

Industrial Democracy

American Appeal

No Wrong Can Live Long Under Free Discussion

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

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We Must Fight War to the Finish or Perish!

Developments since the World War of methods of destroying human life...

Major Issue of the Hour: We have to prevent war, because almost any national war now is dangerously liable to become a world war...

Chemical Warfare: The use of deadly gases and liquids and disease germs to spread destruction has been developed to a point...

War Planes: Military authorities generally agree that the next great war will be largely fought in and from the air...

SINISTER RACE OF DEATH IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD IS GOING ON IN THE BUILDING OF DREAD AIR FLEETS OF WAR.

The most dreadful flying machines of destruction have been evolved since the world war. As horrible as was the air phase of war during that catastrophe...

Army Mechanization: The war-makers and militarists now see the enormous possibilities of transforming armies largely into heavily armored mechanical monsters...

War Drones: The use of apathizing, poisoning, burning, and disease-spreading agents of death has been facilitated tremendously by the rapid evolution of air-planes...

THE MOST DANGEROUS PLACE IN THIS BATTLE OF MONSTERS THEY WOULD ENGENDER A RACE TOWARD MECHANICAL SUPREMACY...

The Rising War Spirit: Coupled with this rapid mechanization of war has developed an eager, spreading spirit among the ruling classes to test out and use these new powers of destruction.

A Passing System: What we see all around us are the symptoms of a decaying and passing industrial system...

War Drones: The use of apathizing, poisoning, burning, and disease-spreading agents of death has been facilitated tremendously by the rapid evolution of air-planes...

There is war because the present system divides society into two antagonistic classes—the producers and the parasites...

Real Peace Program: NOTHING SHORT OF A COMPLETE CHANGE FROM THIS SYSTEM: NOTHING SHORT OF THE NEW SYSTEM BASED UPON OPERATION AND LABOR'S FULL OWNERSHIP AND ENJOYMENT OF ITS PRODUCT...

Must Have Powerful Paper: We need all the circulation that every active reader of the Appeal can give us by his or her constant efforts...

Will You Help? Readers of the American Appeal, do you want a national organ of this kind...

On this basis and with the understanding that the availing of war is the major issue of the hour...

Warring Nations: But we must fight war HERE AND NOW or it may WIPE OUT THE WHOLE PROCESS LEADING TO SOCIALISM AND IMPERIALISM.

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Absolute loyalty to the pacifist program of averting wars AND THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM OF ABOLISHING WAR IS ONE OF THE BIG THINGS THAT IS GOING TO LEAD THE PEOPLE TO SOCIALISM...

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Bituminous Miners Prepare to Battle Against Low Wages

Editor's Note: This is the first of a number of articles on coal to be published in the Appeal during the next few months...

By Thomas Kennedy (Secretary, United Mine Workers of America): The agreement made in Jacksonville in 1924 for a period of three years carried as its basic provisions the rates of wages then in effect in the Central Competitive Fields...

Warfare Against Union: Immediately following the signing of the Jacksonville Agreement, certain companies which subscribed to the agreement, notably the Pittsburgh Coal Company and the Consolidation Coal Company in Northern West Virginia...

Shanghai Won By Victorious Army of the Revolution

SHANGHAI, China—The victorious Cantonese army entered Shanghai after winning an almost bloodless victory over the northern militarists...

Warfare Against Union: Immediately following the signing of the Jacksonville Agreement, certain companies which subscribed to the agreement, notably the Pittsburgh Coal Company and the Consolidation Coal Company in Northern West Virginia...

U. S. Set for Big Move Unless Mexico Yields to Oil Men

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Something of major importance in the relations between the United States and Mexico is in the wind...

Warfare Against Union: Immediately following the signing of the Jacksonville Agreement, certain companies which subscribed to the agreement, notably the Pittsburgh Coal Company and the Consolidation Coal Company in Northern West Virginia...

From The Pen of Debs

(Compiled by Theodore Debs) (Here is a challenge from Debs that applies to thousands of inactive Socialist readers of the Appeal. Take this to heart while the Emergency Circulation Drive is on and justify the fact that you are a Socialist.)

Where Do You Stand?

Socialism is the revolutionary shibboleth of the workers and producers all around the world. We are fighting for freedom.

Move Against Air Warfare Defeated

LONDON—The Socialist's idealistic move to wipe out the British air force met an overwhelming defeat in the house of commons...

Super Power Trust Already Formed, Says Federal Body

WASHINGTON, D. C.—So far there are 5,000 members in Nicaragua, but the armed clash expected by many as the result of military intervention by the United States has not yet materialized...

Treachurous Plan Revealed in Armed Grab of Nicaragua: The administration announces it will not accept President Diaz's proposal for the establishment of an American protectorate over Nicaragua for 100 years...

Ominous Change in Press on Mexico: Slowly but effectively the muzzle has been applied to Republican and Democratic daily newspapers throughout the country during the past two months...

Gen. Wood Departs Man for Criticism of Imperialists: Manila, Philippine Islands—Rudolph Hilbrandt of Deer Park, Wisconsin, departed here for Hongkong...

Labor Party Offers Disarmament Plan: LONDON—"No more battleships to be built by any nation; no more cruisers to be built exceeding 5,000 tons."

Appeal to Have May Day Number: The American Appeal will have a special May Day number which will appear Saturday, April 30.

America Spurns League Plan to End Gas Wars

GENEVA—Two important phases of the league of nations' disarmament program recommended by the preparatory joint naval, air and military commissions will meet determined opposition from the United States.

Sweden and Norway Take Anti-War Vow

STOCKHOLM—Final ratifications of the arbitration treaty between Sweden and Norway, making war between the two countries illegal under all circumstances, have been exchanged.

Comrades of the Appeal Army, It Is Up to You!

As this is written, the issue of the American Appeal announcing the Emergency Circulation Drive has just reached the hands of the 24,000 readers of the American Appeal.

We are confident there will be a generous response to this program ending April 19 during which time EVERY READER OF THE AMERICAN APPEAL IS EXPECTED TO GET OR PAY FOR ONE OR MORE SUBS.

The drive is going to be a great success IF EVERY MEMBER OF THE APPEAL ARMY—and by that we mean every reader who in the past has helped the Appeal attain its present circulation—WILL DO HIS OR HER BIT.

We are asking members of the Appeal Army to do their bit right away—this week if possible—because the effect of such an example will sweep thousands into the drive before it ends.

HOW MANY MEMBERS OF THE APPEAL ARMY WILL CONSTITUTE THEMSELVES THE SHOCK TROOPS IN THIS DRIVE AND DO THEIR SHARE THIS WEEK? AN EARLY EXAMPLE BY THE ARMY WILL INSURE THE IMMENSE SUCCESS OF THE DRIVE.

The present drive is the first step in a determined program planned by the Staff to give the Appeal real national circulation and power.

The success of this drive depends absolutely on how many readers think enough of the Appeal and the Movement to sense sufficiently the dire need of giving the Appeal effective circulation in the present crisis.

The result will be a real test of the loyalty of the readers to the Appeal and the Movement. IT WILL TELL US WHETHER OR NOT WE HAVE A DEPENDABLE FORCE WITH WHICH WE CAN GO ON TO GREATER THINGS. IT WILL DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT WE CAN CARRY OUT OUR PROGRAM FOR A BIGGER AND BETTER PAPER AND MOVEMENT.

The decision is entirely in the hands of the readers. WE WILL START TO COUNT THE FATEFUL VOTE NEXT WEEK WHICH WILL TELL US WHETHER WE CAN GO AHEAD OR WHETHER WE MUST GO BACKWARD OR FAIL OR SURRENDER IN THIS CRISIS.

Young People's Department National Office YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOC. LEAGUE 25 TOWNSEND ST. CHICAGO, ILL. ALBERT J. PARKER, NAL. DIRECTOR.

WITH THE CIRCLES

Boston, Mass.—Members of what might better be called the former Boston circle have been meeting recently as a group organized as the Speakers Bureau, under the direction of Comrade Lewis.

Quincy, Mass.—A meeting has been arranged to reorganize the Quincy circle, Sunday evening, March 27. The speakers on this occasion will be Comrades Lewis and Syryala of Boston.

National Office—Circle secretaries are asked to file their reports for the month of March. It would be much better to think of the monthly report card just at the end of the month so that the record may be correct, and that no delays will be suffered.

The Scoffer

By Louis Rabinowitz (Member Boston Y. P. S. L.) All through the history of the Socialist movement one can trace the path of that pitiful germ, "Scoffism."

Our presence can always be detected by the conversational outbursts of those who have fallen prey—"Socialism! Why, I know all about that. It's all the bunk! It's as old as the hills. My great grandfather heard about it in his day. How are you going to divide up all the money in the world? Don't try to tell me anything about it—I know it all. I read the newspapers; read about what Teddy Roosevelt said about you anarchists. You certainly are poor chaps going around preaching that same old game."

Thus Socialism becomes the absolute embodiment of the entire source from whence their suffering was born. They vent all the spleen they may have inherited upon the Socialist and its arm of teachers and organizers. From a position of indifferent "Scoffism" they spring into action as violent reactionaries. Not because they understand or ever understood the Socialist movement, but rather, because they misinterpreted it, and are now suffering as a consequence of that early misunderstanding.

Let's All Help By Savelle Syryala "Oh, if we only had our own magazine, how much more we could accomplish," is a remark frequently heard among Yipsels. Yes, we could do much more with a magazine devoted to the interests of the Y. P. S. L.

Very few circles have sent items or information about their activities. Neither have the individual members, barring a few exceptions, sent any letters to Comrade Parker. We have left not only the editing, but the writing of the columns entirely to the national secretary. When we realize that the entire work of the department is taken care of as a part-time duty we can see that any neglect on

Jessie Stephen Meetings Draw Splendid Crowds Everywhere

By Jessie Stephen

Before coming West there were comrades aplenty to predict disaster. Meetings would not be held. Americans were not greatly interested in Socialist propaganda. They were too prosperous and comfortable. This is a point I beg leave to discuss at greater length later on. Sufficient that I chronicle it for the moment. Enthusiasm? Why expect the impossible? So these gloomy prophets spoke. Fortunately, I am an optimist. Some of my comrades at home describe me as a fatuous optimist, although the first syllable of the adjective would hardly describe me since I am somewhat Cariculus-like in my proportions, and for that very reason, somewhat different in appearance from the usual pictures painted of optimists.

Cleveland was inaugurating. I was warned not to go, but I went. The hall was absolutely full and the audience extremely appreciative, a big help to a speaker.

From this crowd we got eight new members for the party who joined right away and promises from others, in addition to 20 new subscribers for the "American Appeal."

Toledo provided the one disappointment of the trip and this is no fault of Comrade Millard Price who with his charming wife had carried the burden, at short notice, of making a meeting. Something in the atmosphere of the meeting place, gloomy and badly lit, seemed to affect both myself and the audience.

My meeting at Detroit provided me with some thrills, especially when our old friends the Communists stepped right up with their ancient gags about the treachery of the British Trade Union leaders during the General Strike. And the knowledge of the actual facts was painfully inadequate and obvious to the meanest intelligence was its paucity. This was quite a good meeting although the huge schoolroom was not full. Just after I got started speaking an alarm of fire was sounded, giving rise to all sorts of unpleasant imaginings in my mind, but it turned out to be only a raiding party of school boys looking for their musical instruments which they had left behind in their ignorance that a Socialist meeting would be held there. Probably they did not trust us too much. These alarms and excursions cut short my oratory for a few minutes and provided some comic relief for the audience.

Appeal Army Activities

Fund Report

Against the Jewish Forward Association has come forward with a magnificent gift to the American Appeal to cover a deficit. While the American Appeal is unable to express adequately the gratitude it feels for this generous and timely assistance, we sincerely hope each member of the Appeal Army will take it upon himself and herself to correct the present inactivity of the Army and wipe out this DANGEROUS DEFICIT.

- Contributions Forward Association \$500.00 C. E. Perry, Loganport, Ind. 1.00 J. W. Thomas, Indianapolis, Ind. 1.00 S. B. Smith, Newark, Ohio 1.00 Olof Wilerberg, Chicago, Ill. 1.00 A. Lindstrom, Bureau, Alaska 1.50 A. T. Klingebiel, Richmond, Ind. 1.00 Jos. Korlik, Chicago, Ill. 2.00 \$507.50

On Pledges H. O. Fuhrberg, Seattle, Wash. 1.00 Total on Funds \$508.50 Previously reported \$1,699.94 Total Gifts since Jan. 1: \$2,208.44

Army Record

Only the generous gift of the Jewish Forward Association of \$500 saved the Appeal Army from making the poorest record it has made for six months. But we are confident that next week will show a decided gain as it will show the record of the first week under the Emergency Circulation Drive. We are sure where so much depends on the activity of every member of the Army, that the Army will not fail the Appeal.

Prize Winners

With the time for the withdrawal of the Debs photo as a prize offered only a few weeks away (April 19), we urge every reader of the Appeal who wants this beautiful memento as a mark of service for the Cause to send in the requisite \$5 order before that date and get it. Five dollar orders or better for subs, sub cards, bundles or as gifts, get the photo.

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Debs Picture Prize

Debs photo, the last one he had taken, will be withdrawn as a prize at the end of the Emergency Circulation Drive, April 19, 1937. You cannot get this picture after that date as a mark of honor for service to the Cause. This prize will be the big feature of the Emergency Drive. ALL WHO SEND IN \$5 ORDERS OR BETTER FOR SUBS OR TO HELP THE CIRCULATION WILL RECEIVE THIS PHOTO. EVERY READER OF THE APPEAL STILL HAS A CHANCE TO GET THIS PICTURE IN THIS WAY.

What's So And What Isn't

John M. Work's celebrated book, revised, enlarged and brought up to date by the author. Our best up-to-date propaganda book. In its original form, 178,500 copies of this book were sold. The present volume will be clothbound.

Order Berger's Great Speech Now

The speech of Victor L. Berger on U. S. action in Latin America is ready for distribution. All that is necessary is for you to pay for the printing of them, which is \$5.00 per thousand. No profits are made by anyone, but we must pay the Government for the printing. You order them, address them and mail them to individuals everywhere. They are in franked envelopes, so there is no cost for postage. ORDER NOW at the rate of \$5.00 per thousand, from National Office.

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THE NEW LEADER

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY 18 Pages Each Week Indispensable to anyone who desires to be well posted on the progress and activities of the Socialist and Labor Movement here and abroad.

Two Fine Debs Pictures Order Now

We have two fine pictures of Eugene V. Debs that our comrades and many others who were friends of Debs will want. The prices are made unacceptably low, so that all the friends of Debs may secure one for their homes, their offices, or for the organizations of which you are a member. Socialist Leagues and Branches, Unions and other organizations may secure one now. Don't wait until they are gone.

FOR THE COMRADES WHO READ ITALIAN

La Parola del Popolo is the only Socialist Newspaper in the United States, in Italian language, affiliated with the Socialist Party and the Socialist International.

Volks-Stimme German Socialist Weekly

Subscription Rate, \$2.00 Per Year Write Today for a Sample Copy VOLKS-STIMME 107 No. 4th St. PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The Labor World

Oldest continuous weekly Socialist paper in the U. S. Room 208 Grant Bldg. San Francisco. Cameron H. King, Editor. Lena Morrow Lewis, Mgr. Ed. \$1 per year.

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Socialist Party News

Party Activity

Every Local and Branch of the Socialist Party should make it a point to visit members who are not active and are back in their dues, and get them to pay up. At each Local or Branch meeting announcement should be made urging all members to be readers of the American Appeal, to keep their subscriptions paid up and get new readers. It is high time that every Socialist be active in every way and help prepare the organization and extend the circulation of the American Appeal and other Socialist papers to the utmost.

The Stephen Tour

The tour just finished by Comrade Jessie Stephen, of England, was very successful from every viewpoint. The locals are highly satisfied with the work, and Comrade Stephen is now ready to leave for England much pleased with the reception the comrades gave her everywhere.

Indiana Terre Haute

The readers of the American Appeal in Terre Haute and throughout Vigo County should get in touch with Phil K. Reinhold, 426 Ohio St., Secretary of the newly organized Socialist Local, and help build a powerful organization in the home city of Debs. Comrades can get in touch with Reinhold by calling his place of business or communicating by letter.

Pennsylvania Philadelphia

August Claessens, former Socialist member of the New York State Legislature and present Executive Secretary of Local New York Socialist Party, will speak at a Comradeship Supper arranged by the North and West Philadelphia Branches of the Socialist Party for Sunday, March 27th, 7 P. M., at the Stephen Girard Hotel, 2927 Chestnut Street. Plates are only \$1.00 each.

Chicago

On Monday, March 28th, at 8 P. M. there will be a meeting of the comrades of the old 6th, 7th and 8th Ward Branches at the home of Comrade Otto Siebenbrodt, at 7226 Maryland Avenue. These meetings have been a regular feature for the past seven or eight months and are becoming better attended, and more successful all the time.

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Kansas

To Comrades and Friends in Kansas: Once more the old timers who thought the Socialists could do more by aiding the movement in the stronger centers of Socialism are now renewing their allegiance to the Kansas movement and are in the increased Kansas vote in the 1926 election reasons for a renewal of faith and effort preparatory to the next presidential campaign in 1928.

Yipsels

The Yipsel District Convention will be held April 2nd and 3rd at Maynard. Socialist sympathizers of Yipsel age, 16 to 25, who want to take part in the Yipsel Essay Contest are urged to join the Yipsels at once. \$50.00 worth of prizes for the five best essays are being offered.

American Appeal Ballot

Every sub, or dollar donated counts as a vote. Failure to vote IS A VOTE TO KILL THE APPEAL AND SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN AMERICA. Do you want a paper and a movement or not? Vote below.

I, the undersigned, realizing that our paper and our movement cannot be saved unless there is general co-operation to save it, and not by the shirking of all the work on a few, HEREBY CAST THE FOLLOWING VOTES FOR THE AMERICAN APPEAL, THE SOCIALIST PARTY, AND FOR SOCIALISM:

AMERICAN APPEAL, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. SUBSCRIPTION LIST RATES \$2.00 A YEAR; 50 cts. 6 MONTHS

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

NEWS AND VIEWS

America on Trial

The interesting news comes from the fact that the League of Nations...

Peace Forces Can Control America

Recent events have brought out the fact that there are potential peace forces in this country capable of controlling it.

Danger Ahead

The European consumption of American goods fell off from \$308,000,000 in 1926, says a recent report of the United States Department of Commerce.

Socialism Arousing Increasing Interest

Miss Jessie Stephen, British Labour lecturer throughout the country under the auspices of the Socialist Party of the United States, has drawn good crowds everywhere.

Bituminous Miners Prepare to Battle

Workers of America have never been accorded the courtesy of even checking up on such figures or submitting figures of their own.

Ireland Creates A State Monopoly of Electric Power

Dublin, Ireland.—Patrick MacGilligan, minister of industry, submitted to the dail the government's proposals for the management of the state scheme for supplying electricity from the coast.

Tories Plan to Rob Labor of All Political Power

LONDON, England.—Driven to desperation by the early prospect of Labor's election to power in Great Britain and Labor's serious efforts to establish Socialism, the Tories, not satisfied with their recent measures attempting to prevent trade unions from making levies for political purposes, have gone even farther than this in other recent measures to deprive the workers of political power.

Austrian Socialists Face Possible Victory

With election day fixed for April 24 and cheered by the good gains made by the Socialists in the district elections of February 6 in the purely rural communities of Lower Austria, the Social Democratic Party of Austria is making the hottest campaign in its history.

Editor Gets Sixty Days for Blasphemy

TORONTO, Ont.—Ernest V. Steery, editor, found guilty last week of blasphemous libel against the deity, was sentenced to sixty days in jail.

Boy Given Death for Bank Robbery

Enid, Okla.—Rather than reveal the names of his confederates, Dave Brown, 19, today at Cherokee accepted a sentence of death for bank robbery.

Milwaukee Growing Socialist Party of

Milwaukee—"January and February established a still higher membership mark for the Socialist party of Milwaukee county," was the statement of Secretary Edmund T. Melms, in referring to party progress.

Workers of America have never been accorded the courtesy of even checking up on such figures or submitting figures of their own.

Challenges Government Statements

Certain tonnage reports made by an alleged government agent in the Bureau of Mines seek to convey the impression that a majority of present tonnage is from non-union mines.

Babes

Out of the silence borne by love and pain; Each arrives met with suspense such as waits o'er battlefields; Each arrives holding all possibilities of the Race;

The Miners' Proposals

President Lewis, upon behalf of the United Mine Workers Negotiating Committee, submitted a proposal to the conference as a basis for settlement which in every particular would make for greater stability and progress in the industry.

seek and have secured the support of the Interstate Commerce Commission through the avenue of more favorable freight rates than their competitors in union fields are privileged to have.

Appropo of freight rates, it should not be necessary to point out that when a Pennsylvanian was recently suggested for appointment on the Interstate Commerce Commission many of the so-called progressive senators, who are alleged to have a labor viewpoint, joined with the non-union operators of West Virginia and Kentucky in their effort to preclude the possibility of favorable non-union freight rates being interfered with.

It should be noted, however, that none of these senators have evidenced any disapproval of the non-union coal operators attempting to control the Interstate Commerce Commission; and when the facts are sifted to the bottom, it can be clearly demonstrated that the non-union operators and their representatives in the Senate have not only been able to secure the support of those high in Government positions, including the Interstate Commerce Commission, but they have also reported to the support of those in the Senate who call themselves "progressives." A real progressive would naturally be against anything that the non-union operators of West Virginia stood for, and if they have permitted themselves to be misled by the sophistry of the non-union fields and their representatives, in the language of the street they are far from being the progressives they are cracked up to be.

The hoped-for adjustment of the freight rate problem, as it was presented at the joint conference, and as with all other proposals submitted by the mine workers, we believe that it would help to bring about a more stable industry and a solution of the problems of the coal fields, and more likely of favorable results than any heretofore suggested.

Union Will "Carry On"

The United Mine Workers of America will continue to fight for the improvement of wages and conditions of the mine workers in the mining industry. The United Mine Workers refuse to become parties to any arrangement that would be tantamount to the lowering of the present standards of their people.

Treachorous Plan to Grab Nicaragua

into the presidency and "recognized" by this country. Dennis recently resigned from the diplomatic service, claiming that the State Department was being run by a lot of incompetents who won promotion through financial and social "pull" rather than by meritorious work.

Hillquit on Dictatorship

The attitude of Marx aside, Socialists have expressed a number of objections to the concept of dictatorship. In the first place, they maintain, the advocacy of dictatorship is a most unstrategic move for a party struggling for power.

Forgery Charge Far-Fetched

By what legitimate means the Mexican could have put the forged letters back home is not explained by the State Department. No one in Washington whose opinion is worth anything attaches the slightest credence to the forgery story, but the State Department officials believe it will go big with the public, and they are not familiar with the methods of "dollar diplomacy."

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Socialists Explain Their Objections to Communism

Democracy Versus the Dictatorship Article IV

In the former articles on the Socialist criticism of communist tactics, we dealt with the failure of violence as the way out. Socialists also maintain that the genuine democratic method, despite all of its faults, is a superior method to that of dictatorship in the attainment of a new order.

It is often claimed, declares Karl Kautsky, in his Dictatorship of the Proletariat, that the attempt to suppress the realization of democracy by the rising class "prove the worthlessness of democracy for the proletariat. Should a ruling class, under the suppositions here discussed, resort to force, it would do so precisely because it feared the consequences of democracy. And its violence would be nothing but the subversion of democracy." The thing that is proved, therefore, is not the uselessness of democracy, but rather the necessity for the proletariat to defend democracy with tooth and nail.

Democracy an Integral Part of Socialism

Kautsky, in fact, takes the position that democracy is not merely a method of Socialism, but an integral part of Socialism, and that Socialism without democracy is an impossibility. The object of the Socialists, he declares, is not primarily to attain any particular form of production so much as it is to abolish "every kind of exploitation and oppression, be it directed against a class, a party, a sex, or a race."

"We seek to achieve this object by supporting the proletarian class struggle, because the proletariat, being the undermost class, cannot free itself without abolishing all causes of exploitation and oppression, and because the industrial proletariat, of all the oppressed and exploited classes is the one which constantly grows in strength, fighting so much that it has the inclination to carry on the struggle, its ultimate victory being inevitable. Therefore, today every genuine opponent of exploitation and oppression must take part in the class struggle, from whatever class he may come."

In this struggle we place the Socialist way of production as the goal, it is because in the technical and economic conditions which prevail today scientific production appears to be the sole means of attaining our object. Should we proceed in any other way, it would be to do that which is wrong in so doing, and that somehow the emancipation of the proletariat and of mankind could be achieved solely on the basis of private property, or could be easily realized in the manner indicated by Proudhon, then we would throw Socialism overboard, without in the least giving up our object, and even in the interests of this object. Socialism and democracy are therefore not distinguished by the one being the means and the other the end. Both are means to the same end, and the only difference between them must be sought elsewhere. Socialism as a means to the emancipation of the proletariat, without democracy, is unthinkable. We understand by modern socialism not merely social organization of production, but democratic organization of society as well."

Furthermore, "only under the influence of democracy does the proletariat attain that maturity which it needs to be able to bring about the emancipation of mankind, and the means for testing its maturity. "A defense of democracy by Socialists carries with it a criticism of the theory of "proletarian dictatorship."

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