

Industrial Democracy

American Appeal

No Wrong Can Live Long Under Free Discussion

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United States Finishes Conquest of Nicaragua

The last act in the brutal military seizure of Nicaragua by the United States was described early this week in a message from Henry L. Stimson, imperialist agent of the United States who was sent to Nicaragua by President Coolidge to deliver the ultimatum of the administration to the Liberal forces.

It was best for the Liberal forces to lay down their arms in view of his understanding that the United States would use force if necessary to restore peace. It is understood that the announcement was received unfavorably by several leaders, but indications were that little, if any resistance, would be offered to the disarming process.

Under the terms of "surrender" every point for which the Coolidge administration has been contending was won. Not only does the illegal president remain in office, but THE AMERICAN MILITARY FORCES, IN CHANGING DISGUISE, REMAIN IN POSSESSION OF NICARAGUA. No amount of fair, but hypocritical language under which the conquest of Nicaragua is concealed can conceal these underlying facts, as the following "peace terms" show:

Coolidge's New and Dangerous Doctrine By Laurence Todd WASHINGTON, D. C.—Out of the White House comes a new doctrine of international conduct. This doctrine was stated in connection with the Stimson letter to Gen. Moncada, military commander of the Nicaraguan Liberal forces. The method by which we get peace in Nicaragua is not important; the thing that the public should keep its eye on is the fact that we get what we go after, which is pacification.

attack, the Canal locks, the power-plant and the drainage system upon which they depend are highly vulnerable. In addition to comparative freedom from those weaknesses as a strategic highway, the Nicaragua route provides a convenient lake in which to hide half a dozen battle-fleets, ready to emerge on an hour's notice. There are no harbor accommodations at the Panama isthmus for a fleet of any size. Only part of a fleet can pass the Canal at once.

authority and influence, each designed to protect the latest one acquired. Briefly stated, our Caribbean policy amounts to this: We propose that our interests shall be regarded as predominant in countries north of the equator, not only as against European nations—which is the basis of the Monroe Doctrine—but also as against other American countries; indeed, as against the desires of the countries themselves. Our apology for this is simply that we are the largest power with possessions in the Caribbean area. And we have simply continued the imperialistic traditions of the nations which have preceded us in importance in that region.

off and have made our words respected. We have extended our possessions in this region—by peaceful means when possible; by force of arms when occasion required it. "We tried repeatedly to buy Cuba, until 1895, when we drove the Spaniards out and took Cuba by force. We have given Cuba the partial independence of a protectorate, but she is on her good behavior, and knows it. We won Porto Rico by conquest in the Spanish-American War, and still hold it. We have repeatedly set the affairs of Columbia in order. We abetted the slaying of the Republic of Panama off Columbia in 1903, and guaranteed its integrity, because we needed the Panama Canal. Columbia saw the futility of trying to balk Destiny.

Mr. Stimson informed the department that Gen. Jose Moncada, the Liberal leader, has undertaken to persuade his troops to lay down their arms. He added that a truce has been declared and "the American forces have been drawn up between the two armies in order that they may receive the arms of both."

At the Point of U. S. Guns This seizure of a small and weak country by the most powerful nation in the world constitutes one of the most brazen acts of imperialism in history in modern times, despite the long and disgraceful records of Great Britain, France, Italy and Czarist Russia. It was achieved by means of a military ultimatum delivered to the liberals and backed by the strong military forces now distributed throughout Nicaragua. A dispatch from Nicaraguan Liberal sources one day after Stimson had announced the surrender of the Liberal forces states that President Coolidge considered the retention of Adolpho Diaz as a constitutional president of Nicaragua as a question of "honor and prestige" and was prepared to authorize the American marines to forcibly disarm the warring groups.

"1. Complete disarmament on both sides. "2. An immediate general peace to permit planting for the new crop in June. "3. A general amnesty to all persons in rebellion or exile. "4. The return of all occupied or confiscated property to its owners. "5. Participation in the Diaz cabinet by representative Liberals. "6. Organization of a Nicaraguan constabulary on a nonpartisan basis, commanded by American officers. "7. American supervision of the 1928 election. "8. The continuance temporarily in the country of a sufficient force of American marines to guarantee order pending the organization of the constabulary."

Militarism Behind Grab of Nicaragua (Leland H. Jenks in The World Tomorrow) For battleships and battle-cruisers of the prevailing type, the existing locks at Panama are far from adequate. Against a well-planned air

Nor is any canal of any strategic importance by itself. We have gradually learned, as England before us, that to control a canal one must dominate its approaches. We have discovered that we must not only have the Canal Zone; we must also command adjacent bases of operation. Should we build a canal through Nicaragua, we would no doubt discover the same. We would require, first, a zone; we would then take guarantees of sanitation and public order to protect the zone; and presently we would find ourselves insisting, as our presence in Panama has led us, upon further precautions to enable us to safeguard the guarantees. "If you believe the military men, nothing is safe," remarked Lord Salisbury, with the expanding northward frontier of India in mind. The United States, with her canal, has been brought to the verge of a similar policy of successive extensions of

Honest Imperialist Confession (Editorial from Liberty, a magazine published by the Chicago Tribune) "Again and again the United States has asserted its right to regulate Caribbean affairs. We have set up and knocked down the governments of sovereign nations. Times without number our armed forces have landed to curb disorders and protect our interests. We have warned Europe, with fighting words, to keep hand-

their toil. To all producers products at their labor cost. To industrial labor guarantee against unemployment and want. To the farmer free use of the soil; full product of his labor; industrial goods at their labor cost. To the intellectual producer emancipation from prostitution to private interests.

Super-rich Financed Attack on American Civil Liberties

Norman Hapgood Bares Anti-Red Funds—Civic Federation Chief Offender The Civic Federation, long posing as the "friend" of Labor and champion of the idea of cooperation between capital and labor, has been fully exposed in Norman Hapgood's new book, "Professional Patriots," just off the press, as one of the worst aggressions of big capitalists, high financiers and hard-boiled employers in America in its attacks on radicals and liberals, on American civil liberties and on organized labor.

Socialist Outlook Fine in Wisconsin, Declares Secretary New Local Formed—Legislative Work of Party Influencing the Farmers By William Coleman (Socialist State Secretary, Wis.) A new local of the Socialist party has been organized at Stevens Point, Wis., with Comrade A. J. Sprague, a tireless worker, as secretary.

Labor Wins In All Australian States With One Exception The following is from "International Information" bulletin of the Labor and Socialist International, Zurich, Switzerland: (I. I.) The Parliamentary elections just taking place in several of the States of Australia, are now concluded and the results are as follows: In New South Wales, Queensland and Tasmania, in which Labor was already in power before the elections, it has maintained a majority without much change; in South Australia, also, Labor was in power, but was on this occasion defeated by a small majority and is now in Opposition. In the State of West Australia, Labor has by a narrow majority, gained a victory, the figures being: Labor (Government) 27; Opposition 23. In Victoria, the general election took place for the first time under the system of compulsory vote. According to the final results received the Labor Party emerges from this election as the dominant Party, but without an absolute majority. The figures are: Labor Party 28 seats, Nationalists 10, Country Party 10, Country Progressive Party 4, Liberals 1. Independent Labor Party 1. Parliament the Coalition Ministry had 37 nominal supporters out of a total of 65, and there was a pact between the Nationalists and the Country Party, which however ended with the dissolution.

Stay Death Sentence of Vanzetti Witness BOSTON—Sacco and Vanzetti have won their first point with Gov. Fuller. The life of their star witness, Celestino Madeiros, has been saved till July 10. Madeiros' testimony is needed in the investigation the governor is making into the famous labor case. Madeiros was to die April 28 for another murder. The governor perceived him after the gunman had been visited in the deathhouse by Frank A. Brooks, chairman of the parole board. It is rumored that Brooks was greatly impressed with the story of Madeiros that he and a gang of professional holdup men committed the payroll murders at South Braintree and that Sacco and Vanzetti had nothing to do with the crime.

From The Pen Of Debs (Compiled by Theodore Debs) Crumbling Capitalism The highest point in the development of capitalism has about been reached and symptoms of decline, the forerunner of collapse, are now present. The daily happenings all about us foreshadow the impending organic change in society. The average capitalist daily is almost exclusively a chronicle of crime. The fully developed capitalist metropolis is a seething mass of reformations that have been and are being tried at best so many drops of laudanum administered to soothe the patients with no possible hope of returning sanity.

Fascist Italy in Grip of Ruinous Industrial Crisis State-Controlled Capitalism Not Working Well As Plan to Save the World ROME — Mussolini's boasted solution of the ills of the present industrial system is proving to be a boomerang. The new Fascist state, which failed to eliminate the contradictions, antagonisms and inequalities of capitalism while throwing everything under control of the state, faces an acute industrial crisis as it starts (Cont. on page 3)

Bertrand Russell Sends Greetings to the Appeal Bertrand Russell of England, one of the foremost philosophers of the times, has just sent the following message to the American Appeal through the feature editor: It is a pleasure to wish success and long life to THE AMERICAN APPEAL. More and more it is becoming evident that the success of progressive movements throughout the world depends upon public opinion in the United States. China and Central America are at the moment one most glaring example of this fact. In the former, the lead has been taken by the government which misrepresents my own country, in the other by that which performs a similar function in power; but in both regions there has been capitalist animity in the determination to prolong proletarian exploitation. When good men fall out, thieves come by their own—or rather, by what is not their own. We need, therefore, the closest cooperation between progressive forces in Europe and America. In this spirit, I send you greetings. —Bertrand Russell.

Appeal Starts Drive For Pledged And Enrolled Propaganda Army This week the American Appeal takes the second step in the big drive toward self-supporting and effective circulation. THAT STEP IS THE ENROLLMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF A PROPAGANDA FORCE COVERING THE NATION TO KEEP THE APPEAL AND PARTY ALIVE AND GROWING AND BRIDGE OVER THE PRESENT CRITICAL PERIOD OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA. Such a step has become absolutely necessary. In America alone among all the civilized countries Socialism as a thought movement is on the extreme defensive, and faces a supreme struggle to establish itself. America has become the center, citadel and fortress of international capitalism. Capitalism has developed its most adroit methods and has attained its greatest grip on the minds of the workers in America. THE BURSTING OF THE MENTAL CHAINS THAT BIND THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA HAS BECOME THE SUPREME TASK CONNECTED WITH THE LIBERATION OF THE HUMAN RACE. We American workers cannot shirk this great task which we alone must perform. We must now prepare for it. We must strip for action. WE MUST FIND THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS FOR DRIVING THE FIRST WEDGE INTO AMERICAN CAPITALISM. Experience has shown us what that wedge is. IT IS A WIDELY CIRCULATING SOCIALIST PRESS. Nothing else will do the work immediately before us. The Socialist propaganda paper is our bet. It is this because it is the only instrument within our present reach that can maintain an enduring contact between the vital and educative forces of Socialism and thousands of individuals throughout the nation. Furthermore, it is the best instrument in the hands of propagandists because it is the easiest instrument by which they may reach others with the message of Socialism. With the expenditure of a very little time the propagandist can start a candidate for education on a year's course in Socialism. EVEN THE WORKERS WHO DARE NOT OPENLY PROCLAIM THEIR SOCIALISM, CAN BY THE EXPENDITURE OF A VERY SMALL SUM START A CANDIDATE ON THE CERTAIN ROAD TO SOCIALISM. One hundred thousand circulation for the American Appeal WOULD WITHOUT ANY DOUBT TRANSFORM THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT OF AMERICA INTO A NATION-WIDE, INFLUENTIAL AND EFFECTIVE FIGHTING FORCE. A million circulation would PUT AMERICAN CAPITALISM ON THE DEFENSIVE AND MAKE SOCIALISM THE MAIN ISSUE IN THE UNITED STATES AS IT NOW IS IN THE OTHER LEADING COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD. These are goals we must attain soon, if American Socialists are to do their part in this supreme world struggle for emancipation. We cannot attain them unless we ORGANIZE our "propaganda forces around our most effective instrument—the American Appeal. By ORGANIZING our forces, we mean actually building up an enrolled Army membership, each member pledged to do a certain amount of work each month. EACH MEMBER OF THE ENROLLED ARMY OF THE APPEAL WILL BE REQUIRED TO GET AT LEAST ONE SUBSCRIPTION PER MONTH TO MAINTAIN MEMBERSHIP. This sub a month will constitute the dues of the ENROLLED APPEAL ARMY. A member may solicit this sub and have the subscriber pay for it, or he may pay for it himself, or he may buy subscription cards and sell them to subscribers, or he may buy bundles totaling the price of a sub, or he may send the price of a sub to the Appeal and have the Appeal send the paper to someone selected by this office. THE WHOLE IDEA IS TO PUT THE APPEAL ON A BASIS OF COOPERATIVE SERVICE, RATHER THAN ON A BASIS OF GIFTS OR DONATIONS. All in the world the Appeal needs to live and grow is sub-circulation. All in the world the Socialist movement needs to live and grow is cooperative propaganda service. If one thousand Socialists throughout the United States will take the pledge to get at least one sub a month or its equivalent, this, with the voluntary additional subs that would come in would support the Appeal at its present circulation. ANYTHING ABOVE THIS WILL MEAN GROWTH. The Appeal starts today to get this thousand enrolled and pledged members of the APPEAL ARMY and as many more as possible. THIS CAMPAIGN WILL CONTINUE UNTIL AT LEAST THIS THOUSAND HAVE JOINED. YOU CAN SHORTEN THIS CAMPAIGN BY GETTING IN QUICKLY AND ALLOWING THE APPEAL AND THE PARTY TO MOVE FORWARD TO BIGGER THINGS. ARE THERE ONE THOUSAND SOCIALISTS IN THE UNITED STATES WHO THINK ENOUGH OF THEIR MOVEMENT AND THEIR PAPER TO TAKE THE SUB-A-MONTH PLEDGE? Write in at once and take the pledge that you will get at least one sub each month for the Appeal, or its equivalent, and we will enroll you. Who will be first? Who will be in the honor roll of those who joined the first week? Sign the Pledge Blank below.

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. Name Address

NEWS AND VIEWS

Is Great Britain Turning Fascist?

The Tory anti-labor bill has precipitated a struggle of such magnitude and violence that one is led to wonder if Great Britain is not now entering a Fascist-Socialist struggle bound to end in a decidedly forward backward change of the system.

peralism in Africa is backed by England and every move of British imperialism in China is backed by Mus- solini.

Which we rule; and it must be assumed that President Coolidge used the word "control" when he wanted to say, "If he did, then every foreign investment is a piece of transplanted sovereignty, which the nation may be called on at any moment to protect, even at the cost of war."

Protecting Investments Abroad

Two recent utterances of prominent men need to be taken together to get their full meaning. The first is a statement made by President Coolidge in his address to the United States Press.

The contributions of the more than well-to-do. No labor organization ever voted it a nickel.

The matter is made more serious by conditions summed up by Frank A. Vanderlip in an interview a short time ago.

An Open Shop Aggregation

"Glance at the Who's Who of the National Civic Federation and you will find from the day of August Belmont, the former president, down to the names of a goodly assortment of 'hard-boiled' employers."

For Child Labor

The book accused the Civic Federation of turning in a "whitewash report on child labor in southern mills following an investigation" by the U. S. Dept. of Labor.

Making a Goat of Labor

"Mr. Easley claims that his Federation committees give 'equal representation' to capital and labor," the author continues, yet an analysis reveals the line-up as follows:

Fights Public Ownership

The Federation is also charged with maintaining a committee "for limiting free speech."

The Big Three

But the National Civic Federation, the American Defense Society and the National Security League are the Big Three that receive most attention.

Fascist Italy In Grip of Crisis

(Continued from Page 1) out to make the present system work.

Super-Rich Financed Attack on Liberties

(Continued from Page 1) Board of the American Federation of Labor remains present.

21 Patriotic Societies

Professional Patriots, edited by Norman Haggood, lifts the veil from the professional patriotic societies of America.

Judge Panken to Be Recipient of Honor

Judge Jacob Panken, Socialist municipal judge, New York City, will be honored at a banquet and reception by the Socialist Party and Trade Union reception committee.

French Socialist Party Favors More Independent Stand

The French Socialist Party, which won 102 seats in the Chamber of Deputies last election as a constituent member of the French Left Bloc, a coalition of progressive and radical capitalist parties.

It is a bold stroke of irony for the capitalists to praise as a "good worker" a man who works like a slave, subs like a slave, and votes like a slave to keep his wife and children in poverty.

The heavy industries in the textile trade, with the exception of the artificial silk business, are in a precarious condition.

But the new order, DeMan contends, that there must gradually be substituted for the present-day motive of the worker—the negative motive of the whip of hunger and of autocratic discipline—a new motive if the worker is to function effectively in industry "after the revolution."

Dealing with the class struggle, DeMan declares that the early history of the labor movement indicates that and industrial institutions have been saved only by the direct intervention and assistance by the government.

DeMan on Marxian Theories

DeMan is rather definitely on the revisionist side of the Marxian controversy. Discussing the increasing misery theories for social progress, the important question is not whether misery constantly increases among the workers, but whether such increasing misery is a necessary forerunner of a revolution.

Goals Versus Motives

In conclusion DeMan declares that his sympathies are with the practical reformers in the socialist movement rather than with the revolutionists. He is a socialist not because he believes in the future, but because he believes in the present.

Amo Worker Inferiority Complex

For instance, the American workers are today not less exploited economically than are their European class comrades. The old opportunities existing in the early part of the century to rise from the working class, and become independent business men and entrepreneurs, do not at present

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Post War Socialist Thought

The Psychological Trend to Socialism

In Six Articles Article IV

Psychology and the Class Struggle

Among the psychological factors at work in the struggle is the general belief that, fundamentally, rights should be equal to being. It is handed down from Christian teachings, which emphasized the equality of individual souls; from the feudal system, which preached that there were no rights without corresponding duties; and from the democratic tradition, which emphasized the equality of political and social opportunity.

Social Inferiority Complex Becomes Spiritual Gain

There is a time, continues the author, when the social inferiority complex of the laborer changes from a spiritual loss to a spiritual gain in that it takes a positive conception of right. When there is suffering there is hope, and where there is hope, there is faith.

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the first fights of labor were of a defensive character. They were fought with the idea of bringing back to the poor the independence which the workers enjoyed before the introduction of machinery. It was less a loss of income, than a loss of independence which led to the fight.

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