Workers of the World Unite! You Have Nothing to Lose But Your Chains!

WORKERS CHALLENGE

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Principal Figure At Sacco-Vanzetti Trial Confesses Frame-Up

Andrews Woman, Who "Identified" Victims of Political Conspiracy for Prosecution Confesses That Her Testimony Was Fabric of Lies Told to Aid Police and District Attorney Secure Conviction

WAS ON WITNESS STAND FOR FOUR DAYS

Reveals How Prosecution Used Some Unsavory Chapters of Her Own Life In Order to Intimidate Her and Force Her to Perjure Herself So That Two Innocent Workers Could Be Sent to Their Deaths

BOSTON. — The Norfolk County frame-up ring responsible for the conviction of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti on a capital charge stands exposed today by one of its own principal tools and victims.

Mrs. Lola R. Andrews, state witness on identification and perhaps the most sensational figure in the famous trial, has confessed that her testimony "was in its entirety unqualifiedly false and untrue."

Her identification of Sacco, she states, was made "under the intimidating and coercing influences of Michael E. Stewart, Albert L. Brouillard, Harold Williams and Frederick G. Katzmann." The first two are police officers working under direction of District Attorney Katzmann, and Williams is an Assistant District Attorney.

The detailed affidavit embodying this confession was filed today in the Superior Court at Dedham, Mass., in further support of the motion for a new [illegible]

ment of the facts as best known to the affiant."

The Significant Details

It was between the time this statement was made and the day she took the stand that the police "put the screws" on Mrs. Andrews. Much of the significance of the story lies in its details. Officers Stewart and Brouillard—the former especially assigned to the Sacco-Vanzetti case by the Governor of Massachusetts—approached her on the question of whether she had seen a car near the murder scene and what she remembered about it. The affidavit reads: "In that connection the affiant then and in the first instance and many times thereafter stated to both officers above named that she was unable to state whether the said automobile was a Ford car or what kind of car it was."

To her surprise they disregarded her claim that she did not even know the looks of the car, let alone the men near [illegible]

[illegible] fied the attendant publicity, and the terrific legal battles centering around her, she became unquestionably the outstanding prosecution witness. Her evidence, it was generally conceded, was the cornerstone of the prosecution's case. The defense brought against her five impeaching witnesses, and the District Attorney, in his closing argument to the jury, made a specially passionate plea for her.

Thousands who followed the trial remember Mrs. Andrews as the woman who fainted when Defense Counsel Fred H. Moore atempted to grill her on her past history. She has now revealed in full how the police and the prosecutors used their knowledge of some unsavory chapters in her life to force her to commit perjury.

The affidavit indicates how "the affiant was given to understand that the commonwealth was in possession of facts relative to the private life of the affiant which the affiant was not desirous of having brought out on the witness stand," and how through threats based on that knowledge she was "coerced and intimidated."

Stuck to Story

She cites a specific instance of such coercion. After she had fainted under Attorney Moore's grilling and had been carried out of the courtroom, she told Police Officers Stewart and Brouillard "that now they had gotten her into a nice mess and that she, the affiant, did not want to go back on to the witness stand, and that thereupon the said Stewart said to the affiant:

"You do not think we put you on the stand without looking up your history, do you? You have got to go back on the stand. You started this thing and now you have got to go through."

Mrs. Andrews testified at the trial that she had been on the scene of the crime in South Braintree on April 15, 1920, several hours before it took place; that she had inquired her way to a factory from a man whom she called from under an automobile for the purpose, and that the man was Sacco. She stuck to this story through a three days' grilling despite the evident absurdities and contradictions of her testimony, she now swears, because she was gripped by fear due to the prosecution's threats.

Defense Attorney Moore visited her in reference to the crime and her knowledge of it before the trial. She gave him at that time a statement in which she said that she had been in the neighborhood on the morning of April 15, but that she could not possibly identify anyone. On the stand many months later she repudiated this statement. But now she swears "that the statement made by the affiant to Fred H. Moore previous to trial was given freely and voluntarily and contained a true state-

[illegible] trip around the institution no prisoners were pointed out to the affiant and her attention was directed to no one. That at the conclusion of this trip she was led over to the right wing of the jail, as one comes in the front door, and was told by the person accompanying her, to wit, one of the jailers, that she was to look at the man down on the floor below, that he was the man she was there to see."

The affidavit continues thus: "That the affiant looked at this man, and on returning to Officers Stewart and Brouillard, who were waiting for her, and getting into the automobile, she was asked by said officers whether he was the man that she had seen on April 15, 1920, in response to which question the affiant stated that she was unable to say, that she did not know. That thereupon the said officers, and both of them, repeatedly stated to the affiant in substance and effect, 'You know he is the man you saw,' and by their manner and demeanor conveyed to the affiant the impression and idea that she had to confirm that statement."

Mrs. Andrews also repeats the substance of a conversation with Assistant District Attorney Williams the day before she testified in which she refused to say that she would identify, insisting that she was not positive. Williams shook his finger in the face of the prospective witness, and said, "You can put it stronger than that. I know that you can."

That conversation, she states, "was not had in the district attorney's office in the Dedham Courthouse, but was had in a private room in which there were two small beds, with the door closed. That the statements of said Williams were delivered in a loud and authoritative voice and in a manner commanding, coercing and intimidating, and resulted in the affiant becoming confused and uncertain in her statements."

Testimony False

After the recital of other incidents, Mrs. Andrews sums up her confession thus:

"That the purpose of this affidavit in substance and effect is to make it known to the court that the affiant does now state emphatically that she cannot state that Nicola Sacco, the defendant in the above entitled action, is the man that she saw at South Braintree on April 15, 1920, and that any and all parts of her testimony given in the above entitled cause contrary to this statement are false and untrue and were made under the intimidating and coercing influences of Michael E. Stewart, Albert L. Brouillard, Harold Williams and Frederick G. Katzmann."

The part of her confession relating to Williams is of particular significance because Williams is the man, who, according to the sworn confession of another witness—Louis Pelser—frightened him into making a perjured identification of Sacco.

In addition to the Pelser and Andrews repudiation, the motion for a new trial is supported by the expose several weeks ago of State Witness Erastus E. Whitney, alias "Goodridge." There is also much other new testimony and more will be filed in the near future.

Boston Rocked by Confession

The repudiation of her testimony by Lola R. Andrews was made in the presence of two prominent labor men, Mrs. Andrews' son, Attorney Fred H. Moore and a notary.

Massachusetts is being rocked by the sensational turn in the case. The confession of this witness that she made a perjured identification has overshadowed even primary election news on the from pages of the legal press.

The labor men who witnessed the signing of the confession were John Van Vaeren Wyck, vice president of the Massachusetts state branch of the American Federation of Labor, and Fred G. Biedenkapp, a labor official in New York. The woman's son was present throughout and pleaded with his mother to clear her name by a complete statement of the truth.

The affidavit of Mrs. Andrews was filed together with others outlining the circumstances leading to the confession. Moral suasion by the son was the chief factor in the dramatic story.

British and American Miners Combine Forces

Announcement Made by Secretary of Miners Before Executive of American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City Received With Enthusiasm by Miners Who Have to Face the Brunt of the Strugggle Against Capitalism.

COMBINED FORCES WOULD WIELD GREAT POWER

Agreement Will Unite Two Most Powerful Labor Organizations On Earth For Purposes of Defense—All But 50,500 of American Miners Who Struck Are Back to Work Piling Up Profits For Master Class.

Now that the mine strike is all over in the United States we have the announcement from William Green, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, that an alliance between the United Mine Workers of America and the Miners' Federation of Great Britain is about to be completed. Instead of uniting for action the labor fakirs wait until the struggle has been concluded and then talk of alliances.

In spite of the well-known treachery [illegible]

[illegible] force unity for defensive purposes when the ruling class makes its next assault upon the workers.

An alliance between these two great mining unions is one of the most vital needs of the working class at this moment and one that should have been realized long ago, before the humiliating defeat of the miners of England at the hands of their treacherous officials, and the recent betrayal of the American miners by Lewis & Co.

Such an alliance, Mr. Green explained, would prevent the exportation of British coal to America to break strikes here, or from America to Great Britain when miners there were striking. He said that a conference of representatives of the two miners' unions would probably be arranged soon.

Members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which concluded its sessions last week, expessed hearty approval of the proposal and said it woul probably hasten the end of coal strikes in both countries.

Mr. Green, who also is a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, said the British Miners' Union had sent a check for $22,000 to the United Mine Workers to help to finance the recent nation-wide strike. The suggestion of a conference between the British and American miners, Mr. Green said, had come from Frank Hodges, Secretary of the British union, as a result of correspondence about British coal shipped to the United States during the recent coal strike. The American union first informed the British organization that Welsh coal was being sent here to break the strike.

"We were agreeably surprised to receive the British miners' suggestion," said Mr. Green. "While the British union appeared powerless to halt coal shipments to America, Mr. Hodges expressed the desire for an alliance that would prevent such situations in future.

"The suggestion of a conference will be submitted to our executive board next month, and probably will be favorably acted upon.

"I do not believe the thousands of tons of British coal that came to this country during the last strike had any effect, but I took the matter up with the officials of the British Miners' Federation and they appeared to want to co-operate.

"While we have no fear of British coal breaking any strike in America or American coal breaking any strike in Great Britain, there should be some understanding. It is quite probable that an alliance to safeguard the miners in both countries will be brought about."

Transport Workers Involved

Whether transport and marine workers of Great Britain and the United States will be represented in the proposed conference, Mr. Green did not know, but it was pointed out that the miners could not prevent export of non-union coal to [illegible]

[illegible] the British and American miners, labor leaders said today, it would be one of the most formidable labor combinations in the world. The United States Mine Workers, with 600,000 members, the largest labor union in America, and the British Miners' Federation, comprising more than 1,000,000 workers, are the two principal labor bodies in the world.

During his recent visit to America to attend the convention of the American Federation of Labor as fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, Herbert Smith, Acting President of the British Miners' Union, in an interview at Cincinnati, said that closer co-operation was needed to protect the mutual interests of these two great miner organizations. He said the British miners' sympathies were with the American strikers, and that if necessary would refuse to mine coal to be sent here. He said, however, that American miners should take the same attitude. He pointed out that during the British miners' strike a little over a year ago hundreds of thousands of tons of American coal had been sent to England.

The miners of Great Britain are well organized and could shut off all exports if necessary, Mr. Smith explained. It is different in America, where there are non-union coal fields.

Mr. Green said today that all but 50,500 of the 600,000 union miners of the country, who have just ended their five months' strike, had returned to work.

Normal Output Near Record

"While it will take some time to tell the exact number of men who have returned to work," said Mr. Green, "preliminary reports show that there are not more than 50,000 men still out. Most of these are in the non-union fields of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Theirs may be a long struggle, but the organization will put its entire resources back of their fight. Coal production should soon be normal, both in the anthracite and bituminous mining regions."

Mr. Green estimated that 25,000 miners were on strike in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, against the United States Steel Corporation; 2,500 in Mingo County, West Virginia; 5,000 in the Kanawha fields, West Virginia; 15,000 in Central Pennsylvania, and 3,000 in the state of Washington.

Barber Who Would Not Serve R. R. Strike "Scabs" Is Arrested

The arrest of L. A. Taliaferro, a barber of Clifton Forge, W. Va., has been ordered by the United States District Court on a charge of conspiring with striking employees of the Norfolk and Western Railroad.

It is alleged that Taliaferro posted a sign in his shop announcing that "scabs" would not be served.

Printers Reaffirm Amalgamation Resolution Despite Opposition

67th Annual Convention Meeting At Atlantic City Most Important Session Held Since Organization of Typographical Union; Much Constructive Work Accomplished

FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION OF LABOR

Ridiculous For Labor Organizations to Meet In Such a Resort of Millionaires as the Jersey Pleasure Resort; Gompers, Morrison, Woll and Others Speak Before Convention, Presenting Divergent Views

The Sixty-Seventh Session of the International Typographical Union of North America was held at Atlantic City September 11—16 and was the most significant of all conventions held by that organization since it was organized.

The organization went on record in favor of every progressive measure that is before the working class of the United States today, including amalgamation and independent political action.

For the second time within recent years the gavel was wielded by a man who was not subject to the instructions of a secret, reactionary, oath-bound organization known as the Wahnetas. This organization has been built up through years of chicanery and conspiracy against the rank and file of the membership and existed for the purpose of controlling the offices of the union. It is this organization that controlled the organization during the fourteen years' tenure of James M. Lynch in the office of president of the International organization. During the time that Lynch stood at the head of the organization it gained the unenviable rep[illegible] reactionary la[illegible] having been appointed to [illegible] the Tammany politician, Glynn.

Marsden G. Scott, a creature after Lynch's own heart, was his successor in office and continued the reactionary policy, finally meeting defeat in 1920 at the hands of John McParland, who is now President of the organization and who was elected on the Progressive ticket. After a terrific campaign based upon the New York "vacation" of 1919, at which time the members of the famous Big Six Typographical Union arose against the employers in a spontaneous walk-out and in defiance of the mandates of Scott and his reactionary executive council, the membership decisively defeated Scott and elected McParland, although the reactionary executive council remained in power.

In May of this year, however, the Progressives swept all of the old administration from power with the single exception of John W. Hays, secretary-treasurer of the organization. The new administration takes office in November and will carry into effect the progressive measures adopted at the Atlantic City convention.

Old-timers at Typographical Union conventions declare that it was the second time within their memory that the chairman did not endeavor to defeat the wishes of the delegates to the convention.

A Wet Town

Atlantic City was chosen as the 1922 meeting place at the session held at Quebec, Canada, last year. Since the reactionary machine had the majority of votes they were able to choose any place they desired and as one of their tactics is to pick a city where booze flows freely in order to keep as many delegates as possible in a drunken stupor they chose Atlantic City and evidently they were not disappointed as far as the dampness of the place was concerned.

On Monday morning when the convention opened the delegation was welcomed to the Millionaires' pleasure resort by the Acting Mayor of the city who informed the delegates that the ocean was rather damp, but that it was not more wet than Atlantic City. He added that the people of that city had "been able to maintain their personal liberty in spite of the Eighteenth amendment." This slap-stick performance provoked huzzahs from the delegates who consider conventions opportunities to paint their noses.

That the acting mayor was right was evidenced before long, when hotels began competing with each other for the booze trade.

Evidently the flow of booze did not effect the progressive fighters at the convention for they were always alert and never missed an opportunity to meet the opposition and succeeded in the last two days of the convention in routing the forces of the old machine and placing upon the book of laws more progressive

MEXICO STOPS LABOR EXODUS

Copies of a decree, designed to protect Mexicans working as laborers in the United States, and signed on Aug. 31 by President Obregon, at Mexico City, have been forwarded to all Mexican emigration officers. The decree is admittedly strict for the purpose of discouraging emigration of laborers.

It provides that laborers leaving Mexico for the United States must be given a formal contract by their employers, who are to deposit sufficient funds with the emigration officers to pay for their transportation back to Mexico, plus 50 per cent. for sustenance. No salary may be fixed in the contract, the Mexicans to have the same wage and working conditions as laborers of other nationalities.

No contract may be signed for more than 180 days, and contractors will deposit with the emigration officials one peso per man per day for the term of the contract, to cover all emergencies incidental to their repatriation. Specific provision is made that children of laborers accompanying their parents receive regular school instruction.

The decree is the result of numerous complaints received during the past year from groups of Mexicans who migrated to the United States, and who, because of the business depression there, were left destitute. Repatriation of these unfortunates has cost the Mexican government large sums.

SCABS MURDER EACH OTHER

When the degenerates employed as scabs on the railroads are not able to murder or assault strikers they fight among themselves. A case in point is the murder of E. H. Laird of Altoona, Pa., at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., last Wednesday. Laird was a scab and two other scabs, Thomas Chance, of Philadelphia, and a man named Burke, from the same place are charged with his murder. All of them are employed by the New York Central Railroad at the Harmon shops.

Wholesale Fights In Chicago As Rail Shop Strikers Return

Opposition to Baltimore Peace Plan and Fury at Sight of Scabs Starts Small Riots Throughout Shops of Chicago —Men Not Returning to Work in Large Numbers in Spite of Agreement.

Many clashes between returning union men and the scabs that were employed to break the shop strike are reported from Chicago. The entire rank and file of the shop men's organizations are bitterly opposed to the Baltimore agreement, which is in reality a betrayal of the men and a complete surrender of the principles for which the union is supposed to stand. Although the labor-fakirs of the Jewell type and the capitalist press is insisting that the unions still exist, every worker affected knows that he has been betrayed and that such union leadership destroys the effectiveness of the organizations of labor as far as practical results are concerned.

The trouble in Chicago is said to have started over demand of returning strikers not provided for in the Baltimore agreement.

The most serious demonstrations were staged by several hundred men at the Galewood, Grand Avenue, and Bentonville round houses of the St. Paul where the strikers, arriving with their lunch kits and overalls, set upon non-union workers and refused to work side by side with them. St. Paul officials admitted that a number of non-union workers had quit as a result of the demonstrations, and extra details of railroad detectives were thrown around the round houses.

At the St. Paul roundhouse at Grand Avenue nearly 250 strikers arrived to go to work at 8 o'clock. A force of scab boilermakers and machinists and Roland Weber, a scab foreman, who had remained at work during the strike, were busy at their tasks when the union committee arrived for a conference with C. L. Emerson, master mechanic.

The committee demanded the reinstatement of three foremen to their old jobs. Mr. Emerson informed the committee he has orders to put the former foremen back at their trades as workmen, and not as bosses.

The committee emerged and announced the result to the assembled strikers outside the office. One of the strikers struck a non-union workman in the face, knocking him down. This was the sign for a free-for-all fight, in which scores of strikers set upon the non-union workers, pummeling and kicking them.

Four men were said to have been so seriously injured as to require medical attention, including a non-union man who was said to have had his nose and several ribs broken.

Theresa Wintrone, a stenographer in the master mechanic's office, rushed to the phone and turned in a riot call, which was answered by police and a squad of reserves.

The union committee instructed its men not to return to work, and left for a conference with St. Paul officials at the downtown office.

Similar scenes were enacted at the Galewood and Bentonville roundhouses, where several hundred strikers gathered, indulged in a demonstration and refused to work unless their formen were reinstated.

While no violence was reported at any of the Chicago & North Western shops, only a handful of strikers were back at work in places where normally several thousand are employed. Some of the men returned for an hour and then left, after getting into altercations with the non-union workers.

At the shops at Keeler Avenue and Lake Street, where 3,000 shopmen are usually at work, it was reported that less than 275 strikers had returned.

Besides demanding the reinstatement of foremen, the strikers' committees are said to have made many other demands not included in the Baltimore peace compact. These are said to include back pay for all foremen during the period of the strike, time and a half for overtime and Sunday work and the discharge of certain employes hired during the strike.

Officials of both roads again were in conference with the shop chairmen today.

"We expect to have everything smoothed out soon," said General Manager Frank Walters of the Northwestern. "The men are not coming back to work in large numbers. We are still negotiating. The men, of course, are seeking the best terms they can get, and are making demands not in the agreement."

B. B. Greer, Vice President of the St. Paul, in charge of operation, admitted that the men "were milling around in a few places. They do not exactly understand the terms of the settlement, and all these differences will be ironed out," he said. "The men are being taken back exactly in the same status as they were before the strike. We are living up to the terms strictly."

A conference by shop craft chairmen on the Big Four was held in Indianapolis, but officials of that road there said no settlement had as yet been effected. This road was one of the New York Central group which signed the basic agreement in New York on Friday.

legislation that had ever been achieved at any ten previous conventions.

Gompers Speaks

As the executive committee of the American Federation of Labor was meeting in the resort city, Samuel M. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, addressed the convention at the opening session. His talk was one of his customary exhibitions of evasive phrase-mongering wherein he tried to convince the delegates assembled that he had always fought for the printers and for labor in general, although he failed to mention any particular benefit the organization had ever derived from his own efforts.

In referring to the terrific open shop drive wages against labor Gompers said: "In my judgment we deserved well from the men of business, from the men who are and were and had the administration of our governmental affairs in their hands. There was no group of people in all America who made so many sacrifices and who bore the brunt of battle so keenly and so fully as the much misunderstood and misrepresented labor movement, but the spirit which had been developed during the war was to be immediately destroyed after the actual physical closing of the war."

While Gompers was bewailing the inevitable results of his own treachery to the labor movement during the war, when he became the errand boy and professional prevaricator for Woodrow Wilson and McAdoo and George Creel and the other spokesmen for the House of Morgan, he conveniently neglected to take his own share of responsibility for the deplorable condition of labor since the close of the War. Instead of confessing his treachery he talked in the most stupid and puerile manner about the "rights of man, the Declaration of Independence and the Golden Rule," those aphorisms of by-gone ages that can have no application to this period of intensified class struggles where every ounce of the energy of the working class must be hurled against the ruling class in irreconcilable struggle that can only end in the extermination of the capitalist class. At a time when sledge-hammer blows are falling thick and fast upon the ranks of labor, the head of the American labor movement talks idealistic twaddle, instead of rallying the workers to the struggle.

In brief reference to the infamous Daugherty injunction he declared the Judge Wilkerson was Daugherty's pet and that Daugherty had secured Wilkerson's appointment to the bench a few months before applying for the injunction writ. Instead of issuing a clarion call for a conference of executives of affiliated unions for the purpose of formulating plans to call a general strike as a reply to the Daugherty-Wilkerson-Harding Injunction, Gompers mentioned the fact that he was in receipt of more letters and telegrams from all parts of the country than he had ever received in all his experience urging action "whether practical or impracticable." The response of the executive council to those thousands of demands was a call for the impeachment of Daugherty, as though Harding and his congress would impeach the man who managed the campaign in the interest of Gary and the Steel Trust that made possible Harding's election!

First Test of Strength

The first test of strength of the convention came during the first session, soon after the convention was organized, when the question of appointing or electing an appeals committee came up. The appeals committee at a convention is the committee that reviews the appeals from the decisions of the executive council that have been made during the year, and it has been customary for the chairman to appoint all committees, including this one. Since an important appeal was coming up for the consideration of the convention the progressives insisted upon having this committee elected from the floor, instead of being appointed. As soon as objection was raised to the appointment of this committee the first scrimmage began with James M. Lynch, former president of the union and a delegate from Syracuse, N. Y., taking the floor, and declaring that the time-worn custom should not be destroyed. Since it had been long established as a precedent in the union it should remain. Lynch took occasion to indulge in a cheap gesture to the effect that he was in favor of the opposition having the same power he once had.

In reply to Lynch, H. M. Wicks, delegate from Chicago, for the Progressives, replied to Lynch, ridiculing the old custom of permitting the chairman to appoint a committee to pass upon his own decisions as chairman of the executive committee. Wicks declared the practice was a sinister one that defeated the fundamental principles of unionism and added that the reason Lynch and his machine, the Wahneta, were in favor of such practice is because they hoped to again wield that power for their own purposes.

President McParland, who was in the chair, turned the gavel over to the vice president and took the floor and said:

"I would like to say a word or two on the subject. I agree with those who say this power should not reside in the hands of the President. It is an unheard-of thing in any form of procedure that an appeal should lie from Cæsar to Cæsar. The President of the International Typographical Union is a member of the Executive Council; the Executive Council renders decisions, most of which are unanimous. To my mind it is a travesty on justice to vest one of those men with the power of appointing a committee that shall sit upon the legality of their decisions. Reference has been made to the fact that former Presidents have enjoyed this privilege—if it be a privilege—and that it should not be withheld from me. Do not allow yourselves to be swayed by any such argument. The principle of the thing is wrong; regardless of how many years it has existed, it ought to be wiped out."

In spite of the obvious absurdity of such procedure, it was to be the first test of strength and was sustained by a vote of 169 to 92. The reactionary machine had won and the President, against his own will, was forced to appoint a committee to pass upon his own acts.

The capitalist press of the nation, true to its lying proclivities, distorted the report of this incident and tried to convey the idea that McParland wanted the privilege of appointing the appeals committee and that the delegates voted his proposition down, thereby taking that power from him.

On every day that followed, the most important events were deliberately distorted by the press, which proves conclusively to any delegate who attended the convention that not one word of dependable labor news ever appears in the reptile press of the country.

Bathing Beauties

The second day of the convention was also only a half a day, being entirely consumed with the report of the committee on laws and nothing of importance transpired. The only conflict of the day arose over the question of whether future conventions should be held at Indianapolis, the headquarters of the International Union, or at cities to be chosen at each convention. The progressives contended that Indianapolis should be the permanent convention town, as it is the headquarters of the organization and would give the delegates a chance to investigate the main office at least once a year. The old machine won when the vote on the proposition was taken.

The balance of the day was consumed on the Million Dollar Municipal Pier of that modern Sodom, watching bathing beauties from every state in the Union. Most of the delegates felt rather out of place mingling in crowds composed largely of millionaires and their kept women, most of them being pushed around in wheel chairs with some forlorn slave furnishing the horse power.

The exhibition was particularly disgusting and one that exposed the true character of "our best citizens" as even lower than that of the average dog in the streets. One was forcibly reminded of Paul LaFargue's excoriation of the particular strata of the ruling class that infests resorts like Atlantic City, when the plutes began to parade with their prostitutes. Old jaded roues, approaching senile dementia from their years of idleness and debauchery escorted gaudily dressed women and girls, chattering in a more than usual imbecile manner because of the drinks of every variety that flowed freely everywhere.

The Ambassador Hotel, where the convention was held, is merely a high-class house of assignation, where no questions are ever asked anyone who has sufficient money to stay at the place. The entire working population of Atlantic City works for the one purpose of catering to every vagary and every perversity of the debauchees who inhabit the hotels the year around.

Every intelligent printer was sorely disgusted with the place before two days had passed and all were anxious to get the business over with and get out of the place.

After viewing the "bathing beauties," and idling away the balance of Tuesday, the convention finally got down to business on Wednesday.

Speech of Frank Morrison

The Third Day was opened with a speech by Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor and a member of Chicago Typographical Union No. 16. In his talk Morrison came out openly for amalgamation of all kindred unions in a given industry. He emphasized the fact that amalgamation of all unions in one industry into one union had nothing in common with the One Big Union and the I. W. W., and stated that the A. F. of L. had declared as far as 1901 that allied and kindred trades should consider amalgamation in order to create more efficient organizations.

"The great labor movement," said Morrison, "is the only democratic institution in this country, and while it will suggest to International Unions that they may amalgamate; the A. F. of L., having granted complete autonomy to its Internationals is barred from using any effort to coerce amalgamation, *but it holds that the only way you can have a strong, virile International Union, is where the International Unions of a certain industry of their own volition vote in favor of amalgamation and then come in to make one big harmonious whole.*"

Morrison added that he, as an officer had assisted in bringing about amalgamation of kindred trades in an industry and that he would willingly place his services at the command of any organization in order to achieve this much desired end in all industries.

Secretary Morrison also advocated the establishment of a chain of labor dailies throughout the entire United States for the purpose of furnishing publicity for the labor movement, and suggested that the printers were the logical ones to assist the Federation in taking the initiative in such a venture, declaring that he was sure such efforts would succeed and repay the labor movement a thousand fold.

"Friends of Labor"

An interesting discussion developed shortly after the third day's meeting was under way on a report of the laws committee, recommending that a certain section of the law in relation to employers and employees should read:

"No local union shall enter into a contract or agreement with any organization of employing printers whereby it is agreed by the union that its members shall work only for such printing concerns as are members of the employers' organization."

The reason for the introduction of the motion was the creation some years ago, under the reactionary regime of Marsden G. Scott, of what is known as an International Joint Conference Council, an organization that permitted the printers to examine the employers' books and that inevitably led to a price-fixing combination between employers and employees. Thus the degrading spectacle of a trade union conspiring with an employers' organization to fix prices became a reality. President McParland declared that at the first meeting of this so-called Conference he attended he positively refused to have anything to do with a price-fixing body and that caused consternation in the ranks of the employers.

In reply to McParland, John W. Hays, the reactionary secretary-treasurer, who is a hang-over from the last election, being the only one of the old guard to hold his job, declared that it was to the best interests of both the printers and the employers to have an agreement as to prices "in order to prevent cut throat" competition.

Delegates from the camp of the Progressives ridiculed the argument of Hays and declared that the employers were not concerned about creating and maintaining higher wages in the printing industry and also emphasized the fact that if, through a combination forcing high prices, the employers could make just as much money and operate their plants less, it would mean unemployment for many printers now working.

Since it was the determination of the reactionary machine to save the day for the employers and oppose the interests of the membership, the recommendation was defeated on roll call by a vote of 152 to 111. On every important question the Progressives forced a roll call in order to place the machine delegates on record before their own membership and thereby discredit them so they could not attend conventions in the future.

Matthew Woll Opposes Amalgamation

In the afternoon Matthew Woll, second vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Photo-Engraver's Union, opposed amalgamation in an address before the convention. Taking a position contrary to that laid down by Secretary Frank Morrison of the A. F. of L., Woll viciously opposed amalgamation and boasted of the victories of the Photo-Engravers although they were not affiliated with the other unions in the printing industry. He referred to the fact that he had received communications from the Executive Council of the International Typographical Union on the question of amalgamation and that the council opposed any such idea. Woll is known to be one of the most vicious reactionaries on the Executive Council and his sentiments met with no response from either side of the convention. He was too reactionary even for the reactionary machine of the Typographical Union.

At the conclusion of his speech, President McParland said to Woll:

"Let me assure you today that the International Typographical Union has made it possible for your trade to achieve its glorious victory. Let me assure you also that while the International Typographical Union is out upon no imperialistic lines to force other trades to amalgamate against their will, yet upon the success of the International Typographical Union depends totally the well-being of all other printing trades unions."

Woll, true to his cowardly type, could only smirk and walk off the platform.

Try to Smash Autocracy

An effort was made to destroy the power of the Secretary-Treasurer of the Union, who, by virtue of his office, is also the editor of the official organ of the union. A proposition was submitted to take the editorial power out of the hands of John W. Hays and place it in the hands of the executive council. After many arguments upon the subjects, the vote came and the machine crushed the proposal, thereby permitting the secretary to continue using the Journal as his own personal organ, which he constantly uses in the interest of the oath-bound, secret, conspiratorial organization, called the Wahnetas, to which he owes allegiance.

The Machine Begins to Totter

On the beginning of the Fourth day the machine was still intact and victorious. Then came the recommendation, through the Laws Committee that the law be so changed that the President would be deprived of the power of appointing the Appeals committee, which caused the first test of strength on the first day. The usual battery of speakers for the reaction, under the leadership of Jim Lynch, tried to defend the traditional policy. The Progressives had remained quiet, as far as hurling broadsides at the reactionaries since the first day, when the division of the convention became known.

After the conclusion of Lynch's talk, Wicks of Chicago, for the Progressives arose and declared that for three days he had listened to "this past master, this virtuoso in sophistry" and ridiculed the majority members for voting like automatons at a signal from the discredited ex-President. He also emphasized the fact that, although the reactionary machine had a majority of the delegates, the Progressives represented the overwhelming majority of the membership. As an illustration of the unfairness of representation prevailing in the conventions of the Typographical Union, Chicago, with five thousand members, is only entitled to four delegates, while each small local with seven members is entitled to one, so that four delegates representing twenty-eight members from small towns can nullify the votes of the four members representing five thousand from Chicago.

Other speakers, including Delegates Frederick and Beech of New York condemned the practice, but the vote was against the proposition.

But from that time on the machine no longer functioned. Lynch never even attempted to reply to the broadside hurled at him and the majority by Wicks, although he and his cohorts had boasted that they would eliminate Wicks forever as the leader of the Progressive movement in Chicago and as floor leader of the convention.

Reaffirm Amalgamation

Although the efforts to secure amalgamation were met with rebuffs by the officers of the Allied Printing Trades unions, with the exception of the bookbinders, which was in favor of the proposition, the Quebec resolution was reaffirmed and the resolution for more effective action toward amalgamation, presented by Wicks of Chicago, was referred to the incoming executive council with the understanding that new methods will be devised to appeal to the other unions, in harmony with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

The capitalist press of the nation, in reporting the action on amalgamation also perverted it and declared that the proposition had been defeated and repudiated by the convention. By the time that question was ready for presentation, all party lines as between Progressives and Reactionaries had disappeared and the voting was by individual conviction, independent of former party affiliations within the union.

Another laudable change in the law was the proposal of Wicks to remove from the book of laws a section adopted in the midst of war hysteria and which provided that anyone convicted of violation of the federal espionage law should be expelled from the union. As soon as the committee reported it favorably Jim Lynch jumped to his feet and strongly supported the proposal and added that the convention should go further and denounce the government for holding men in jail at this late date for violation of that act.

This action on the part of the recognized leader of the reactionaries created much merriment among the Progressives because it was the machine controlled by Lynch that was responsible for this infamous piece of legislation appearing upon the books in the first place. When Lynch realized that his machine was being shattered because of the militant tendencies of the rank and file of the membership, he decided to use the tactic of appearing more radical than his opponents. But as soon as he sat down the chairman of the resolutions committee, a progressive, informed the body that a resolution to that effect had already been considered and would be shortly reported out of committee.

For a Labor Party

Perhaps the most progressive measure adopted at the entire convention, aside from the reaffirmation of the Amalgamation proposition, was the adoption of a resolution in favor of Independent Political Action and instructions to the Executive Council to participate in the conference to be held in Chicago next December for the purpose of formulating plans for working class political action.

President McFarland spoke in favor of a Labor Party and declared that it was his belief that labor was not taking advantage of its full possibilities, when it refused to participate in independent political action.

All in all the convention was one of distinct progress, despite the reactionary majority that dominated the first three days. William E. Towne, as chairman of the laws committee, and who was the candidate against John Hays at the last election, proved his true calibre in his masterly handling of his task, the most difficult of all in the convention and the Progressives will undoubtedly use him next election for the purpose of eliminating the last remnant of the old machine.

"Big 4" Men Insulted by Bosses' Hirelings

Declaring that engineers and trainmen are being bullied and humiliated by troops guarding strikebreakers here, one of the oldest engineers in point of service on the Boston and Maine Railroad, Thomas G. Norris of Concord, N. H., refused to take out his engine until the troops had been removed or ordered to behave. Strikebreakers are being coddled and pampered, Norris declared, while regular workmen not on strike, such as engineers and trainmen, are submited to all sorts of insults. Although he had a pass signed by the railroad manager, Norris was refused admission to the yards. He was told to "see the sergeant." The fact that Norris is known to thousands along the road forced the local press to give some attention to his complaints against the troops, but scores of other cases go unnoticed.

To the Miners of All Countries!

The following appeal was issued just before the close of the great mine strike and is of value, inasmuch as it exposes the treachery of the leaders of the Amsterdam International.

Comrades:

The International Miners' Conference has betrayed the American Coal Miners in their struggle. The conference has even refused to allow real assistance for the strikers to be placed on the agenda, and to organize the boycott of the American mine owners. The conference would not forbid the employers to sell coal to the American capitalists, and have by this means stabbed the struggling American proletariat in the back. It is not the first time that the leaders of the Amsterdam International have shown themselves to be traitors. The English coal miners, during their great struggle against their employers, were forsaken by their immediate allies, the railwaymen and transport-workers, and the miners of the other countries did not come to their aid. During the strike of the English coal miners, the American, Belgian, German and French miners continued to work and thus gave the English mine owners the possibility of breaking down the powerful organization of the English coal miners, of reducing their wages and lowering their standard of living, whereby the condition of millions of English proletarians has been thrown back for many years.

The same thing is now occurring with regard to America. The selfsame English coal miners who but recently were obliged to suffer through the lack of solidarity on the part of their comrades of all other countries, are now doing the very same thing, i. e., they are prepared to supply the American employers with English coal.

Thus the tactics of the Amsterdam International begin with the isolation of the struggling groups of workers within one country. Then these tactics are carried out on an international scale, and the workers in a struggle in any branch of industry (the coal miners, the metal workers in England, the coal miners in America, the metal workers in Germany, etc.) are left to their fate and betrayed to their masters. As soon as the employers have finished with the workers in one branch of industry they deal with another category of workers and so defeat the proletariat one portion after the other, and destroy its organizations with the aid of those who have the impudence to call themselves leaders of the labor movement and members of the great proletarian family.

Comrades, coal miners! How many defeats on a national and an international scale are necessary to make you understand once and for all, that your reformist leaders are only tools in the hands of your exploiters? How long will you endure that the class solidarity of the workers shall, in the hands of your leaders, be transformed into a solidarity between workers and employers against the struggling workers? Look about you; the whole world is seething. The bourgeoisie has created a solid united front and is advancing against the working class whom it forces from the positions it has won. And at the time of this terrific attack on the part of the bourgeoisie, when the enemy is already hammering at the gate, those who ought to be at the head of the battalions of labor, those who should occupy the front rank in the defense, not only negotiate with our enemies, but willingly surrender one position after the other, and thus destroy your solidarity and disorganize your ranks.

The American coal miners have been betrayed. Nobody can dispute this fact. The European coal miners are adopting towards them the role of strike-breakers. Thus, conservatism, lack of enlightenment, narrow craft and national interests are destroying the proletarian united front, and are delivering the workers, bound hand and foot, over to their exploiters. That which many workers previously did unwittingly, is now being done with full consciousness by their leaders who are proud of having created an International. They have raised their treachery to a principle, and regard their refusal to fight as the highest piece of virtue. The first victims of these tactics of the Amsterdamers are the coal miners. After them follow the metal workers. Thus one category of workers after the other will be involved in the offensive of capital, without giving each other mutual assistance, so long as the workers follow their reformist leaders, the same leaders, who instead of propagating the class struggle, advocate the co-operation of the classes.

The Red International of Labor Unions has constantly exposed this treachery. It has warned the workers without regard to their political outlook, of the destructive Amsterdam tactics against the united front. And now, the R. I. L. U. addresses itself to you, coal miners of all countries, and warns you that, if you do not desire to be thrown back for many years, if you do not wish to lose everything that you have gained by many years of persistent fighting, you must examine all questions not only from the point of view of the present day.

International capitalism is very well organized. It can only be successfully fought today on the international field. Only through the formation of a revolutionary international, an international of deeds and not of phrases, an international of the class war and not of class co-operation, only through the establishment of such an organization can you regain what you have lost and recapture the positions from which you have been driven. Only then will you be able to proceed on the road to your final emancipation.

Down with the reformist leaders! Down with those who compel you to act as strike-breakers against your class comrades! Help the American workers not with words alone but with deeds, regardless of the fact that you on your side have received but little help. They are fighting against a powerful enemy; they have the enormous political and economic forces of the American bourgeoisie against them. If they are defeated you will have to suffer with them. Their fight is your fight.

Long live the real solidarity with the fighting American coal miners!
Long live the revolutionary class struggle!
Long live the Red International of Labor Unions.

The Executive Committee of the Red International of Labor Unions.

Rail Men Force Guards to Be Withdrawn From Road

Members of the "Big Four" brotherhoods switchmen and railway clerks employed at the Spencer shops of the Southern Railway returned to work Tuesday following withdrawal of National Guardsmen ordered out Monday for guard duty.

The removal of the troops was ordered by Colonel Don E. Scott, their commanding officer, at the request, of R. E. Simpson, General Superintendent of the Southern, after a conference between the latter and a committee of brotherhood men who served notice they would not work as long as soldiers were on duty at the shops.

Members of the train service brotherhoods voted to remain idle as long as the troops were retained. The brotherhood members, whose walkout forced company officials to man passenger trains and caused an almost complete tie-up of freight service through Spencer, were joined during the forenoon by 250 clerks in the Southern's offices at Spencer and here. The clerks had declared their intention of staying out until the troops were removed.

NATIONAL ANTHEM STIRS PHILIPPINES

America's anthem, "The Star-Sprangled-Banner," is causing friction between American soldiers and Filipinos, acording to Dr. T. P. Pardo De Tavera, Filipino member of the first Filipino commission during the Taft regime. Soldiers, he stated in a letter to Mayor Fernandez, fo Manila, P. I., are enforcing, in no gentle way, the customary honors to the anthem when it is played at the close of the open-air concerts given twice weekly by the Philippine constabulary band.

Dr. De Tavera recommended that the band be instructed to discontinue the practice of concluding the concerts with the national anthem.

SCAB GETS SHOT

Charles Lanier, a non-union railroad shop worker, was shot and killed at Memphis, Tenn., last Saturday when the automobile in which he was going to work was fired on. Another man in the automobile was not injured.

The assailants, who fired from a clump of bushes near the East Parkway, a sparsely populated section, escaped although police reserves searched the scene for several hours.

FORTY-SEVEN MINERS FOUND DEAD

Entombed for Three Weeks in California Mine As Result of Fire; Deadly Gas Said to Have Caused Death in Few Hours.

The forty-seven miners who have been entombed in the Argonaut gold mine near Jackson, California, were all dead when rescuers reached them last Tuesday morning, after tunneling for three weeks through rock in the hope of rescuing them.

Buried 4,350 feet under ground because of a fire that started over a thousand feet above them on the 3,000 foot level of the mine, the men are believed to have perished within a day after the blaze started. They had tried vainly to erect bulk-heads in three different places, in order to protect themselves from the deadly fumes of the fast-approaching gas, but the company had neglected to furnish them with material for such emergencies, so before they could erect protective walls from the rough timbers and rocks they could wrest from the walls with their bare hands, they perished. Government experts estimate that they died within five hours after their imprisonment, but opinions vary, some experts declaring that they might have remained alive for over a week.

When the fire broke out at first the instructions of those in control of the mine was to extinguish the fire and then rescue the men, so valuable time that might have been devoted to rescue work was wasted trying to protect the property of the company.

The disaster can be laid directly at the door of the company for the reason that a trifle more than a year ago a passage way from the Argonaut mine shaft to the Kennedy mine shaft had been filled up as a measure to protect the property of the two mines in case one of them should get on fire. With an escape shaft for the miners open it was thought a fire in one mine might spread to the other and ruin both of them. Since human life is considered of little or no value by the ruling class it was a simple mathematical problem of profits against workingmen's lives and profits, as is always the case with the capitalistic murderers of the workers, received the first and only consideration.

SHOE WORKERS PLAN NATIONAL AMALGAMATION

Efforts of seven independent unions of shoe workers to unite to form what will be known as the Amalgamated Shoe Workers of America will be reviewed at a mass meeting for Brooklyn shoe workers to be held on Friday, 8 p. m., at 11-27 Arion place.

The amalgamation committee, representing various groups among the Brooklyn shoe workers, will explain the progress that has been made since the conference in Boston last May, at which the United Shoe Workers of America, the Shoe Workers' Protective Union (Haverhill, Mass.), Allied Shoe Workers (Lynn, Mass.), Shoe Pattern Makers' Union, Edge Makers' Union (Salem, Mass.), Children's Shoe Workers' Union and Amalgamated Shoe Workers of New York were represented.

It is hoped that the approval of a sufficient number of locals will be obtained to the unity program so that by October 2, when James Coleman, permanent secretary of the organizing convention, calls the delegates to gather at Paine Memorial Hall, Boston the big amalgamation claiming 100,000 can be officially launched.

A constitutional committee has been at work since the May session and has drawn up a tentative draft of the new union pact, which was approved at a meeting of the committee held a month after the convention in Lynn, Mass., and has since been discussed by the rank and file.

It appears certain that the New York shoe workers will approve of the amalgamation.

An encouraging sign of growing solidarity among the shoe workers in this district, who number about 20,000 was the action of the American Protective Association, which contains a majority of the lasters and shoemakers in the Brooklyn district, in donating $1,000 to assist the Rochester members of the United Shoe Workers of America, who have been on strike for three months.

Efforts will be continued to have this group join the new amalgamation.

New A. F. of L. Jersey Head

Arthur A. Quinn, of Sewaren was elected President of the New Jersey Department of the American Federation of Labor at the concluding session at Asbury Park yesterday. William Umstadter of Newark was elected Vice-President; Henry F. Hilfers of Newark, Secretary, and J. J. Buckley of Jersey City, Treasurer.

A resolution asking the State Legislature to prohibit the practice of allowing employers to house strikebreakers in the premises where they work was adopted unanimously.

INVESTIGATE BOMBS

Department of Justice agents are said to be investigating the bombing of the houses of two scabs employed by the New York Central at Ashtabula, Ohio.

Both bombs were brought to Cleveland for investigation by "experts."

Strikers consider the "bombs" as attempts of railroad guards to keep something stirred up in order to hold their jobs.

TWO SPEECHES

The following is the summary of two speeches, delivered by two of the prosecutors, Comrades Krylenko and Pokrovski, before the People's Court at the famous trials of the Social Revolutionaries in Moscow. Since the press of the Socialist Party of America, and to a lesser degree some of the capitalist press is still denouncing the Soviet government for conducting these trials it is imperative that the papers who defend the interests of the working class of the world should strive to keep the working class of the United States informed regarding the proceedings of this historical trial.

Summary of Prosecutor Comrade Pokrovski's Speech

After the opening speech of Lunatcharsky, for the prosecution, Comrade Pokrovski spoke as representative of the state prosecution, and submitted the actions of the S.R.'s to a vigorous Marxian analysis. He considered mainly the governmental activities of the S.R.-Party. Till the October Revolution, the S.R.P. was still responsive to the pressure of the masses. Naturally, not the masses which stood behind the Bolsheviki; but still, they were a party of the masses. Many S.R.'s, however, did not share this view. To the question of Comrade Bucharin how he could explain the S.R.'s contempt for the proletariat, witness Krakovietzky answered that the S.R.P. had always kept aloof from the masses, and represented rather a party of the *Intelligentsia*. Its agrarian policy demonstrated this clearly, and undermined its prestige with the peasant masses.

After a detailed description of the bourgeois, counter-revolutionary activity of the party, Comrade Pokrovski spoke of the famine catastrophe. The S. R. P. had decided to speculate on that catastrophe. It suffices to read their party literature to realize this. A most abominable article on the famine appeared in the S.R. magazine Za Narod (For the People). "Furthermore," so reads the proclamation in that magazine, "the Bolsheviki are doing nothing, nor do they want to do anything against the famine." Zenzinov says quite openly that were Russia ruled by a democratic instead of a Bolshevik Government, America and Europe would not have refused their assistance to the famine relief. This is a direct incitement to overthrow the Soviets. The second number, which shamelessly advocates the economic intervention of Europe, with the aid of the notorious Noulens, is even more characteristic of that tendency.

It is self-evident that, in their attitude towards the famine question, the S.R.'s remained, the true servants of the same social forces which they had always served; they were the true servants of the bourgeoisie, foreign and Russian, whose close connection with the Noulens Commission are well known. This number contains a report of the Tenth Party Congress. The report begins with the following words: "Frightful times have come upon Russia. Hunger and epidemics rage through the land. Industry and agriculture have been destroyed, transportation crippled; we have no fuel; the petroleum and the coal mines are laid still. The people have stopped to work and are dying off." The article ends as follows: "Our Party is gaining strength and courage. Our Party is growing; we hear the decided tramp of our members as they go to fight for the people's right, for the land, and for freedom, against Bolshevism and reaction. And our call finds lively response from those who are suffering hunger and disease, who are oppressed by Commissars and Tchekists." Which means, approximately: "Thank God! At last the Hunger! The Party can breathe freely again." In other words, "the Russians are dying of hunger, and we, the S.R.'s are earning our meals thereby."

One of the resolutions of the 10th Party Congress is characteristic of the S.R.'s: they complain that the Bolsheviki having rid the country of the big landowners, there is no one left from whose yoke the Russian peasant is to be freed. This is the great crime of the Bolsheviki, that they have left the S. R.'s no reason for existence.

I finish my speech with the same keynote with which I began it. The Social Revolutionary Party, is neither Socialist, nor revolutionary. That it has nothing Socialistic, the defendants themselves will admit. From the moment the S.R.'s allied themselves with the blackest bourgeois reaction, and in the name of that same bourgeois reaction suppressed even bourgeois liberty, wherever they could seize power, they have lost all right to the name *revolutionary*.

The S.R.P. therefore, is neither a Socialist, nor a revolutionary party, but a bourgeois-reactionary party. Its only difference from the other bourgeois parties is that the bourgeoisie has not recognized it among its leaders. It is just a party of janissaries, always ready to sell themselves for any particularly dirty or dangerous work. When the danger for the bourgeoisie is over, these mercenaries are gotten rid of unceremoniously.

Finally, I demand as a Marxist, that in its verdict the Tribunal establish definitely that the defendants did not belong to any revolutionary Socialist Party, but to an ordinary bourgeois reactionary party. I insist upon it mainly because a campaign is being waged against us which accuses us of condemning Socialists. We must tell those gentlemen outright: *Here, on the prisoner's bench, there are no Socialists. They are bourgeois conspirators, and we must treat them as such in accordance with the laws of the Soviet Republic.*

Summary of Prosecutor Comrade Krylenko's Speech

Krylenko then speaks for the prosecution. "It will be the task of history to settle definitely the part played by individuals in the development of historical events. The court's duty is to determine what definite people *have actually done*, whether these actions have been useful or destructive, and return its verdict accordingly.

The laws of the Soviet Republic demand that the court shall look painstakingly into the activities of the defendants. The criminal code provides that the proletarian court defend the workers' government against criminal and dangerous acts. All those who claim that this trial is an act of political revenge should read paragraph 8 of our criminal code, which provides for such penalties as are necessary for the protection of the state, and for the prevention of crimes. We want to protect the workers' and peasants' government from new suffering, and make new crimes against it impossible.

Some of the defendants have declared in the name of the first group that *they would not renounce their right to organize rebellions against the Soviet Power*, and that they intended to make use of that right in the future. From the standpoint of revolutionary law the court could have, there and then, declared the proceedings at an end, and could have proceeded to the immediate application of social protective measures.

Krylenko then proceeds to the successive periods of Social Revolutionary activity. During the October Revolution, the S.R.'s stood in the front ranks of the bourgeois batallions which fought the proletariat. Defendant *Lichatch* did not deny that the S.R.P. *had received money from the Entente*, but he claims that this money was used for the defense of the Constituent Assembly, not for the benefit of the Party. This is a typical example of hypocrisy; the same object under another name. Krylenko points to the testimony of numerous witnesses, which established the fact of the close connection of the S.R.P. with the *Union for the Rebirth of Russia* and other reactionary elements; another proof is the financial help which the S.R.'s received from the Entente, through this same *Union for Rebirth*.

Krylenko now passes to the Moscow period of S.R. activity. During that time Timofeyev and Machin were busy procuring maps and secret military documents which had been stolen from the General Staff of the Red Army. "It is good" Krylenko says, "that the Russian workers and peasants should learn to know such traitors as Timofeyev and Machin, and that they see clearly, what the S.R.'s were preparing at their secret meetings." And turning towards the defendants: "These workers and peasants will soon bring in the verdict against you! *We shall not trifle with you. We are here to defend the proletarian government for which so much blood has already been shed, and to which we have consecrated our lives.*"

Describing the relations of the S.R.'s to the Entente, Krylenko declares the first negotiations to have taken place in February 1918, between *Timofeyev* on the one side and *Charles Dumas* on the other. Dumas drew the attention of Timofeyev to a reservation on the part of the S.R.'s, contained in one of their Congress resolutions: "First Sovereignty, then Entente help." The S.R.'s reassured him, on their authority, that this reservation should not be taken literally, and that they, the S.R.'s, were ready to accept financial aid to overthrow the Bolsheviki, before their sovereign rule is established.

"A group of Russian citizens," Krylenko goes on, "has entered into relations with foreign countries, for counter-revolutionary purposes. The ensuing events brought untold misery to the Russian workers and peasants, and cost them thousands of lives." After the formation of the Samara front, *Timofeyev began negotiations with the assistant to the French Mission, Ehrlich, and later entered into official relations with the French.*

Joint conferences were held by these two parties, and the following program of action was drawn up: *"The Entente would furnish officers, technicians and explosives. The S.R.'s would blow up bridges, railways, etc.*

After the S.R.'s captured Samara, *they sent the Entente a declaration* in which they asserted their willingness to carry on the war against Germany, and demanded of the Allies money and ammunition for that purpose.

Krylenko then proceeds to *the S.R. government in Samara and Archangelsk, and points to its connection with the Czecho-Slovakians.* He recalls the disgraceful flight of the S.R.'s from Archangelsk, particularly that of Lichatch, and their declaration, after they had helped the English to secure their position in Northern Russia, that the S.R. Party renounces all political responsibility for the fate of the workers and the peasants.

Krylenko then passes to the S.R. activity in the Ukraine. He points to their alliance with the nationalistic, bourgeois *Rada* and to their inimical attitude towards the strike which the railroad workers had called in protest against the rule of the Hetmen. He recalls the proposal made by Gerstein, member of their Executive Committee, *to accept money from the French for party purposes, and their approval of the Ukraine's separate treaty negotiations with the Germans.* He points especially to *the activities of the All-Ukrainian Military Commission,* which was supported by the District Committee of the S.R.P., and at the same time *acted in connection with the Volunteers of Denikin* and received money from the counter-revolutionary General *Romanovsky*, as well as from the Entente.

Krylenko points to similar behavior of the S.R.'s in the Don and the Kuban provinces, and passes then to the S.R. activity during the years 1919 to 1921. At the 9th Party Congress, resolutions were passed to stop the armed war against the Soviets. But a short time later, the Central Committee interprets the resolution as meaning *no cessation of the armed fight.* The same thing had happened already, before the Congress, at the February Congress. There, Donskoy amended a resolution for the complete cessation of hostilities against the Soviets, *"that this cessation should be of short duration only."* The amendment was then defeated. But Donskoy's triumphed completely at the 9th Congress. Krylenko compares the two resolutions, so different from one another, and draws the conclusion that it was the duty of the S.R.'s, not to hush up the question, but to give it a clear and unambigious answer. Instead of this, they continued their hypocritical policy, which evaded every clear statement, and which could not fail to bear its fruits.

Krylenko dwelt shortly on the S.R. organization of the peasant movement in Siberia. At that time, Siberia had completely broken down, and the Koltchak band was in power. The Central Committee of the S.R. Party recommended the formation of *non-partisan peasant unions*. The Siberian District Committee of the S.R.'s may have opposed this plan, but the members of the S.R.P., among them Tsapkin, went on in their work, organized the Peasant Union, drew up its program, entered into connection with *the white guard organization of Gustomesov, unhampered in any way by the District Committee.*

Passing to the Antonov period, Krylenko recalls that at the September Conference the delegates from the *Tambov* Province, pointed to the necessity of uniting with the Antonov movement. This meant logically, *to conduct an armed fight against the Soviet Power.* And this is actually what happened, as numerous witnesses have testified. The responsibility for the human lives sacrificed in the Antonov action lies fully and clearly with the Central Committee of the S.R.'s, which had given its help to this movement.

Krylenko then spoke of *the activity of the S.R.'s in the Northern Caucasus*, and dealt at length with the work of the so called *Administrative Centre*, headed by the foreign delegation of the S.R.'s. The agent of the Administrative Centre, *Sarianskaya*, whose letters have been read in the course of the proceedings, organized an espionage centre in Constantinople, and from there, sent her agents to the Caucasus. Through the Czecho-Slovakian Mission, she was in constant connection with Paris, and the French and English spy systems. From the minutes of the Administrative Centre we learn that an arrangement was reached to translate into French all information on the position of the Russian troops. *In spite of the resolutions of the 9th Congress, the A. C. organized the armed struggle against the Soviets* in the Caucasus, and used as organizers, white-guard adventurers and officers. The S. R.'s, on whose conscience lies the death and the suffering of thousands upon thousands of workers and peasants, then took to cover.

From a number of documents, Krylenko proved that a connection existed between the Kronstadt mutineers and the Administrative Center. He showed how the A. C. sent its agents into the border states, negotiated with white guard organizations in Karelia, and made all preparations to send food supplies to the Kronstadt mutineers.

"We now *have a clear view of the activity of the S.R.'s*—went on Krylenko. "They were allied politically with foreign governments and counter-revolutionary organizations, which furnished them with money."

"I now put the question, whether the defendants' activities constituted a danger to the Soviet Republic, and whether we should apply against them, the measures provided against persons who endanger the security of the state?"

To both questions, Krylenko answered Yes!

Krylenko then spoke of the terrorist acts, of the S.R.P., and proved from documents on hand, and from the testimony of witnesses, that the members of the Central Executive Committee of the S.R.P. *had full responsibility for these acts.*

Krylenko then formulated the crimes of each individual defendant, and pointed to the law paragraphs which dealt with those crimes. The court must base its punishment upon the spirit which dictated the laws, expressed in the introductory part of the Criminal Code. The law looks upon punishement as a deterrent of crimes, and as means of preventing the criminal from perpetrating new ones. Krylenko pointed to the fact that the court had the right, under certain circumstances, to impose no penalty upon the defendants, and to lodge with the All-Russian Central Executive Committee an explanation of their action. The court may minimize the criminality of certain defendants who no longer constitute a danger to the Republic, the purpose of our laws not being the punishment of criminals, but the protection of the state from dangerous, anti-social elements.

Krylenko demands the application of the highest penalty for all defendants of the first group, except Deff, Utgoff and Zlobin. "The Revolutionary Tribunal is an organ of the proletariat in the class-war; it is directed against the enemies of the working-class. For this reason, it can return but one verdict against the defendants of the first group, with the exception of those, already named: Death before a firing squad. Death for all the blood we have shed, for all the miseries, all the years we have suffered during five years, and which these men have consciously caused. The defendants have declared that they would continue their attempts to destroy our work of five long, fighting years. We have a right to self-defense and self-protection!"

Krylenko began his speech at 4 P.M. and spoke till 2 A.M.

SCAB RUNS OVER BOY

Gets Automobile From Money Obtained During Two Months as Strike-Breaker and Runs Down Child in Street; Made $500 in Eight Weeks.

Two hours after running down a ten-year-old boy and leaving him badly hurt in the street in East New York Friday night, an automobilist, who said he was a shopman for the Erie Railroad, was arrested near Prospect Park in Brooklyn. He admitted that he had struck the boy.

The prisoner, who identified himself as Carl Yunckes, 17 years old, a pipe fitter, of 124 Van Sicklen Avenue, Brooklyn, told the police that he had been working for the Erie at Salamanac, N. Y., and had bought a second-hand Nash automobile recently.

Although the automobile sped away without hesitating, witnesses took down its license number and reported it to the police, who sent out a general alarm. A policeman found it near Prospect Park, and took it with the driver to the Liberty Avenue station, the precinct in which the accident occurred. According to the police, Yunckes said that he had been working in the Erie shops for two months and a half as a strike breaker, being paid $1.30 an hour with lots of overtime, and had made $600.

ARREST SHOP STRIKER

John Haurahan, [illegible] striking shopman, was arre[illegible] in the New Haven Rail[illegible] East Hartford and lock[illegible] charge of tampering with [illegible].

Haurahan, who [illegible] to custody by railroad d[illegible] special deputy sheriffs wh[illegible] caught him redhanded, ma[illegible] over to United States mars[illegible] violation of the Federal injuncti[illegible] Chicago.

The railroad dete[illegible] had so weakened certain i[illegible] of the boiler that the loc[illegible] have exploded after it h[illegible] a few miles out on a run. [illegible] declare the arrest [illegible] because the arrested strike[illegible] caught the railroad detect[illegible] with the engine. One [illegible] of the scab herders and [illegible] called rail guards is to c[illegible] property in order to [illegible] jobs as "protectors of p[illegible]."

GUARDS CUT AIR HOSE

When an attemp[illegible] to move ten cars in the Bo[illegible] freight yards at Lynn, M[illegible], it was found that the air [illegible] car had been cut and that [illegible] been put in the journals.

Since the yards [illegible] guarded it is plain that the guards themselves did the hose cutting. As things were rather dull it had been rumored of late that the guards were to be discharged, so they had to prove to the company that their presence was necessary. Hence the cut hose and spikes in the journals.

Guards Sabotage Engines

There have been no strike disturbances on the Fredericksburg and Potomac Railway in the vicinity of Richmond and there are railroad guards without anything to do and likely to lose their jobs so the other day they began sabotaging engines in order to hold their jobs.

They are said to have resorted to the old stunt of placing old files in the driving-boxes of locomotives, which would have destroyed the main axles of the engines in case they were not "discovered." The guards discivered them, after they had planted them, therefore they will draw a few more weeks' pay.

It requires ingenuity to be a railroad guard, especially when the strikers remain away from the shops.

Striker Killed in Cleveland

Matthew Strazisar, 21, a striking boilermaker of the New York Central Railroad, was shot to death at Cleveland, Sept. 2, after, police say, he and two other men seriously shot Peter Schweisthal, 45, a cabinetmaker in the Collinwood shops. The fight is said to have followed intimidation of Schweisthal by strike sympathizers. Two suspects are being held by the police.

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WORKERS' CHALLENGE

The Voice of the Workers' International

By KARL RADEK

EDITOR'S NOTE—This article by Karl Radek explains who the three workers are whose articles appeared in last week's issue of the CHALLENGE under the caption, "The Social Revolutionary Party Before the Bar of History." Leaders of the proletariat in three nations, Comrades Clara Zetkin, Muna and Bokanyi, aided the first workers' government in the world pillory the Social Revolutionaries before the bar of history as traitors to the World Revolution. Compare the activity of these valiant fighters in the cause of freedom for the working class with the infamous liars of the Socialist Party of America, under the intellectual leadership of such fakirs as Abraham Cahan and James O'Neil, respectively editors of the New York Call and the Jewish Daily Forward. The trials of the Social Revolutionaries have a significance in the United States that should not be underestimated by the American workers, inasmuch as the attitude of the so-called revolutionists of this country toward this historical trial reveals who are on the side of the world proletariat and who are potential Scheidemanns.

After the opening speeches by the representatives of Workers' and Peasants' of Russia the representatives of the Communist International came to word.

Clara Zetkin accused the SR's of the betrayal of the World Revolution. Clara Zetkin is the guardian of the revolutionary tradition of the working-class movement. She entered the movement at a time when the German worker was bound hand and foot by the Bismarckian Socialist Laws; when the French worker still felt the depressive influence of the Commune's failure, that pupil of Marx and Engles. She received her lessons in Socialism within the walls which had witnessed the murder of the Communards, where small pilgrimages of the workers still met yearly, on the birthday of the Commune. She learned to know Socialism when the persecutions of the "Iron" Chancellor forced the German Social Democracy to live illegally. She learned to know Socialism among the Russian Revolutionists, to whom her husband belonged. And she remained true to the revolutionary ardor of those young days. During many decades, this wonderful woman went from city to city, from factory to factory, arousing the workers to combat and teaching them the ways of their struggle. No one among the teachers of the proletariat, outside of Bebel, was so adored by the workers. They felt in her words not only the profound culture of the fighter, but her deep-felt convictions, for which she was ready to sacrifice her life; they felt her intense love for the abused and the oppressed. The old Bebel used to say: "There are only two men in the party outside of myself: Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin."

And then came the times of ordeal. Guns let loose their thunder, and the Social Democrats ran to cover. These years of betrayal show how right Bebel had been. From the first day of the World Revolution, Clara Zetkin took her place in the ranks of those revolutionists who fought mercilessly against the Second International for its betrayal of the Socialist cause, and who were gathering the working masses for the *War against War, the World Revolution.* Who still remembers how Clara Zetkin came to the First International Conference for the *War to end War* in Berne, Easter 1915; how she sang the International at the farewell meeting for those members who were leaving to conduct illegal work; how from that aged voice and that white hair the *true faith* radiated upon those present; who still remembers these things, will never forget what Clara Zetkin means to the international proletariat. On account of her activities she was sent to prison. The death of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, murdered by that same Scheidemann band which is now squealing so loudly against the trial of the SR's, did not daunt her. During the first period of the Revolution, Clara Zetkin was the flaming torch which pointed to the world proletariat the way to battle, to victory.

And in memory of the revolutionary past of the proletariat, of its hard waged battles for freedom; in the name of the future of the working-class, Clara Zetkin accused the S.R.'s of the betrayal of the World Revolution.

The Russian Revolution is the first victory of the world proletariat. Soviet Russia is the stronghold of the World Revolution. Who raises his hand against Soviet Russia, raises it against the international working-class, and must perish.

Muna also brought the S.R.'s face to face with their crimes. And no one has a better right to do it. The Czech worker Muna, a war prisoner, understood that it was his duty to fight heart and hand with the Russian proletariat for the Soviet System. Muna fought at the front against the Czecho-Slovakian legions financed by the French Government. He fought for the World Revolution against the vanguard of the Russian counter-revolution, against these supporters of the SR. dictatorship in Samara. When the revolution broke out in his native country, he hurried to the Czecho-Slovakian workers, who had been misled by the nationalistic crowd.

The Czecho-Slovakian Social Democrats, the same who are now protesting so loudly against the S.R. trial, often attacked him bodily at workers' meetings and mishandled him shamefully. They called him a paid agent of the Soviets, *and threw him into prison for supporting the Soviet Power in Hungary.* Muna did not despair. His work is bearing its fruits. When millions of Czecho-Slovakian workers exasperated by the impudent provocations of their government, declared a general strike, *Muna was sent to prison for a second time.* Vain persecution. Success crowned the work of Muna and his comades. *The great majority of the Czecho-Slovakian workers left the treacherous Social Democracy and created a Communist Party; so that Muna is today at the head of one of the greatest proletarian parties in the world, a party which in a land of 3,000,000 workers, counts 300,000 members.*

In the name of the workers, he accused the S.R.'s of having corrupted the Czech Workers' Legions and placed in their hands weapons against the workers' government, by covering the machinations of the Entente capitalists under the flags of Socialism and Revolution.

Further were the S.R.'s indicted by the leader of the Hungarian workers, Bokanyi. The appearance of this adored leader of the Hungarian workers revealed like a flash the historical significance of this S.R. trial. Bokanyi has been fighting for thirty years among the Hungarian workers against the Hungarian capitalists and landowners. He remained, in the corrupt, opportunistic atmosphere of the Hungarian Social Democracy, the apostle of the workers' revolutionary spirit. When the Hungarian proletariat proclaimed its dictatorship against the capitalist forces of the whole world, Bokanyi was made a People's Commissar of Soviet Hungary. After the defeat, after the capitulation of the Social Democracy before the white guards, after the dissolution of the Communist Party, Bokanyi did not abandon the working-class. *He faced death in the prisons of the Hungarian White Terror, just as hundreds of other Hungarian workmen, who were murdered without a trial, before the eyes of civilized Europe.*

"Vandervelde did not come to our help then," said Bokanyi to the S.R.'s. Coolly he looked death in the face, calm before his Hungarian executioners, and proudly maintained his allegiance to the World Revolution. On the day when he was condemned to death, nothing could be heard in the factories of Budapest, but: *"Long live Bokanyi, leader of the Revolution!"*

The helping hand of Soviet Russia saved him from the hell of the Hungarian counter-revolution. He now appears before the court, draws for the S.R.'s a picture of the fall of the Hungarian Soviets and the ensuing carnage, and asks the S.R.'s: "Do you not realize, that had you been able to overthrow the Soviet power in Russia, you yourselves would then have been overthrown by the White Guards, who have instituted a dreadful reign of terror?"

The S.R.'s did not understand this, for they did not want to understand. The most upright among them declare, that they prefer the dictatorship of capital and the large landed proprietorship to that of the proletariat. Zenzinov says: "Let Koltchak win, and I will pardon him, however he may treat us S.R.'s."

In the name of the Hungarian proletariat, which has suffered all the pains and difficulties of the revolutionary struggle; which now, under the yoke of the White Dictatorship, raises to us its bleeding hands to swear that it will continue the struggle until the Red Flag of Communism again flies over Budapest; in its name, Bokanyi demands that the S.R.'s should answer for their crimes against the Proletarian Revolution. They are responsible for those who have betrayed the Hungarian proletariat.

The indictments pronounced by the representatives of the Communist International are the voice of the international proletariat, demanding the punishment of the S.R.'s. They should not seek satisfaction in the fact that the Communist International does not as yet represent the majority of the workers. True, it has not the majority of the working-class behind it yet. But when Karl Marx sounded his great call in 1847: "Workers of the World Unite!" only a handful of revolutionary workers stood at his side.

He had nevertheless the right to speak in the name of the whole world proletariat, for he represented its interests and its future. Millions of workers are still attached to the traitors, millions of workers have not yet broken away from the bourgeoisie, millions of workers have not yet found the courage for a war to the death with capital. They are still the dumb slaves of the bourgeoisie. On that account only, could Vandervelde and Henderson, Renaudel and Scheidemann have defended the S.R.'s in their name. All those workers who fought during the war for the maintenance of the International, all those workers who have languished in prison for its restoration, all those workers of all countries who have given their lives for the Proletarian Revolution from the 20,000 Germans whom Noske shot down, to the workers in the South African gold mines, whom English capital, Henderson's patron, murdered,—*all the living elements of the international proletariat which represent the future of the working-class are behind us in our fight against the S.R.'s.*

In the name of the Communist International, that is, in the name of the future of the international proletariat, comrades Zetkin, Muna, and Bokanyi demanded a pitiless judgement of the past, present and future of the S.R. Party.

Foster and Ruthenberg To Speak in Boston at Defense Meeting

William Z. Foster, Secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, who was recently kidnapped and deported from the state of Colorado, and C. E. Ruthenberg, National Secretary of the Workers' Party arrested with a score other workers in connection with the so-called "Communist convention" in the Michigan woods will be the principal speakers at a monster mass meeting, to be held at Paine Memorial Hall, Appleton St., Boston, on Sunday, Sept. 24 at 2 P. M.

Both these men are at present on bail, while others arrested on similar charges are detailed each in $10,000.

Two men well-known to the Boston comrades, Caleb Harrison and Thos. J. O'Flaherty are still held and special efforts will be made by the Emergency Defense Committee to secure bail for them as Boston's quota toward the defense of these prisoners. All bail must be cash or negotiable securities, as real estate is not acceptable to the Michigan authorities.

Efforts are being made to solicit the aid of all revolutionary and progressive workers' organizations in Boston, and the local United Toilers group and James Connolly Club have already signified their intention of granting whole hearted support to the defense work.

All Boston workers are urged to be present to partake in a monster protest against this latest effort to crush the spirit of the militant American works and institute the reign of the White Terror.

"Darkest West Virginia" Convicts Walter Allen, Miner, of Treason Charge

Guilty of treason against the degenerate State government of West Virginia with recommendation that a sentence of ten years in the Penitentiary be imposed was the verdict returned Saturday against Walter Allen, accused of being one of the union marchers on the scab mine fields of Logan and Mingo Counties in August and September of 1921.

Allen's bond was increased from $10,000 to $15,000 and he was sent to jail here until the higher bond is furnished. Attorneys for District 17, United Mine Workers of America, who conducted the case for the defendant, will appeal to the State Supreme Court for a writ of error.

There was no excitement or demonstration when the verdict was brought in. The jury was out forty-six minutes. Allen spurned sympathy. "There is no use to be sorry, it's all over now," was his only comment as he left the court room in the custody of the Sheriff.

C. Frank Keeney, President of District 17, United Mine Workers, is the next defendant scheduled for trial. His trial on a charge of murder will begin Oct. 23. He is also indicted for treason. There have been two previous convictions and one acquittal so far, the Rev. James E. Wilburt and his son John having been convicted of second degree murder and William Blizzard, the first to be tried, acquitted.

Autumn Festival Planned by National Defense Committee

The New York Division of the National Defense Committee is to hold a Fall festival and Barbecue on Sunday, September 24, at Dickert's Park, 4018 Boston Road. They announce that they will have singing, dancing and the roasting of an ox in order to furnish nourishment and that in the evening a camp fire will light the revelry.

The purpose of the Festival is to raise funds for the aid of political prisoners, many of whom are lying in the filthy jails of the capitalist class throughout the country. A number of New Yorkers are among these victims of the ruling class fury.

Such occasions should be taken advantage of in order to assist the class prisoners, and also for the purpose of meeting and devising new methods of carrying on the fight in order to force the labor-hating master class to open the jail doors and release our comrades. Do not forget the date, Sunday, September 24.

Arrested For Contempt

Harry Edwards and Joseph McCune, said to be strikers, were charged with contempt in an information filed in Federal Court at Pittsburgh, Pa., Friday.

Special agents of the Department of Justice charged that Edwards and McCune attacked employes of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in violation of a restraining order issued on application of the road.

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FOR A LABOR PARTY

The Atlantic City Convention of the International Typographical Union went on record last week as favoring the organization of a labor party in this country. That is significant. It is contrary to the traditional policy of the Gompers machine in the American Federation of Labor, which still blindly pursues its old policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies."

There is no one labor organization in the United States that can be considered an accurate barometer of the temper of the mass of workers, but undoubtedly the Typographical Union, composed as it is of American workers who have attained a high degree of industrial skill, is likely to reflect the trend of the whole labor movement with a considerable degree of accuracy. For years it was known as the bulwark of reaction, during the period that closed with the World war. Since the War it has taken many strides forward.

At its Quebec convention last year it proposed amalgamation of all unions in the printing trade industry into one union. This year it reaffirmed and strengthened that resolution in order to make it a living force in the industry. The idea of the necessity for amalgamation arose out of the very struggle itself, and did not arise from the mind of theoreticians. The every-day struggle forced a reorientation of the principles of unionism as they had been known for many years and the result was the demand for a closing of the ranks of the various organizations in the industry in order to meet the highly organized capitalist class.

The labor organizations have, during the past year, been victims of a whole series of governmental assaults and the necessity for working class political action is now clear to all workers alive to the demands of the working class.

There is not today in the United States a single political party that has gained even a modicum of influence among the great masses of organized workers, although a number of parties claim to be striving for that goal. The imperative need of the hour is a strong, virile party of labor that will embrace the major labor unions of the nation and send its representatives to the halls of congress and the various legislatures in order to expose the trickery of the ruling class and its political tools.

That the Typographical Union recognizes this need is apparent from its action at Atlantic City when its convention instructed the executive council to attend the political labor conference to be held in Chicago next December. Every real revolutionist will welcome the formation of such a party as it will furnish a splendid field for political education of the working class, something sadly needed at this time in America.

INTERNATIONAL ACTION

The jackals of capitalism always howl when the working class prepares more efficient weapons for use in the class struggle. The latest lamentations are arising from the journalistic brothels of capitalism because the United Mine Workers of America have entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with the miners of Great Britain.

The labor monopolists and terrorists are preparing to crush the people, hysterically shrieks the New York Tribune, when it has visions of some future strike in which the Interborough Company will be unable to continue its subways and elevated lines because of the inability of British coal barons to supply American industries with coal.

Advantageous as such action would be for the workers, it is noteworthy that the agreement was not reached until after the strike had been successfully betrayed into the hands of the coal barons by Lewis & Co. The Tribune and other sheets that speak in the interests of capitalism will some day have reason to howl, when the present reactionary and traitorious leadership of the trade unions is placed in the hands of determined men who understand the class struggle and who can not be intimidated or bribed into betraying the interests of the working class.

Instead of making strikes more frequent, such an alliance as that proposed between the American and British miners will result in making strikes less frequent, because the ruling class will curb its natural arrogance and will hesitate a long time before it will face the consequences of complete industrial paralysis such an alliance would eventually bring.

The consolidation of the two powerful organizations is a step toward securing greater power for the miners of the world, and, after all, power is the only thing that the master class understands. If the workers have the power to enforce their demands they will pay but precious little attention to the vapid ravings of the two-for-a-cent scribblers on such avowedly capitalist organs as the Tribune.

THE CONFLICT IN THE NEAR EAST

By HEINZ NEUMANN (Berlin)

Barely four weeks have passed since the heroes of the Amsterdam International issued their vaunted proclamation under the heading of "No More War," and the guns are once more thundering from front to front in Asia Minor. It may be argued that it is a trifling episode, if far away, in distant Turkey, the peoples are slaughtering each other. But two little facts will teach the credulous pacifists otherwise. *In the first place the Turkish divisions are fighting under the command of French officers, with Lieutenant Sarroux as chief of staff of Kemal Pasha.* In the second place, the Greek battle front is fortified with English barbed wire and English concrete, and between Ismid and the Black Sea it is protected by English cavalry battalions and English gunboats. Not only in the political but already in the most actual military sense, English imperialism is engaged in fighting French imperialism in Asia Minor. *The Turks and the Greeks are nothing more than the ammunition which the English and French use against each other.* The "restoration of the Islamic Caliphate in Constantinople" is just as much a weapon in the hands of the French oriental interests as the "delivery of the Christian minorities from the Turkish yoke," is a war instrument for the defense of English rule in Asia.

The sudden outbreak of the Greeco-Turkish struggle, signifies the further intensification of the Anglo-French differences over the Near East. But imperialism recognizes artificial frontiers just as little as does the law of capitalist accumulation. The growing differences between England and France do not stop at the coasts of Asia Minor; they directly influence all the conflicts between the two rivals on the European political arena. *What happens before Smyrna and Brussa has its effects on the decisions of London and Paris.* The rapid firing at the Dardanelles is not unconnected with the sanctions on the Rhine. The opposing aims of England and France in the Orient are a component part of the same world-political forces which dictate the course of the reparations crisis.

The events in Asia Minor develop consistently. *On the 10th of August 1920, the Peace Treaty of Sevres was concluded. It has not been ratified to this day.* England, who at that time was at the height of her power, wished to limit the European portion of Turkish territory to Constantinople and a narrow strip of land in the straits, *whilst important parts of Asia Minor, such as Smyrna and Aranna were to be taken from Turkey.* But the Turks upset Lloyd George's calculations. General Kemal Pasha, supported by the warlike mountain-folk and by masses of the small peasantry of Inner-Anatol, organized resistance against the British oppressor. The government of Angora thrust the helpless Sultan in Constantinople on one side, and successfully advanced against the Greek and English troops.

The victory of Kemal Pasha created a new situation. On the connecting route between Europe and India, at the gateway of Asia, on the borders of South Eastern Russia, a serious danger began to threaten British imperialism. In the meantime, the differences between the interests of England and France, particularly with regard to the attitude towards Germany, have become sharper. England threatened to make difficulties for the French reparations policy; *Lloyd George placed himself in opposition to the French domination of the continent of Europe.* The French bourgeoisie found it necessary to look around for new allies. They found a strong support in the United States. But still more dangerous for the English world-empire was the open wound in Asia Minor. The French diplomats recognized this quite well.

It happens that France herself has great interests in the Orient. *Seventy per cent of the Turkish bonds belong to Paris financiers.* The French bourgeoisie is in search of foreign capital investments and spheres of influence in order to extend the industrial foundations gained by it in the war. Asia-Minor offers a very promising field of exploitation for capitalist colonization, working with modern technique and financial elbow room. For these reasons France shattered the already dusty piece of Sevres china, and made an approach to Turkey. Kemal Pasha found assistance in his struggle against England.

On the 20th of October, 1921, Briand, of all the French ministers the most friendly to Britain, caused the Angora Treaty with Kemal Pasha to be signed by the financier, Franklin Bouillon, in which France pledged herself to support the Turkish aims. In addition to the openly published economic conditions, the Treaty of Angora contains a number of secret clauses which plainly provide for close political and military co-operation between France and Turkey. This was a direct blow against the oriental policy of London. Lord Curzon answered with a number of notes expressing dissatisfaction, whose only result was the enriching of the archives of the French foreign office.

France now possessed an excellent means of exerting pressure. Each time the English government rebelled against the French reparations policy, France used Asia Minor as her trump card. On the occasion of the first Rhine sanctions and the decision on Upper Silesia, this policy secured the triumph of France. After the overthrow of Briand, Poincare who as a Senator had protested against the policy of friendship with Turkey, promptly adopted the policy of his predecessor. The oriental crisis is the barb with which France prods the trunk of the British elephant, every time it attempts to break loose.

Lloyd George attempted again and again by means of Entente conferences to remove this dangerous source of conflict. It was just as futile as similar attempts made in regard to the German or Russian questions. The last oriental conference met on the 20th of March of this year in Paris. Fresh "peace conditions" were put forward there for terminating the Greeco-Turkish war. *They already betokened the surrender of the Sevres Treaty by England.* The Turks, it is true, were to receive Smyrna, but with unendurable restrictions; they were to receive back Constantinople, but under the control of an international, i. e., English Commission; Adrianople, the center of European Turkey was ultimately to be handed over to Greece. The Turks, instigated by France refused these proposals. Greece too, was dissatisfied with the impairment of the Sevres Treaty. The decisions of the Paris oriental conference intensified the Anglo-French conflict. This fact was strengthened when some weeks ago, Greek troops landed at Rodosto and threatened to advance on Constantinople along the Tchataljush line. Since the time of the armistice, Constantinople has been under the control of the Entente. It is occupied by English, French and Italian troops. England, however has the upper hand. *The British general Harrington, is officially in command of all the Allied forces.* The Turks announced that they would reply to the Greek advance with a general assault upon the straits and Constantinople. Through the close cooperation between France and Turkey therefore there exists the danger of a direct collision between the English and their Greek proteges on the one hand, and the Turks and the French on the other. Everyone can imagine what an enormous world political danger exists in this formation.

Kemal Pasha has now carried out his threat. After his envoy, Fethi Bey, during his stay in London, was not given a single audience by the Ministry, after Lloyd George undisguisedly pronounced himself in the House of Commons in favor of the maintenance of Greek interests, the Turkish army was put into movement along the whole line. On the eve of the Venice Conference at which the Entente governments together with representatives of Greece and Turkey intended to settle the war in Asia Minor, the bloody campaign was resumed on both sides with the greatest bitterness.

But the Greeks have met with misfortune. According to the latest information, Kemal Pasha has already achieved important successes. The Greeks have suffered enormous losses. They have been forced to evacuate their important position at *Afun-Karahisar*. Thus Kemal Pasha has reached the Anatol railway line. The Turkish forces on the West front amount to at least 100,000 men. *Smyrna, the chief town of Asia Minor, is the objective of the Turkish operations.*

Should the offensive of Kemal Pasha prove successful, the Greeks will be hopelessly driven to the sea. A further danger from the first victory of Kemal is the cutting off of the Greek northern army which is assigned to the single railway line between Brussa and Smyrna. That opens the way to Constantinople for Turkey. In all likelihood Kemal Pasha is making preparations on the Black Sea and Marmara front for the final offensive. In the neighborhood of the little city of Adabazar in North Anatole, (50 Kilometers before the English lines), he has assembled a body of shock troops consisting of 40,000 men (4 infantry divisions and a cavalry division). The operations will be conducted by that genial Turkish strategist, Fewsi Pasha in concert with French general staff officers.

In addition to the bravery of his peasant soldiers, the support of Soviet Russia *and the inner Asiatic powers of Persia, Afghanistan and Bukhara,* Kemal Pasha owes his victory over England in the first instance to French imperialism. The *London Daily Mail* reports that the Turks used new French artillery material as well as French rapid firing guns. They were openly handed over to the followers of Kemal on the occasion of the evacuation of Cilicia by the French Marshall Gouraud. The Turks have mobilized three further groups of recruits who likewise will be equipped with French weapons. At *Eskishehr and Afun-Karahissar* there are two aeroplane stations which are fitted out with French aeroplanes and manned by French aviation officers.

Much more important than the particular events in the Asiatic war arena are their incalculable effects in Europe. Today Asia Minor is the place where there exists the danger of the greatest imperialist explosion. The proletariat of the whole of Europe can overnight become the victim of this catastrophe if it does not remain watchful and prepared for struggle.

Already the world bourgeoisie is raising the cry "War again soon!" The preaching of peace by the Amsterdamers is not worth a grain of powder against these forces. *Only the revolutionary action of the working class supported by the Russian proletarian state can overcome the death crisis of the imperialist world without world war and without famine.*

TROTZKY ON WORLD POLITICS

The following is a summary of the *Pravda's* report of Comrade Trotzky's answer to a number of questions put to him either verbally or in writing by various foreign correspondents in Moscow.

The World Revolution

To the question of the correspondent of the *Giornale d'Italia* whether he believed in the imminent outbreak of the world revolution, Comrade Trotzky replied as follows:—

I hope to be able to answer this great and complicated question in the course of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. Here I will merely mention one thing. It goes without saying that I believe the socialist revolution to be inevitable. Its date and its form, however, depend to a large extent on the attitude of the ruling classes and their governments. Throughout the last year the European governments have unwittingly done their utmost to accelerate the outbreak of the revolution and to intensify its vigor. The world situation can in a schematic manner be summarized thus; the recent imperialist war was proof of the utter impotence of capitalism to develop mankind any further, while at the critical hour the working class has shown itself incapable of taking over the heritage of the bourgeoisie.

Capitalism is already impotent while the working class is not yet competent — that is the outstanding feature of our epoch. After the peace of Versailles, the reformist-pacifist wing of the bourgeoisie tried to bring about, by means of an agreement between the various nations and classes, a radical change of the situation in Europe. Genoa represented the greatest of these attempts, everyone of which ended in failure, however, with the imperialist wing continuing in control. The latter took it for granted that because the revolution did not materialize immediately after the war, it would be postponed indefinitely. This belief explains their savage and irreconcilable attitude both in the Russian question and in the reparations policy. But it is just this attitude and its immediate effects which by bringing about one catastrophic situation after the other, accelerates the revolutionary process in the working class.

The question as to whether the failures of the Genoa and the Hague conferences will not compel the Soviet Government either to retreat still farther to the right, or return to the principles of pure Communism, I must answer in the negative. Genoa and the Hague have overwhelmingly demonstrated the impotence of both bourgeois pacifism and reformism, and are in that respect of great pedagogical value for home politics in Europe. Their failure, however, cannot influence our economic policy.

Two weighty considerations were responsible for the adoption of the new economic policy: firstly, it was essential that stable connections be established between the state industry and the peasantry, and secondly, that the forms and methods of capitalism be used for developing government industry itself. As these two reasons are of a lasting character, we have neither the intention nor the possibility of abandoning the new economic policy.

I cannot, on the other hand, see why we should march to the right in order to gain the sympathies of capitalism. Needless to say, the capitalist world would hail with delight our renunciation of Socialism for capitalism. But the condition of capitalism cannot in the least induce us to revise our program.

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The correspondent of the *New York World* inquired what proposition Russia could make regarding disarmament or, at least, restrictions of armaments.

Comrade Trotzky's reply was as follows: Our delegation in Genoa held in readiness a number of carefully defined schemes drawn up in the spirit of uncompromising pacifism. We were willing to agree either to a complete demobilization of all armies or to their reduction to a minimum. Regarding disarmament, we would have supported all propositions eliminating all possibility of an armed attack by or against any country. Even now, we are always ready to accept as a basis for negotiations, every proposition in either of those directions. It would serve no practical purpose to dwell here in detail on the merits of the various pacifistic systems. The difficulties lie not in the plan or in its realization but only in the political good-will. Capitalist Europe, as it emerged from the inferno of Versailles, is incompatible with disarmament, which present-day Europe neither wants nor can be expected to want. This was proved beyond a vestige of doubt in Genoa, where our antagonists blandly refused to accept the disarmament question on the agenda.

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Whether we can pull through without large credits from abroad? Most decidedly so! I am convinced that a people of 150 millions will not perish even if it cannot get credits from abroad. Needless to say, however, that a continuation of the present economic and political blockade will retard Russia's development. Forge ahead we shall, nevertheless. The gigantic productive forces of a people shaken to its very foundations by the revolution, are at present regrouping themselves and crystallizing. And they will successfully carry out their tasks.

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You ask me: "what are your intentions now that Genoa and the Hague have suffered shipwreck?" *We shall work and wait.* Europe and the whole world are no whit less dependent on Russia than is Russia on Europe. The lust for adventure on the part of a few statesmen, will necessitate new sacrifices and fresh misery, but the economic needs which cannot be denied will force a way for themselves. If *these* statesmen refuse to recognize us, *others* will replace them and do so.

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The favorable development of Soviet Russia's economic life means on the one hand an increase in wealth for the workers' state, and on the other, an increase of capitalist relations within the country. But the economic system, the economic control of free trade remains in the hands of the state which retains as its property the most important parts of the production apparatus, and which has a monopoly on foreign trade. The foreign capitalists and their governments cannot get around these facts.

And Again—Disarmament

One and a half years ago, we still had 16 classes under mobilization; today we have only one.

In Genoa, we proposed general disarmament. Europe, even declined to discuss this question. Then we submitted the same proposal to our neighbors; with the same result. For these reasons we are still compelled to maintain the reduced army of 800,000 men. We are ready to demobilize this army and even liquidate our very successful military schools—if our neighbors adopt our disarmament program. If the United States Government were to take the initiative in this respect, we should support it to the full extent of our strength.

This is also my answer to the question as to whether we expect any military intervention on the part of France, Roumania or Poland. We think there is no immediate danger and have accordingly reduced our standing army to so great an extent. There is, however, always the possibility of such danger, compelling us to improve continually both the size of our army and its technique.

The S. R. Trial

The trial of the Social Revolutionaries, on which you wish to hear my opinion, sounded the political death knell for that party in this country. Our petty bourgeoisie and our would-be democracy were but the agency of foreign governments. Utilizing this occasion, the bourgeois and "Socialist" press abroad launched a savage campaign of calumny against the Soviet Republic, and systematically deluded its readers as to the real facts of the trial, whose crushing revelations were almost entirely withheld from European and American readers. The lies fade, however, but the facts remain.

The indignation at the decree of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, regarding those S. R.'s sentenced to death, should not be taken for more than it is worth. The S. R. "Party" has reserved for itself the "right" to commit terroristic acts on members of the Soviet Government whenever it happens to disagree with the policy of the latter. One must therefore accord us permission to reserve for ourselves the right to shoot the leaders of the S. R. "Party" whenever the latter refuse to submit to the present regime in Russia. Our Party is fully conscious of the fact that it is executing a great historical mission, and, no less than five years ago it refuses to yield on the question of revolutionary power.

Preventive Humanity

You ask on what grounds we justify the deportation from Russia of elements hostile to the Soviets and whether this could be interpreted as meaning that we fear them more within than outside the country.

The answer is quite simple. You have witnessed the trial against the S. R.'s whom the court has sentenced to death. The majority of your press has launched a desperate campaign against us on account of our "cruelty". If after the October Revolution we had forbidden the S. R.'s the country, we should have saved you this indignation.

The elements deported by us, although they have no political significance, would become potential weapons in the hands of our possible enemies. In the case of fresh military complications all these elements would prove themselves military and political agents of our enemy, compelling us to court-martial them under our military law. For reasons of consideration, therefore, we prefer to deport them while there is yet peace, and trust that you recognize and defend before public opinion, these, our humanitarian efforts.

As To America

I should myself like to have an answer to the question, how long American capital will hold aloof from Russian trade.

American capital is in an incomparably better situation than European capital. The Americans are empiricists; they wish to see everything with their own eyes.

The A. R. A. while doing tremendous work for Russia's famine stricken was at the same time the eye of America's ruling class in the heart of Russia. America was in a better position than any other country to see us as we really are. There is nothing left for us but to wait till the public opinion of the American ruling class has sifted the material collected and drawn the logical conclusions therefrom.

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FOR A LABOR PARTY

The Atlantic City Convention of the International Typographical Union went on record last week as favoring the organization of a labor party in this country. That is significant. It is contrary to the traditional policy of the Gompers machine in the American Federation of Labor, which still blindly pursues its old policy of "reward your friends and punish your enemies."

There is no one labor organization in the United States that can be considered an accurate barometer of the temper of the mass of workers, but undoubtedly the Typographical Union, composed as it is of American workers who have attained a high degree of industrial skill, is likely to reflect the trend of the whole labor movement with a considerable degree of accuracy. For years it was known as the bulwark of reaction, during the period that closed with the World war. Since the War it has taken many strides forward.

At its Quebec convention last year it proposed amalgamation of all unions in the printing trade industry into one union. This year it reaffirmed and strengthened that resolution in order to make it a living force in the industry. The idea of the necessity for amalgamation arose out of the very struggle itself, and did not arise from the mind of theoreticians. The every-day struggle forced a reorientation of the principles of unionism as they had been known for many years and the result was the demand for a closing of the ranks of the various organizations in the industry in order to meet the highly organized capitalist class.

The labor organizations have, during the past year, been victims of a whole series of governmental assaults and the necessity for working class political action is now clear to all workers alive to the demands of the working class.

There is not today in the United States a single political party that has gained even a modicum of influence among the great masses of organized workers, although a number of parties claim to be striving for that goal. The imperative need of the hour is a strong, virile party of labor that will embrace the major labor unions of the nation and send its representatives to the halls of congress and the various legislatures in order to expose the trickery of the ruling class and its political tools.

That the Typographical Union recognizes this need is apparent from its action at Atlantic City when its convention instructed the executive council to attend the political labor conference to be held in Chicago next December. Every real revolutionist will welcome the formation of such a party as it will furnish a splendid field for political education of the working class, something sadly needed at this time in America.

INTERNATIONAL ACTION

The jackals of capitalism always howl when the working class prepares more efficient weapons for use in the class struggle. The latest lamentations are arising from the journalistic brothels of capitalism because the United Mine Workers of America have entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with the miners of Great Britain.

The labor monopolists and terrorists are preparing to crush the people, hysterically shrieks the New York Tribune, when it has visions of some future strike in which the Interborough Company will be unable to continue its subways and elevated lines because of the inability of British coal barons to supply American industries with coal.

Advantageous as such action would be for the workers, it is noteworthy that the agreement was not reached until after the strike had been successfully betrayed into the hands of the coal barons by Lewis & Co. The Tribune and other sheets that speak in the interests of capitalism will some day have reason to howl, when the present reactionary and traitorous leadership of the trade unions is placed in the hands of determined men who understand the class struggle and who can not be intimidated or bribed into betraying the interests of the working class.

Instead of making strikes more frequent, such an alliance as that proposed between the American and British miners will result in making strikes less frequent, because the ruling class will curb its natural arrogance and will hesitate a long time before it will face the consequences of complete industrial paralysis such an alliance would eventually bring.

The consolidation of the two powerful organizations is a step toward securing greater power for the miners of the world, and, after all, power is the only thing that the master class understands. If the workers have the power to enforce their demands they will pay but precious little attention to the vapid ravings of the two-for-a-cent scribblers on such avowedly capitalist organs as the Tribune.

THE CONFLICT IN THE NEAR EAST

By HEINZ NEUMANN (Berlin)

Barely four weeks have passed since the heroes of the Amsterdam International issued their vaunted proclamation under the heading of "No More War," and the guns are once more thundering from front to front in Asia Minor. It may be argued that it is a trifling episode, if far away, in distant Turkey, the peoples are slaughtering each other. But two little facts will teach the credulous pacifists otherwise. *In the first place the Turkish divisions are fighting under the command of French officers, with Lieutenant Sarroux as chief of staff of Kemal Pasha.* In the second place, the Greek battle front is fortified with English barbed wire and English concrete, and between Ismid and the Black Sea it is protected by English cavalry battalions and English gunboats. Not only in the political but already in the most actual military sense, English imperialism is engaged in fighting French imperialism in Asia Minor. *The Turks and the Greeks are nothing more than the ammunition which the English and French use against each other.* The "restoration of the Islamic Caliphate in Constantinople" is just as much a weapon in the hands of the French oriental interests as the "delivery of the Christian minorities from the Turkish yoke," is a war instrument for the defense of English rule in Asia.

The sudden outbreak of the Greeco-Turkish struggle, signifies the further intensification of the Anglo-French differences over the Near East. But imperialism recognizes artificial frontiers just as little as does the law of capitalist accumulation. The growing differences between England and France do not stop at the coasts of Asia Minor; they directly influence all the conflicts between the two rivals on the European political arena. *What happens before Smyrna and Brussa has its effects on the decisions of London and Paris.* The rapid firing at the Dardanelles is not unconnected with the sanctions on the Rhine. The opposing aims of England and France in the Orient are a component part of the same world political forces which dictate the course of the reparations crisis.

The events in Asia Minor develop [illegible] *10th of August 1920, the Peace Treaty of Sevres was concluded. It has not been ratified to this day.* England who at that time was at the height of her power, wished to limit the European portion of Turkish territory to Constantinople and a narrow strip of land in the straits, *while important ports of Asia Minor, such as Smyrna and Adana were to be taken from Turkey.* But the Turks upset Lloyd George's calculations. General Kemal Pasha supported by the warlike mountain-folk and by masses of the small peasantry of Inner-Anatol, organized resistance against the British oppressor. The government of Angora thrust the helpless Sultan of Constantinople on one side, and successfully advanced against the Greek and English troops.

The victory of Kemal Pasha created a new situation. On the connecting route between Europe and India, at the gateway of Asia, on the borders of South Eastern Russia a serious danger began to threaten British imperialism. In the meantime, the differences between the interests of England and France, particularly with regard to the attitude towards Germany, have become sharper. England threatened to make difficulties for the French reparations policy; *Lloyd George placed himself in opposition to the French domination of the continent of Europe.* The French bourgeoisie found it necessary to look around for new allies. They found a strong support in the United States. But still more dangerous for the English world empire was the open wound in Asia Minor. The French diplomats recognized this quite well.

It happens that France herself has great interests in the Orient. *Seventy per cent of the Turkish bonds belong to Paris financiers.* The French bourgeoisie is in search of foreign capital investments and spheres of influence in order to extend the industrial foundations gained by it in the war. Asia Minor offers a very promising field of exploitation for capitalist colonization, working with modern technique and financial elbow room. For these reasons France shattered the already dusty piece of Sevres china, and made an approach to Turkey. Kemal Pasha found assistance in his struggle against England.

On the 20th of October, 1921, Briand, of all the French ministers the most friendly to Britain, caused the Angora Treaty with Kemal Pasha to be signed by the financier, Franklin Bouillon, in which France pledged herself to support the Turkish aims. In addition to the openly published economic conditions, the Treaty of Angora contains a number of secret clauses which plainly provide for close political and military co-operation between France and Turkey. This was a direct blow against the oriental policy of London. Lord Curzon answered with a number of notes expressing dissatisfaction, whose only result was the enriching of the archives of the French foreign office.

France now possessed an excellent means of exerting pressure. Each time the English government rebelled against the French reparations policy, France used Asia Minor as her trump card. On the occasion of the first Rhine sanctions and the decision on Upper Silesia, this policy secured the triumph of France. After the overthrow of Briand, Poincare who as a Senator had protested against the policy of friendship with Turkey, promptly adopted the policy of his predecessor. The oriental crisis is the barb with which France goads the trunk of the British elephant, every time it attempts to break loose.

Lloyd George attempted again and again by means of Entente conferences to remove this dangerous source of conflict. It was just as futile as similar attempts made in regard to the German or Russian questions. The last oriental conference met on the 26th of March of this year in Paris. Fresh "peace conditions" were put forward there for terminating the Greeco-Turkish war. *They already betokened the surrender of the Sevres Treaty by England.* The Turks, it is true, were to receive Smyrna, but with unendurable restrictions; they were to receive back Constantinople, but under the control of an international, i. e., English Commission; Adrianople, the center of European Turkey was ultimately to be handed over to Greece. The Turks, instigated by France refused these proposals. Greece too, was dissatisfied with the impairment of the Sevres Treaty. The decisions of the Paris oriental conference intensified the Anglo-French conflict. This fact was strengthened when some weeks ago, Greek troops landed at Rodosto and threatened to advance on Constantinople along the Tchatalush line. Since the time of the armistice, Constantinople has been under the control of the Entente. It is occupied by English, French and Italian troops. England, however has the upper hand. *The British general Harrington, is officially in command of all the Allied forces.* The Turks announced that they would reply to the Greek advance with a general assault upon the straits and Constantinople. Through the close cooperation between France and Turkey therefore, there exists the danger of a direct collision between the English and their Greek proteges on the one hand, and the Turks and the French on the other. Everyone can imagine what an enormous world political danger exists in this formation.

Kemal Pasha has now carried out his threat. After his envoy, Fethi Bey, during his stay in London, was not given a single audience by the Ministry, after Lloyd George undisguisedly pronounced himself in the House of Commons in favor of the maintenance of Greek interests, the Turkish army was put into movement along the whole line. On the eve of the Venice Conference at which the Entente governments together with representatives of Greece and Turkey intended to settle the war in Asia Minor, the bloody campaign was resumed on both sides with the greatest bitterness.

But the Greeks have met with misfortune. According to the latest information, Kemal Pasha has already achieved important successes. The Greeks have suffered enormous losses. They have been forced to evacuate their important position at *Afiun-Karahisar.* Thus Kemal Pasha has reached the Anatol railway line. The Turkish forces on the West front amount to at least 100,000 men. *Smyrna, the chief town of Asia Minor, is the objective of the Turkish operations.*

Should the offensive of Kemal Pasha prove successful, the Greeks will be hopelessly driven to the sea. A further danger from the first victory of Kemal is the cutting off of the Greek northern army which is assigned to the single railway line between Brussa and Smyrna. That opens the way to Constantinople for Turkey. In all likelihood Kemal Pasha is making preparations on the Black Sea and Marmara front for the final offensive. In the neighborhood of the little city of Adabazar in North Anatole, (50 Kilometers before the English lines), he has assembled a body of shock troops consisting of 40,000 men (4 infantry divisions and a cavalry division). The operations will be conducted by that genial Turkish strategist, Fewsi Pasha in concert with French general staff officers.

In addition to the bravery of his peasant soldiers, the support of Soviet Russia *and the inner Asiatic powers of Persia, Afghanistan and Bukhara,* Kemal Pasha owes his victory over England, in the first instance to French imperialism. The *London Daily Mail* reports that the Turks used new French artillery material as well as French rapid firing guns. They were openly handed over to the followers of Kemal on the occasion of the evacuation of Cilicia by the French Marshall Gouraud. The Turks have mobilized three further groups of recruits who likewise will be equipped with French weapons. At *Eskischehr and Angh Karahissar* there are two aeroplane stations which are fitted out with French aeroplanes and manned by French aviation officers.

Much more important than the particular events in the Asiatic war arena are their incalculable effects in Europe. Today Asia Minor is the place where there exists the danger of the greatest imperialist explosion. The proletariat of the whole of Europe can overnight become the victim of this catastrophe if it does not remain watchful and prepared for struggle.

Already the world bourgeoisie is raising the cry "War again soon!" The preaching of peace by the Amsterdamers is not worth a grain of powder against these forces. *Only the revolutionary action of the working class supported by the Russian proletarian state can overcome the death crisis of the imperialist world without world war and without famine.*

TROTZKY ON WORLD POLITICS

The following is a summary of the *Pravda's* report of Comrade Trotzky's answer to a number of questions put to him either verbally or in writing by various foreign correspondents in Moscow.

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The favorable development of Soviet Russia's economic life means on the one hand an increase in wealth for the workers' state, and on the other, an increase of capitalist relations within the country. But the economic system, the economic control of free trade remains in the hands of the state which retains as its property the most important parts of the production apparatus, and which has a monopoly on foreign trade. The foreign capitalists and their governments cannot get around these facts.

And Again—Disarmament

One and a half years ago, we still had 16 classes under mobilization; today we have only one.

In Genoa, we proposed general disarmament. Europe even declined to discuss this question. Then we submitted the same proposal to our neighbors; with the same result. For these reasons we are still compelled to maintain the reduced army of 800,000 men. We are ready to demobilize this army and even liquidate our very successful military schools—if our neighbors adopt our disarmament program. If the United States Government were to take the initiative in this respect, we should support it to the full extent of our strength.

This is also my answer to the question as to whether we expect any military intervention on the part of France, Roumania or Poland. We think there is no immediate danger and have accordingly reduced our standing army to so great an extent. There is, however, always the possibility of such danger, compelling us to improve continually both the size of our army and its technique.

The S. R. Trial

The trial of the Social Revolutionaries, on which you wish to hear my opinion, sounded the political death knell for that party in this country. Our petty bourgeoisie and our would-be democracy were but the agency of foreign governments. Utilizing this occasion, the bourgeois and "Socialist" press abroad launched a savage campaign of calumny against the Soviet Republic, and systematically deluded its readers as to the real facts of the trial, whose crushing revelations were almost entirely withheld from European and American readers. The lies fade, however, but the facts remain.

The indignation at the decree of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, regarding those S. R.'s sentenced to death, should not be taken for more than it is worth. The S. R. "Party" has reserved for itself the "right" to commit terroristic acts on members of the Soviet Government whenever it happens to disagree with the policy of the latter. One must therefore accord us permission to reserve for ourselves the right to shoot the leaders of the S. R. "Party" whenever the latter refuse to submit to the present regime in Russia. Our Party is fully conscious of the fact that it is executing a great historical mission, and, no less than five years ago it refuses to yield on the question of revolutionary power.

Preventive Humanity

You ask on what grounds we justify the deportation from Russia of elements hostile to the Soviets and whether this could be interpreted as meaning that we fear them more within than outside the country.

The answer is quite simple. You have witnessed the trial against the S. R.'s whom the court has sentenced to death. The majority of your press has launched a desperate campaign against us on account of our "cruelty". If after the October Revolution we had forbidden the S. R.'s the country, we should have saved you this indignation.

The elements deported by us, although they have no political significance, would become potential weapons in the hands of our possible enemies. In the case of fresh military complications all these elements would prove themselves military and political agents of our enemy, compelling us to court-martial them under our military law. For reasons of consideration, therefore, we prefer to deport them while there is yet peace, and trust that you recognize and defend before public opinion, these, our humanitarian efforts.

As To America

I should myself like to have an answer to the question, how long American capital will hold aloof from Russian trade.

American capital is in an incomparably better situation than European capital. The Americans are empiricists; they wish to see everything with their own eyes.

The A. R. A. while doing tremendous work for Russia's famine stricken was at the same time the eye of America's ruling class in the heart of Russia. America was in a better position than any other country to see us as we really are. There is nothing left for us but to wait till the public opinion of the American ruling class has sifted the material collected and drawn the logical conclusions therefrom.

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