



For the Worker: One Fight! One Foe! One Front! One Victory!

THE WORKER

AN ORGAN OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKING CLASS EXPRESSION

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Support War on New War!

Workers of New York City, in a tremendous demonstration, at the Central Opera House, Tuesday, Jan. 30, took their stand with the Communists of Europe, by declaring war against the new capitalist war. They unanimously adopted a cablegram to be sent to the Communist International, at Moscow, and to the Communist Parties of the countries that sent representatives to the recent Communist Anti-War Conference at Essen, Germany. The cablegram was as follows:

"MASS MEETING UNDER AUSPICES OF WORKERS PARTY SUPPORTS THE CALL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF GERMANY, FRANCE, HOLLAND, BELGIUM, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, GREAT BRITAIN AND ITALY, ADOPTED AT ESSEN, GERMANY, FOR JOINT ACTION AGAINST WORLD IMPERIALISM, DOWN WITH CAPITALISM. LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!"

Communists at Essen War Against War

(Special to "THE WORKER" by International Press Correspondence.)

ESSEN, Germany, Jan. 6.—Today there was a meeting here of the representatives of the Communist Parties of France (among others Cachin, and Monmousseau from the C.G.T.U.), England (among others the newly elected member of Parliament Newbold), Belgium, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Holland and Germany. There were also present the trade union leaders of the revolutionary railwaymen, metal workers, building workers, and textile workers of France and Germany. Representatives of the Communist International were also present.

Cachin is the first speaker. He calculates with certainty on the occupation of the Ruhr valley. For Poincaré this is a question of to be or not to be. He owes it to his Bloc National. The French workers have taken up the most energetic fight against the fresh adventure of French imperialism. A common committee of action has been formed against the Versailles peace by the French Communist Party and the Confederation Générale du Travail-Unitaire (C.G.T.U.).

Monmousseau (C.G.T.U.) speaks to the following effect: This meeting has nothing in common with that notorious conference held in 1914 in Brussels, where Jouhaux and Legien were present. At that time these men made the most sacred promises of peace, only to break them afterwards. Jouhaux and Legien, these false apostles of war. We are not pacifists. We are in favor of peace because proletarian interests demand peace. We shall carry out the decisions resolved upon here without reserve. We shall do our utmost to prevent the occupation of the Ruhr valley.

Brandler reports on the position of the German party. This has now been considerably strengthened. Its influence reaches far beyond the limits of the party itself. Still we must not over-estimate our powers. But what we undertake to do at this conference shall be carried out.

Thälheimer gives a general survey of the international situation. Various possibilities are to be reckoned with. It may be that England and America will interfere at the last moment. But on the other hand it is equally possible that the pledges are seized without military measures. Should the Ruhr district be occupied, we must also calculate with the likelihood that the French government will first try to appease the workers with sugarplums, that is, with wages paid in francs, as the best way of corrupting them. Thälheimer welcomes the energetic attitude adopted by the French workers. They may be assured that we make common cause with them. The present international situation renders it imperative for the German proletariat to issue the foreign political slogan of: A bloc between Germany, Soviet Russia, and Turkey, able to defy the Entente.

Gallagher (England) speaks in favor of the sharpest possible action against the occupation of the Ruhr valley.

Ker (France) reports that the position of French industry is com-

Let Workers Restore Europe!

The appeal of the seven Communist Parties at the Essen Conference was as follows:

The Paris conference has failed. The France of Poincaré threatens the military occupation of the Ruhr basin, or at least with the confiscation of all state mines and forests, or with other economic compulsory measures.

Who will profit by it?

Certainly not the working population; neither the French nor the German.

The occupation and the repressive measures will bring no advantages, but will increase the burden of taxation and the exploitation of the working people.

The world conflicts will be rendered more acute, national hatred will be inflamed.

The sole result of the French repressive measures will be: An agreement between French and German capitalists at the expense of French and German workers.

Workers of France, fight for the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the occupied territories!

Oppose every repressive measure against Germany!

Fight until you have replaced these measures by once compelling your own bourgeoisie to bear the costs of the war and of reconstruction!

Agitate for these demands among your brothers in uniform!

German workers, force your capitalists to bear the costs of reparation!

No lengthening of working hours! Adequate wages! No interference with the right to strike! Control of industry and markets, suppression of Fascist organizations!

German and French workers, clerks, small farmers, and tradesmen, unite against your exploiters, unite beyond the frontiers of your countries and peoples!

Down with the rapacious Versailles treaty!

Down with the politicians of imperialist entente!

Give no governments of the world a moment's respite!

Let the victorious working class restore Europe!

ESSEN, January 7, 1922.

Zentrale der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands.

Comité Directeur du Parti Communiste Français.

Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire.

Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

Comitato Esecutivo del Partito Comunista d'Italia.

Comité Directeur du Parti Communiste Belge.

Kommunistische Partei in Nederland.

Vykonni Vybor Komm. Str. v. Československu.

Organize National Council for Protection of Foreign-Born

(Special to "The Worker")

CHICAGO.—The movement initiated by the Workers Party at its second national convention for protection of foreign-born workers against the attack made upon them by the government and the capitalists has secured the support of a large number of labor organizations and a provisional National Council is now in process of formation which will initiate a country-wide campaign.

Organizations which will likely be represented on the provisional National Council are the Farmer-Labor Party, the Trade Union Educational League, the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Minnesota State Federation of Labor and the Workers Party. National officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have also given their approval of the campaign and this organization will very likely be included in those who have representation on the provisional National Council.

It is expected that the membership of the provisional National Council will be announced within the next week. Immediately after its organization this body will send an invitation to all the International Unions asking them to name representatives on the permanent National Council. A manifesto will be issued calling upon trade unionists, labor political organizations and all organizations of foreign-born workers to support the campaign against exception laws directed against the foreign-born workers.

William Z. Foster, Secretary of Trade Union Educational League, one of the organization which will likely be represented on the provisional National Council stated, when asked about the proposed campaign:

"The proposed laws for registration, finger-printing, photographing and punishment of foreign-born workers for strike activities are a blow directed at the whole American labor movement. The bosses hope, by keeping the foreign-born workers unorganized thru such oppressive measures to weaken the whole organized labor movement. The campaign for protection of the foreign-born should not only be directed against these laws but to the end of drawing every foreign-born worker

Demonstrate Against New Morgan War

One of the most impressive working class gatherings ever held in New York City was called together Tuesday night, at the Central Opera House, under the direction of the Workers Party, to demonstrate against the new capitalist war that threatens with the French invasion of the Ruhr.

Among the speakers were C. E. Ruthenberg, secretary of the Workers Party, William Z. Foster, secretary of the Trade Union Educational League, Ludwig Lore, editor of the Volks-Zeitung, M. J. Olgin, editor of the Freiheit, and A. Moreau, who spoke in French. J. Louis Engdahl, editor of "The Worker," was chairman.

The cablegram, appearing on this page, was unanimously adopted amidst great enthusiasm and the spirited singing of "The International."

All the speakers stressed the necessity of the solidarity of America's workers with oppressed labor in Europe, and hailed the spread of the world social revolution as the only remedy for the evils that now afflict mankind under capitalism.

Outlook for Labor As Its Own Banker

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This week THE WORKER begins the publication of a series of articles by H. M. Wicks on the question of co-operation. This question has come to the front in the American working class movement thru the launching of huge financial enterprises, especially banks, by the railroad brotherhoods. In addition to these articles THE WORKER will gladly publish short contributions by its readers expressing their viewpoint, in agreement with, or in opposition to the views expressed by Comrade Wicks. His first article follows:

By H. M. WICKS

Labor, leaders of the conservative type constantly endeavor to devise

(Continued on Page Four)

The Ruhr Invasion: Imperialism Wrecking the World!

MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA

Capitalist imperialism, which gave Europe its blood-bath from 1914 to 1918, is completing the wreckage of that continent.

France, on the brink of bankruptcy because of the destruction of the imperialist world war, is seeking to wring from hungry and starving Germany the means of saving herself, but in place of saving herself merely prepares greater misery for the suffering working masses of both France and Germany.

The imperialist world war let loose forces which have undermined the whole capitalist system of production. The destruction of hundreds of billions of wealth, while the printing presses issued a continuous flow of bonds and paper money, have weakened and threatens the collapse of the financial structure of capitalism. Currency has become practically valueless in many instances. The exchange rates make the normal flow of trade impossible. Tariff walls and trade regulations across the new boundaries of many new governments created by the Versailles Peace Treaty add to the confusion.

European statesmen and financial experts, the agents of ruling capitalist exploiters, have struggled for four years with the net which enmeshes capitalist production. But fruitlessly, hopelessly. The machinery of production has slowed down. Production has fallen. Capitalism goes down to the grave which the imperialist world war prepared for it.

For four years the Entente countries have hoped to save themselves by putting the burden of the war upon Germany. But the destruction and havoc wrought by the war could not be made good by one of the participants in that war. All maneuvering of the past four years have brought Europe no nearer to repairing the destruction and stopping the disintegration of production resulting from the war.

The French invasion, of the Ruhr, the seizure of the heart of industrial Germany and the attempt to make the workers of this section, already the slaves of the German capitalists, also the slaves of French imperialism, can only bring greater wreckage. It cannot solve the insoluble problem of capitalism.

But this invasion does threaten the world with another orgy of bloodshed. It threatens to send into the maw of another imperialist war more millions of human lives and more millions of wealth.

Suffering and misery is already the lot of the workers of Europe. Hunger and starvation stalk through all Central Europe.

And now another war threatens, to complete the work of making a shambles of all that is left of the civilization of the world!

Workers of the United States! You will not be spared if red horsemen of death and destruction again ride across Europe.

Just as in 1916 we were "kept out of the war" and in 1917 were hurled into it because the interests of the capitalist exploiters of this country were in danger, so again we will be thrown into the new imperialist war to give our lives, to suffer and sacrifice to protect the interests and investments of American capitalism.

Workers of the United States! The workers of Europe are fighting to end the horrible system which brings so much misery and suffering upon the people of the world.

At Essen, in Germany, there met the representatives of the Communist parties of France, of Germany, of Holland, of England, of Czechoslovakia, of Belgium, of Italy. They issued a call to the workers of all these countries, to the workers of the world to unite for struggle to end forever the rule of the capitalist imperialists, to establish their own Workers' Government.

Workers of the United States! The Workers Party (Communist) calls upon you to join with the workers of these countries to end the whole capitalist system, to prevent further destruction, to save the working masses from being sent down deeper into the mire of suffering, poverty and degradation.

Workers of the United States! Show your solidarity with the suffering workers of Europe! Join in mass meetings against capitalist imperialism! Against the capitalist governments which play the game of the imperialist exploiters.

DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALIST WAR! DOWN WITH THE EXPLOITERS AND MURDERERS OF THE WORKING MASSES! FORWARD TO THE WORKERS' RULE AND WORKERS' REPUBLIC!

Central Executive Committee, Workers Party of America.

C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary.

Foster Shows T.U.E.L. Makes Big Progress

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

The Trade Union Educational League must be moving ahead fast during these stormy days of struggle between the workers and their bosses in these United States.

At least that is the impression I received as I listened to William Z. Foster, secretary of the T. U. E. L., and editor of its official publication, "The Labor Herald," addressing a New York gathering of workers, last Sunday, held under the auspices of "The League."

Foster had come to New York to "talk business." That is what he told his audience. With one sweep of the hand he announced there would be "no oratory," just a plain "man to man" talk.

It began to look as if the New York militants were in for a drubbing for their failure the past months to get across to the masses. But

(Continued on Page Three)

Strikers of Fayette County, Pa., Refused Jobs, Meet Assaults

(Special to "The Worker")

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—Members of all Coke Region Locals applied for jobs and refused in every case. Many were driven from company offices and even assaulted. Despite this Feeny says men are too lazy to work and that Howat, Meyerscough and Merrick are organizing dual movement. Geisel, of Footscastle, invited to Indianapolis by wire from Lewis.

Editor's Note.—Early details of developments in Fayette County, Pa., will be found on Page Three.

Ford Machines for Russia

MOSCOW.—Representatives of the Ford Motor Company are in Moscow, negotiating with the Commissariat of Foreign Trade for the sale of Ford tractors. Business is business. With His Highness Henry—as it is one thing to attack the Soviet regime in his paper, as he does intermittently, and quite another to enter the competition for supplying Russia's great tractor purchasing capacity.

TO TELL THE STORY OF RUSSIA IN 1922

James P. Cannon, Chairman, Workers Party, Returns from Russia to Tell of Six Months' Experiences

James P. Cannon, Chairman of the Workers Party, who spent six months in Russia as a fraternal delegate of the Workers Party to the Communist International, has returned to the United States. The National Office of the Party is arranging a nationwide lecture tour for Cannon thru which he will tell the American workers about "Russia in 1922."

Comrade Cannon has had unusual opportunity to study Russia. For more than six months he has been able to make daily observations of developments in that country and has

been in intimate contact with the political and industrial developments in that country.

He has been able to study the conditions in Russian industry. He will tell of the growth of the nationalized industries of the country which are to be the basis for the Communist industrial order. He has gained a clear understanding of the part played by the Russian labor unions in industries, controlling working conditions, deciding the scales of rewards for services and in general teaching the workers the art of managing and directing.

Comrade Cannon's picture of Russia in 1922 will include the story of

the Red Army, a review of the work of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International and of the general work of the latter body.

The news articles and stories which reach this country about Russia from time to time give only glimpses of the conditions in that country, from which it is impossible to gain an adequate conception of the progress which has been made.

Cannon will bring the results of six months' observation as a Communist of the work of building a Communist society and his message will be full of encouragement and new inspiration because of the great achievements of the Russian work-

ers. The speaking tour of Comrade Cannon will begin in the New England States about March 1. After covering New England, he will spend several weeks in Eastern Pennsylvania, Maryland, and other states. Then his tour will take him thru New York State westward all the way to the Pacific Coast. It is expected that the tour will last at least three months and that Comrade Cannon will address at least a hundred mass meetings during that time.

Branches of the Workers Party are now being circularized in regard to the arrangements for the tour and the first dates will be announced in a week or ten days.

Isadora Duncan at Lexington Opera House, Friday Evening, February 2nd, for Friends of Soviet Russia

World War Vets Fighting Fascisti Here

(Special to The Worker)

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. — A campaign has been launched here by the National Headquarters, World War Veterans, to counteract the poisonous Fascisti propaganda now being spread thru the United States.

The position of the World War Veterans is set forth in a manifesto addressed "To all Lovers of Freedom" as follows:

Dear Friends:—The Fascisti are organizing in America! Do you wish they succeed?

Mussolini's 15th Century condottieri have spread to the United States and now claim a membership of 200,000. Colonel Alvin Owsley, commander of the American Legion, recently declared "***** the Legion would not hesitate to take things into its own hands—fight the reds as the Fascisti of Italy fought them."

Do not forget that the Fascisti of Italy are to Italy what the American Legion is to the United States, and that Mussolini, the new premier, was the commander of the Legion—the ex-service men of Italy. Perhaps more notorious is that secret and clandestine organization, the Ku Klux Klan, with its "super-government," supported by cowardly punishments, that prohibits the free play of opinion, foments civil and religious strife, and seeks to divide America into two classes—one to rule, another to obey. This they call "one hundred per cent Americanism." When Edward Young Clarke, chief organizer of the membership drive learned that the Chief of the United States Secret Service was being urged to arrest him, he commented thus: "Burns may be persuaded to arrest me, and if so, I shall not be constrained longer to keep off the dogs of war; it may mean a revolution, for I believe the Klansmen would stand by me." A more recent example of the Fascisti spirit occurred in Arkansas when a few hundred "citizens" seized by force of arms an entire community, with lynchings and maltreatment drove out the railroad strikers, their families and sympathizers, deposed regularly elected officials, and now proclaim to the world that organized labor is forever expelled from Harrison, Arkansas.

The ex-soldier swings the Fascisti club in Italy. Shall he swing it here? There are three million unorganized ex-service men in America. Reactionary organizations, subsidized by bankers and chambers of commerce, are trying to enslave them under their control. With strong financial backing they are enabled to spread their lying propaganda thru numerous publications. These potential Fascisti armies may make plausible pretense of fairness and "one hundred per cent Americanism," but their records are replete with mob violence against lovers of freedom of every school. Whoever practices free speech or questions the divine right of present industrial and political dictatorship is denounced as "red," "radical" and "un-American," held up to an unthinking public as an immoral degenerate, and mobs of ex-service men are incited to believe that such a beast richly deserves tar and feathers of Judge Lynch's noose.

There is one ex-soldiers' organization that declares fearlessly for industrial and political freedom and real law-abiding Americanism. We of the World War Veterans live up to our principles. Our record is clean. So no banker contributes to our welfare; no government diverts funds to our treasury. Whoever joins the American Legion gains distinct advantages—social entertainment, industrial preterm, political prestige. Whoever joins the World War Veterans sacrifices himself for an ideal. We stand firm against fascism, but hamstrung by poverty, are unable to launch a counter attack unless the progressive spirit of the nation is aroused to reinforce us.

Are we to remain asleep while the net is spread? Shall we squirm helplessly under torch and rope, machine guns and bayonet? Or shall we now with organization and education spike their guns before it is too late, and forestall another Mussolini dictatorship established by force of arms in the name of "law and order," "representative government" and "one hundred per cent Americanism"—all of which interpreted invariably means unfettered freedom of the financial and industrial kings to hold the masses in silent, unresisting slavery?

The ex-soldier carries the Fascisti gun in Italy. The reactionary hands him the same gun here. Every lover of justice and freedom must assist us with a contribution to launch an educational campaign among the ex-service men.

Help us save the nation from disaster and reversion to medieval feudalism. Back us in our fight for liberty, justice and progress.

Fraternally,
HERBERT A. SUMAN,
Acting National Publicity Director,
World War Veterans

By authority of
JACK BRADON,
National President, W. W. V.

The Struggle of the Miners

Official Organ of Amalgamated Clothing Workers Sees Fayette County, Pa., Struggle as Struggle in Labor War; Nationalization Issue Reveals President Lewis as Arch-Reactionary; Other Issues Before the Workers.

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

Governor Sweet, of Colorado, has ordered the State Rangers disbanded. This is the outfit that deported William Z. Foster from Colorado under the direction of "Pat" Hamrock, murderer of women and children at Ludlow, Colo. Sweet's next step should be to recruit the state militia from militant trade unionists and organize labor 100 per cent in this Rockefeller-owned state. That would be getting the class struggle in this state down to fundamentals. We shall be glad to report any inclination on the part of Governor Sweet in this direction, altho we may be rather skeptical.

The Fight in Fayette County

Every militant trade unionist must stand aghast at the tyrannous measures used by the high officialdom of the United Mine Workers of America in driving the Fayette County, Pa., strikers back under the slave whips of the Standard Oil and United States Steel Corporations. We sense a note of protest in the declaration of "The Advance," official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, when it declares:

"Miners in Connellsville (Fayette County, Pa.) have been advised by the officers of the United Mine Workers to return to work. The advice is tantamount to admission of defeat by the Union. It means that the masters of the Windber and the Standard Oil mining properties are to have their way with the lives of the men, women and children in that region once more."

It is very significant, as pointed out in THE WORKER last week, that the Connellsville miners were sacrificed on the altar of capitalist greed while the mine officials were sitting in conference with the mine owners in New York City. The Pittsburgh coal mine owners were there as "observers."

We judge that the miners' officials forced the Fayette County miners back to work defeated, as a condition of the agreement reached with the mine owners. We believe that if the mine officials had desired, the mine owners could have been forced into unionizing the Fayette fields as a condition of the mine officials consenting to the agreement.

We, therefore, draw the conclusion that the Lewis administration, in its war upon the Fayette County coal miners, is once more playing into the hands of the coal profiteers, just as it did in the case of Howatt and the Kansas coal miners, just as it did in deserting the non-union fields in the Cleveland agreement, just as it did in inaugurating wars upon the coal miners of Nova Scotia, Canada. In the words of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' official organ:

"The struggle of labor for freedom and self-direction is a war. The Connellsville episode, full of pity and irony too, it is a skirmish in the war. Even if it were a battle, to lose it would not be to lose the war. On the contrary, signs are not lacking that the battalions of time are on the side of labor."

Yes, the battalions of time are on the side of militant labor. The forward-seeing workers, and the Fayette miners stand in the vanguard of the Miners' Union, have time on their side, both in the struggle against their oppressors, the mine owners, and against the chief allies of their oppressors, the reactionary and traitor officialdom of their own organization.

Porto Ricans suffering under American imperialist rule are to be "investigated" by a congressional committee. That will be a nice little winter junket for some senators and congressmen, with their families, but we venture to predict that oppression under the U. S. A. brand of imperialism will go on just the same.

Mr. Lewis Smoked Out

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers for the time being, has stood so straight in his consistently reactionary position that he has fallen over backward. He took the back tumble on the question of nationalization of the coal mines.

Altho the coal miners' conventions for the last twenty years, at least, have been voting for nationalization of the mines, Mr. Lewis now declares that the coal miners have no position on this question, and he repudiates the report recently made public in New York City by Christ J. Golden, of Shamokin, Pa., president of District No. 2, an anthracite field.

Mr. Lewis takes refuge behind a declaration issued by his personal press agent, Ellis Searles, editor of the United Mine Workers' Journal. Searles was taken off a capitalist daily in Indianapolis, where he had no doubt developed qualifications that made him valuable to the Lewis machine. He has spent most of his time on the miners' union payroll attacking the militants in and combatting the progressive tendencies of the organization.

Judging by the statements issued by Mr. Searles, this Lewis press agent spent most of his recent stay in New York City exploiting the possibilities of the great city's Greenwich Village and its night life. Golden pillories Mr. Searles as follows:

"The people of whom he speaks as Greenwich Village reds are the same people who are doing and have done so much for the striking miners throughout our jurisdiction and the most progressive friends, the United Mine Workers have, and, I dare say, Mr. Searles would look much better to the rank and file of this organization if he had a little red about him, for he is at the present time yellow from head to foot."

We do not agree with the nationalization plan promulgated by Mr. Golden at a recent gathering of the League for Industrial Democracy in New York City. But it was at least an effort to carry out a policy overwhelmingly favored by the membership of the miners' union.

Mr. Lewis, by opposing the Golden nationalization report, shows that the ideas back of his white reactionary regime in the miners' union are even more conservative than the pink policies of those who support him from time to time.

Mr. Golden says that Mr. Searles will get the unanimous applause of the mine owners in giving the proper publicity to the white guard policies of the Lewis administration. That means that Lewis is dancing to the music of the mine owners. It will not take long for the coal miners to get completely disgusted with this exhibition and settle with Lewis forever. The unanimous chorus from the Atlantic to the Pacific should be, "Raus mit ihm!"

John M. O'Hanlon, chairman of the Legislative Committee of the New York State Federation of Labor, is calling upon all New York state labor unions to oppose the Lockwood bill in the state legislature calling for the licensing and supervision of trade unions. We hope that Mr. O'Hanlon will start his campaign of protest by directing the attention of the New York officials of labor, city and state, a little more against the bosses, and not so much to the hounding of radicals in the unions. No protest campaign of labor will amount to much unless the workers are permitted to create a united front in support of that protest.

It is reported that Albert Thomas, the renegade French Socialist now touring this country, has persuaded the United States Chamber of Commerce to join the employers' section of the international labor office of the League of Nations. Julius Barnes, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, says his organization wants to level up the workers of the world to the height of American workers. No doubt Barnes was thinking of the hanging railroad striker, Gregor, of Harrison, Ark., murdered by a Chamber of Commerce mob, the same gang that is still trying to send Herrin, Ill., miners to the gallows. That is the kind of an outfit that renegade Socialists usually co-operate with.

Jim Larkin, recently released from Sing Sing Prison, went to Providence, R. I., to speak on "America and Human Liberty." The Providence police were on the job and, altho they confessed the town might be in America, it was not the abiding place of "human liberty" and Larkin was prevented from speaking.

They tell us that the industrial depression is over. So they increase prices. But wages remain the same. Boost wages? Gawd no!

Communists Gain in Saxony.

LEIPZIG, Germany.—The Saxon workers triumphed at the polls in a special election called as a result of the dissolution of the provincial parliament two months ago. The new landtag is made up as follows: United Socialist, 40; Communists, 10; German Nationalists, 20; German Peoples Party, 18; Democrats, 8; Centrists (Catholics), none.

This is the same composition of the assembly, with one big exception: the communists formerly had nine seats and the centrists one, while now the communists have ten and the centrists none.

The two working-class parties have a clear majority, with four votes to spare.

Effort to Uncover Burns Activity in the Michigan Raids

By H. M. WICKS

The latest move made by Frank P. Walsh, as counsel for the Communists arrested in the Bridgman, Michigan, raids, is an attempt to uncover the activities of the notorious William J. Burns, head of the investigation department of the Department of Justice, and his private detective agency. Walsh wants to know from whence the funds came that enabled Burns' agents to devote so much time to the framing-up of "evidence" against the victims of the raids.

It has developed that one Francis Morrow, who attended the meeting in Michigan under the name of Francis Ashworth, of Camden, N. J., and Philadelphia, Pa., is a Burns stool pigeon and agent provocateur who is now being used to identify people that are being arrested charged with participating in the meeting where a number of men prominent in the labor movement were arrested last August.

Former associates of Morrow have charged that he is absolutely unreliable in every way and that he has long been considered of doubtful character as a worker in the movement. He was arrested in Philadelphia in 1920 for distributing Communist literature, but the case against him was dropped, while the others arrested for the same offense were prosecuted. His relatives, under examination by Walsh, denied knowledge of his vile occupation, but the belief is general that they all knew about it.

Burns on Defensive

The result of Walsh's investigations, so far, has been to put William J. Burns, the debased tool of the discredited fixer and detestable labor-hater Harry M. Daugherty, on the defensive and there is much scurrying among the labor spies and stool pigeons in general to get under cover for fear their miserable game will be exposed.

Attorney General Daugherty and his plug-ugly head of his investigation department will find it difficult to separate the assault upon the workers assembled at Bridgman from their general offensive against labor organizations that reached its height in the infamous injunction obtained against the striking shopmen before Federal Judge Wilkeson.

One Robert M. Whitney, who is alleged to be the author of a series of articles appearing in the Boston Transcript and syndicated to other papers thruout the United States, boasted to a woman correspondent that he was a close associate of the Burns outfit and that he attended the Michigan gathering and planted the barrels of propaganda that were dug up by the Burns agents. Whitney denied the allegations, but refused to state from what source he secured the documents that formed the basis for his articles.

The sum and substance of the activity is that he is a sort of cheap press agent for the William J. Burns private detective agency and that Burns, as the head of the D. of J. furnished the "evidence" to Whitney in order to boost his own private business of labor-spy, agent provocateur and jury corruptionist.

It is coming to be generally recognized that Daugherty and Burns are using the power of the government in order to obtain information regarding the industries of the United States and the labor movement so that it can be placed at the disposal of the employers of labor and the "open shoppers" at a high "fee" thru the Burns Private Agency.

The publicity department of the Burns agency finds willing allies among the fraternity of kept ladies of the press, especially such low types of publications as the Transcript of Boston and Frank Munsey's Morgantown New York Herald. The frenzied stories of the "Reds in America" are used for the purpose of bleeding the gullible manufacturers in order to induce them to pay tribute to various private stool pigeon factories in order that the aggregation of morons and other pervers can find employment at occupations that will enable them to give full play to their criminal instincts, instead of occupying felons' cells in penitentiaries along with other murderers, pickpockets, porch-climbers, pimps and procurers, who have not yet sunk low enough in the scale of depravity to become detectives.



Arkansas Assault Upon Union Men Is Still Unpunished

By H. M. WICKS

It is evident that no serious effort is to be made to bring the organized assassins of Arkansas to trial for the murder of C. R. Gregor and for other depredations perpetrated upon the union men and their families in the Ozark region of that state.

From Samuel M. Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, comes the information that positive information is at hand proving that the Missouri and North Arkansas Railroad provided special trains to transport the mob that ruled Harrison, Ark., and surrounding country at the time of the murder, wholesale deportations and floggings incident to the complete reign of terror established against union men and their sympathizers.

D. B. Robertson, president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, also claims he has evidence to the same effect and that he will co-operate with the Arkansas authorities in detecting and punishing the mob of criminals.

From other sources comes the information that twelve men constituted a "tribunal" that had charge of the organized mob violence, and that they all were henchmen of the railroad company.

Railroad Accused of Fires

In addition to the theory that defective fireboxes in broken-down engines caused the fires, said to have been the cause of the mob outbreak against the union men, there is also definite information to the effect that the railroad itself caused the fires to be started on bridges in order to have an excuse for driving union men out of the Ozark region.

In one county where there were no fires of any kind the mob of degenerates in the hire of the railroad company ran all the union men out of the county, inflicting severe punishment upon them and forcing them and their families to wander aimlessly in the hills for days.

Labor Must Resist

Gompers and other reactionaries at the head of the labor movement will not act in this case any more than they have acted in the past in similar cases. Instead of action they indulge in the foolish gesture of offering to assist the authorities of Arkansas to detect and prosecute the leaders of the rapacious hordes of criminals, when they know perfectly well that the authorities had full knowledge of and acquiesced in the

Arkansas Assault Upon Union Men Is Still Unpunished

ities perpetrated in the interest of the railroad company.

If these leaders of labor really desired to produce results in Arkansas they would abandon their pussyfooting tactics and devise means of tying up the industries, especially the railroads of Arkansas and force a genuine prosecution with representatives of the rank and file of labor acting as prosecutors. In addition to this tactic they could start wholesale boycotts against the petty business men participating in the outrages.

It is plain that it is futile to expect any results from the so-called courts of law unless labor is organized sufficiently strong to make an impression upon such institutions. More action in the way of effective resistance and less rhetoric is what labor should demand of its leaders. If they will not respond then officials should replace them that will represent the interests of the rank and file of labor.

Mexico Receives Magon

By F. W. LEIGHTON,
Federated Press Correspondent.

MEXICO CITY.—In contrast to the United States, which honored Georges Clemenceau, the old-world reactionary, and slowly drove Ricardo Flores Magon to his death in a political prison cell in Leavenworth federal penitentiary, Mexico brought home the body of Magon in state from the land of his oppressors at the moment that the Mexican government was expelling the papal nuncio (special ambassador from the pope) for illegal activity.

Magon's family accompanied his body on a special train which reached this city from El Paso, where they had come from Los Angeles, the residence of his widow and daughter while he was serving a 21-year sentence for violation of the wartime espionage law. His offense was publication of an anti-war article in his paper, Regeneration.

Delegations from the radical and conservative trade unions marched in thousands with standards flying as a guard of honor for the body as it was taken from the station to the black draped hall of the railroad workers federations.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Announcement that the war in Europe was concluded in 1918 has not yet reached the United States Shipping Board. In a booklet entitled "Going Abroad," now being distributed to prospective passengers on its boats, the board says: "Passports with proper cases be issued to all parts of the world except enemy territory and Soviet Russia."

"The Three Sisters" Shows Moscow Art Players in New Role

By JOHN DALE

We are told by the best brains of capitalism that Communism is destructive of initiative. It would be well for these professors, pulpiteers and press and magazine editors, moulders of the minds of the many, to witness the Moscow Players' presentation of Anton Tchekhoff's "The Three Sisters" at Jolsen's 59th Street Theater, this week.

Not only three sisters, but a brother as well, and several other hapless individuals wander thru Tchekhoff's play, lacking all initiative, void of any ability to decide and do. They are of the bourgeoisie. And these lived in that period when this capitalist structure was preparing to hold its own against the great revolutionary wave that swept the Czaristic Russia of 1905. World capitalism helped the czar crush this uprising, especially French capitalism. The Paris diplomats gave the czar billions of francs, and they are still trying to collect the bill, at conferences just as helpless as Tchekhoff's creatures, at Genoa, the Hague and Lausanne.

Tchekhoff's sisters and the brother were of that intelligentsia upon which capitalism in all lands prides itself. Yet how incapable of action. Against the class they typify there stands the great initiative, the power to act, the will to struggle of the oppressed workers and peasants of Russia, in the revolutions of 1905 and 1917, the latter victorious.

It was no doubt the result of careful discrimination that caused Tchekhoff to select the garrison surroundings of a provincial Russian town as the scene of his play. Andrei Prozoroff is the son of a brigadier-general, left on his father's death at the head of the household. Prozoroff's ambitions are to get back to Moscow, left 11 years before, and there become a professor in the university. The three sisters also have desires to go to Moscow, but all four are unable to break with their surroundings. Prozoroff is caught in an unsuitable marriage, and Moscow ambitions fade as the children come, and his sisters are lost with him, in spite of fitful struggles.

We have seen no more abject human on the stage than the picture presented by Vassily Luzhsky, as Prozoroff, dejectedly wheeling the infant's carriage containing his second child thru the scenes of the last act.

Similarly the widow of the playwright, Olga Knipper, as the second sister, Masha, who is bored with her own marriage, and practically throws herself into the arms of the Lieut. Col. Vershinin, himself unhappily married, a part masterfully done by Constantin Stanislavsky. In fact the biggest moment of the play is when Masha clings desperately to her lover who is leaving with his command, transferred to Poland. The heavy chains of helplessness prevent them achieving their desires.

Lydia Korenieva is less impressive, but more pathetic, as the youngest sister who decides to give herself in loveless wedlock to the Baron, in the hope that that will bring her to Moscow. But the Baron is killed in a duel, and the crushed little group wonders, "why we are living, why we are suffering."

The realistic staging of this production leaves nothing to be desired. It is an achievement in itself.

Next week there will be a repetition of Tolstoy's "Tear Fedor Ivanovitch" with which the Moscow Players opened their season here.

Have you contributed something to the NDC Bazaar? If not, do it to-day.

BAZAAR MASK BAZAAR

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Prizes awarded for the best masks

TICKETS: Day Time 50 cents, after 5 P. M. 75 cents

Entire profits for the Orphans' Homes of Soviet Russia.

Foster Tells New York Labor that Trade Union Educational League Is Moving Ahead Fast

(Continued from Page One)

Foster didn't scold. He just warmed up to his subject—the prospects before “The League”—warned up so enthusiastically, so genuinely, so persuasively, that I concluded this was the most effective kind of oratory.

What Foster had to say to New York's militants went over big to the several hundred who heard him, and the throne of reaction in the labor movement of the nation's metropolis is going to do a lot of shivering as a result in the days just ahead.

Foster feels that the Trade Union Educational League is going so big that it would not surprise him if the Gompers' officialdom of the American Federation of Labor came out with some sort of fake substitute. He showed that was what had been done in the case of the Federated Press.

Instead of supporting the Federated Press, the best labor news service of its kind in the world, the A. F. of L. officialdom sabotages it. It has organized a fake news service. So we may expect a fake T. U. E. L.

In fact, Foster pointed out that a reactionary aggregation of labor officials in St. Louis, Mo., had stolen

the name of the T. U. E. L., and were using it for a local organization. Foster also attacked the efforts to offer “federation” as a substitute for “amalgamation” in the needle trades. He declared that federation was not a step in the right direction, that “federation” was just a substitute, something palmed off as being “just as good.” He urged the needle workers to go after the real thing, pointing out that in the printing trades, especially at the Montreal Convention of the International Typographical Union, federation was shelved for a definite declaration of amalgamation.

“I think we have all learned the lesson of ‘Stay in the Union,’” said Foster, announcing that “The League” would have but one program for each industry, whether it dealt with independent unions, or with groups in the A. F. of L.

Foster said that the Trade Union Educational League was not to be allowed to develop local movements in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and other cities, but that it was going to develop as a national organization, as a national movement on the railroads, in the metal trades,

the needle trades, and especially the building trades, that would not be spilt up according to crafts.

One of the things that Foster learned when he came to New York was, the militants were getting restless in the building trades.

Foster said “The League” was planning to hold off organization work among the building workers for a little time yet, but the upsurge of militancy among the carpenters, the painters, and the numerous building trades is forcing the T. U. E. L. to get busy here, too.

Foster told of the strength that had been shown by the railroad militants at their recent Chicago Conference, and by the crystallization of sentiment in the metal industry.

With the progress of the amalgamation movement, with the consolidation to a reasonable extent, of labor's presently organized forces, Foster promised that “The League” would get busy to help organize the unemployed.

Foster put it in this way: “We'll launch the greatest organization campaign in all the history of the globe.”

Yet, that isn't far fetched, when one considers that the unorganized

working men and women in this country may be numbered by the tens of millions. Foster showed how the packinghouse interests are merely storing up trouble for themselves by their war on the craft unions. This will create the sentiment and demand for a huge industrial union in the food industry. Similarly in the steel industry, where Gary's “open shop” still holds sway.

“We're going out after the 25 millions, the 30 millions of unorganized,” said Foster, “and we'll bring them into the unions so fast that it'll make the old reactionaries in the unions dizzy.”

Foster said there had been a tendency among the militants, in the past, to stand to one side. He charged they felt like outlaws. But that is going to change. The militants are going to get into the fight as the leaders in every struggle.

Foster put in a little circulation talk for “The Labor Herald,” official publication of “The League,” again showing that he is unsatisfied with little things, that he is pushing for big achievements.

“The Labor Herald hasn't enough circulation,” he said. “We don't

want to go along as a half-dead proposition. The Labor Herald has a message to deliver, and we want to get that message to the masses. We want a circulation of from 50,000 to 100,000 during the next few months. Concentrate on the Labor Herald and develop a circulation of at least 10,000 here in New York City. Then we can do big things.”

Foster then showed that the T. U. E. L. is an educational and not a legislative organization. He said that legislative matters must not be sponsored by “The League,” but must grow out of the unions themselves.

Foster kicked holes in the contention that the conservative is constructive, while the militant must necessarily be impractical.

“That's not so,” declared Foster. “There is no fundamental reason why a revolutionist, why a member of the left wing, cannot also be the most practical member of his organization.”

He said that that was the triumph of the Russian Communist movement; that men like Lenin, Zinoviev and Trotsky were extremely practical, while at the same time they were not lacking in revolutionary qualities.

“You must know every curve in the psychology of the masses,” said Foster. “We now know that we can go among the masses of the workers without tainting or surrendering our revolutionary principles. We know that the militants can get into the practical struggle. We say they can do that without surrendering their revolutionary principles.”

Foster then went on to show that officials must not be depended on to fight for amalgamation. He showed that amalgamation is a basic proposition, that it must be supported by a rank and file movement. “Do not put your faith in officials,” said Foster. “Officials are followers. All leaders are servants. They do what they are told to do.”

“Don't be factionalists,” was another point stressed by Foster. “Consider all issues on their merits. Be the soul of the labor movement. Allow your ideas to be tested in the crucible of experience. If you have made mistakes, admit them and resolve to do better.”

“I don't care where the membership of the Needle Trades Unions stands now,” said Foster. “I promise you that in six months 95 per cent. of

them will be for amalgamation. Now is the strategic time to carry on this struggle.”

“You must not be oppositionists on principle. Don't carry on an anti-Gompers fight. That was the mistake of the old Socialist Party. All issues must be fought out on the basis of policy, whether the working class will be hurt or helped.”

“Fight for the living things. Fight for the living issues.”

It developed that three steel strike organizers were on the platform of this meeting. Besides Foster, there was Joseph Manley, eastern organizer of “The League,” and S. T. Hammersmark, of Chicago, who is in the East for the Labor Defense Council. Joseph Zack, one of the Michigan raid victims, also spoke for the Labor Defense Council.

Reports were made at the conference by the representatives of numerous local T. U. E. L. groups, showing big progress made.

“If we can get Foster's congratulations on the work we have already done,” said Manley, in adjourning the meeting, “then let us strive to have a gathering twice the size of this one when we come together the next time.”

Progressive Miners of Fayette County, Pa., Check Outlaw Movement, Perform Great Service to the Organized Labor Movement

(Special to “The Worker”)

PITTSBURGH, PA.—The Progressive Miners of District No. 5, United Mine Workers of America, and officials of the Pittsburgh Miners' Relief Conference have just been successful in accomplishing one of the most difficult tasks ever performed in the history of the labor movement of America.

THEY HAVE CHECKED A GREAT OUTLAW MOVEMENT IN DISTRICT No. 5, WHICH WAS TO INCLUDE ALL OF THE COKE FIELD AND A LARGE PART OF THE OLD ORGANIZED SECTION OF DIST. No. 5.

Three distinct factors entered into the situation:

1. The righteous and justifiable indignation of the rank and file against the outrageous betrayal of the Fayette County Coke Field Miners who had made the last strike of the United Mine Workers of America a success.

2. The desire of the Official Ring, both in “The International” and the District to rid itself of the rising tide of progressivism throughout the organization. They recognized that Fayette County was a hotbed of discontent and must be crushed at all costs.

3. The attempt of the Coal Companies to operate their mines with “Transportation” labor has been such a costly failure that they were even willing to let the men organize an independent union, for the time being, taking a chance of being able to crush it later.

Careful analysis of the recent developments points very plainly to an understanding between the officials of United Mine Workers and the United States Steel Corporation to encourage the demand for an outlaw union and temporarily establish it in the Fayette Field.

Van Bitner Drove Men Toward Outlaw Union

In the first place, the International Executive Board deliberately selected the most hated official in the whole organization to come to New Salem on Jan. 18th, and deliver the cruel ultimatum of “The International” in the insulting and autocratic manner which Van Bitner excels.

By this one act they proved they did not want to placate the indignant miners. They did everything in their power to aggravate them, including the refusal to allow the convention to elect their own resolutions committee. This was a hand-picked bunch.

When the delegates returned to their camps with the message that the strike was called off, many of them were almost mobbed, and when A. Hamilton, secretary of the Miners' Relief Conference, went to a Mass Convention at New Salem, Sunday, Jan. 21st, and tried to tell the men that in order to stay in the union they must return to work, he was driven from the hall amid the jeers and cat calls of the assembled miners, who, despite many months of efforts in their behalf, now regarded him as a paid agent of the United States Steel Corporation because he advised them, for a different reason, to do the same thing which the officials of the union advised them to do.

Companies Favor Outlaw Union

In the meantime, in a number of different camps, groups of curious miners had called upon the Mine superintendents and had been told that they could return to work as members of an Independent Union, if they would organize one, but not as members of the United Mine Workers of America.

It is not strange, therefore, that these bitter men, after eight months of heroic struggle, betrayed by the leaders of the United Mine Workers of America, seeing the need of some organization should be inclined to fall into the trap of organizing an outlaw union when the companies said they were willing to recognize such a union. Wasn't such a union under the circumstances better than no organization?

This was the situation that the Progressive Miners of District No. 5 faced as they tried to persuade the miners of the Coke Field that they should return to work in order to stay within the fold of U. M. W. of A. The whole thing was a cleverly arranged scheme by the officials of the union and the officials of the big coal companies.

Organized Section Ready to Secede

The worst of it was that the outrageous treatment of many of the local unions in the old organized section of District No. 5 made these locals very sympathetic with the Coke Field strikers.

Many such local unions immediately dispatched committees to the Coke Field and advised them that they would have all the moral and financial support possible if they would start an independent movement. This further encouraged the insurgents.

Progressives Overcome Obstacles

While all this was going on, the Progressive Miners were working day and night from camp to camp, and tent to tent, pleading with the men to see their mistake. Working under suspicion, slandered by secret agents of the coal companies and the union machine, planted among the Coke Field Miners, they courageously performed their duty, so that when the mass meeting assembled at Brownsville, Jan. 25, at the call of the Pittsburgh Miners Relief Conference, there was a goodly representation from every part of the Coke Field.

However, the miners were in a suspicious mood, and as soon as Chairman Fred H. Merrick, of the Executive Committee of the Miners' Relief Conference, began to explain the dangers of the outlaw movement the miners vigorously protested against going back to work.

For four long hours the Progressive Miners' Group, including such leaders as Myerscough, Guiler, and Ray in English, Indof in Slovenian, Larossi in Italian, as well as other speakers in other languages earnestly

pleaded with the men to listen to reason. Slowly and painfully, inch by inch, and step by step, with the logic of events staring them in the face, the miners finally yielded conditionally and adopted a resolution recommending to the local unions that on Monday, Jan. 29th, they should apply for their jobs as instructed by “The International.” But they refused to vote for this until it was agreed that first there should be a delegates' mass meeting at New Salem, Jan. 27th, to ratify the action of this meeting in Brownsville.

Stormy Meeting Jan. 27th

While everything looked good on the night of Jan. 25th, in Brownsville, the rank and file were to be heard from at New Salem at the delegates' mass meeting Jan. 27th.

Word of the action at Brownsville spread like wildfire and when the meeting was called to order the representatives of the Progressive Miners and the Pittsburgh Miners' Relief Conference again faced a hostile crowd. New Salem is in the heart of the coke fields, and miners who did not have street carfare to come to Brownsville could walk to New Salem and were there in mass and packed the hall to watch their delegates vote.

With the eyes of their angry constituents fastened upon them the situation was indeed serious and much of the battle of the previous Thursday had to be fought over again. It was in this situation that William Guiler, of the Progressive Miners' Group, who has repeatedly been misrepresented by the “machine” as a dual unionist rendered valiant service. It was largely due to his sound arguments on this occasion that the delegates finally voted unanimously to apply for their jobs throughout the coke region Monday, Jan. 29th.

Coke Miners Show Clear Vision

If a stranger were to visit the coke region and see the misery and privation these miners are enduring he would not believe it would be possible to think in terms of anything outside of Fayette County.

Instead of this, these men, because they have time to read and think have a clearer vision of the conditions of the coal industry elsewhere than the miners in the other part of District Five. Because of this they de-

clared at New Salem to go on record as demanding an international movement to remedy the rotten condition in the U. M. W. of A. They adopted a stirring resolution which should put to shame the “better organized” fields of the country. It will be interesting to see what response this appeal of starving and betrayed miners brings from the employed miners who profited by the strike of the Fayette miners. The resolution follows:

Appeal of Fayette Miners for International Solidarity in Coal Industry

We, the delegates of the Local Unions of the U. M. W. of A. in the Fayette Coke Field in Special Mass Meeting assembled at New Salem, Pa., Jan. 27, hereby declare that the U. M. W. of A. faces destruction under the present suicidal policy followed by John I. Lewis as shown by the signing of the Cleveland Agreement, the Anthracite Agreement and the District No. 5 Agreement, which left out the coke fields, and finally the New York Agreement, which now leaves District No. 5 to fight alone April 1, 1923, against the U. S. Steel Corporation and the most powerful group of coal operators in the United States, and CALLS UPON ALL OTHER DISTRICTS OF THE U. M. W. OF A. to join us in a fight throughout “The International” to right the grievances of the various districts and change the cowardly policy of the International Executive Board of the U. M. W. of A.

Cleveland Workers Act to Secure Rail Union Amalgamation

The chairman of the Cleveland Amalgamation Committee of Machinists' Union, Local No. 584, Elmer P. Boich, reports tremendous strides towards amalgamation.

In Cleveland there is a city amalgamation committee composed of representatives of machinists, boiler makers, blacksmiths, maintenance of way and signal men, all employed on the railroads who have gone on record in favor of a national referendum among the railroad workers on the proposition of amalgamation.

The plan is to try to persuade the officers to initiate the referendum thru the official channels of the various unions in the railroad industry. If they refuse the referendum is to be taken over their heads and in spite of them.

Already the effect of the amalgamation agitation in Cleveland is seen in the defeat of officials at the Collinswood railroad shops, who opposed the proposition and avowed amalgamationists.

Amalgamation in Metal Trades

(By Federated Press) CHICAGO.—Over 7000 union locals in the metal trades are receiving amalgamation proposals drawn up by the joint Chicago committee for amalgamation in the metal and railway industries.

Members of the Order of Railway Conductors who favor reorganization of the 16 standard-railway unions into a single industrial union are circulating their entire membership with copies of the Railway Amalgamation Advocate containing the Minnesota plan which was adopted by the amalgamation conference in Chicago last month.

The members of the telegraphers and railway clerks are doing the same. The Advocate is the official organ of the railway amalgamation boosters.

H. M. Wicks, associate editor of “The Worker,” speaks on “The Present Situation of the American Labor Movement,” Sunday, Feb. 4, at 8:15 P. M., at the Workers' Open Forum, Workers' Hall, 1347 Boston Road (near E. 169th St., Bronx).

“The Worker” Calls on Pinchot to Release Dolla from Prison

In a telegram and a letter to Governor Gifford Pinchot, of Pennsylvania, a demand is made upon the chief executive of this industrial autocracy to release Jacob Dolla, imprisoned for a term of 15-17 years during the steel strike. Governor Pinchot is supposed to be a “progressive,” and all the facts in the Dolla case have been put before him. The letter sent by THE WORKER reads as follows:

RELEASE JACOB DOLLA

New York City, Jan. 25, 1923.

Governor Gifford Pinchot, Harrisburg, Pa.

Dear Sir:—This is to confirm my telegram of January 24th which was as follows:

“On behalf of readers of ‘The Worker’ urge you give Dolla case immediate attention. Believe any consideration of this case will convince you Dolla was sent to prison by brutal tyranny of Steel Trust in your state. Readers of ‘The Worker’ call for immediate and unconditional release.”

I am enclosing copies of the last two issues of our paper, “The Worker,” one of which contains a detailed article on the Dolla case. I hope this matter will receive your immediate and earnest attention.

Very truly yours,

J. LOUIS ENGDAHL,

Editor, “The Worker.”

Help “The Worker” Find The Worst Boss in the U. S. A.

This week we publish another story in our hunt for “The Worst Boss in the U. S. A.” THE WORKER wants to publish your story about your boss. Thru your stories, appearing each week, we will find out who is the worst boss. For the best stories published THE WORKER offers 14 prizes as follows: First Prize, \$10 worth of books; Second Prize, \$7.50 worth of books; Third Prize, \$5 worth of books; Fourth Prize, \$2.50 worth of books, and ten additional prizes, each one \$1 worth of books. The contest will close on March 31st. The judges will be C. E. Ruthenberg, Elmer T. Allison and Caleb Harrison. Start sending in your stories immediately to The Editor, Worst Boss Stories, THE WORKER, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City. Here is this week's story:

MOST DANGEROUS TYPE OF “GOOD BOSS”

EDITOR, “WORST BOSS STORIES”—I was hardly two days at the Levy & Seligman firm of Broadway, Brooklyn, when I noticed that the girls' behavior was rather strange.

At work they would sit quietly, like mice; not a song, not a laugh, not a single joke would be heard in the shop. When the forelady or boss would ask something the girls would answer in low voices, with eyes cast down as if they felt guilty of some misdeed.

The air was full of something big and significant but I couldn't understand it until once at twelve o'clock all the girls gathered in the dressing room and started to talk all at once in a suppressed tone. I understood that I was witnessing a strike—one of those leaderless strikes that ripen slowly but break out spontaneously and whose results depend almost entirely upon the ability of one side or the other to grasp its opportunity.

There was no order, nobody knew definitely what were the conditions desired, until one girl shouted out, “Girls, we must appoint a committee to talk to the ‘office’ about a raise and 44 hours, otherwise we'll get nowhere.” At these words the boss opened the door of the dressing room. It was self-evident that he had heard everything. Nevertheless, he asked in a calm voice: “Why don't you go for lunch?” This innocent question rendered us defenseless because it quieted our hatred for him. For a moment we even felt ashamed. He undoubtedly, saw our confusion and went on: “It's a quarter after twelve already. What's the matter with you girls?”

A grave silence spread over the large dressing room where 50 girls stood shrinking from their single enemy.

“Come on, girls, I'll grant you these fifteen minutes as a present if you go down quietly and have your lunch.”

Suddenly we understood that he was trying to bribe us, and a young girl burst out: “Fifteen minutes wouldn't do, Mr. Levy.”

“Oh,” he smiled, good-naturedly. “Will twenty minutes do?”

Some girls laughed and I felt that if I didn't act the whole thing would turn out a joke. I scraped up all the pluck I had in stock and said: “All the girls want a raise and 44 hours instead of fifty.”

“Why, you are only two days here, how do you know that it's 44 hours that they want? Maybe it's 40?” He didn't raise his voice an inch higher and kept his face smiling while he continued: “What do you think I do if they'll want forty hours next week?”

His face with a smile on it was so humane and sympathetic that it gained one's confidence and I ventured to answer jestingly: “Well, I'm afraid you'll have to submit if they'll want it bad enough.”

He turned pale but still smiling he asked me: “Is this your opinion, eh?”

“This is our opinion,” jumped out another girl. “Come on down, girls, no use talking now that he knows our demands.”

We all rushed out. The boss now tried to stop us but no one listened to him. In fact we were too glad to get rid of him. But he ran down after us and kept on talking to one group or another. I slipped into the first telephone booth and called up the union headquarters, but they told me that they would not be able to send a rep-

“The Worker” Writes Governor of New York on Peters-Ward Case

Days and days, weeks and weeks, pass and Governor Alfred E. Smith, who claims there is no “class government” in New York State, does nothing toward carrying out the plea of Mrs. Mary O. Peters that Walter S. Ward, son of the millionaire bread trust profiteer, be given a taste of the justice that capitalism metes out only to workers.

Mrs. Peters is the working class mother of Clarence Peters, murdered by young Ward. She told Governor Smith that she felt there is “one law for the rich and another for the poor.” Just to remind Gov. Smith of his no-class government declaration, “The Worker” has written him as follows:

New York City, January 27, 1923.

Hon. Alfred E. Smith,

Albany, N. Y.

Dear Sir: In accordance with your declaration made on the occasion of the pardon of James Larkin, that you do not believe in class government, I am calling your attention to the enclosed marked copy of our paper THE WORKER containing an article on the notorious Ward case. This article speaks for itself. May we hope that you will consider it in determining any future developments in this notorious miscarriage of justice.

Very truly yours,

J. Louis Engdahl,

Editor, The Worker.

Discuss Proletarian Culture

A discussion on Proletarian Culture will take place Friday evening, February 2, at the regular meeting of the Harlem branch of the Young Workers' League. The discussion will be opened by Comrade Simon Felshin who was recently in Moscow, where he received first hand information about the activities of the Proletcult organization there. The Harlem branch of the Yowls is holding highly interesting and instructive meetings every Friday evening at the Harlem headquarters of the Workers' Party, 143 E. 103d St., and young people are urged to attend.

Help Tell the Truth About The United States Today

The program adopted by the Second Convention of the Workers Party describes the conditions in the United States today. It is a clear cut, straight out statement of the life of the workers of this country. It shows how they are robbed and oppressed. It tells the road which they must travel in order to win their freedom.

All the facts used in this program are drawn from the experiences of the workers of this country. It uses the life experiences of the American workers to give them a clear understanding of Communist principles.

HELP DISTRIBUTE A MILLION OF THIS PROGRAM TO A MILLION WORKERS! THE PROGRAM IS PRINTED AS A FOUR-PAGE LEAFLET HALF THE SIZE OF THIS PAGE. IT IS ILLUSTRATED BY FOUR STRIKING CARTOONS.

SEND A DOLLAR FOR TWO HUNDRED COPIES AND DISTRIBUTE THEM AMONG YOUR BROTHER UNIONISTS AND SHOPMATES, YOUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS.

SEND IN YOUR ORDER

WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

Comrades—Enclosed find \$..... for which send me copies of “The United States Today,” containing the program of the Workers Party. (Prices, 200 for \$1.00; 1,000 for \$5.00.)

Name

Address

City

International Bazaar for Defense---February 21st to 25th, at the Lyceum

Communist Parties of Seven Countries Join in War Against War

(Continued from page one)

paratively good. The position of the state finance, on the other hand, is very bad. The government utilizes this circumstance for purposes of nationalist agitation. It casts the blame on Germany, and makes propaganda for taking military action. The overwhelming majority of the French people, however, is opposed to any warlike measures, for it is fully aware that it is the proletariat that foots the bill in the end, with its property and blood. The occupation of the Ruhr valley would raise a mighty storm in the French proletariat.

Great Demonstrations Held

Today, Sunday morning, gigantic demonstrations were held in Gelsenkirchen and Duisburg. These demonstrations were participated in by workers of all proletarian parties and tendencies.

Speeches were made by French, Belgian, English, Italian, Czech, German, and Dutch communists and trade union leaders. Their speeches were received with frantic enthusiasm. The whole atmosphere was one of readiness to fight.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the session of the international conference was continued.

Kreibich (Czechoslovakia) pointed out that the Czech social democrats do not want to hear anything about a revision of the Versailles treaty. They are the most faithful supporters of the policy of Poincaré-Benes.

At the present time Czechoslovakia is shaken to its foundations by a severe economic crisis. It is not alone the workers who are opposing the policy of the government, but also the officials, petty bourgeois, and peasants.

The non-Czech bourgeoisie is also antagonistic to the government. The work of the communists is rendered more difficult by the circumstance that their aims are misrepresented as being irreconcilable.

Our struggle must thus be carried on on international lines, in common with the proletariat of France, England and Italy. When common international action is taken against the Versailles robber treaty, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will not lag behind.

Monmousseau suggests that in the manifesto to be issued by this conference, our attitude should be expressed, not only against the consequences of the Versailles treaty, for this is done grudgingly now and again, even by the Amsterdamers, but against this vile treaty itself, against the vile principle of this treaty. We must completely condemn the whole treaty, as it stands, as it was signed at the time by the Amsterdamers and the leaders of the Second International.

Brandier speaks as follows: Jouhaux and Legien are opposed to the Versailles treaty in words only. This was plainly to be seen at the Unity Conference held in Berlin in April of last year. There the German social democrats, in common with Mr. Vandervelde, most decidedly refused to fight against the Versailles treaty. The Versailles peace treaty must be done away with and it will be done away with. But if this is done by the bourgeoisie, another Versailles treaty will arise in its place. Nothing but the international action of the proletariat can finally abolish the Versailles treaty.

After this a lengthy appeal to the working population of the Entente states and the vanquished countries is unanimously accepted. It is resolved to have the leading ideas of this appeal posted in France and Germany. (The appeals and the placard are given in another column).

The following resolution was passed on the question of organizational relations. A permanent international committee of action is to be appointed, consisting of eleven members, representing the French Communist Party and the C.G.T.U. and the Communist parties of Germany, England, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and Poland. The committee is to be further completed by representatives of the Communist International, the Red International of Labor Unions, and the Youth International. Besides this, special committees of action are to be appointed for the German and French railwaymen, the miners, and the metal workers.

At eight o'clock in the evening a gigantic demonstration was held in the largest hall in Essen. The doors of the hall had to be closed by 7 o'clock, as the hall was already overcrowded by this time.

The speakers at the meeting were Marcel Cachin and the chairman of the C.G.T.U., Monmousseau of France, Newbold from England, Kreibich from Czechoslovakia, van Overstraeten from Belgium, de Visser from Holland, an Italian comrade, and Clara Zetkin. All spoke strongly against the occupation of the Ruhr and their expositions were received with enthusiastic applause.

In the course of the coming week a number of international demonstrations will be held; the one to be held in Cologne, for instance, will be on a very imposing scale.

Have you contributed something to the NDC Bazaar? If not, do it to-day.

The Outlook Before Organized Labor as Its Own Banker Is Discussed

(Continued from Page One)

means of avoiding open industrial conflicts. Strikes are considered by them, tremendous economic wastes and calamities to be averted if possible.

Such is the outlook of leaders of labor for the most part, although there have been exceptions to this rule. The exceptions, however, have been few and far between for the reason that they only occur when labor is advancing, when thru favorable economic conditions labor is able to successfully resist the assaults of the capitalist class. At such times the rank and file of the working class realizes that its power rests in its ability to withhold its labor from industry and, as a consequence, is in no mood to listen to the stargazers with their fantastic schemes calculated to raise labor to higher levels without resorting to the strike weapon.

The history of the American labor movement is a history of co-operative ventures arising on the ruins of unsuccessful strikes.

Today labor in the United States is confronted with an innovation in co-operative endeavor in the form of labor banks springing up throughout the country. The wreckage of every other kind of co-operative venture fills the pages of labor history in

America. There have been hundreds of experiments with both producers' and consumers' co-operatives, but never before has this labor movement been confronted with bankers' co-operatives. The question that arises in the mind of a Marxian contemplating this innovation in the labor movement in America must naturally be: Is this venture also doomed to the dismal destiny of all its American precursors?

Before we attempt a forecast of the outcome of the co-operative banks it is certainly appropriate that we learn something of the history of the co-operative movement in general in the United States.

Amidst Wreckage of Co-operatives

The labor movement in America first asserted itself in the form of a strike of printers in Philadelphia in 1786. From that point onwards organizations of workers in various trades sprang up throughout the industrialized East. So effective were these early unions that the employers combined against them and invoked the power of the courts. Thousands of prosecutions of trade unionists under the conspiracy laws failed to destroy the organizations.

That these early organizations perished eventually was not due to the assault of the courts, but primarily

to the economic depression that entered the world at the close of the Napoleonic Wars. From first to last their principal weapon was the strike.

But on a few occasions the workers turned to attempts at co-operation. A strike of carpenters in Philadelphia in 1791 proved disastrous and the striking carpenters attempted co-operative contracting at a lower rate than their former employers, but were unable to succeed in their venture.

In the early years of the nineteenth century a few unions undertook productive co-operation after they had been defeated in court.

The trade union movement attained a remarkable growth in the early thirties, due to the exceptionally favorable economic conditions. Higher wages were easily obtainable. The effectiveness of strikes became so pronounced that a threat to strike was usually sufficient to force the employers to yield to the demands of the unions.

In 1836 the employers perfected organizations against the unions and once again invoked the power of the courts, resulting in a number of defeats of strikes. Inevitably defeat was followed by the given union launching producers' co-operatives.

When the protracted industrial depression, beginning in 1837, forced

the economic depression that entered the world at the close of the Napoleonic Wars. From first to last their principal weapon was the strike. But on a few occasions the workers turned to attempts at co-operation. A strike of carpenters in Philadelphia in 1791 proved disastrous and the striking carpenters attempted co-operative contracting at a lower rate than their former employers, but were unable to succeed in their venture.

After a precarious existence, these establishments that did not perish, passed into the hands of private owners, usually the managers who had been selected by the co-operators, and the rank and file turned their attention again to the strike as labor's most effective weapon.

Again in 1850-52, following crushing defeats of strikes, the German societies, under the leadership of Wilhelm Weitling, the utopian Communist who participated in the revolution of 1848 in Germany established co-operatives. Weitling and his delusions met the same fate of former co-operative ventures in America.

A movement for distributive co-operation that arose out of the depression of 1846-49, however, persisted until the Civil War, although it almost perished as the result of its units falling into the hands of private owners. The Civil War wiped out every vestige of the co-operative movement, the small bus-

ness concerns of various localities absorbing the remnants.

From 1866 to 1869 another batch of co-operatives started as the result of lost strikes; they shared the fate of all their predecessors.

The high point in the history of co-operatives in America was attained by a co-operative society calling itself "The Sovereigns of Industry," originating in 1874 and in two years attaining an annual trade of over three million dollars. The failure of this venture was more depressing than that of any of the others, because there was no apparent reason for the collapse.

It might be mentioned, in passing, that Terence V. Powderly, head of the Knights of Labor, and a sentimental and impractical idealist was an advocate of co-operation, hoping thereby to avoid strikes and to free the worker from the terrors of the wages system by a widespread system of producers' and consumers' co-operatives.

The rise of the American Federation of Labor, an organization based upon the realities of the time, heralded the doom of that combination of confusion known as the Knights of Labor. With its demise the last serious effort toward co-operatives in America also perished.

(Second Article Next Week.)

Arrest O'Flaherty in Effort to Stop Meeting in Illinois Steel Cordon

(Special to "The Worker")

CHICAGO, Ill.—Thomas O'Flaherty, editor of the Voice of Labor, and one of the victims of the Michigan raid, has been arrested on a deportation warrant as the result of an effort by the Labor Defense Council to hold a meeting at Hegewisch, Ill.

Hegewisch, the site of several large steel plants, is part of the city of Chicago, but like all of the steel trust domains has special laws, or rather puts special interpretations on the laws of this country. Seldom since the steel strike have labor meetings been attempted in Hegewisch when they are attempted the police are in the habit of interfering. This was the case in a meeting arranged by the Labor Defense Council for January 28th with O'Flaherty as the speaker.

On January 27th, the owner of Kosciusko Hall where the meeting was to be held was notified by the police not to open the doors. The Labor Defense Council was informed that the meeting would not be allowed. When the South Chicago Police Station officers were questioned as to why this action was taken they replied by reading the instructions they received. "Department of Justice notified Sergeant Mills of the State's Attorney's Office in regard to meeting given by the Labor Defense Council in Kosciusko Hall, Hegewisch, Ill., Jan. 28. Lieutenant and Sergeant instruct officer of Post to prohibit same." (Signed Thomas H. Costello, Capt. Police South Chicago Dist.)

The Department of Justice who questioned as to the cause of the action denied that they had issued any orders or information concerning the meeting. The State's Attorney knew nothing about it. Sergeant Mills had received no information nor had he given any instructions.

Capt. Costello faced with these denials finally admitted that it was on his responsibility that the meeting had been stopped. "No American meetings are going to be held in Hegewisch," said he in Irish brogue.

"Don't you know," he was asked "that the United States Constitution guarantees the freedom of assembly?"

"It don't say nothing about the Soviets in the constitution," was his reply. It was suggested to him that this was probably due to an oversight on the part of the country fathers. "That don't make any difference, there'll be no meetings such as this held in Hegewisch."

After a telephone conversation with the Chicago Chief of Police, it was decided that the safety of the government was not threatened. Three Irish cops and a hall full of steel slaves attended the meetings.

An Interview with Isadora Duncan

BY EUGENE LYONS

Isadora Duncan is heart and soul with Soviet Russia—fully aware of its shortcomings and frank in discussing them, but convinced of its persistent striving for the achievement of a truly Communist society.

These sentiments were not heard responses to the life about her and expression in artistic rather than political terms. Yet it was the conviction underlying the whole content of a three-hour conversation in her room at Hotel Brevoort. It was the strongest impression left upon us when we parted.

We discussed many things—her views on art, current conditions in Moscow, the New York craze for Russian dramatics, the chagrin of her erstwhile friends because of her devotion to the Russian Revolution, the poetry of her husband, Sergei Yessenin. And, through it all, like a vibrant red thread, ran the spirit of rebellion against special privileges and narrow art formulae; the two ideas to her are one, since she draws her whole artistic inspiration from the life around her.

"I don't believe in the narrow bourgeois formula of art for art's sake," she told us. "Art must be based upon and flow from life. That is why I went to dance for the masses instead of the few rich. That is why I want to dance before a real people's audience, such as will come to the benefit for the Russian orphans in Lexington Theatre."

"Much as I admire Mr. Stanislavsky and his Moscow Art Theatre, or the work of the Chauve Souris, I can not get away from the feeling that they represent the old generation. Their art is magnificent but entirely detached from reality. It is an abstract beauty somewhere in a void, rather than the close throbbing identity with the forces of life about us which I seek to establish in my dancing. Art for Art's sake reminds us too often of the phonograph and the automatic piano, unrolling their music like so many yards of cloth, unaware of the sufferings and the joys of the people."

Even some of her professional admirers are outraged by the dancer's open enthusiasm for the Russian Revolution; especially so since the announcement that she will dance under such radical auspices as the Friends of Soviet Russia.

"My old bourgeois friends cut me cold," she said. "They'll have nothing to do with me. And the anti-revolutionists in the Russian colony in America are of course indignant. They remind me that some of my greatest triumphs were in the old Russia of the czar and his retainers. They call me ungrateful for turning on them, for giving the best of my energies to the people. They are forever talking of the 'good old times,' because the times were good for them, with never a thought for the sufferings of the people."

She read us copies of the telegrams and letters interchanged with Lunacharsky which led to her going to Russia to direct a school in Moscow. They were eloquent of the dedication of her art to humanity. Her letter of acceptance of the invitation, sent from Paris, was read by Lunacharsky to an audience of 5,000 Communists, and received with prolonged applause. In it she asked for nothing more than the essentials of life for herself and her pupils, so that together they could work out dances and present them to the workers of Russia. In it she denounced the bourgeois theatres as houses of prostitution where artists sell their souls bit by bit at two dollars a seat.

"I was sick of artists being forced to adopt the tactics of shopkeepers," she said, "I was sick of theatres filled with fat, rich and stupid money-grabbers. My dream of a school devoted to the expression of life in terms of the dance came true in Russia. Unfortunately, the catastrophe of these last years, especially the famine, have ended the dream. The school now has fifty children, though it started with a thousand. And even these fifty children have not food enough."

"Conditions have changed since I first arrived in Russia. Many of those who were ready to die for their ideals have actually died. The brutal attacks from outside and the greed

Keep Up Famine Fight

By PAUL HANNA,
Federated Press Correspondent.

WASHINGTON.—Russia struck bottom some months ago and is now moving slowly up the long grade toward better times, in the opinion of Allan T. Burns, director of the National Information Bureau, who has just completed a three months' tour of 10,000 miles thru the great Slav domain.

At this stage of her convalescence, Burns declares, nothing is more important than a continuation of famine fighting enterprises.

"United Front" in Frisco.
(Special to "The Worker")

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.—Mrs. Nolan, widow of the late John I. Nolan, democratic congressman from the Fifth Congressional District, was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of her husband.

Local militants are greatly elated over the showing made by the "United Front" candidate, G. G. Kidwell. The showing was: Mrs. Nolan, 13,000; E. Bath, 11,000; Kidwell, third, 4,000. Other candidates received a few scattering votes. It is estimated that \$20,000 were spent to secure Mrs. Nolan's election. She was supported on the old party ticket by the reactionary labor officials. Kidwell was supported by the militants in the labor unions and a "United Front" of labor's independent political organizations.

Philadelphia Announcements

The English Branch, in accordance with the recent action of the National Convention, has established a discussion meeting each 1st and 3rd Wednesday evenings of the month, at the Amalgamated Center, 431 Pine St., 8 p. m. Interesting speakers will speak on various subjects of timely interest, and the floor will be open for questions and criticism. The first meeting will occur on Feb. 7th, and Samuel Sklaroff, well known in the radical movement, will speak on the subject, Proletarian Culture in America.

The regular business meetings of the branch, which have heretofore been held on the 2nd and 4th Tuesdays will be held on the 2nd and 4th Wednesdays at the above place.

Russian Ball at Tammany Hall.

A Russian ball is to be given by the American Committee for Relief of Russian Children at Tammany Hall on Friday night, Feb. 23. All proceeds will go to buy milk for the babies of the famine districts of Russia.

Tickets may be obtained at the committee headquarters, or at 110 W. 40th St.; Phone: Pennsylvania 2570.

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The Moscow Art Theater

By MAX SHACHTMAN

On June 4, 1897, Constantin Stanislavsky and Nyemirovitch-Danchenko met in a Moscow restaurant to discuss the Russian theater. The result of this discussion was the organization of the Moscow Art Theater, which was based on the principles of dictatorial directorship and realism of representation. Stanislavsky was elected first director. It was his duty to choose the play, the painter of the scenery, the parts to be taken by the actors and so on.

Nyemirovitch-Danchenko took charge of the financial end.

In 1898, they produced their first play, Alexei Tolstoy's historical tragedy, "Czar Fyodor Ivanovich," and it achieved an encouraging success. The group became well-known and it went on with Sophocles' "Antigone" and plays by Ibsen, Shakespeare, Ostrovski and Hauptmann.

The latter dramatist's "Hannele" was, by the way, not permitted by the police, due to a protest against its ugliness by the Metropolitan of Moscow. For a time certain poorly chosen plays seemed to indicate that the co-operative venture would be a failure. Then the remarkable success of Anton Chekov's "Chaika" (Sea Gull) raised the morale and prestige of the players to a high degree. Chekov seemed to fit them excellently and the troupe became known as "Chekov's Theatre." To this day that author remains one of the most prominent and best-liked of the theatre's repertory.

In spite of the Chekov success, the first season ended with a deficit of more than 40,000 rubles, excluding much of the money invested by the artists. Their fortunes varied very much in the next few years, but it may be said that if it had not been for the liberal subsidies of a certain Sava Morosov and other rich men, the players would have had hard sledding.

Their subsequent plays were chosen from many authors from all lands and times. There were, inevitably, alternate failures and successes. There was considerable experimenting with all sorts of theories, some of which were tried to absurd lengths. A few years before the foundation of the Moscow Art Theatre, a troupe of German players from Meiningen under the direction of Cronegg, had achieved a startling success in Russia with their realistic representations. Their methods were the ones originally followed by Stanislavsky. From that position the theatre went to Naturalism; then to Symbolism, where, for instance, Andreiev's pessimistic "A Man's Life" was performed before a black background; from Symbolism to Impressionism and thence to its present form, where it is known as the "Theatre of Poetic Realism."

In the organization there have occasionally been disagreements between individual actors and the benevolent dictator, Stanislavsky. In 1906, Meyerhold, a well-known actor and member of the corporation, left the group as a revolt against the realism of the production. He is now known as the theorist of the "Theatre Theatrical," into the details of which we need not go. The spirit of the organization is better shown, however, by the invitation, in 1922, to the American, Gordon Craig, to come to Moscow for the production of "Hamlet," with his own impressionistic "screen settings," a method of presentation which was then at complete variance with the predominant theory of the Art Theatre.

After the Bolshevik Revolution it was prophesied that the "Reds" would destroy the theatre; that they would kill Art, and so on. But with the exception of the first few months of the new government, the Moscow Art Theatre, as well as every other center of Art and Science and Culture, has been open and playing to record audiences. The lines outside the theatre were so large that lotteries had to be established in order to give only a lucky few the privilege of filling up the seats! There were sneering bourgeois who would say that the "rabble" could never appreciate the beauty of the theatre. Yet, the "Terevat" (Theatre of Revolutionary Satire) which produces more or less purely propagandist plays, is not so popular or well-filled as is the Art Theatre, whose catholic repertory includes plays by Shakespeare and Ibsen, Hamson and Moliere, Tolstoy, Gorky, Chekov and Andreiev.

Where, formerly, the Theatre and the Ballot were subsidized by the Czar and wealthy "Patrons of Art," it is now given rich subsidies by the government of workers and peasants and soldiers. Where, formerly, the orchestra and boxes were occupied by fat puppets in immaculate evening dress, they are now taken by intelligent workingmen and women, whose rapid attention and recognizable appreciation are the wonder of all visitors. It is a fine tribute to the Russian working class, that, in spite of years of War, Blockade, Hunger, Cold and infinite miseries caused by the world's imperialists, their hearts still yearn, and they still find time, for cultural advancement.

The Soviet governments arrangement with the Theatre has proved to be a very practical and significant one. The Soviets (and the trade unions) take care of the distribution of the tickets and leave to the discretion of the artists everything that takes place behind the footlights. The artists receive their pay from the Soviet and they have shown themselves very happy to perform their plays under this arrangement. That bourgeois-puffed bubble of "No artistic initiative under Socialism" has been sadly pricked.

In bringing the Moscow Art Theatre to the United States, Mr. Morris Gest has not only done a service to Art, but to the betterment of amicable relations between this country and Russia. For this he surely deserves our thanks.

"SECRETS" IS SOOTHING
"Secrets" is a comfortable, reassuring play. It soothes, with just enough excitement to make the soothing pleasurable. And the result is that it is drawing crowds to the Fulton Theater, in W. 46th St., showing that the great percentage of theatergoers go to see plays that transport them away from their daily contacts.

This Harris production offers a wide field for the versatile genius of Margaret Lawrence, who lives before her audience in four periods of widely separated time, as a young girl desperately in love in England, in 1867; as the young wife and mother, in Wyoming, U. S. A., 1870; then as the mother of three grown children and the wife of a British peer in London, in 1888, then as a mother and wife in life's fading years in 1922. It is not often that a stage star attempts such an ordeal.

Thru those 55 years, the chain of love continues unbroken, although it is badly strained on numerous occasions. Tom Nesbitt gives us a vivid portrayal of John Garlton, the London clerk, who persuades Mary Marlowe to elope with him to Wyoming. They survive the pioneer life of the great west and go back home. John to be knighted and peered, and to play fast and loose with women of questionable reputation.

When a wife discovers that her husband has been untrue to her, the business of the legal profession and divorce courts usually begins to pick up. Not so in "Secrets". That makes it comfortable for the Stillmans, the Stokeses, and the large numbers of others of similar proclivities, albeit the final, helpless plea of John on his sickbed, won back from death, calling to his faithful, never-wavering wife, "Mary, come here. I need you."

It is a clever play, catering to our best bourgeois, condoning its sins, as well as championing its sincerities. And anything that lauds the best bourgeoisie is sure to be liked by the lesser elements in the same social strata.

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United States army experts have invented the "deadliest bullet yet made." Let the workers of America remember that the capitalist state at Washington will turn those bullets against them just as quickly as against deluded workers constituting the armies of foreign countries.

Under Lock and Key

It is only now that we are getting full reports of the arrests of Communists in France preliminary to the French imperialist invasion of the Ruhr. It is shown that the chief objects of French imperialism were to put as many Communists as possible "under lock and key" during the initial stages of the invasion, in order to insure civil tranquility at home.

Among those arrested, in addition to Marcel Cachin, editor of the Communist daily, *L'Humanité*, were Monmousseau, secretary, Revolutionary Confederation of Labor; Trient, chief propagandist of the Communist Party; Marrane, Lartigue, Pierri and Gourdoud. All are members of the Communist Party Committee of Action, formed in Paris to combat the menace of the invasion of the Ruhr. Some of these attended the Communist Conference at Essen.

George Slocum writes in the London Daily Herald that the French police are also looking for five other Communists, among them Genard, secretary of the Left Wing Federation of the Railwaymen. Evidently the French statesmen are not as positive as our own capitalist press that the Communist railwaymen are not strong enough to prevent French workers being sent into the Ruhr to take the places of striking German railway workers.

These Communists are now locked up in the La Santé Prison in Paris, the French counterpart of the Fortress Prison of Peter and Paul in the Petrograd of the Russian czar. They are charged with "acts likely to injure the French government at home and abroad."

Not even during the gloomy days of the great war did French capitalism invoke the terror against opposing and dissenting elements that she now calls to her aid against the Communists. It is this Communist opposition in France that will be the greatest aid to the German workers in the hour they feel themselves strong enough to strike for a German Soviet Republic. May the French workers be endowed with the same strength in the same hour, and their Communist spokesmen will not have gone to prison in vain.

Attorney General Daugherty, and his chief sleuth, "Bill" Burns, have been officially white-washed by the house of representatives by a vote of 204 to 77. Both Republicans and Democrats voted for these twin enemies of labor. We wonder what happened to that "balance of power" thru which the "progressives" were going to control congress.

Scotching the Herrings

Only one excuse has been advanced by the citizen mobsters in Arkansas for the murder of E. C. Gregor and the flogging and deporting of numberless strikers and their women and children. This feeble attempt at justification is based on the charge that Gregor and other strikers were guilty of burning bridges along the route of the Missouri and North Arkansas Railroad.

Thus these assassins instigated by the railroad owners deviated from the usual charge of train wrecking, so popular among the agents of the bosses during the recent shopmen's strike, especially at Gary, Ind.

But some kind of a stinking herring had to be drawn across the trail of working class indignation that might lead directly to the doors of the railroad profiteers. So there are today multitudes of workers, readers of the capitalist press, who believe that Gregor and his fellow-strikers are guilty of the crimes charged against them by their capitalist foes. Thus the American labor giant stands helpless, brain poisoned with prejudice imbibed from the bosses' sheets.

Organized labor must do everything possible to scotch this herring, to counteract the propaganda of the employers, by bringing to light the truth about Arkansas.

It has now been shown that Gregor could not have committed the burnings charged against him. He was at work far from the railroad, as sworn to before a legislative investigating committee by time-keepers and supporting witnesses. It has also been shown that at least two bridges were set afire very recently by live coals that fell from the fire boxes of engines.

This is only part of the story. But it should be enough to show that Gregor's only crime, the crime for which he was hanged, was loyalty to his class. To be sure, the murderers were just as loyal to their class, the capitalist class. Hence the class war. The question for every worker to settle for himself is, "ON WHICH SIDE AM I? AM I REALLY WITH THE GREGORS, FIGHTING ON THE SIDE OF THE WORKERS, FOR MY CLASS?"

The Dis-United "Socialists"

After more than ten years, the traitors to Socialism will make an attempt to use the pulmotor on the Second Socialist International at Hamburg, Germany, May 21, in an effort to revivify it thru the merging of the Vienna Working Union, with which the American Socialist Party is affiliated, and the Second (London) International.

The last congress of the Socialist International was held at Bern, Switzerland, in 1912, when even Vandervelde swore undying hatred to all capitalist wars. But it is confessed in the call for the Hamburg Conference that "The Socialist International was destroyed by the war," yet all parties are invited that accept, "Recognition of the Labor and Socialist International not only as an effective instrument in peace but as absolutely essential during war."

In spite of the tremendous drift of Socialist elements into the Communist International during the last five years, there are those left in the Vienna and London groups that are skeptical of an "International," bossed by Vandervelde, Scheidemann, Henderson, Thomas, and even Longuet and Adler.

These are the "Socialists" who not only supported the "civil peace" with capitalism during the war, but who even now urge an "industrial truce" with the bosses, a truce that can only be bought at the price of submission to the capitalist offensive against labor.

Thus the Swiss Socialists are in open revolt against the proposed "unity" congress, the call for which attacks the Communist International, rather than seeking a united front with the only bona fide world organization of labor. The Swiss want pledges that the betrayals of the August days of 1914 will not be repeated. If that is all they want, these pledges will surely be forthcoming. Labor politicians are adepts at making pledges before wars, as before elections.

Those elements within the Vienna and London groups, that want something more than pledges, will consider the recent action of the majority Italian Socialists and link up with the Communist International, in response to its appeal for a united front of the world's workers published in these columns last week.

By Radio to the Federated Press and "The Worker"

MOSCOW. — French imperialism in its advance into the Ruhr valley of Germany has again endangered the peace of Europe and has forced the workers and peasants of Russia to strong protests, declares a statement issued here and signed by President Kalinin of the Russian Soviet Republic and by Secretary Sapronov of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. The statement reads in full:

"To the Peoples of the World:

"The imperialist armies of France have invaded the Ruhr basin. For-

sign slave drivers have appeared in the industrial centers of Germany. Another terrific blow has been struck at the German people, and Europe once more finds itself threatened by brutal international slaughter.

"In this crisis the Russian Workers and Peasants' Republic must speak out. True to its constant struggle against militarism and loyal to its principle that each people has a right to be free, Russia lifts its voice once more in indignant protest against the crime that the government of France is committing.

"It is more than four years since the imperialist world war was ended

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Joffe in the Far East

The Soviet envoy to China, A. A. Joffe, must be getting satisfactory results in the Far East, if we are to consider the numerous attacks directed against him. A great ado is being made of the fact that Joffe's automobile recently collided with a cart containing four Chinese workmen, in one of the narrow streets of Peking, China. It was purely an accident. If it had happened to some imperialist diplomat nothing would have been thought of it. But the enemy press got extremely busy attacking the Red Ambassador. The whole thing wound up with an exchange of diplomatic notes with the Chinese ministry of foreign affairs.

We take it that everything was amicably settled since the cables now report that Joffe is leaving China for Tokio, Japan, sent on his journey with many friendly farewells. On his departure, Joffe assured Sun Yat Sen, head of the Chinese Canton government that China has the sympathy of Russia and can count on Russia's support. Joffe points out that China's great need now is to achieve reunion and national independence.

It will be remembered that Joffe was at the head of the Russian delegation at Brest-Litovsk that won a peace treaty from the Kaiser. He was the first Soviet envoy to Berlin. He now goes to Tokio and it is said that he will secure Japanese withdrawal from Northern Sakhalin, rich in natural resources and famed for its fisheries. It is declared that Japan is anxious to make peace with Russia in order to open the way for commerce with the Asiatic mainland.

This development has considerable significance for the workers of America. We see American industry stilled by refusal to trade with Soviet Russia and by the destruction of the Central European market. Now the Russians, forced to look to Japan, rather than the United States, are co-operating with the nations of the Far East. With the divorce of the Orient from the Occident, new markets will be lost in China and Siberia, resulting in an increased stagnation for American industry.

Truly American capitalism is following in the footsteps of King Midas, whose touch turned everything to gold, even the food he tried to eat. So he starved, America today has the greater part of the world's gold supply. But poverty-stricken Europe cannot buy the fruits of our fields, nor the products of our factories. So the farmers are going bankrupt and our jobless army will soon find new masses of recruits for its ranks.

This is so because Joffe, the red envoy of the Russian Workers' Republic, is on his way to Tokio, Japan, instead of to Washington, D. C. Let the American workers think over this matter and act for their own preservation.

The Revolt in the Pulpits

Dr. Percy Stickney Grant, of the Church of Ascension, in New York City, declares that "This is a time of wonderful liberation, and we might as well get the benefit of it."

He is getting the benefit of the times by denying the divinity of Jesus Christ, charging that Jesus did not have the power of God, and raising other issues that have left the orthodox pulpits gasping. To be sure the more calloused among the occupants of kept pulpits have returned the attack. So the discussion gets heated. It was to be expected that the debate would bubble over the confines of theology and reveal, to some extent, the rule of the almighty dollar over the church. Thus Dr. Grant charges that the National Civic Federation was instrumental in crushing an open forum at the Church of the Ascension. Dr. Grant points out that H. B. Wheeler, former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, president of the Union Trust Co. of Chicago, and chairman of one of the committees of the National Civic Federation, had "brought in a resolution at the Church House Conference which was not only presented to the secretary of the convention, but, as I was informed, was printed at the expense of the Civic Federation and distributed in our convention to the members of our convention."

Dr. Grant confesses that the Civic Federation attack on the church's open forum, called "the only free platform during the war," persuaded him that "economic things have a great deal to do today with what apparently is treated as religion."

Dr. Grant admits also that the church directorate is filled with lawyers, and that whenever a social welfare matter comes up, there is always one of these lawyers who jumps up and says, "I move to lay that on the table" and "I don't remember a time when it was not laid on the table."

Dr. Grant evidently realizes that the church today, no matter of what denomination or creed, is controlled by the money power. If he does realize this, then why doesn't he get out of it? Merely making a few spectacular speeches, resulting in a temporary discussion, will not alter the situation. So far as we can see, if there is any real revolt in the pulpits today, it is merely a revolt of words. And such a revolt never even dented the rule of the dollar, altho it may give a few individuals a feeling of "wonderful liberation."

SATURDAY, JAN. 27.—The Near Eastern Peace Conference at Lausanne, Switzerland, has failed again.

President Harding has a solution for the problem growing out of the French invasion of the Ruhr. It is another world conference at Washington next summer. No, we haven't found anyone bold enough to claim it will help, or to deny that it will not be "another failure."

Help the Workers Party Grow

Without doubt the most encouraging phase of labor's struggle in the United States has been the growth of the Workers Party. Against every assault of the profiteers' terror, the Workers Party stands today the main bulwark protecting the outposts of American labor.

The correspondence of Max Lerner, party organizer and speaker now touring the New England states, published in last week's issue of THE WORKER, is testimony showing that the most extreme persecution cannot crush the growing American Communist movement.

To be sure the Palmer "red raids" of January, 1919, brought about the desired effect for a time. The workers were intimidated for a while. They were inactive. But the reaction against this tyranny gradually sets in, as Lerner now reports even from the backward New England states, and there is an accelerated drift among the workers towards the Communist movement, into the Workers Party.

It is essential that this favorable situation be adequately met by Communist organization and Communist education among the masses of the workers, among the tens of millions of toilers whose only knowledge of Communism is gained from the misleading items in the columns of the capitalist press.

The big effort of the Workers Party right now, to bring its Communist message to the workers, is to carry out the distribution of several million copies of the program adopted by its Second National Convention. This is a big undertaking. It must be accomplished by the party's ardent and enthusiastic workers, all of whom are burdened at the same time with numerous other tasks.

These are the workers who must also shoulder the financial burdens of this task unless they get help. That help should come from you, readers of THE WORKER, who for some reason or other, cannot do your share in the distribution of these millions of leaflets containing the Communist program of the Workers Party. There is no reason why you should not at least send in your contribution to help finance this work. Need more be said? Send in whatever you wish to contribute to THE WORKER, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City, and it will be turned over to the National Office of the Workers Party, to be put to immediate use.

Not Enough Credit for All

The elections have now been over for nearly three months. But we find the different labor and quasi-labor political organizations still trying to claim credit for their various achievements.

It is to be expected that these claims should clash. Thus the Oklahoma Leader, renegade Socialist daily of Oklahoma City, Okla., attacks the Farmer-Labor Party for claiming the election of Governor Walton, of barbecue fame, when this turn-coat sheet vociferously claims everyone ought to know that he was elected on the Democratic ticket by the Reconstruction League.

We have just been perusing the January "Review Edition" of the "National Leader," official organ of the Nonpartisan League, and it enthuses over the election of "over 950 candidates."

Far be it from us to challenge the political prowess of the Nonpartisan League, but we find that it lists Henrik Shipstead, U. S. senator from Minnesota, that the Farmer-Labor Party has been claiming all along. Not only that but it puts Victor L. Berger, the Milwaukee Socialist, in its roll of 950. No doubt new and more strenuous objections will be forthcoming from both Socialists and Farmer-Laborites against these "League Victories."

The trouble seems to be that there isn't enough credit to go around. In order to make the total seem astounding, fictitious figures must be used. We do not remember that there has been any tant of such inter-pine struggles for fame within the British Labor movement since the recent parliamentary elections there.

The difference is that in Great Britain, labor is united politically in the Labor Party and elects enough candidates so that there is credit enough for all. If the different political expressions of labor would get together in this country, and organize and fight for labor independently of the old political parties, they might win enough victories, sufficient to bring plenty of credit to all standards, even in these United States of America.

The Hypocrisy of Hearst

William Randolph Hearst has secured ownership of quite a number of newspapers and magazines since first his mother set him up in the yellow press business. He keeps a large number of scribblers on his staff to write the things he thinks.

Thus Mr. Hearst appears as president of the corporation that publishes the Cosmopolitan Magazine; and S. E. Kiser is author of a poetic jingle-jangle that is given a full-page frontispiece display with an ornamental border.

This literary monstrosity is entitled "Not Guilty," and every stanza starts off with, "I'm glad I'm not the man." Mr. Hearst feels he is not the man who takes the widow's rent; who checks the boy's proud ambition who spreads distress for aged men and women, who sent the girl, found floating, on the course she took.

This is the usually sanctimonious Hearst, who feels that his political enemies are responsible for all the ills in the world.

With the advice of his highly-paid editorial writer, Arthur Brisbane, to draw on, Mr. Hearst should know that no individual or group of individuals is responsible for capitalism's many evils. He must know that all these evils grow out of the social system under which we live. And since Mr. Hearst upholds this diabolical social system, with all its crimes, he is just as guilty as Rockefeller, Morgan, Armour, Schwab, Ford, Guggenheim, or any other financier or industrial freebooter that profits by its continued existence.

The charge of "Brass Check Press," holds against all of Mr. Hearst's sheets. Verily, Mr. Hearst's publications are the most hypocritical, the most thickly painted prostitutes of all the kept ladies of the rule of gold.

Even if there are no Communists in congress, the bosses see deep red just the same. The transportation law proposed by Senator Brookhart, Iowa, is heralded by the Railway Review as "The work of a Communist in mind as truly Bolshevistic as any measure of the kind ever instituted in Soviet Russia." The education of the editor of the Railway Review on Communism is no doubt limited to one perusal of Harold Lloyd's anti-Bolshevik film, "Sammy in Siberia."



All the Fits That Are News To Print
(S. 31 bluffograms to the Bolcoms by the Associated Bughouse and Hamburg Press)

HARRISON, Ark.—In order to prove its humanitarian nature, the Citizens' Committee has decided to grant absolute equality to colored people. No longer will they hang only negroes, white workers will be lynched just as well.

BERLIN.—As a step toward national economy the Socialist government has decreed to print currency on fly paper.

MOSCOW.—Lenin has again demonstrated his bitterness to the socialists, when he refused to die today in order to verify the report of his death in the Forward.

WASHINGTON.—Atty. General Daugherty is seriously ill, must have been reading the Bolcoms lately.

HADES.—Congress has unanimously passed a bill restricting the immigration of socialists to these parts. Authorities are requesting all Communists of the Earth to refrain from sending any more "esspers" here, as the latter are making a Hell-out of Hades.

MILWAUKEE, Wisc.—Treasurer of the Socialist Party local was seen yesterday in a new suit. The Central Executive Committee called a special meeting to audit the books...

NEW YORK.—A very gruesome calamity occurred in the kitchen of the Rand School Cafeteria this morning. The cook dropped a clam in the chowder. The cook is now seeking a new job.

NEW YORK.—City authorities have declared January 24th a legal holiday. On that day the Editor-in-Chief of the Bolcoms, for the first (and perhaps the last) time, in his life turned his column in on time. Congratulations welcome. No gossip, please!!

Fellow Democrats
The pompous judge glared sternly over his glasses at the tattered prisoner who had been brought before him on a charge of vagrancy.

"Have you ever earned a dollar in your life?" he asked in fine scorn.

"Yes, your honor," was the reply. "I voted for you at the last election."

Golden Rules for Workers
If you find your pay reduced don't kick, very likely the boss has just raised his own income a hundred thousand or so.

Never tell the boss what you think of him. Though he may bear a decided resemblance to a pig, don't say it.

Always be at work thirty minutes before the whistle blows, and stay a half hour over time. Let the boss see that even if your wages are low your time is long. That makes him happy.

Never complain. If the foreman kicks you on one ear, hand him the other. Perhaps he will repent and join the Salvation Army.

Never join a union. Don't think that because the bankers, manufacturers, road owners, etc., have their unions that that is any reason for a workman to join a union. Wait till you become a banker.

Never go on strike. You might win and the boss might lose. That would be setting a bad example.

Never envy the wealth of the rich. See how their conscience troubles them and be glad you earn only \$17.50 a week.

Never listen to working class propaganda. You might begin to think; and besides the boss would get sore.

Never read anything but the sporting news, the funny sheet, the divorce scandals and the bible. This will make you a hundred per center.

If you follow these instructions, you will please the boss and eventually land in the poorhouse. So why delay?

An Insult
JONES—"Aren't you a republican?"

SMITH—"How dare you?! You are a dirty crook yourself!!"

A. J. V. from Girard, O., sends us the following poem (lexicographers will kindly pardon my misusage of the word) with the provision that if it is not published we are to return it to him by registered special delivery mail. Rather than spent 22 cents on postage, we've decided to print it:

Says Wrangel:
From the Eastern land:
I found out I was mistaken—
I could muster up any man—
Who I trotted with my one-horse cannon into the new Russian land.
(Result: Left Russia in a hurry touching only the high places.)

"Say, Lou, what do you do, if you get three-quarters of the way down a column and you can't think of anything else to write about?"

"Stop. I'm done."

"Very good idea. 'S funny I never thought of it before."

Bolcomsly, IRV.

Soviet Russia Points Out Dangers of French Imperialism's Invasion of Ruhr Valley

By the criminally absurd treaty of Versailles. This treaty brought to the light of day and exposed before the entire world the hypocrisy of the statesmen of the entente. During the war they had proclaimed to the ends of the earth that they were fighting only in the interests of freedom and in the name of the right of all nations to freedom.

No sooner was the war at an end than they immediately forgot their promises and their noble phrases. They assembled at Versailles and dictated to Germany an unspeakable treaty. The treaty of Versailles proves beyond a doubt that the entente statesmen were not thinking of

freedom but of tyranny, not of the independence of nations but of their cruel enslavement. Having violently dismembered Germany by depriving her of provinces, having taken away all means of defense, the treaty of Versailles also confiscated almost the entire commercial fleet and attempted to strangle German industry by taking away three-fourths of the iron mines. The treaty heaped colossal burdens on the German people in the name of reparations, which is to say indemnities in money, coal and goods for the destruction caused by the war in France and Belgium. It forged crushing chains on the German people and delivered them

up to the mercy of the French imperialists. The treaty of Versailles has perpetuated the reign of hatred among the peoples of Europe and plunged Europe into economic and political chaos.

"The Russian workers' and peasants' republic protested strongly at the time against the brutal and insane treaty of Versailles. Russia predicted the terrible consequences that its enforcement would bring on Europe and the world. These predictions have been completely realized. The years since the signing of the treaty have been years of continual hostility, of increase of armaments, of intensification of the economic ruin of Europe.

"The imperialist government of France has not even been satisfied with this treaty of its own making. In its insatiable greed it has violated its own treaty and once more thrown the sword in the scales of history by its military occupation of the most important industrial regions of Germany. Economic chaos becomes worse in all Europe. The world is on the brink of a new war. The Versailles treaty has converted Europe into a powder magazine."

"But France is not alone to blame. The allies could have opposed the occupation but did not do so. Either they took an active part like Belgium in the occupation or else they folded their hands and uttered verbal protests. The responsibility is shared by the British, Belgian and Japanese governments.

"The sovereignty of the German people has been violated, their independence crushed, the German economic crisis terribly intensified. Appalling misery and unspeakable oppression threaten the workers of Germany. Economic chaos becomes worse in all Europe. The world is on the brink of a new war. The Versailles treaty has converted Europe into a powder magazine."

"The Russian workers and peasants protest once more and warn the people of the world of the slaughter that is being brought on by the insensate French imperialism and that of its allies.

"Peace is in mortal peril. People of Europe awake to the danger!"