

Austrian Revolt Was Work of Communist Plotters

The Disciplined Solidarity of Socialist Workers Prevented Great Labor Debacle

The Austrian revolt, startling news of which has filled the dailies for a week, was the result of a Communist planned uprising made possible by the critical condition of many workers and by an extremely provocative act of injustice by a court under the reactionary Stiepel government. Never since the World War has the Austrian Labor Movement faced such dire peril as it faced for several days, but it met the situation magnificently. In response to call from the Socialist and trade union leaders the Austrian workers laid down their tools as one man from the Bavarian to the Italian border in a general strike so complete that all industry, all lines of intercommunication, all newspapers and sources of reactionary propaganda were shut off for several days.

The strike was called to rescue the Labor Movement from both the extreme right where an Italian and Hungarian invasion and a White Terror loomed, and the extreme left which held the menace of a dictatorship utterly impossible for Austria in its present situation and which could not have resulted otherwise than in conditions such as exist now in Italy, Hungary and Roumania.

Socialists Save Labor Movement
The Socialist general strike has saved representative movement in its present form, that government, the powerful trade union movement which is the most completely organized in the world, the present gains of the labor movement, the great Austrian cooperative movement, the Socialistic legislation and the public enterprises and utilities established by the Socialists, and last but not least THE WORKERS MILITIA, WHICH IS ALLOWED TO BEAR ARMS, WAS SAVED.

Liberties Union Hits Communists

For violently breaking up the recent Sacco-Vanzetti protest meeting in Union Square, New York City, because they were not invited to participate, the Communists have brought down upon themselves wholesale condemnation from the Civil Liberties Union, the Sacco-Vanzetti Committee, the Socialist Party of New York and a large number of labor organizations. After 10,000 workers had gathered and the meeting was proceeding in an orderly manner, Ben Gold, deputy leader of a group of Communist workers, attempted to force his way to the platform and speak. Rioting resulted and the meeting was dispersed by the police.

French Communists Smash Labor Meetings

PARIS—Communist bands armed with clubs and stiletos broke up a meeting in Marseilles of practically all the left elements in commemoration of Matteotti according to La Liberté anti-Fascist Paris publication. Pietro Nenni, ex-editor of the former Italian Socialist paper, was wounded while attempting to speak. Other meetings have been similarly broken up in other parts of France by the Communists, including a Sacco-Vanzetti demonstration by organized Anarchist groups. All parties of the left in Marseilles are organizing to protect the right of free speech against the Communists.

Eject Communist Chicago Disturbers

CHICAGO—At a syndicalist meeting at Meladiaz hall here, a band of Communists tried to monopolize the time in criticizing the speaker thereby creating a fight which resulted in their forcible expulsion from the hall. The speaker, A. Borghi, spoke on the subject, "What I Saw in Russia." The speech was generally favorable to Soviet Russia, but contained criticisms of present conditions in Russia. In the discussion that followed the speech, Communist speakers took exceptions to these criticisms and monopolized the floor for 40 minutes to the exclusion of others. This led to protests and a free-for-all fight in which the Communists were defeated and driven from the hall.

Bombing Plane Massacre in Nicaragua

Bankers Plot to Force Farmers Into Peasant Condition

Millions of Acres in Foreclosed Farms to be Colonized From Europe

St. Paul, Minn., July 16.—Financial interests are discussing the formation of a \$25,000,000 corporation to take off bankers' hands land that was turned over to them by deflated and bankrupt farmers of the Northwest.

It is hinted, says the Minnesota Union Advocate, that the scheme of the promoters is to get immigrants with low standards of living to come to the Northwest and buy these lands at high prices and work the rest of their lives for land speculators. To permit the entrance of these peasants it is proposed to urge changes in the immigration law.

Millions of acres of land were bought at high prices during the war and were mortgaged at the then market price. When the farmers were deflated, and mortgages came due, the farmers figured it would be cheaper to relinquish their equity in the land than to pay off the mortgage. In a majority of cases it was impossible for them to redeem the land, as the low prices they were getting for farm products and the high prices they paid for manufactured articles left them no surplus. The farmers have been drifting to the cities, where they are competing with industrial workers while the bankers are in possession of an enormous amount of unoccupied land that is steadily declining in price and is wiping out the value of the security held for money lent.

Have We Broken Off With Mexico?

RAPID CITY, S. D.—President Coolidge's decision not to send an ambassador to Mexico in the near future was accepted here today as another notice that the administration does not take kindly to that country's foreign policy.

Ordinarily, resignation of any ambassador not announced until his successor has been selected and leaving of such a diplomatic post in the hands of a charge d'affaires for an indefinite period—as Mr. Coolidge has announced he will do—has aroused comment among those here who have followed the Mexican situation closely.

French Communists Smash Labor Meetings

PARIS—Communist bands armed with clubs and stiletos broke up a meeting in Marseilles of practically all the left elements in commemoration of Matteotti according to La Liberté anti-Fascist Paris publication. Pietro Nenni, ex-editor of the former Italian Socialist paper, was wounded while attempting to speak. Other meetings have been similarly broken up in other parts of France by the Communists, including a Sacco-Vanzetti demonstration by organized Anarchist groups. All parties of the left in Marseilles are organizing to protect the right of free speech against the Communists.

Eject Communist Chicago Disturbers

CHICAGO—At a syndicalist meeting at Meladiaz hall here, a band of Communists tried to monopolize the time in criticizing the speaker thereby creating a fight which resulted in their forcible expulsion from the hall. The speaker, A. Borghi, spoke on the subject, "What I Saw in Russia." The speech was generally favorable to Soviet Russia, but contained criticisms of present conditions in Russia. In the discussion that followed the speech, Communist speakers took exceptions to these criticisms and monopolized the floor for 40 minutes to the exclusion of others. This led to protests and a free-for-all fight in which the Communists were defeated and driven from the hall.

Gov. Fuller Spurns Open Investigation For Sacco-Vanzetti

Victims of Class War in Grave Danger—Witnesses Call Probers Hostile

BOSTON.—Defense Attorney William G. Thompson has failed in his efforts to have Governor Fuller's advisory commission open its sessions to the public. Fearfully the governor and his advisors, separately are interviewing the streams of witnesses for and against the men, the jurors, Judge Webster Thayer, and former prosecutor Frederick G. Katzmann. No one who has gone before Fuller or the commissioners will comment publicly, but some of the defense witnesses have complained of the hostility with which they were met. Former Judge Robert Grant of the commission has never hidden his animosity and said months before his appointment by Fuller that Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty beyond question. His place on the commission now to question their guilt is considered anomalous by friends of the defense.

President Samuel Stratton of Massachusetts Institute of Technology has not spoken so plainly against the two Italians, but is known to have been unfriendly before his appointment by Fuller. President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard considered the most open-minded of the three advisors. But behind him are some of the country's wealthiest and most conservative men—overseers of the university.

Fascism Bringing Economic Breakup of Italian Nation

Says the current issue of International Information, news bulletin of the Labor and Socialist International:

The news reaching us directly from Italy, and the official figures themselves confirm us in the belief that indeed the Italian Economic Crisis is growing more serious day by day.

At the end of March unemployment was standing at a level unknown throughout the whole post-war period following a slight improvement relatively to February in consequence of the beginning of work on the land. There were 2,754,700 employed and 8,189,000 workers occupied only two or three days a week.

It is needless to say that the arrest in production shown by the employment in the same time producing a fall in the aggregate of national savings. In the first quarter of this year this decrease has already reached the figure of 8,000,000 lire reckoning the fall, carefully considered, of the deposits in the great banks.

Bankruptcies, which in March were 894, numbered in April 842. And it is the banks which are crashing. The fascist press has been forbidden to refer, among other things, to the failure of the Goldschmidt bank of Milan, whose liabilities appear to exceed 400 million lire.

The outlook cannot be viewed with optimism. The fall in export trade, by comparison with last year, has gone on both in February and in March. And as regards import trade, decline may be especially noticed in the flow of the commodities most vital to industry, such as cotton, iron and machinery.

Agricultural exports are less affected. But meanwhile the result of the "great" wheat campaign is that in the first quarter of this year there have been imported nearly 800,000 tons of wheat, as compared with 500,000, in round numbers, for the same quarter of last year. This year's wheat harvest promises very unfavorably in consequence of the drought and of a new parasitic disease of wheat which is forcing the farmers to reap it before it is ripe.

To sum up everything in a single figure, it is enough to note that the bonds of the last "Littoria," issued at \$7.50 are in fact negotiated between a maximum of 70 and a minimum of 60.

Such a situation can only grow worse so long as fascism remains master, for the regime is fundamentally incapable of applying remedies to it. Economic phenomena cannot be righted by main force, whether by the cudgel, by castor-oil, or even by the threat of "administrative" confinement.

Geneva, Switzerland, is rapidly earning the right to be called the war center of the world.

From The Pen Of Debs
(Compiled by Theodore Debs)

When I Shall Fight

Since my characterization of the soldier in the Jingo edition I have been asked if I was opposed to all war and if I would refuse to be a soldier and to fight under any circumstances, and to make my answer through the Appeal Reason. No, I am not opposed to all war, nor am I opposed to fighting under all circumstances, and my declaration to the contrary would disqualify me as a revolutionist. When I say I am opposed to war, I mean ruling class war, for the ruling class is the only class that makes war. It matters not to me whether this war be offensive or defensive, or what other lying excuse may be invented for it, I am opposed to it, and I would be shot for treason before I would enter such a war.

If I were in congress I would be shot before I would vote a dollar for such a war.

Capitalist wars for capitalist conquest and capitalist plunder must be fought by the capitalists themselves so far as I am concerned, and upon that question there can be no compromise and no misunderstanding as to my position.

I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth; and I am a citizen of the world.

I would not violate my principles for God, much less for a crazy kaiser, a savage czar, a degenerate king, or a gang of pot-bellied parasites.

But while I have not a drop of blood to shed for the oppressors of the working class and the robbers of the poor, the thieves and looters, the brigands and murderers whose dehumanized misrule is the crime of the age, I have a heart full to shed for their victims when it shall be needed in the war for their liberation.

I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people. I refuse to obey any war order that will not be demanded to fight for the working class.

I am opposed to every war but one: I am for that war with heart and soul, and I am for that world-wide war of the social revolution in that war I am prepared to fight in any way the ruling class may make necessary, even to the barricades.

There is where I stand and where I believe the Socialist party stands, or ought to stand, on the question of war.

Pan-American Labor Congress Convenes

The fifth congress of the Pan-American Federation of Labor met in session in Washington, D. C. As the Appeal forecast, there is only a partial representation from the Latin American countries on account of ill feeling toward the United States over the conquest of Nicaragua. The countries represented by labor delegates are United States, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Porto Rico, Guatemala, Panama, Honduras, Peru, Costa Rica and Salvador. Some of the labor delegations were virtually selected by American based governments.

It will be noted that among the countries conspicuous for their absence are Argentina, Chile and Brazil, the three countries that constitute most of South America.

While Coolidge is preaching one kind of disarmament in Geneva, he is practicing another kind in Nicaragua.

French Socialists Reverse Stand On Conscription Bill

Rank and File Order Leaders to Fight Dangerous Draft Measure

The French Socialist movement has ordered a complete about face of the French Socialist members of parliament on the question of the military conscription bill. The Socialist parliamentary group, which formerly supported this measure have been ordered by the National Delegate Council of the French Socialist Party to oppose the law as it was passed by the Chamber of Deputies.

Among the features of this law is one that conscripts the entire adulthood of the nation—men and women—in time of war. Another provision authorizes the conscription of wealth. Still another purports to make a declaration of war by France impossible without the consent of the League of Nations.

It was the two latter provisions that won the Socialist members of the French Chamber of Deputies to the support of the measure. In fact, Paul Baneour, well known Socialist promoter of that body, introduced the measure with the hope that it would put the cost of war on the rich and on the war-makers and put the right to declare war under the supervision of the League of Nations.

Subsequently, however, the reactionary and militarist bloc were able to change the original bill considerably and especially to strengthen the parts that had to do with the conscription of the whole nation in time of war. Nevertheless, the Socialist deputies voted for the measure on its original passage, in the lower Chamber, hoping that the wealth conscription and League of Nation provisions would outweigh the adult-conscription features.

This Socialist support of such a drastic conscription measure immediately raised a storm in the rank and file of the Socialist Party, and among extreme radicals and all brands of pacifists. When the Socialist Party met in convention last Spring, there was so much Socialist opposition to the measure that the convention voted to leave it to a referendum vote of the Party. The action of the Socialist membership as a whole against the law has resulted in an overwhelming vote against the measure by the National Delegate Council of the Party. The delegate vote was 2,992 against support of the law, and 373 to support the law.

The resolution instructs the Socialist group in Parliament to maintain the principle defended by the Party during the last war, and introduced into the Bill by its sponsor, M. Paul Baneour. These principles are: (1) The military machine is not to be used except in case of armed aggression by a foreign Power, and only after an appeal to arbitration has failed, and is not, in any event, to be used in civil disputes at home; (2) capitalist enterprises and property may be requisitioned by the State; (3) food supplies and distribution to be centralized; (4) equality to continue to function; (5) parity of all French citizens, male and female, in war-time.

The Party's representatives in Parliament are also instructed to oppose any proposal which might be interpreted as implying the militarization of women on the requisitioning of trade unions, and if guarantees are not furnished to the working classes on all these points, the Socialist group may vote against the whole of the Bill on its return to the Chamber.

Many At Wisconsin Socialist Picnic

The Wisconsin state Socialist picnic at Pleasant Valley park near Milwaukee was a pronounced success. Although held eight or nine miles off the city, it attracted a crowd of more than 12,000. The park was filled with an enthusiastic multitude which patronized the games and concessions liberally and finally massed in a huge throng in front of the speakers stand and gave great attention and applause to the speakers. The speakers were Alderman Gator, Heinrich Bartels, editor of Vorwarts, Milwaukee German language weekly, and Oscar Ameringer.

Labor Mission to Russia Is Almost Ready to Start

Ten Prominent Trade Unionists and Economic Experts to Leave U. S. Soon

The following appears in the current issue of the American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service: Washington, July 16.—President Green of the A. F. of L. has learned that a commission composed of 10 trade unionists, has been formed to visit Russia. Albert Coyle, editor of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Journal, is the guiding spirit in the commission, which consists of the following: L. E. Sheppard, president Order of Railway Conductors, chairman of the delegation, William H. Johnston, Machinists' Union, E. J. Manion, president Order of Railroad Telegraphers, Phil E. Ziegler, editor of the Railway Clerk, Timothy Shea, assistant president Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, John Brophy, former president District No. 2, United Mine Workers, Frank Palmer, editor Colorado Labor Advocate, Typographical Union, William Mitchell, secretary Indiana district, United Mine Workers, Albert F. Coyle, editor Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Journal, Jas. Wm. Fitzpatrick, president American Artists and Actors' Federation.

W. Jett Lauck and Prof. Jerome Davis of Yale University will head the economists, who may be joined, it is rumored, by Prof. Paul H. Douglas of Chicago, Frank P. Walsh will be counsel.

President Green states that this delegation in no way represents the American Federation of Labor nor is it authorized to speak for the American Federation of Labor.

Finnish Socialists Maintain Strength

By Adolph Salmi

The general election throughout Finland, July 2nd and 3rd, sustained the Socialist Party in its powerful position as the leading and strongest party in the Parliament. The Social Democratic Party won 60 seats, according to the Finnish Socialist daily paper, "Raivaaja." The number of parliamentary seats won by the other parties was as follows: Communist, 20; the so-called Progressive party, 10; Agrarians, 52; fusion bourgeoisie parties, 34; Swedish parliamentary bloc, 24. This means that the Socialists have the same number of seats as before; the Swedish bloc held its own; the Agrarians gained 4 and the Communists 2 seats.

The Social Democratic cabinet, as a result, will continue to govern, supported by the Communists and the Swedish bloc. This administration has gained 2 seats, while the so-called Progressive party lost 4 seats.

In his speech at the great Milwaukee Socialist picnic Sunday, Oscar Ameringer said: "The World War even destroyed the sense of humor in the American people. The America of Artemus Ward, Josh Billings, Mark Twain and Bill Nye went to hell when Wilson went to heaven."

Dictator Dissolves Senate in Poland

WARSAW, Poland.—Marshal Pilsudski today staged the second coup d'etat of his career when his soldiers, entering the Polish senate, ordered its dissolution. Marshal Pilsudski thus again resumes absolute dictatorship after trying democracy for ten months. Marshal Pilsudski, after he seized power in the May revolution of last year, demanded that the sejm (diet) and senate pass laws he deemed necessary without discussing them. Parliament refused and the sejm adopted a law enabling it to decide its own dissolution. The law came up in the senate today.

When the chairman announced this afternoon that the law had been adopted by the senate, the soldiers marched in and the minister of the interior stepped to the rostrum and read the dissolution decree. He said Marshal Pilsudski would use armed force if the senate refused to disband.

300 Slaughtered As They Make Last Stand For Their Country

The war plane as an invincible weapon against poorly armed, "backward" people has been vindicated and the last defense offered by the Nicaraguans in behalf of independence has been drowned in blood. The ease with which five American war planes sailed over the heads of the "rebels" at safe distances and rained down death upon them is told in news dispatches of the week and adds one more bloody crime to the record of Coolidge and Kellogg imperialism.

It appears that "disarmament" as Coolidge practices it had proceeded in Nicaragua to the point where only one small band of liberal patriots of that nation under Gen. Augusto Sandino, this hand recently touched a sensitive imperialistic nerve. It took possession of some American capitalist mining property.

Major G. D. Hatfield commanding a small group of U. S. Marines in that section of Nicaragua at Ocotal, ordered Sandino to lay down his arms. Sandino's reply, as reported in the American capitalist press, is worthy of the best traditions of our own revolutionary forefathers. He is reported among other things to have said:

"I would rather perish fighting for my country than live as a slave." Sandino was ordered by Major Hatfield to disarm by 8 o'clock a. m., July 11. Instead, he immediately carried war into the camp of the enemy invader by attacking Ocotal. Scouting planes carried the news of his attack to Managua. Five bombing planes loaded with deadly bombs were dispatched from that city to Ocotal under Major Ross E. Rowell. What followed was told in the Washington Post.

"The latest government reports show that 100 of the rebels were killed by the joint forces of marines and constabulary and 200 killed by the terrific bombing of the five planes sent from Managua, 110 miles away by Brig. Gen. I. L. Gage and his marines, when he heard the marine force was greatly outnumbered. The planes flew low and raked the rebels.

"One marine, Michael A. Obeliski of Roulette, Pa., was killed. He was buried at Ocotal. Another marine, Charles Sidner, Garrison of Asheville, N. C., was seriously wounded, being shot through the face and shoulder but has a chance to recover.

"Gen. Feland commended Maj. Hatfield and Maj. Rowell for their bravery. The scouting planes proved their worth, for if they had not arrived with the report of the fight against overwhelming odds a different story might have been written."

Split Develops in Italian Fascism

NEW YORK.—Geneva cable to the New York Tribune says a breach in the Fascist party in Italy is threatened. A general strike has reached such a point, it is stated, that Mussolini may be forced to take sides between the two factions.

Ready for Next War or Strike!

New York, July 10.—A new air fighter equipped with turrets and bristling with machine guns will undergo flying tests at Mitchell field tomorrow in the presence of Gen. James E. Fechet, assistant chief of the United States air corps, and a group of officers from McCook field, Dayton, O.

Here Is the Way You Are Voting on the American Appeal

Voting on the American Appeal is proving to be most helpful to the staff in determining what the Army wants as its propaganda organ.

The going, so far, has been light, but is still coming in. We want a large vote, therefore, we are going to extend the voting time.

We are giving the results of the first 15 votes cast. If this vote is followed in modifying the Appeal, here is the kind of paper that would result.

Table with 3 columns: Question, Yes, No. Contains 15 questions about the Appeal's format and content.

Socialist Party News

Party Activity

Party activity has not been what it should be during the recent hot spell, not only party activity but gathering of subscribers of the American Appeal has been slow.

Ohio

The Socialist Party of Cleveland, Ohio, has placed five candidates in the field for City Council.

Iowa

Since the preliminary state organization has been formed in the State of Iowa we have received quite a number of communications from that state from individuals who are desirous of assisting us in the party work.

California

The Socialist Party of Los Angeles seems to be quite lively these days, for they are sending in a large number of subscribers to the American Appeal.

Pennsylvania

The summer activities of the Socialist Party will be celebrated with a Basket Picnic to be held at Belmont Mansion on Sunday July 24, 1927.

New York

State Secretary Merrill attended a specially called meeting of Local Utica & Oneida County last week, July 8th.

New England District

Eather Friedman's dates are as follows: July 24—Boston Common; July 25—Chelsea; July 26—Columbus & Warren Aves. Boston.

Northwest District

Comrade Emil Herman, Secretary of the Northwest District, writes us to the effect that sentiment for the Socialist Party is improving.

Utah

The State Convention of the State of Utah will be held in the Auditorium of the City Library of Salt Lake City, 2 P. M. July 24th.

Hazlett Dates

Salt Lake, Utah, July 21, Sunday. Mrs. Robert Adamson, State Con. City Library.

Debs Photo

We continued to get requests for Debs' last photo from our faithful workers for service in the field.

Army Record

Another long week. A dangerous week. During the present mismanagement sleep THE APPEAL IS GOING DEEPER IN DEBT EVERY WEEK.

Fund Report

The American Appeal Promotion and Sustaining Fund received the following gifts from its faithful supporters during the week ending July 16, 1927:

Walls And Bars Prize Winners

The following Army members sent in \$5 or more in the work of extending the circulation of the Appeal and will get a copy of Debs' last book, Walls And Bars, as soon as it is off the press.

Special Notice

All who receive WALLS AND BARS as a prize or memento for faithful service will receive a stamp which they may place on a blank leaf in the front part of the book at their option.

Announcement!

We will assist all readers of the Appeal who want to get WALLS AND BARS free as souvenir for service performed.

Sub-A-Mont Pledges

The following took the Sub-A-Mont Pledge and joined the Appeal's ORGANIZED ARMY during the week ending July 16:

Clergymen Prefer Socialist Party to Other Parties

Questionnaire Reveals Confusion, But Shows Pacifist And Progressive Trend. By Edward P. Clarke

Sacco and Vanzetti Issue Warning!

Sacco and Vanzetti, a few days ago, sent the following message of warning throughout the world.

DEBS' PICTURES

That you will be proud to own. In sizes suitable for homes, offices and halls, all beautifully finished—not cheap prints.

Committee Seeks Name for Secret Socialist Order

By Cameron H. King

Wanted—a name. Last year the National Convention of the Socialist Party authorized the selection of a committee to study the feasibility of adapting a system of fraternal insurance to party membership.

The popularity of the fraternal order combining insurance and sociability is well attested by the numerical strength of such institutions.

Hazlett Has Fine Meeting in Lincoln

The following report of the work of Ida Crouch Hazlett, who is speaking and organizing for the Socialist Party in the West, appears in the current number of the Lincoln Herald, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Debs Photo

We continued to get requests for Debs' last photo from our faithful workers for service in the field.

Army Record

Another long week. A dangerous week. During the present mismanagement sleep THE APPEAL IS GOING DEEPER IN DEBT EVERY WEEK.

Fund Report

The American Appeal Promotion and Sustaining Fund received the following gifts from its faithful supporters during the week ending July 16, 1927:

Contributions

Joseph E. Chamberlin, Stanford, Calif. \$1.00; E. F. Fuller, Pasadena, Cal. 4.00; Comrade Elkins, Chicago. 1.00; Max Block, Altoona, Pa. 1.00; W. O. Fricker, Ennis, Texas. 1.00

On Pledges

H. O. Fuhrberg, Seattle, Wash. 1.00

Sub-A-Month Donations

S. A. Wanberg, Midvale, Utah (previous pledge) \$11.00; John E. Shinn, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 2.00

VOTE "YES" OR "NO" IN BLANK SPACES OPPOSITE QUESTIONS

We want the kind of a paper the Appeal Army wants, because we are depending on the Appeal Army by its work to make the Appeal a success.

- 1—On the whole do you like the American Appeal?
2—Do you like its general plan of educating largely through significant news?
3—Do you like its Feature Department?
4—Do you think it ought to have more abstract propaganda matter on scientific Socialism and less propaganda matter showing the present breakdown of capitalism and developments toward Socialism?
5—Should the Appeal be a straight propaganda paper only?
6—Is the Appeal running too much news?
7—Should it confine itself more to issues and developments in America and less to world developments toward Socialism?
8—Do you like so many large headlines?
9—Would you like to see the Appeal use mostly small headlines?
10—Should the Appeal be more in the nature of a Socialist interpretation of news, rather than news?
11—Should it adopt a hotter or more sensational tone?
12—Should there be more short paragraphs?
13—Would you like to see the Appeal made up largely of short editorial matter smashing at current evils, developments and opinions from the Socialist angle?
14—Would you like to see the front page given over largely to significant news, longer articles and prominent headlines, as now?
15—Is one page, as now, too much space to be devoted to Socialist Party, Yipsel and Appeal Army News?

Name of voter and address.

FOR THE COMRADES WHO READ ITALIAN La Parola del Popolo In the only Socialist Newspaper in the United States, in Italian language, affiliated with the Socialist Party and the Socialist International. 2 DOLLARS YEAR 1011 Blue Leland Avenue Chicago, Ill.

A Two Dollar Book for Fifty cents Drugless Health A new book by Dr. Joseph H. Greer 253 Pages 75 Illustrations Health and long life by Natural Means. Money back if not Satisfied. Send Stamps or Money Order. DR. JOSEPH H. GREER 4114 Michigan Ave., Chicago

The Labor World Oldest continuous weekly Socialist paper in the U. S. Room 204 Grand Bldg. San Francisco Cameron H. King, Editor Lena Morrow Lewis, Mgr. Ed. \$2 per year.

Volks-Stimme German Socialist Weekly Subscription Rate, \$2.00 Per Year Write Today for a Sample Copy VOLKS-STIMME 107 No. 2nd St. PHILADELPHIA, PA.

THE NEW LEADER A SOCIALIST WEEKLY 10 Pages Each Week Independent to anyone who desires to be well posted on the progress and activities of the Socialist and Labor Movement here and abroad. JAMES ONEAL, Editor Weekly features by Norman Thomas, McAlister Coleman, Adam Coady, Roger Samuel, Dr. Witt, etc. \$1.00 FOR SIX MONTHS Send today for a sample copy THE NEW LEADER 7 E. 15th St. New York City

Vorwaerts GERMAN SOCIALIST WEEKLY The only one in the Middle West Editor, HEINRICH BARTEL \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months Published at 120 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.

Subscribe Or Get Subscribers On This Blank AMERICAN APPEAL, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. RATES \$1.00 A YEAR; 50 cts. 6 MONTHS

Table with 6 columns: NAME, Rural Route or Street Address, Box No. or Street Address, City, State, Amount Paid

These are dark days. They are exactly like all the darkest days of history, just before the dawn of a new epoch. Patience! We are on the eve of history's greatest dawn!

DEBS' PICTURES That you will be proud to own. In sizes suitable for homes, offices and halls, all beautifully finished—not cheap prints. Photos, 8x10, the latest and favorite photograph of Comrade Debs, taken especially for the Socialist Party national headquarters and never distributed previous to his death; made direct from the original negative. \$1.00 each, \$10.00 per doz. Enlarged Photos, an enlargement of the above, size 16x20 \$3.00 each, \$30.00 per doz. Lithographed reproduction of an oil painting by the well known artist, M. Baer; made by the four-color process, with stippled finish; a most attractive picture for halls and clubs. \$1.00 each, \$ 9.00 per doz. Send order to NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

NEWS AND VIEWS

Farmers Move Forward

The farmers of fifteen states in convention at St. Paul have endorsed the principle of the Haugen bill. This principle is government aid in financing the foreign marketing of the American agricultural surplus. This means that the farmers on a scale never dreamed of before have made up their minds to use their government in the economic field. They have taken government aid from the industrial and financial interests which have been built up by the most flagrant government favoritism. While present economic problems cannot be solved merely by private interests being aided by the government, even if such aid eventually should cover all private interests, it is a long step from the blatant individualism of a generation ago. Capitalistic theorists have to use government in the economic field. Socialization comes in spite of them. When socialization serves all the people instead of special and private interests it will be Socialism.

The War Problem

While we must PREVENT the NEXT world war by every means within our reach, we should not forget that we cannot ABOLISH war as long as the present system continues. War is the basic and inseparable process of a competitive system. Under the competitive system war begins with neighboring grocery stores trying to outsell and outprice each other in the same way as they do in the market. It proceeds upward through every grade of industrial activity, including the eternal fight between capital and labor, until it finds its real expression in competition between nations. The competition begins with an essential part of national competition. A world-wide cooperative system will abolish war between rival grocery men, industrial classes and nations. Let's PREVENT war so that we can ABOLISH war.

It Is As Long As It Is Broad

The United States still has an unprecedented outlet for its goods in foreign markets. In the last six months it exported to the imports by \$240,750,000. The total figures for that six months are staggering. They are: exports, \$2,368,000,000; imports, \$2,127,976,000. American capitalism is in luck. It has this tremendous outlet for its goods and the raise of the price of its goods in other countries. So long as this situation exists American capitalist prosperity is not in immediate danger. But why should a Socialist worry. If this condition continues long we will see the practice of other countries soon and that will close the outlet and bring Socialism here, anyway. On the other hand, if the outside nations revive enough to take the greater part of our foreign market away from us, they will compel this country to socialize rapidly to save itself.

Imperialism in Practice

American imperialist methods of acquiring land and resources in other countries has proved so successful in "our colonies" that the practice has been started in the United States. A member of one of the "backward" races, Arthur Hitt, a negro of Jefferson county, Alabama, had the temerity to try to own a small fraction of the earth's surface. A white imperialist had to take it by force. He proceeded to take it by the latest methods employed in Nicaragua. He gathered together a little army of neighboring white "marines" and with their help beat up this Negro farmer until he considered it a favor to be allowed to sign away a little part of his land as a fraction of its value. This latest conquest adds to the glory of American imperialism.

Double Game of World Capitalism

A noteworthy development of the last few years is the fact that the financial, industrial and political dictators of the world have largely altered their attitude toward tariff barriers. Formerly while the overlords were building up their power and their stranglehold in their respective countries they favored high tariffs to develop the "infant" industries and hold up the consumers. These same interests have now become international and the whole world has become their field of exploitation. National tariff walls have become obstructions and hindrances to international operations. They want the whole world now as their particular plum without divisions of any kind. They only want the workers divided along national lines to prevent any world-wide unity against themselves. While they are busy just now breaking down tariff walls, they never were busier than now building up nationalistic hatred and the spirit of war. This is playing both ends against the middle. Will this smooth, but self-contradictory game work indefinitely?

Why British Rulers Went Goofy

Here is why the frenzied British Tory government is running amuck generally throughout the world and committing political and industrial harikari at home. The bye-elections in Great Britain since the general election shows this remarkable result:

Conservative vote.....	308,843
Liberal vote.....	228,128
Labour vote.....	221,347

This shows an anti-government majority of 212,852 among those voting at these elections. It shows Labor in these bye-elections only 4,718 votes behind the Conservatives. When it is considered that in the general election the Conservatives elected a tremendous majority to parliament over the Laborites and Liberals together, one begins to get the

DETERMINE THE FARMER'S CONDITION.

If the farmer, in common with the rest of the working, or producing class, does not control, he is going to be controlled and skinned to a finish. This is a very simple proposition and the Appeal defies any one to disprove it. The farmer begins to climb toward control when he starts to organize farmers' cooperatives and farmers' unions. These are great developers and educators in teaching the farmers their common interests and uniting them on these. The Appeal rejoices in every genuine farmer cooperative and farmer union in America.

Playing Chess With Humanity

The four money kings of the world met last week in a secret conference in New York. The mystery, the whispering, the speculation, the knowing that surrounded this meeting gave it all the appearance of a meeting of the political bosses of the world at Geneva.

It is significant that power, both political and economic, has become so concentrated and so private that all its fundamental movements—its movements affecting most the largest number of the earth's inhabitants—are secret. Political diplomacy and economic diplomacy of world-wide import is always secret now. A few of the overlords of the earth meet behind well-guarded doors and play chess, using nations as pawns. War, and peace, the fate of millions, is melancholically decided by a few international political or financial dictators in Geneva or New York.

It was whispered that the money dictators of the world at the meeting in New York met to decide questions of "stabilizing" conditions in Europe. That, of course, under present conditions, means that they met to save capitalism in Europe, which is tottering. To block progress. To drive Europe's millions back to an outward and wretched system—back to poverty and slavery. These life-forged wielders of world dictatorship, who hold a power by virtue of their control of money, that brings such a colossal and monstrous undertaking within the bounds of possibility, are bankers Strong, Norman, Riat and Schwab, respectively, and their governing chiefs in the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany.

What kind of a world is this we live in, and what are you doing to help change it?

Birds of a Feather

Our Democratic party has its counterpart in the Liberal party of England. They are both parties of sheer sham, pretense and bluff. When the atrocious anti-trade union bill came to a final vote in the House of Commons and the vote stood 351 for the bill and 120 against it, where did the Liberal Party stand. It was utterly impotent and registered as a zero in a crisis between democracy and autocracy. Half of the Liberal 40 members did not vote. The other half were split for and against the measure. It is safe to say that the half that did not vote were against the bill but did not dare to let their constituencies know this in order that they might steal a few labor votes in the next election. Like the Democratic Party of England is a capitalistic party used by capitalism to confuse and divide the workers.

Why This Secrecy?

The fact that Governor Fuller and his advisory commission are conducting the investigation of the Sacco-Vanzetti in secret, has an ominous look. Why this secrecy? Why, except to protect these members of the present regime in Massachusetts from possible future criticism?

An investigation conducted in the open might reveal facts that would practically force a government and his judicial advisors to rule in favor of Sacco and Vanzetti. A secret investigation alone will allow them to make a politically expedient decision.

Political gangsters are bound together by common ties. A political scandal that would reflect on the high honesty and judgment and on the justice of the Massachusetts courts or on the conduct, in this case, of the agents of the United States Department of Justice, would shake and endanger present political rule in the Bay State. And it is practically certain that such a scandal, in the eyes of the public, would develop if Governor Fuller dared to give the facts in the case a public airing. On the other hand, if the public knows nothing about the testimony that is being uncovered now, Governor Fuller can assure himself with his political conscience by commuting the sentence to imprisonment without committing himself as to the guilt of the victims, if, as he has no conscience, he can let the present death sentence stand.

What We Offer For The Farmers

We are pleased to note that the Equity, a cooperative farmer magazine published in Milwaukee, is running the Tim True series of articles on The Farmer Problem, which recently appeared in the American Appeal. The Equity is welcome to them and we hope thousands of farmers will read them. The Socialist Party National Executive thought so well of them that they will be issued in the form of a pamphlet.

The farmers will do better, progress faster and get farther by getting behind the fundamental Socialist proposition than by following after scattering reforms that grow out of it. The fundamental proposition is POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONTROL BY THE REAL PRODUCERS.

The farmer's problem cannot be worked out in a day. It is too complex to be solved suddenly or by one method or cure-all. This being the case it ought to be self-evident to all thinking farmers that the first and foremost thing that is to be done is to get the things that are determining the farmer's present condition. The farmer has to have a sovereign voice in marketing and price-making, in transportation, money and taxation, before he can begin to truly remedy his condition. For so long as the farmer does not have a voice and a power in the determination of these matters, the other, the mar that is riding on the farmer's back, the man who gets rich by looting the farmer poor—the loan shark, market speculator and monopolist, the transportation hog, the industrial profiteer and the commercial profiteer—IS BOUND TO CONTROL THE THINGS THAT

Warning!

Is your subscription expiring? Look at the number after you name on the little yellow slip on the front page. It will tell you. If it is less than 83 after your name on the yellow slip is 83 OR ANY NUMBER LESS THAN 83 your subscription has expired. If that number is less than 83, you have been delinquent as many weeks as it is less than 83. Renew at once, or you may miss your paper.

Austrian Revolt Communist Work

(Continued from Page 1)

power a thousand workers lie dead and maimed in Vienna.

As the Appeal goes to press the situation is still unsettled and it may take almost any turn.

The story of this artificially provoked uprising and the rescue of the Labor Movement from a position of extreme peril is fraught with tremendous lessons for the workers.

Thursday

Last Thursday a reactionary Austrian court sitting in Vienna freed three self-confessed Fascist soldiers. Last winter the military authorities arrested the workers of Austria as they have seldom been arrested before. These criminals fired into a peaceful funeral procession of Socialist workers killing a war crippled veteran and a child and wounding five others. In Vienna the judge instructed the jury to free the prisoners on the ground that any other termination of the case might cause a civil war. This atrocious act of injustice following a series of similar acts in which reactionary Fascist crimes have been condoned and encouraged, threw the workers of Vienna into a storm of indignation.

Friday

At 7 o'clock Friday morning the labor unions began calling their men from work in the shops, factories and government institutions and lines of communication for a peaceful, silent march past parliament. More than 50,000 responded. The Socialist papers carried big headlines, "March of Justice."

About 10 o'clock Communist agitators appeared in the streets and urged the marchers to break ranks. Soon shouting, stone throwing and free-for-all fighting with the police began and at 11 o'clock 300 police charged the crowd. The crowd fled without resistance, there was no bloodshed and the police were accepted around the parliament building.

Great General Strike

In the afternoon the labor unions declared a general strike for 24 hours beginning at 7 o'clock. In an amazingly short time all Austria was completely tied up, including reactionary districts such as South Tyrol. Most of the Socialist trade union movement for the purpose of snatching the Labor Movement from the rioters and from imminent ruin and saving the workers from the reactionary forces in Austria.

Saturday

Saturday there was numerous battles day and night. In the morning the rioters still led a large section of the workers. Many workers and police were killed. The fighting was mostly in the workingmen's districts of Hernalds and Ottakring. The Vienna regular garrison under the influence of the Socialist Council refused to march against the workers.

Sunday

On Sunday the street cars and taxi-cabs resumed operations, some shops opened and the city began to assume a peaceful aspect. Socialist and trade union leaders assembled before those series of dickering with the government forces which finally resulted on Monday in the calling off of the general strike and assurances from the government that the fight with Labor would be practically as it was before the outbreak.

Monday

On Monday a convention of Socialist and Labor delegates assembled in Vienna and took final action ending the strike. It was not easy to persuade a majority to call off the dogs. It was only when the leaders like Otto Bauer, Friedrich Adler and Mayor Seitz of Vienna were able to convince the trade union leaders that Austria would undoubtedly be invaded by Italian and Hungarian armies, did they consent to issue the order ending the general strike.

Mussolini Ready to Strike

Mussolini's ultimatum had already been presented to the Austrian government. It was to the effect that unless Italian troops through trains to Germany were permitted to go on normal regular way, despite the general strike, they would be loaded with military forces and would force their way through Austria. This would undoubtedly have meant the seizure of Austria by the Italian Fascists, and the threat was undergirded by Mussolini's boast to call off the reactionary government for the purpose of defeating the strike.

Chicago Tribune

The Chicago Tribune recently carried a picture of a band of war-trained products of our citizens' training camps and labelled it "Sturdy Material for Our Next War." Our Next War—nuff sed.

The real question before the farmer and worker is the question of gaining control of the government and industrial system. Without this control the workers cannot institute any reform or change that will fundamentally better their condition. With it, they can establish any conditions they want or like.

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

About the Marxian Complex

In XII Articles Article II.

By Ernest Untermann

The peculiar set of ideas known as Marxism grew up gradually in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. It was this way. They took from the German idealist philosopher Friedrich Hegel the idea that everything in the universe forms one absolute organic unit whose parts develop by antagonisms from lower to higher levels. In Hegel, this view was a part of a purely imaginary system which regarded the real world as a mere reflex of an imaginary world mind, called The Idea.

Hegel's Idea of Evolution Combined With Feuerbach's Materialistic Conception

To get some sense into it, Marx-Engels grafted some materialist legs on this Hegelian head. They combined Hegel's idea of universal evolution by antagonisms with the materialist idea of another German philosopher, Ludwig Feuerbach. With Feuerbach, everything was nature. He led the rebellious young disciples of Hegel back to the British and French materialist philosophers of the eighteenth century. These thinkers, men like Diderot, Helvetius, Holbach, Locke and Hume, walked in the steps of the British materialists of the seventeenth century, such as Francis Bacon and John Hobbes. They worked out the idea of mind depends upon the senses and upon nature for its ideas, and that the experimental method alone can produce scientific results.

Utopian's View of Men and Social Environment

Marx-Engels also learned from the so-called utopian Socialists, men like St. Simon and Fourier, who were not as utopian as the young firebrands, Marx and Engels thought. These utopians taught that human societies have changed many times, and that in order to change men and their minds, it is necessary to change their natural and social environments, especially their economic conditions.

Class Struggle and Labor Theory of Value

From these utopian Socialists and from the British Chartists, Marx-Engels also learned that different economic classes struggle with other for supremacy, that written history is a series of class struggles, and that workers must organize trade unions and educate them to form with political parties of their own on an international scale.

From British economists like Adam Smith and David Ricardo, they learned that human labor transfers its value to goods, and that the goods which it makes for sale, and that profit is that part of labor-value which the employer keeps and for which he pays the worker nothing. Profit is unpaid labor. The workers receive in wages only enough to reproduce their own labor power, which means their own bodies, and minds. The employers keep the surplus of the produced value and sell it in a competitive market at a profit.

Materialist Conception of History

These different ideas of different thinkers were mixed up in the mind of such a lot of vague and contradictory speculation. Marx and Engels took these ideas out of their muddy context and put them together into one combination that made scientific sense. They called their combination historical materialism, or the materialist conception of history. It is sometimes called economic determinism, because it considers economic conditions the basic force in human history.

lot of research which was practically unknown in the European continent.

He was the first continental economist to study them, give them credit for their achievements, rescue them from oblivion and introduce them to the economists of continental Europe. Marx showed that Adam Smith, David Ricardo and many other British economists were right in considering the exchange value of goods as crystallized labor. He agreed with them that profit is surplus-value or unpaid labor. But then, having given them all full credit, he improved upon them by straightening out what they had left confused and by stripping all disguises from the capitalist machinery of profit.

Communist Manifesto: Leaving Philosophy Behind

The first connected statement of these ideas was made by Marx in The Communist Manifesto, written in 1847. It was read in public for the first time in 1848, in a German workers' study circle, which posed as a nucleus for an international labor organization.

Right there the Marxian complex of ideas began to assume its typical shape. Although it had started out from a philosophical angle, it landed itself to the study of that one of its parts which thereafter it emphasized as the most important in history—political economy.

From that time on, neither Marx nor Engels ever went back to a thorough study of philosophy. Franz Mehring, the historian of German Socialism, emphasized this in the words: "Marx devoted about twenty lines to the theory of the theory; I counted correctly, and although Engels wrote a little more on the subject, it is significant that he did so only in private letters."

Even when Marx flirted with philosophical terms, as he did in his Poverty of Philosophy, a reply to Proudhon's Philosophy of Poverty, he made fun of philosophy. He wanted to impress his readers with his opinion that philosophy was not worth bothering about, that history and political economy were the important studies for the workers. Engels also made it plain that he had little use for philosophy, as generally taught, that it was a negligible minor matter. Whenever he had to touch upon philosophical problems, as he did in his review of Feuerbach and his Anti-Dühring (Scientific Landmarks), he slid over them with a disdainful attitude and laid stress upon historical evolution and political economy. The three chapters from Anti-Dühring, which were later issued separately as the Introduction to Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, treat philosophy altogether as a side issue and mention it only to show where Marx and Engels got their scientific method, their "dialectics," which means thinking in terms of evolution and concrete interaction. Neither Marx nor Engels ever developed their dialectics into a science of thinking. That must be kept in mind while we follow them through the further progress of their composition. The law of relative motion without paying any attention to the law of material evolution.

Discovers and Improves on British Economists

Marx hereafter spent most of his time in the British Museum, in London, where he found the most complete files of writers on political economy and history. There he found out that especially the British economists had performed a marvelous

Constant and Variable Capital

He was also the first to classify the different ways in which labor power in the process of labor transfers value from the human body to the product. He discovered absolute surplus value, produced by the prolongation of the work day, and relative surplus value, produced within the limits of the regular working day by cutting down the time needed to reproduce the worker's own labor power. He showed that modern technique makes the production of active surplus value relatively more important than the production of absolute surplus value.

Law of Capitalist Accumulation

Furthermore, after Marx had found out what happened in the sphere of production and distribution, each by itself, he analyzed the different functions performed in the capitalist process as a whole by industrial, merchant and banker's capital. He was the first to find out how competition establishes an average rate of profit, and how this rate varies with different percentages of constant and variable capital meet as rivals in the markets. He showed that the capital of average composition sets the average price which favors capitals with a higher composition. The result is that more and less variable capital while incurring capitals with a lower composition, thus gradually eliminating those unfit to stand the pace.

From these facts, Marx assembled the effective capital of a nation into fewer and fewer hands, the law of capitalist accumulation. It determines the historical development of the class struggle between capitalists and workers. It is the basic social law of revolution under capitalism.

the Philippines in the interest of American exploiters.

To send him back to the Philippines would be a direct slap in the face of the Filipino people and a highly provocative act on the part of the administration. We will see whether or not the administration will add this atrocity to its other imperialistic crimes.

The cat is out of the bag—the "disarmament" conference was called for the purpose of determining whether Britannia or Columbia shall rule the wave.

Italian fascism has proposed a curb on ridiculous names, but evidently not on ridiculous actions.

Ford has planned to spend \$15,000,000 in advertising to recover lost ground in the auto field. Now, just consider that. It represents \$15,000,000 spent to recover ground lost to other capitalists because they had spent millions to recover ground formerly lost to Ford. All waste—every bit of it—a form of warfare. Waste of this kind totals billions every year. And we wonder why in the midst of the present enormous powers of mass production the masses are still in poverty!

Criminal Madness

In the recent national election in Austria the Communists were almost negligible. They failed to elect a single member to the parliament. This handful of fanatic agitators attempted suddenly to take the whole labor movement away from its present leaders, and to set up a Communist dictatorship despite the fact that such an attempt would certainly be prevented by surrounding nations. To attempt this obvious impossibility they risked in one throw the entire labor movement of Austria. This attempt will go down in history as an act of criminal madness.

Some Legionnaires have wonderful ideas regarding the democracy they fought to save.

W. H. Morton, superintendent of schools, Beatrice, Nebraska, recently accepted a governorship in the University of Nebraska. Immediately C. G. Baird, commander of the Legion post at Beatrice opposed the appointment on the ground that Morton holds pacifist and radical views. Members of the state board of regents investigated and found that Morton is held in high esteem as an educator and citizen by the residence of Beatrice. This comes to us as a surprise, for Morton is a rabid legionnaire, high minded and useful citizen because he believes with Christ in peace and democracy.

Sign On The Dotted Line And Get Things Started

Sub-A-Month Membership Pledge Organized Army of the American Appeal

American Appeal, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago: I hereby agree to obtain for the American Appeal in the future at least one subscription per month, or its equivalent. Enroll me in the Organized Army of the American Appeal.

Name Address

Building The Labor Movement In America

Industrial Unionism, Social Idealism, A Labor Party, Urgently Needed to Meet the Present Crisis, Amalgamated Secretary Declares

Editor's Note

The following article was received by the Appeal from Dr. Harry W. Laidler, our Feature Editor. It is part of a speech delivered by Joseph Schlossberg at the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy. We regret very much that we are not able to give here this splendid address in its entirety.

—M. E. K.—

Joseph Schlossberg

(Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America)

What is the labor movement to do in the face of the company union—open shop—and unorganized situation; a situation which is steadily becoming more desperate? Let us not attempt to lay out a detailed program to meet all possible emergencies. That program must grow out from the actual experience of the labor movement in its efforts to deal with the problem. This much, however, may safely be said: The trade union movement must free itself from the fetters of craft unionism. For this the labor movement makes for waste, disunity and lack of confidence. One by-product of company unionism, not in the employers' reckoning, is the training that the worker is in a position to receive in labor organization efficiency. He may acquire the habit of meeting his colleagues as fellow workers in the plant, not merely on the basis of craft or trade. The trade union must do at least that—build up that habit and spirit. When the unorganized worker is won by the union, let him come into the labor movement, not into an industrial and spiritually detached group.

Idealism Necessary

The campaign to organize the unorganized workers must be carried out with all the labor movement idealism possible. This point cannot be stressed too much. In the first place, this is the one field on which the company union is unable to compete with the legitimate labor union. In the second place, the eagerness for quick results on the part of trade union organizers too often tempts them to place the task of unionizing the workers on a "practical" business basis. Taking the cue from shrewd business promoters, those organizers tell the workers that by investing a small amount in union dues each week they will receive returns many times over in higher wages. The American business men, like the American business men, live in a get-rich-quick atmosphere. But a union must fight for higher wages. Fighting calls for unity, suffering, self-sacrifice and the risk of defeat. There must be a cause to justify such fighting, and the cause must be clearly understood. The understanding can be obtained only through sound workers' education. Labor education, as distinguished from general education, is, therefore, essential for lasting labor movement success. The old slogan of "Invest and Get Returns" is demoralizing and makes the union's task a Sisyphean job. In the third place, the labor movement must approach the unorganized workers in a spirit of idealism, because there can be no real labor movement otherwise. Every mass movement must be imbued with the idealism of its own cause if it is to live and thrive.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is being pointed to as a model of a successful trade union

How was the Amalgamated built? Of all our initial assets consisted of nothing, not even factions. In truth, the absence of factions was an important part of our intangible assets. But for the effectiveness of our idealism there would have been no occasion for our realism. When a serious situation develops, organizationally or industrially, we lean upon idealism surely no less than upon realism. Idealism and realism are not incompatible, as many imagine; on the contrary, they supplement one another. Idealism without realism is a soul without a body; realism without idealism is a body without a soul. Is there a choice? It is impossible to have a real labor movement without both.

A Living Wage Slogan Inadequate

Neither real idealism nor true realism can include such slogans as "a living wage," "a saving wage," etc. These slogans have outlived their usefulness. If they ever had any, they are too vague to have any meaning at all. "Living wage" is a term to one worker may be—starvation wage to another, depending upon the standard of living, which, in point of material welfare, is the only true criterion. A "saving wage" is entirely misleading. The underpaid worker will make a much greater effort to save than his better paid colleague because of the greater fear of the future. The "saving wage" may represent tragic self-abnegation.

The labor movement must come to the workers with a message that will inspire, a message that will fire the imagination of the workers as workers, not as petty business men; that would convey to them the spirit

of labor's struggles and aspirations. He who will respond to such labor movement message will know what he is in the labor movement for and is more likely to be dependable. When the appeal is for quick results only, and on a slot machine principle, a worker cannot be blamed for standing by the employer against the union if that seems to bring him better immediate results. If the appeal is for the high purposes of the labor movement, giving the workers a great and ennobling social vision, including, of course, immediate betterment, the worker becomes conscious of a higher and better self within him. With the labor movement rising to such heights, which it can do if it makes the effort, its possibilities are tremendous.

An Independent Political Party of Labor

The company union, as an open shop institution in American industry, seems to be here to stay for a long time. If there ever was a chance to check or prevent its phenomenal growth we were too helpless to avail ourselves of it. With the propaganda methods generally used by the labor movement today the company union members remain indifferent to it. A real idealistic working class propaganda is our only hope for a response from those workers. The education work of the legitimate union should interpret their own status to them and they will understand it. The company union members will not be able to free themselves from their yoke easily but there may be various ways for them to help in general labor work. At the present rate, the spirit of the labor movement will animate them. Here is one possibility: We all hope that the trade union movement will set up an independent political party of labor.

Its members, enlightened and encouraged by the educational work of the trade union movement, will give the labor party their whole-hearted and enthusiastic support, as a powerful protest against their own condition. The secret ballot will make it possible for them to roll up a big labor party vote without interference from the employers.

Build the Union First: Other Functions Follow

The question is asked, should the trade union take up unemployment insurance, labor banking, cooperative housing, etc., as means of promoting its work? There can be but one answer: Build up the union, and if it is numerically strong, and of good spirit and morale, it will have no difficulty in determining what new functions to assume. Labor banks are good, cooperative labor homes; still better, but they do not build unions; unions build banks and houses. Did the Amalgamated originally plan cooperative homes? It planned only the building up of the organization. The subsidiary institutions came later. Again: they did not make the Amalgamated; the Amalgamated made them. The strength of the labor union secures the safety of those institutions but their strength cannot secure the safety of the union. The union must take care of itself.

The Bane of Factionalism

One of the best organized and most progressive international in our trade union world inaugurated a system of unemployment insurance, established a labor bank and under-

took cooperative housing. But in spite of such encouraging evidence of labor union vitality that organization is now lying prostrate as a result of internal factionalism. Its unemployment insurance and cooperative housing went by the board. What this factionalism has done to one important section of our trade union movement is enough to make our blood boil, or perhaps, freeze in our veins, depending upon one's temperament. This factionalism may solve the union's problems, by destroying the union, but it cannot solve the workers' problems.

In spite of its history of more than half a century, the labor movement is still confronted by the burning question of how to organize the unorganized? One group says, "We must be practical; dreams will bring us nowhere." "Practical" in this case is not synonymous with "realism"; it has a rather sinister meaning. We ask them, "Where is the power and energy that the practical group has brought the labor movement in the past several decades?" Another group, judging by the actual results of its present work, has undertaken to destroy what is. They might be asked, "By what miracle will the discredit of the labor movement and the annihilation of confidence in it help to organize the unorganized?"

There is a strong temptation to charge the so-called labor leaders with sole responsibility for the present labor movement condition. But this is neither an explanation nor a solution. It is well known that a people has, in the long run, the kind of a government that it deserves. Likewise in the labor movement, the unions have, on the whole, and making due allowance for all exceptions, the kind of officers that they want.

Stay By the Labor Movement, Despite its Faults

Many of us have serious grievances against the labor movement: It has no social philosophy or vision; it leaves political power entirely in the hands of labor's enemies by opposing independent political action by the unions; it refuses to adjust its form of organization to the changed and changing industrial conditions, and thereby keeps the organized workers divided; at this late day it is still in the demoralizing Civic Federation state. But with all of its grave faults it is the labor movement, our labor movement; we are part of it. We cannot have our own private labor movements to suit our individual tastes and desires. The labor movement is what it is, and we can change it only as we can, not as we wish to. Some groups of workers have good organizations, enjoying industrial protection. There we may find opportunities for higher labor movement activities, which may include labor education, efforts towards a political party and assumption of new responsibilities. But there are not many such groups. In most industrial groups the unions are weak, do not exist at all. Our efforts must be concentrated on building them up, building up the labor movement. In the past thirty years labor movement factionalism has brought no constructive results, but it has taught the industrial unions a lesson not taken root. No serious mindless son in the labor movement has proposed that principle. It is applied, as useful even if not frequently applied. This is one more proof of the need and value of labor movement.

U. S. Farmers Must Organize Or Become Permanent Peasants

Editor's Note

The following article comes from our Feature Editor, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, and is part of an address by Carl Taylor, dean of the North Carolina Agriculture College, at the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy. The speaker corroborates the position of the American Appeal that the thing that is the matter with American agriculture is American industrialism or capitalism which has seized control of the government and has imposed marketing, price-fixing, tariff and tax policies beneficial only to the industrial and financial owners and detrimental to the farmers' interests. The remedy is along the lines advocated by the Appeal, though not so distinctly and radically expressed. —LET THE FARMERS ORGANIZE ALONG WITH OTHER WORKERS FOR INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL CONTROL OF THE SYSTEM.

—M. E. K.—

By Carl Taylor

(Dean of the North Carolina Agricultural College)

The economic returns from farming are low, calculated on the basis of the 1900 to 1914 index. The price the farmer receives for his commodities is only 81 per cent of what others receive for theirs. In other words it takes about 5 units of farm goods now to pay for what 4 units paid for in 1914. On the other hand, the price others now pay for his goods is now about four fifths of what they could in 1914. It is true that farm costs dropped after 1920, but it is true also that farm prices dropped almost twice as far.

The American farmer is getting deeper and deeper in debt. Farm mortgage indebtedness has increased about 150 per cent in the last fifteen years and is now equal to about forty per cent of the value of the mortgaged property. Most of the mortgages held by city enterprisers and thus farm equity is slowly slipping into the hands of others than farmers. The percentage of total national wealth represented in the agricultural plant has fallen from around 30 per cent to less than 20 per cent in the last 30 years, and agriculture receives now only 10.2 per cent of the total "current income" of the people of the United States. In 1918 it was receiving 25.9 per cent. Farm bankruptcies increased from one hundred thousand in 1919-1920 to 123 per one hundred thousand in 1924-1925. The capital standing of those who farm is growing more precarious each year. Farm properties lost about 18 per cent of their exchange values between 1913 and 1925.

ing the farming interests. It got the influence because of the close organization of industry, the loose organization of agriculture and because at one period in our national history the farmers were deeply interested in stimulating domestic manufacturing in order to create markets for their products. The Hamilton report on Manufactures in 1791 was not followed immediately by drastic protective legislation, due to the favorable market for American goods in Europe during the Napoleonic wars. During this period agriculture was prosperous. During this period also manufacturing developed with leaps and bounds. When these European wars were over, however, there was a terrific slump. Europe began not only to protect its own markets but flooded the American market with cheap manufactured articles. Even Jefferson and Madison, particularly Madison, advocated protection.

It seemed to them necessary to build up American manufacturing in order to create a home market for American farm products. Thus for the first thirty years of the 19th century both the Federalist and Democratic parties fought for protective tariffs. It may be denied by some that there was a responsibility for this so-called American policy. But it was Hamilton's ideas that served to launch a party which, during the next thirty years after his famous Report on Manufactures, fought for and established a policy of protection which was known as and is now thought of as the American System. The nationalism which developed with the war of 1812 and the advocacy of Adams, Clay and Calhoun had, by 1825, set us on the road from which we have never departed. The result is, industry has been artificially stimulated from the beginning of our national history and agriculture today seeks to hold its head up against great odds. The period following the Civil War was an occasion for protection which was known as the Northern farmer's protest was not great because he was in the period of free lands and because public revenues were necessary to liquidate the war debt.

Today freight rates which are a part of both farm production and farm marketing costs are high partly because railroad construction and rolling stock are built out of protected goods. Farm implement costs are high because of tariffs. These are the costs of our protection. The Northern farmer's protest was not great because he was in the period of free lands and because public revenues were necessary to liquidate the war debt.

A Brief Statement of the Economic Development of American Agriculture

May I briefly outline one more series of historic events out of which the present agricultural situation has evolved. The vast land resources of America and the lack of trade and commercial technologies kept the industry of this country in a primitive state for practically a hundred years after it entered Europe. During this hundred years the continent was settled. Between 1620 and 1790, a period of one hundred and sixty years, less than four million persons had taken up their abode in the United States. Within the next one hundred years the population grew to almost sixty-three million. Very nearly the sole cause of this tremendous migration was the land opportunities which the continent offered. Never before in the world's history had just such a situation existed. Probably never

again will such a combination of giant influences be brought together. The coming of the industrial revolution, expanded trade and commerce at unprecedented speed. Here in America lay the land, some of it rich beyond the imagination, to furnish the raw materials for the industrial revolution and commerce. The coming of the steam ship and railroad, both a part of the industrial revolution, made possible and feasible the settlement of our lands and the placing of them under cultivation. The result was an era of agriculture in which the world's history.

This migration continued only slightly abated for a full generation. It lost all semblance of an economic adaptation and became a great psychological movement. About the time of the migration of the land back to the frontier and turned back upon itself. Even then the fertile land of Canada served to keep up the belief that land ownership and land speculation constituted the chief economic opportunities of this continent.

Today we are reaping the results of this history of river levels or mountains, which constituted a real epoch in the world's history. This migration continued only slightly abated for a full generation. It lost all semblance of an economic adaptation and became a great psychological movement. About the time of the migration of the land back to the frontier and turned back upon itself. Even then the fertile land of Canada served to keep up the belief that land ownership and land speculation constituted the chief economic opportunities of this continent.

Between the time when this historic migration began and the present, the industrial revolution has entered the United States, at first slowly, not at all. Those who now own the farm are specialists in the production of raw products and those who carry on all other processes at one time connected with the occupation of farming now live in towns and cities.

The combination of these two historic facts, the opening up and settlement of our Middle West and West which built up a tremendous rural population and the coming of the industrial revolution with its refining and distributing processes all centered in the city gave us first a rural population expansion and then an inevitable rural population contraction. This contraction is being forced by the necessarily cruel method of the survival of the fittest and many are suffering in the conflict. Furthermore, the increased efficiency of the farmer himself, due to the coming of science and machinery during the last one hundred years, has been very marked, making possible the production of a much greater volume of farm products with practically no increase in farm labor force.

The Crux of the Problem and the Attempt to Solve It

We do and always must depend upon farmers to produce the chief food, clothing and shelter products to support the whole population of the earth. We seem, however, to have reached a situation where we are remunerating them so poorly for performing this task that many are deeply interested because of the use is to quit. The drift to the city, which is decry by some as the greatest tragedy of civilization, is encouraged by others. Both these groups are friends of the farmer and are listening to them both he is in a dilemma indeed.

The farmer's task in society at large is to grow raw products to feed and clothe the world. In order to do this adequately there is none too many farmers. His task as seen from his own viewpoint is to feed, clothe and shelter his own family and in addition to this to guarantee them opportunities for health, education, recreation and community life. In order to do this he must collect more dividends out of the markets to which he sells his products than he pays back to the dilemma—how can he produce enough to make it possible for others to live satisfactorily and how can he collect enough from others to guarantee a satisfactory life for himself.

One dilemma resolve itself into another. A farmer resolve itself into a little more in order that others may live. I believe not. It is a problem of the price system and the economic and social theories growing out of it. I mean that in some ways, it is a problem of the price system and the economic and social theories growing out of it. I mean that in some ways, it is a problem of the price system and the economic and social theories growing out of it.

Industrial and Political Action

May I conclude by saying that while I have no intention of being a "can'ty holler" if I thoroughly believe that American agricultural civilization is at the cross roads. It has gravitated to such a position as it now holds because of two great historic processes; first, because of the natural evolution of economic society, based upon a division of specialized functions and operating by means of a price and market system; and, second, because of the so-called "American" Economic Policy of artificially stimulating industry that has handicapped it in relation to other economic enterprises. The first of these processes can be controlled only by economic education and economic organizations. The second can be controlled only by climbing on the table with the tariff hogs or by kicking the legs out from under the table and an sitting down on the floor together. [Entering politics and changing tariff policies.] Unless the conditions are met, and I am not sure they will be, then we must look forward to an agricultural future that has no hope beyond something approaching a permanent peasantry.

Are Our Farmers Becoming Peasants

(From the Progressive Farmer)

Is the American farmer to become a peasant? If the sons of farmers continue to fill the vacuum of the cities due to restricted immigration; if the weather farmers and prosperous farmers are to be driven to the city to buy great tracts of land and set up industrial units of the farms, there may be a new farm feudalism which may secure a reasonable return for farm products. That would mean the slow disappearance of the millions of free farmers and the rise of a new class of "peasants," such as Jefferson imagined when the Republic was created. If the farmers become peasants, the wide "foreign districts" of the cities will hardly escape a similar lot. Is that to be the outcome of "free lands for all," of that fine program of democracy which for more than a century has been held out to the under-dogs of Europe? If history has any lessons for men, it offers this warning and remonstrance.

Is it peasantry for the farmers and feudalism in the world of industry and business? Southern men and Western leaders might well take stock of their resources and seek a new deal in the politics of the time. But Southern men and Western leaders won't do it; their fathers fought on opposite sides in the Civil War!

Landless Farmers

America is developing a real proletariat of the soil—the landless, or tenant farmers. These non-owning working farmers present just as fruitful a field for the Socialist movement in the future as the industrial workers of the cities. They get no income from owner-ship, have no owning interests and like the industrial workers get their entire income from labor.

This class is surprisingly large in this land of "freedom and opportunity." In 1920 it constituted 34.1 per cent of all farmers. In 1925 38.6 of all American farmers were tenants. THIS MEANS THAT NEARLY TWO FIFTHS OF EVERY FIVE ARE LANDLESS WORKERS. There are a little over 6,000,000 farmers in the country representing about 30,000,000 men, women and children. About 2,400,000 farmers are real proletarians and represent a class of rural proletarians numbering about 12,000,000.

Proletarian in its modern significance means propertyless. The existence of such a large propertyless class of workers on the farms means THAT THE PROLETARIAN CLASS IS REALLY IN THE MAJORITY IN THE UNITED STATES NOW. This class and the other elements in the country and in the cities of America closely related to it by practically common burdens and conditions, constitute an overwhelming majority and a great field for Socialist education in the future.

The Chicago Daily News has been running a series of articles showing how girls can work, and do work in Chicago, for \$12 a week and have a surplus left. That's the idea. Get the workers down to \$12 a week and a surplus and then get that surplus.

MORE REASONS FOR U. S. CONTROL OF THE CARIBBEAN

Note

The following article appeared in a recent issue of the Chicago Tribune as the financial page headline by Tribune headline—Words by Harper Leach, expert purveyor of capitalist ideas—Music by the Marine band with machine gun and bombing plane accompaniments.

The geology of the countries about the Caribbean sea is coming to reinforce the other considerations which make it dangerous and absurd for the United States to continue a supine acquiescence with regard to the strategic domination of the American Mediterranean by European powers, which have no weighty economic or racial reasons to hold the islands which encircle it.

That occupancy constitutes an anachronism, jettisoned from abandoned imperialism of the 18th century, lying at the base of our international trade through Panama, our growing trade with all the ports of the Caribbean and cutting across the whole American system of defense and political comity in the western hemisphere.

Our instinct to disentangle Cuba from the European political system and to free the island from the clutches of the mountain chain on the northeast corner of that island consists of low grade iron ores with a slight percentage of nickel, which ultimately will constitute the base of our metallurgical industries on the North Atlantic seaboard, unless some good guesses go wrong. These ores can be mined mechanically and will become important long before the lower grade ores of the Jersey sands or the Appalachians will be used.

In the Mayan and Aztec times the chromiferous iron ores amounting to 2,000,000,000 tons which may become

necessary to us as a source of chromium and chrome wherever the world's cream chrome deposits are skimmed off, or if we are denied access to them by the old world powers which control them.

Venezuela is rapidly coming to the front as a producer of crude oil—it will be one of the world's great sources of liquid fuel and lubricants. Colombia also is looked on as a future rival of Mesopotamia and Oriental oil sources now controlled principally by European powers.

As soon as we begin serious conservation policies in this country to get the most out of our oil and gas reserves, by a policy of scientific and steady production as contrasted to the present explosive and wasteful gusher process, we will add into our conservation policies the determination to have and use our rightful share of the oil of non-industrialized countries.

Our share lies in the western hemisphere—we need not go to the Caspian, the Persian gulf or the Spice Islands to get ours.

The average inhabitant of America, who constitutionally inclined to denounce Britain for holding the doors of the Mediterranean with Gibraltar, Malta and Port Said, is the same sort of an American who denounces any plea for American control of the Caribbean.

It might seem strange, but it isn't to the student of every day group psychology. The views as to world policies entertained by many individuals are inevitable and predictable. As a pacifist really hates war—rather than war, so your conventional "anti-imperialist" really dislikes industrial and political capability at home and abroad—and that's why he gets that way.

JAPANESE WORKERS GET READY FOR FRANCHISE

TOKIO—The coming of general manhood suffrage in Japan, scheduled for 1928, has proved an immense stimulus to the labor and radical movements both in the cities and among the peasants. In spite of the many splits in the trade union federations and political labor parties, activity has become intense. The study of Marxian and radical texts is going on to an extent second only to Russia. Recently 37 Japanese students were jailed for 1 year because of spreading what is officially known as dangerous thoughts, that is, radical doctrines.

Organized labor is divided into 8 principal bodies. The 4 conservative groups are the General Federation of Japanese Labor, founded in 1919, which now has 30,000 members; the Federation of Navajo Workers with 45,000; the Japanese Seamen's Union with 45,000; and the Federation of Workers in Government Undertakings with 13,000—a total of 133,000. The 3 moderately advanced bodies are the Natl. Federation of Trade Unions with 15,000 members which succeeded from the General Federation in 1924; the Union of Tokyo Municipal Tramwaymen with 12,000 and the

Stewards Federation with 7000—a total of 34,000.

The radical Natl. Council of Trade Unions with 20,000 members succeeded from the General Federation in 1925. The peasants are organized in the conservative Federation of Pan-Japanese Unions with 10,000 members (founded 1928); the somewhat less conservative General Federation of Japanese Peasants organized in 1927 with 5,000 members; the moderate Pan-Japanese Peasants Union just organized with 15,000 members from the Japanese Peasants Union; and the radical Japanese Peasants Union, founded in 1922 as a moderate body but at present under Communist influence, with 20,000.

There are therefore almost 200,000 organized Japanese trade unionists and 50,000 organized peasants. There are 4 political parties catering to these groups, of which the radical Workers and Peasants Party of Japan is most successful in gaining members. The others are the Japanese Peasants Party, the less conservative Social Peoples Party and the liberal Workers and Peasants Party of Japan.

A recent picture in the Chicago Tribune was labeled, "Officers of the Squadron, Illinois National Guard." Do you know that state militias, now which are always used against Labor in labor troubles, are everywhere being equipped with bombing planes? Wake up, slaves, before it's eternally too late.

The United States naval militarists at the "disarmament" conference in Geneva are putting up a brave fight against the British and Japanese to keep the 8-inch gun on cruisers instead of the 6-inch gun. Now we begin to understand what Coolidge means by disarmament.