mold than Communism. I believe that our whole conception of democracy needs analysis and restatement, but I am convinced that the dictatorship of a Communist Party, at least in our Western world, is a dangerous and unworkable substitute for the imperfect democracy we now have. I am opposed to the secular Jesuitism of Communism. I am opposed to its catastrophic theory of salvation, that is, the notion that we are inevitably headed for some sort of great disaster, probably new World War, after which will come world revolution. So terrible are the consequences of modern warfare on so great a scale that a more likely consequence of such war than an orderly Communist Dictatorship leading eventually to an emancipated world. Perhaps we cannot avert the great catastrophe to which the working out of capitalism in its international aspects logically leads. I believe in trying. And in trying I am willing to cooperate with liberals or Communists. The difficulty of cooperation with Communists is their repudiation of what ordinarily passes for good faith and what seems to the rest of us like their tactics of rule or ruin. I say this with full appreciation of the energy, enthusiasm, and personal idealism of the best Communists and with full recognition that Socialism and Socialists in America have to answer for their own sins of omission and commission.

Socialism

The first speaker, Norman Thomas, said that he was speaking for himself and not for the League for Industrial Democracy. "The time has definitely passed," declared Mr. Thomas, "when thoughtful men can defend the present system with its waste, poverty, bitter injustice and constant threat of war. If any other rational or good thing today he who says that this is the best of possible worlds does not emphasize BEST but POSSIBLE and his justification of the system as it is is an attack upon human nature and the capacity of human nature to construct a better world for itself. "Radicals of all shades and opinion agree that intelligent men and women cannot be content simply to try to preserve a status quo so filled with social injustice and danger as that which gave birth to one World War and which is to be the pioneer for another. They accept in its fullest sense H. G. Wells' oft-quoted statement that history is a race between education and catastrophe. The liberal, generally speaking, believes that no basic principles of social reorganization can be worked out. His one

Chinese Nationalism and The Intervention Peril

Editor's Note

Harry Kingman, Y. M. C. A. secretary in Tientsin, China, has sent to his friends in America an account as he saw it in December, 1926, of the Chinese navy and its equipment. The Chinese navy and warships are becoming more interested. The letter maintains that the Chinese people should be permitted to work out their own destiny and that it is America's duty not to send warships, but to abrogate unjust treaties. We reproduce the letter in part.

One of the most spectacular developments which has taken place during my few years in China has been the bursting into flame of Chinese Nationalism. At the time that Dr. Sun Yat Sen came to Shanghai from the south in the fall of 1924 with his slogan "Abolish the Unequal Treaties" there was very apparent nationalistic feeling in this country. Some of the intellectuals had begun to talk about the Christian enterprise in China as one of the agents of foreign imperialism, but their propaganda met with little response. Dr. Sun, colorful, idealistic, hero of Chinese students, sensing that the time had come for China to begin a fight for the regaining of self-respect, opened the drive on the 22nd of May. Then came May 30th with its emotional aftermath which turned every intelligent Chinese into a patriot. The average Chinese may not have known for a time what he meant with his slogan about the treaties but he felt that the China would waste no time in repudiating its role of international doormat. Today the emotion of patriotism, new as it is in China, is strongly coloring the thought and action of the Chinese people to an extent which makes them inexplicable to the old foreign residents who have thought that they understood them thoroughly.

China Will Insist on Its Rights Shortly after the May 30th incident there were many foreigners who were prophesying that the new manifestations of Chinese patriotism were but a temporary phenomenon and would soon die a natural death. I think it will continue to do so. I believe that an awakened China will not discontinue the drive against unequal or dishonoring treatment from foreign powers until all injustices are removed. She has already attained a good deal within a few years which have obtained all. The policy of ignoring the inevitability of this adjustment in the hope that the old special privileges of the foreigner in China can be profitably clinging to for a few more years is not only unethical but has already proved disastrous. If two years ago, instead of waiting until their hand was forced, the foreigners in China had voluntarily taken steps to return the Shanghai Mixed Court, to accept the principle of Chinese tariff autonomy, to seek Chinese representation in such organizations as the Shanghai Municipal Council, and to discard the 1901 Protocol in its more antediluvian aspects, China would have accepted the friendly gestures with appreciation, and today I believe that we would not be witnessing the like of a torn and bloody when it will probably be necessary, temporarily, for practically all foreign commercial interests to abandon the China market. But we haven't made these alterations voluntarily. We have waited until we could do little else but surrender them. China has been done not so much from an overwhelming desire to be just as from a realization that it was the unavoidable or expedient course. As a consequence the Chinese feel but little gratitude. Had the report which has just been made by the Extraterritoriality Commission been issued a year or two

ago, it would have been a different matter. (Continued on page 4)

The People Must Keep Muscle Shoals!

Editor's Note

Shall the Federal Government give away the great power resources at Muscle Shoals—the largest hydroelectric development in the South? Private interests are using every power at their command to induce Congress to hand over to them this rich prize. They have powerful supporters in the administration. Senator Norris, Senator La Follette and others, backed by public opinion, have thus far prevented the government from granting a long term lease. They have demanded public development. H. S. Raushenbush, Secretary of the Committee on Coal and Giant Power and a foremost authority on this subject, gives some reasons why the people should retain and develop its own power resources not for private profit, but for the service of all. Read the article. Show it to your friends. Then make your will known in no uncertain terms to your congressmen and senators.

—H. W. L.

By H. S. Raushenbush

The power plant the United States Government built at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River in Alabama during the war remains an outstanding fortress on the frontier of control. It is the only question in the Senate and young Bob LaFollette and a few others have met all the bills to give it away with the stern words: "They shall not pass" and have so far successfully kept it from getting into the hands of the great combine of power companies of the South. At this session of the Senate the question is again up for fighting, a Senate Committee has again recommended a certain lease, and the defenders of a Government-owned and operated

Muscle Shoals need all the public support they can get.

An American Ontario Needed

Let us not fool ourselves. The vast bulk of the eight billion dollar power industry is in private hands and it is going to stay there for quite awhile. It is going to stay there because we have no yardstick to measure its efficiency in giving us cheap rates. We have no American Ontario. We have, scattered throughout the country, several thousand municipal plants. To a large extent they keep rates down in the cities and towns where they operate and in the immediate neighborhood where private companies operate. But the technological progress of the industry is sweeping along. The newer and bigger plants are far more efficient. Vast and complicated systems of interconnected water and steam power plants can furnish cheaper power than old plants, whether privately or publicly owned. The small municipal plants no longer give us a yardstick by which we can measure the rates which the rest of the power industry charges us. We need an American Ontario, a large plant furnishing cheap power to a large area.

Here is where Muscle Shoals takes its place as an outstanding fortress on the frontier of control. The Government spent \$128,000,000 to build it. It is now being sold at the bus bar at a little over 3 mills per kilowatt hour. This same power the Alabama Power Company is selling at 8 and 9 cents to its residential consumers. There is no question about the profitability of this business. The only question is whether the people of this nation would prefer to keep the profits for themselves and at the same time have an effective American way of judging

just how much more than necessary the other power companies of the country are charging them.

Greatest Source of Power in South

Muscle Shoals will furnish the largest block of water power East of the Rockies and South of the St. Lawrence. The waterpower already installed is bigger than any other development in the South. The auxiliary steam plant is one of the biggest in the South. When the river above the plant has been improved the total installed power will be 871,000 horsepower, over three billion kilowatt hours a year.

Power Versus Fertilizer

There has been much talk about Muscle Shoals as a fertilizer plant, which, by manufacturing cheap fertilizer, would, to some extent, help the farmers out of the hole they are in. In the main this is a blind to hide the gift of valuable power resources. It is very doubtful if fertilizer can be made much cheaper at Muscle Shoals than elsewhere. Apparently the only way to make cheap fertilizer at Muscle Shoals is to furnish the power for it for far less than cost. The really valuable asset is the power. It is much greater than that needed for nitrate manufacture, even if both nitrate plants are run at capacity. This is what the holders are after and the people of the country should rally to protect.

in. So they started the snow-ball of revaluations, and the Court, in its infinite consideration of the rights of the investors, has allowed them to earn a return on more than they put in. This has gotten us into a nice mess. The late Senator LaFollette tried to stop it by having the railroads valued, but the Senate maintained that these should be valued on about five different bases and it threw all of them except reproduction cost out. Certainly it is harder to untangle a mess after it has been going for years than it is to stop it before it starts.

Where Regulation Falls

The power industry in every State in the Union comes in for revaluation whenever there is a rate case. And one of the jokers in that business of revaluation is that while the Court gives all the stock and bondholders in a company the benefit of revaluation on the ground that a company is an entity, a legal person, only the holders of common stock get any benefit out of it at all, and they get all the benefit. Take a power company that was started in 1912. Three or four big plants were built. A hundred million dollars was invested in 1912, 1913 and 1914. The bondholders put in 60 million and were guaranteed a 7 per cent return. The common stockholders put in 40 million and were guaranteed a 7 per cent return. The common stockholders put in the other 20 million, and since the State allowed the whole company a fair return of 7 per cent, let us say, the common stockholders got 140 million. The common stockholders put in 20 million and were guaranteed a 7 per cent return. The common stockholders put in the other 20 million, and since the State allowed the whole company a fair return of 7 per cent, let us say, the common stockholders got 140 million.

The Breakdown of Regulation

When we started to regulate industry we started off on the wrong foot and it has never been right since. We did not hold down, by law and contract, the companies to a fair return on the cash they actually put

to reduce rates if evidence can prove that the company is making more than 7 per cent on the whole investment. The company proves that it will not hog the benefits of its own development, made at the expense of all the people, and leave out in the cold the small consumers who should be allowed to share in the benefits of the development they have helped to pay for. They have a right to share in those benefits.

Industrialists Hog the Benefit

Even an conservative authority as the Secretary of the Federal Power Commission, Mr. C. O. Merrill, pointed out at Jackson, Mississippi, that there was a danger of this happening, and that it was precisely this which had happened at Niagara Falls. He said: "In the early days of electrical development in this country another great power site, that of Niagara Falls, was developed by a private corporation without being subject to public control. At the present time more than three-fourths of the energy generated on the American side at Niagara Falls is whosoled on long terms contracts to industrial corporations within the city limits and less than one-fourth of the energy is available for general public service in the adjacent territory. While the cheapest electric power on the American continent is being developed at Niagara Falls, the great city of Buffalo, a few miles distant, must supply its industries and citizens with steam generated power."

Let's Keep Our Frontiers

If we are to keep our frontiers of control intact it is up to every public spirited citizen to see that his Senator and his Representative vote for the Norris bill. Write the two of them now. Tell them to vote for the Norris bill. Keep Muscle Shoals for the people.

Farmer Must Turn Collectivist To Save Himself, Leader Says

Director of National Council, In Meantime, Offers Plan Of Partial Relief

Millions of farmers today are suffering desperately. They are grasping at every straw that promises improved conditions. Various groups of farmers with political ambitions are offering advice. Here is some advice from a disinterested doctor, the managing Director of the Farmers' National Council, Benjamin C. Marsh. He has been sacrificing much of his own time and health in behalf of a better deal for farmers. He knows the farm situation from top to bottom. He is not a socialist. He is a single taxer. Many socialists will undoubtedly take the view that the remedies here suggested do not go deep enough. March is not in sympathy with them. But his views as here set forth are worthy of consideration as coming from a thinker and a worker for human welfare.

Read the article and tell him where you are wrong.

—Harry W. Laidler.

By Benjamin C. Marsh

Managing Director, Farmers' National Council, Washington, D. C.

We may like it or not, but so-called radicalism or un-intelligent socialism, and even socialism, are solving any problems, certainly not the problem of overproduction of farm products, which at the outset, let me admit, is a cowardly way of saying under-consumption of farm products. This article is written, however, from the point of view of the producing farmer and not of the consumer.

Internationalism of Agriculture

Even a cursory study of the farm problem shows that the distribution of staple farm crops and products which enter into international commerce constitutes an international and not a national problem. This holds true of wheat, cotton, cattle, hogs, rice and even fruits. Farmers in most countries, however, are not internationalists of the first, second, third or even fourth degree. They are deeply inclined to be extreme individualists. Only such a terrific deflation as has not yet struck this country will drive farmers to an international view of the problem. They are as individualistic on the whole as they are today, a changed viewpoint by a few will not help the situation.

Price Guarantee a Calamity

The United States Department of agriculture in the Year Book for 1923, discussing our land resources for crops, pasture and forests, states that they are sufficient to maintain a population of 312,000,000, or, with the intensive system of Germany, a population of 519,000,000. We have a population of about 115,000,000.

In 1924, the total acreage of crop land was 391,530,356 acres out of 924,453,950 acres in farms. Of the crop land, only 344,798,157 acres were harvested, and 47,192,219 acres, or about one eighth (12.1 per cent), were not harvested. Nearly four-fifths of the acreage of crop land is planted to five great staple crops—in 1925—306,442,900 acres—as follows: Cotton 46,557,000; wheat 52,200,000; corn 101,231,000; hay 59,328,000; and oats 48,100,000 acres. In that year the yield of the five crops was from 15 per cent to 40 percent less than the full yield per acre. Even with present inefficient methods of production, and low acreage yields, at least 45 per cent more acres are in absolute surplus—limited—and the worse casualty of all would overtake the farmers.

Development of the Great Farm

The approach to the farm problem cannot be from the standpoint of preserving inefficiency. When America joined the financial and economic, international nations by entering the World War—and it now leads them all, it did so in agriculture, in the United States. America is going to have cheap raw material, food and clothing as well as cheap minerals. That cheap farm products are going to be had is shown by the fact that, since the war, there has been a tremendous increase in wheat, large farmers and other financial interests in Texas and the southwest are planning to put in 10,000,000 acres in wheat, using machinery in every operation—and have already sown nearly 3,000,000 acres additional in these areas. They frankly admit they are going to put the northwest wheat grower out of business. There is no class solidarity among farmers, even those raising the same commodity, as the tragic fates of most farmers co-operatives shows. The American wheat grower knows that they can produce wheat so cheaply that they won't need a tariff and can compete on an even keel in ordinary years in the world's markets.

Financiers in California are producing a ton for 7 cents a pound, while the marginal producers in the eastern part of the southern United States, the old cotton growing states, are bewailing the fact that they can't break even with the price of cotton at 14 cents.

Farmers Must Be Collectivists

It is a truism that the farmer cannot survive as an individualist in a society, which, in order to survive, must be collectivist. Unfortunately, up to the present time, the farmer has assumed the role of the supreme individualist. Promoters of industry do not insist upon taking all the risks of their industry; they issue stocks and bonds. Labor doesn't insist upon owning the factory in which it works. But the farmers, either own their own farms or they are tenants. They are missing out in many ways. In 1925 two out of every five farmers (38.5 per cent) were tenants.

In the face of this seemingly universal desire, I maintain that a large proportion of farmers—should not try to own their farms. They are not qualified by experience, nor training nor ability, and none of these facts is their fault primarily—to take the inherent risks of agriculture—the most precarious financially of all occupations.

To maintain further, that there will not be, in my judgment, any permanent successful, progressive, political movement among farmers so long as the majority of them seek above all else to own their farms. Many would be much better off to be organized as wage earners on farms and let the owners, whether big farmers or corporations, take the risks of the market and fight them if necessary for fair wages. Certainly that would be the case for some time to come. I would suggest the following measures toward a sane policy for agriculture in this country.

A Few Immediate Steps

1. Limit immigration of adult workers for a period of five years, while the Federal Government works out a careful policy of transferring less efficient farmers into less hazardous occupation. This may involve some Federal expenditure.
2. Reduce tariffs on manufactured necessities.
3. Repeal Federal consumption taxes, and increase surtaxes and estate taxes, retaining the proceeds for the Federal Government.
4. Reduce freight rates on farm products. This can most effectively be done after consolidation of lean land and lines, and untaxing improvements on land, which, by a heavy

tax rate on land values, will squeeze several billions of water out of the present exorbitant valuation of most railroads.

Price-fixing associations should be ended.

5. A general government marketing corporation should be formed to act as a shock absorber and to facilitate a more efficient system of marketing farm products. Congress should make a careful survey and work out a policy for agriculture so far as legislation can help, but fundamentally farmers will have to work out their own economic salvation. They are now too poor to pay their dues to their own organizations and they have to be organized before they can get their dues from Congress.

Chinese Nationalism and Intervention

(Continued from page 3)

ago it would have impressed the Chinese greatly. Now it is either condemned or ignored. It comes too late to be of much use.

Still Time for Powers to Retreat

There is still time for the Powers to do something to improve the situation. It is time to give up the idea of China by force into maintaining the old relationships. I hold this to be impossible as well as immoral, a policy of absolute inanity even though it is advocated by a few stubborn and pugnacious pundits who ought to know more about Far Eastern problems than I do. No, the Powers should look ahead and appreciate the fact that within three or four years the treaties forced on China in the golden days of unchallenged exploitation of weaker peoples will simply be no longer in effect. Realizing that this is inevitable they should lose no time in putting their relationships with China on an ethical basis, and do it in an ungrudging manner, thus staying off much of the unpleasantness which otherwise looms ahead for all concerned. The Chinese mean to win back their self-respect, and although we may talk ourselves black in the face in pointing out to them that their first duty is to put their own house in order, they intend to take the field against the foreigners until the day when there is no longer any just cause to do so. In so doing they employ just the technique which every other nation has used, to wit the directing of an attack upon a common external enemy in order to encourage internal unity. It was true even a year ago but it is true today that there remain very few foreigners in China who still insist that there is no need for a revision of the old treaties. These few remaining political fundamentalists—as impervious to the challenge to adjust outward dogmas to the need of a changing world as their brothers of the religious field—who maintain that the status quo in Sino-foreign relations should be and can be preserved are the greatest sentimentalists that I know in China. They are the definition of status quo as "do mess we'll in" is entirely apropos when applied to the China situation and a supreme attempt to get out of the mess immediately is something that should be delayed not an instant longer.

Nationalists Not Bolsheviki

One implication of the rise of Nationalism in China is the certainty of the overthrow, within a short time of the old crowd of Chinese militarists. Who would have believed six

months ago that nationalist armies would have won and consolidated so quickly their present strategic positions in the Yangtze Valley? Whether or not they can match their adversaries during the months ahead in arms, munitions, and other equipment to their extent, I am not prepared to say. But they are united by a common ideal and have the Chinese people on their side. It may be that foreign intervention in behalf of the reactionaries, similar to that which we witnessed in Manchuria last December, will postpone for some time the final and complete nationalist victory, but such delays will be only temporary. By concluding the issue through reiterated charges of bolshevism against the Southern reactionists, the northern militarists, if assisted at just the proper moment by foreign capital, expect to stem the advance of the national army. As a matter of fact the Kuomintang Party, the political organization founded by the late Sun Yat Sen of which the Kuomintang army is the military arm, is devoted to the cause of the Chinese people to believe. Its left wing is undoubtedly a reality, just as is the extremist element in the British Labor Party, but I believe that Bertrand Russell estimates well the economic position of the average member of the Kuomintang when he speaks of the "somebody between that of Ramsay MacDonald and Lloyd George."

Russia and China

Admittedly the nationalists have accepted help from Red Russia. Their enemies would have considered it more ethical on their part, naturally, had they insisted on showing Russian assistance and friendship as tainted by the influence of foreign capital, friendliness and impotent. How long is a gullible world public going to swallow this phobos, this "applause" to indulge in Menckensian phrasology, about the omnipotence, the omniscience, the omnipresence of Bolshevism? It is time to give up the idea of a hundred times this flappodoo emanates not from an unprejudiced source but from an extremely prejudiced one? Of course China favors Russia. When a man's house is on fire, his family is being despoiled, his property is being looted, he spends little energy questioning the morals or motives of the one who suddenly rushes to his rescue. Russia, whatever her motive, has been the one great Power which has volunteered assistance, and that assistance, as well as substantial aid, to the Chinese nationalist cause. By cutting straight across all diplomatic precedents she has seriously embarrassed other Powers. Instead of meeting the move by a similar enlightened policy these Powers have, by the accepted finger at China for having accepted Russia's gifts with gratitude. They have felt justified in giving moral backing, if nothing more, to certain Chinese militarists whom most patriotic citizens look upon with disgust and contempt. In my own opinion Chang Hsueh-shan, the son of Chiang Tso-lin, is the only one of the northern militarists who can conceivably bring anything but sorrow to the Chinese people. Time after time an appeal to the Young General mitigates some piece of oppression or cruelty. I have happened to see a good deal of him and have found him to be liberal to a degree which, considering the environment in which he is growing up, seems rather remarkable. But for the most part foreigners in assisting to keep the present crop of militarists in power, although they may be protecting their own interests, are torturing the Chinese people.

Must Cease to Interfere

How long shall foreign influence be thrown on the side of that which most Chinese feel is entirely reactionary and hopeless? Can or cannot the liberals in Europe, America, Japan unite effectively in opposing further pursuance of this policy? I do not advocate the inauguration of a movement to aid the Canton expedition. I feel that, rather, a vigorous attempt should be made to establish the principle of absolute non-interference by foreign interests in Chinese civil war. If China is left to work out her present internal problems unhampered the progressive

Socialist Organizer Tells of Great Success of New Methods

By S. H. Stille

After spending nearly a year in the mountains regarding my health, I came back to Newark, N. J. in order to start working for myself. I was not long here however until some comrades discovered me and before I knew what they were about I was at my old job again.

At first I had planned to start organizing the state but it came to me that it would be better to start with some work that is spending such energy over so large a territory would bring us no concrete results. So I put the question to the comrades that I raise a budget of \$3,000 in Essex county alone and devote all my time in that county. Some almost fainted at the thought of raising the amount in a single county when they had their doubts that it could be raised in the entire state, but nevertheless I won my point. We have no lists of registered voters in this county and I am unable to get names supplied me by comrades I set about to raise the budget.

To my surprise I found it fifty percent easier to work now than a year ago when I was at work in N. Y. State.

After less than a week I jumped the attendance of the meetings from eight to 15. That was four weeks ago and at our first meeting, Monday the 10th, we had nearly 60 present. While going from house to house raising the money I secured 28 new

members. These are real new ones and around 1 to 21 years of age.

Here is the result of a little over 4 weeks of work:

- An increase of 52 in attendance.
- 28 new members.
- \$2,100 raised on a budget that calls for \$3,000.

Now I am not going to leave this county for one year. I will stay right on the job and see the thing through. I positively know the following will NEVER ORGANIZE OUR PARTY:

- Street corner meetings.
- Stumpers sent out from our National Office.
- Running in and out of a community here and there and everywhere.
- Working from the top down.
- Following any stereotype methods worked out by any authority on the construction of phrases according to the scriptures of Marx.
- Free gifts.

Above all we cannot use European Psychology to build Socialism in America. We are in the U. S. A. and we must build with American psychology and conditions.

Here are a few suggestions to those who are interested in rebuilding the party:

- Look about you for an organizer. I mean one who is a student of psychology and can mingle and get results.
- Give him a county to organize or better yet, a city. Keep him there until the thing is safe and self-supporting.
- Pay him a wage such as his services demand, surely not less than \$40 per week.
- Secure respectable headquarters. Keep business and reports, etc., in the hands of a committee.
- Make meetings snappy, interesting. Put on musical programs, give recitals, debates, lectures, etc.
- Crush personalities. Keep controversial subjects out of the meetings. Religion especially should be kept out of all party work.
- Put the brakes on all comrades who for years have been in the habit of taking the floor and blowing off a lot of gas, yelling at the top of their voice, damning this thing and that, punching this comrade and another, smashing everything and everybody, offering no remedy, offering no suggestions, NOTHING UNDER THE SHINING HEAVENS WILL ILLU. A LOCAL ORGANIZER. THE ABOVE TYPICAL TYPE OF COMRADE. Many of our comrades should learn the POWER OF SILENCE.

A few resolute comrades should sit down quietly in the cool of the evening and carefully work out a budget for the county. What the work to be started and carried out. This budget should be raised first before organization begins. The organizer should every week receive his check IN FULL. Otherwise it is bad for the organizer and in the end for the party. Let us adopt business methods and we will be successful in attaining the end so earnestly sought.

The harvest is white. There never was a more opportune time to rebuild our party. Thousands are ready to respond and it is up to us to get in touch with them in a dignified and orderly manner and put our message across.

Put our organizers in more counties, raise hundreds of budgets in hundreds of places, fill the pages of the Appeal with the blazing fire of results every party. Let us adopt business methods in BOLD RED LETTERS THE DAMNABLE POLICY OF THE GLORIOUS U. S. IN THEIR INHUMAN AND UNJUST INTERFERENCE WITH THE STRUGGLING COMRADES ACROSS THE RED GRANDE. Comrades, wake up. The sun is high in the sky. Thousands are ready to unite with us in forming the great army to make the last gallant stand against the foe. Let us call to the comrades across the sea, to England, to Germany, to Russia, to Austria, to Denmark, to Norway, to Sweden, to the isles of the sea and above all let us reach our hands to our loyal comrades deserving comrades in Mexico. Let the songs of solidarity vibrate beyond the boundary lines of all countries. Let us all stand united, head to head, hand to hand, and let us stop with the palpitating, throbbing heart beats of the impending revolution that will one day bring a new order, a new civilization to bless mankind. I am yours on the firing line.

Cooperatives Rout Trust In Sweden

How the Swedish cooperatives broke the monopoly of a number of trusts, going into business on their own when manufacturers discriminated against them, is told by the Waukegan Cooperative Call, organ of the Cooperative Trading Company of that city. The case of the manufacturers of margarine, an important food item for Swedish workers, is cited. These had a virtual monopoly of the manufacture and distribution of margarine and decided to boycott the cooperative by refusing to sell to them at wholesale. The cooperatives, however, retaliated by organizing their own plant in 1909 and succeeded in breaking the margarine monopoly completely by 1911. In 1925 the cooperative plant turned out a total of 8,400 tons of margarine.

"Since the first plant was established in 1909," says the article, "new plants for the production of other commodities have been added, so that today there are also two large flour mills, a shoe factory, a chemical plant, a rubber boot and galosh factory, and a swine slaughterery all owned by the cooperatives. They have helped smash the flour trust and are now smashing the rubber monopoly."

In Sweden the number of cooperative societies has nearly doubled, the membership has tripled and the annual turnover has multiplied six times in the eleven years from 1914 to 1925. The movement has 315,174 members, representing about one-fourth of the families of Sweden. The big majority of them are workers and Socialists.

Chicago Launches Big Public Ownership Move

Following the notable success of the publicly owned street car system of Detroit, the Detroit Plan Traction Ownership club has been organized in Chicago by prominent citizens. The club follows the same lines as the one in Detroit which finally brought public ownership in that city. The organization will be non-political in character and is intended to include all citizens who believe in municipal ownership of public utilities.

The principles of the organization are:

- No more street railway franchises in Chicago.
- Referendum on all traction settlements.
- City to purchase the street railway lines now.
- Traction fund to be used only for the purchase of the street railway lines.
- Cost of lines not covered by traction fund to be paid from earnings in installments, under contract.
- Purchase price to be the actual cost of the property now used and useful for street railway purposes, with adequate deduction for depreciation due to age, use and obsolescence. Detroit paid \$19,850,000 for 273 miles of single track (\$72,710). In Chicago over \$162,502,000 is claimed by the Company for 1,005 miles of single track (\$162,593 per mile).
- The "Purchase Price" must be debited.