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GRABLE DEPOSED: LEWIS, GOMPERS AND OTHERS WILL FOLLOW IN DUE TIME

Detroit, Mich.—The overthrow of I. F. Grable of Detroit, as grand president of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way and Railway Shop Laborers marked a big step forward for the progressives. It shows the temper of the railroad worker towards the man who refused to call the 400,000 maintenance men out last July even though they had voted overwhelmingly for the strike. He was the one who said those who wanted the strike were only "the red flag" element. He was defeated by more than 3,000 votes out of a total of 86,000 votes, each delegate casting as many votes as there were members in the local union he represented.

The man chosen to take Grable's place is F. H. Fljodzal, of Dauphin, Manitoba.

Fljodzal, it was announced by his representative, will make an appeal to the labor board "setting forth the needs of the maintenance men for higher wages and improved working conditions," and that the organization "is prepared to prove to the public, as well as to the board, the justice of our demands."

The new president has been a member of the organization 20 years and for some time has been an international vice president of the order. He started his railroad work as a section hand.

He was a former Minnesotan. A year ago he left Warroad, Minn., where he was a section foreman, to take over the duties of roadmaster of the Dauphin district, Canadian National Railways.

Mr. Fljodzal is regarded by George H. Palmer, ex-labor member of the legislature for Dauphin, as a "moderate labor man."

The progressives will give him a trial. Some have said that if he proves to be another Grable he will soon go the way Grable went.

Captain Paxton Hibben Attacked by Those Who Would Discredit Russia

By HARRY GODFREY
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

New York.—For a long time there have been circulated stories about Capt. Paxton Hibben, formerly of the American Red Cross and now of the American Relief Committee for Russian Children and the Russian Red Cross, the purpose of which was to discredit both the standing and the work of this man who for years has devoted his tireless energy and his unusual abilities to the work of relieving the starving in Russia.

These attacks—covert and cowardly—were redoubled when Hibben last spring charged, and backed up his charge with facts, that Secretary Hoover, as head of the American Relief administration, had interfered with the collection of funds for famine-stricken Russia. Now the attacks have become bolder, and have been appearing in a series of syndicated newspaper articles. These publications have given Hibben the first opportunity to meet the attacks, and he has announced that he will bring suit for libel against their authors.

Hibben, who has just returned from a detailed investigation of conditions in Russia, has given The Federated Press the following statement:

"The statements appearing in a syndicated article in various newspapers entitled 'The Reds in America' and purporting to be written by one R. M. Whitney, alleging that I am 'working openly for the soviet government,' that I am or ever have been a 'red,' am raising or ever have attempted to raise money for the support of the soviet government of Russia, the Russian army, or for any other purpose whatsoever except for purely humanitarian relief work, as well as the bulk of the remainder of the article in question, are absolutely false.

"That I was ever a paid propagandist for the Greek royalists, for example, is absolutely false. It is characteristic of the whole article that it states that I 'copied confidential papers and documents while employed in the consulate in Brazil, and had to assume a careful disguise in escaping from the country.' I was never in Brazil in my life, never employed in a consulate in my life, and never assumed a disguise to do anything whatsoever.

"I have just returned from an inspection of the work of the Russian Red Cross in Russia, and I am convinced that no relief work in Russia is better or more economically conducted, with less 'overhead' or more effective results in rehabilitating people in desperate need. I have seen, and I have photographs, of the supplies sent by the American Committee for the Relief of Russian Children being distributed to starving children and not to the red army, or anybody else. On the contrary, the red army, with a greater spirit of humanity than those who are ready to open a campaign of vilification whose result cannot fail to be the starvation of thousands of helpless children, has itself been one of the principal givers to the relief funds which saved millions of Russian Children.

Louis Hill and Road Chiefs Strong for Individual Settlements

HILL BRAGS ABOUT DEFEATING SHOPMEN.

Louis W. Hill of the great Northern railway recently returned from Europe in great glee over the result of separate 'agreements' with the shopmen. According to press reports from St. Paul, he said:

"Individual adjustments of working relations between railroad employees and management is essential to the preservation of adequate transportation on which the prosperity of the entire United States depends."

Mr. Hill's statement was made in commenting on officers' reports on the shopmen's strike at the annual meeting of the Great Northern stockholders.

"Efforts to settle labor matters on a national basis have proved unsuccessful as is evidenced by the recent shopcrafts strike," said Chairman Hill.

"It is plain that it is a mistake to attempt to deal with such problems on a mass basis for conditions vary too much in different sections of the country and on different railroads."

"It was most gratifying to me to learn on my return from Europe that the Great Northern had come through the strike so successfully. The strike is over so far as this road is concerned. The shopmen have their own organization to deal solely with the Great Northern and already have a new and more satisfactory wage scale."

The railroad workers deem his bragging a bit premature. They know, too, that separate agreements are favorable to the bosses. But the fight is not ended yet.

tating people in desperate need. I have seen, and I have photographs, of the supplies sent by the American Committee for the Relief of Russian Children being distributed to starving children and not to the red army, or anybody else. On the contrary, the red army, with a greater spirit of humanity than those who are ready to open a campaign of vilification whose result cannot fail to be the starvation of thousands of helpless children, has itself been one of the principal givers to the relief funds which saved millions of Russian Children.

"I am exceedingly glad, however, that this has come out. It has been whispered about for so long that it is well to have it in the open where it may be openly met. I shall of course bring suit for libel against the authors of this mischievous attack on a purely humanitarian work."

YARDMASTERS WIN EIGHT-HOUR DAY

DISREPUTABLE LABOR BOARD HANDS OUT A SOP.

Chicago, Oct. 20.—Railroad yardmasters today won their fight for an eight-hour day and for standard working rules.

The United States railroad labor board promulgated a code of rules for the organization of the Railroad Yardmasters of America, after having had the case for several months, granting the eight-hour day and other privileges.

The decision affects 26 roads and six big switching terminals. The yardmasters have separate working agreements with 12 other roads.

Appeal Right Granted

The new ruling of the board fixed all overtime on the basis of a working day of eight hours. An increase in wages of approximately 25 per cent will be gained by the men by the decision.

Yardmasters working seven days a week are granted two days off each month under the ruling, seniority provisions are established and the men are granted the right of appeal to highest operating officials.

Three roads, the Pennsylvania, Illinois Central and Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, are not included among the roads affected by the order of the board because of jurisdictional questions.

Pershing and Weeks Ask Harding for Funds to Provide Good Killers

"DOLLAR A YEAR MEN" ARE TO MOBILIZE IN EVENT OF WAR.

Washington.—Beat the drum and get into step. It is the firm belief of Secretary Weeks and his military advisers that the nations military policy cannot be adequately sustained with a regular army of less than 13,000 officers and 150,000 men.

This matter was again laid before President Harding by the war secretary who was accompanied on his visit to the White House by General Pershing.

The conference had to do with estimates submitted by the war department for the coming year, calling for an appropriation of \$329,287,580, as compared with current appropriations of \$340,884,122. The army budget, however, still must be approved by the director of the budget.

The war secretary made it plain that he had not changed in his belief that the present army of 12,000 officers and 125,000 men could not fulfill all the missions prescribed by the national defense act. The new estimates do not provide for an increase in the regular force above these figures.

The principal item in the estimates submitted comes under "support of the regular army" at \$212,707,379, as compared with \$223,411,512 for the current year.

The nonmilitary items, including river and harbor work, reaches a total of \$65,890,375 as compared to \$79,736,406 in current appropriations.

The national guard appropriation estimate is based on the computation that the guard will have an average strength of 238,000 during the next fiscal year. This would have required expenditures of \$47,592,990 and it was thus found necessary to cut the provision so that allowances were made for an average force of only 215,000 men.

And the "dollar a year men" are back again! Eight of them have been engaged by the war department to act as civilian chiefs of the eight ordinance districts into which the country is divided. Each of these civilians, says the press account, "is himself a large manufacturer with experience in the making of munitions, and to each has been assigned an army ordinance officer to act as secretary." In the event of war they will undertake to mobilize their districts for the quick delivery of fighting supplies.

MINISTER FLAYS PARDON POLICIES

CALLS US SLOBBERING HYPOCRITES.

(Rev. John Haynes Holmes in Unity, Oct. 5, 1922.)

President Harding is once more bestowing his gracious favors of mercy, for, as his friends are so eager to tell us, he has a kindly heart. This time he grants pardon to a German spy, a man named Robert Fay, who came to this country as an agent of the German government to interfere with the successful prosecution of the war.

Discovered and arrested, he was condemned to eight years in prison—not 10 years or 20 years or 25 years, as in the case of conscientious objectors and political offenders, but eight years! But even this sentence it seems is excessive—a "cruel and unusual punishment" for a crime which, had it been successful, would have wiped out valuable property and destroyed hundreds of lives. So the president pardons Fay.

Meanwhile the 75 I. W. W. prisoners in Leavenworth, not one of whom is guilty of a violent act, all imprisoned merely for holding opinions contrary to the will of the government, are still behind the bars! Every petition for the pardon of these men is denied. The logic of such an anomaly is obvious. Mr. Harding is more than ordinarily stupid if he thinks this logic can not be read! It is this—there is only one unpardonable crime in America today, and that uncompromising opposition to the existing economic order of society.

A man may murder his enemy, rob the corner cigar store, run off with his neighbor's wife, forge a check, sell shoddy clothes or adulterated food, make bogus contracts with the government, lynch "Niggers," slander Jews, blow up ships in war-time—and sooner or later he mercifully pardoned. But if a man is a communist, an I. W. W., or even a socialist, and dares to say so, he is given a sentence that would shame the old time czar, and is denied all hope of pardon.

And yet we slobbering hypocrites talk about the tyranny of Moscow!

ment to act as civilian chiefs of the eight ordinance districts into which the country is divided. Each of these civilians, says the press account, "is himself a large manufacturer with experience in the making of munitions, and to each has been assigned an army ordinance officer to act as secretary." In the event of war they will undertake to mobilize their districts for the quick delivery of fighting supplies.

Out of these appointments comes the suggestion that the "dollar a year men" who served between 1917 and 1920 be organized in a separate group of war veterans who would be available for marching purposes on all patriotic occasions. A glee club chorus has been suggested to run as follows:

We only ask a dollar,
And yet the people hoiler,
And some refuse to follow
Where we lead 'em in the fray.
We never ask a bonus;
Experience has shown us
How to escape that onus
And live within our pay.

A simple service button, showing a dollar mark against a background of American flags, may be adopted later.

Will the President Let Ray Connor Die?

(Defense News Service.)

Leavenworth, Kan.—Ray Connor, one of the I. W. W. war-opinion prisoners, broken in health from three years of solitary confinement, has begun his fourth hunger strike. Either he will obtain his liberty through the amnesty which has been denied the politicals by President Harding, or he will die in the federal penitentiary here, according to prisoners just released.

And if Connor dies in his desperate efforts to win his right to freedom all of the 69 other I. W. W. prisoners here will abandon their various jobs, and will henceforth refuse to work.

"Connor is in bad shape," declares a man who has just completed a non-political sentence, "and unless relief comes to him soon, the federal government will have a dead political prisoner on its conscience."

When the war broke out, Connor was employed in the hop-fields of Yuba county, California. He was arrested and jailed because he was a member of the I. W. W., and was among the 53 men who were held for 64 days and nights in a single cell 21 by 21 feet in the malodorous and disease-breeding jail at Sacramento. Five of those men died in that jail, from influenza and tuberculosis.

After Connor was convicted for not believing in the war, he came to Leavenworth carrying a great voltage of resentment against the indignities heaped upon him and the others at Sacramento. Never for an instant did his hatred for the system which had put him into prison relax.

Leavenworth officials say that Connor is not a good prisoner. That is true. He has never adjusted himself to the regulation life in the penitentiary. He has no respect for the authority which has dominated the last five years of his life. His lack of respect caused him to be put into solitary confinement three years ago.

Last spring Connor began his first hunger strike. For 27 days he refused food. Seven days later he struck again, and fasted 25 days. Then a five-day interval, followed by a third hunger strike lasting 21 days. Another interval, and now a fourth fast.

Connor's physical strength is waning. He is doing this thing on sheer nerve. There is no color in his cheeks, according to word from inside; he has the appearance of 30 years. This man is no more than 30 years old, it is said, but looks 50. He was a telegrapher in earlier years, but found the work too confining, and went into the open for his health—at a time when he valued health.

Wedding of Independent and Majority Socialist Parties in Germany

(Condensed from European Special Service.)

Nuremberg, Germany.—The Majority Socialist party and the Independent Socialist party of Germany formally amalgamated as the United Socialist party here Sept. 24.

Whether this first fusion will lead to fusion with the Communists remains to be seen.

Augsburg, Germany.—The Majority Socialists in national convention voted unanimously to fuse with the Independents.

At the same time the Majority Socialists lost no opportunity to denounce the Communists and to

THREE POLITICALS FREED ON CONDITION OF SUBMITTING TO LIFE-LONG DEPORTATION

Immediate commutation of sentences of Carl Ahlteen, Ragner Johansen and Sigfrid Stenberg, all former residents of Minneapolis, on condition that they submit to life-long deportation from the United States, was authorized to-day by President Harding, according to Washington dispatches.

These men are now serving as political prisoners in Leavenworth, Kansas.

The president also approved the conditional liberation of Walter T. Nef, B. H. Fletcher and John J. Walsh, all of Philadelphia, convicted with other industrial workers at Chicago and now at Leavenworth. These three will be required to sign papers agreeing to return to the penitentiary whenever they engage in "illegal activity."

The pardon of Walsh is of peculiar interest, as he is one of a group which steadfastly refuses offers of individual amnesty.

35-FOOT FENCE TO HIDE SCABS

The Missouri Pacific Railroad isn't going to permit the public to gaze upon its variegated assortment of scabs at Little Rock, Ark., if it can help it. When the shop strike started the company erected a high fence about its yard, overlooking which was the strikers' pickets' headquarters. When the company learned that of their building, could see what the pickets, by going to the attic was transpiring in the shop yard it placed a canvas screen on top of the fence, which is now 35 feet high. "Anyway," says a correspondent of LABOR, "the scabs in the bull pen are not so much to look at."

brand them the party of reaction, of "Russian imperialism." If anybody in Germany still entertained hopes that the entire working class political movement might become reunited under one banner, that hope was shattered by the events of the Augsburg convention.

Gera, Germany.—Despite opposition from Ledebour and Theodor Liebknecht, the Independent Socialists voted, somewhat regretfully, to unite with the Majority party.

A little group led by George Ledebour, veteran fighter, who as early as 1914 dared, with Karl Liebknecht, to oppose the war, and seconded by Liebknecht's brother, Theodor, and his friend, Kurt Rosenfeld, stood out against compromising with the party of Scheidemann, Noske and Ebert. Ledebour declared that his biggest mistake had been in 1914, at the outbreak of the war, to refrain because of the party regularity from bolting Socialist reaction in the reichstag and voting against war credits, and that he would not add to this first mistake by now coming back into the majority camp.

The president of one of the largest trade union federations put the situation thus: "Only very few of us are happy over the fusion. We know the reactionaries in the majority camp but too well. But there is a general weariness of fraternal conflict in our ranks as well as in the ranks of the Majority Socialists. We have pledged ourselves to take our revolutionary spirit into the new body, and we hope gradually to win over our comrades of the right. We must show mighty quick results or the Communists will reap a big harvest."

Celebrate Nov. 7th— 5th Anniversary of Russian Revolution

The celebration of the 5th anniversary of the Russian revolution bids fair to be more wide-spread than in any previous year. The national organization of the Workers Party urges workers to arrange for halls and speakers in advance in order to celebrate a victory that can no longer be questioned.

For five years the workers and peasants of Russia have withstood the attack of all the forces of counter-revolution. Counter-revolutionary armies have battered against the stone wall of the red army only to find themselves destroyed. The blockade and famine have not been able to break the iron will of the Russian proletariat for victory. World capitalism has brought all its power into play in the effort to destroy Soviet Russia—and has failed.

When we celebrate the anniversary of the proletarian revolution in Russia this year we are celebrating a victory which can no longer be questioned. We know that capitalism cannot now destroy what the Russian workers and peasants have won. Capitalism's weaker and the Soviet republic stronger. This is a victory for the workers everywhere in the world as well as for the Russian workers and peasants, for the Soviet republic is the inspiration and rallying point of the workers of the world.

This year, too, there will open in Moscow on the Anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution the fourth congress of the Communist International, the fighting organization of the world proletariat, and in celebrating the anniversary of the proletarian revolution we also celebrate the opening of the fourth congress.

Comrades, we must make the celebration of November 7th this year the greatest celebration in the history of the movement. Every party unit must participate. We must arrange a celebration in every city and town in which we have a party organization. Where there is a city central committee, it will make the lead and arrange the celebration; in such places in which there is only one branch this branch must arrange a celebration. Whether a branch has five members or there is a city central committee with thousands of members in the party, there must be a celebration on November 7th this year.

—Workers Party Press.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

THIRD CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL RELIEF PLANS EXTENDED ACTION

International Loan and Economic Concessions Stressed—Will Also Care for Famine Orphans

The Third World Congress of the International Workers Relief Committee, recently held in Berlin, formulated far-reaching plans for carrying its relief activities to a successful conclusion. The congress was attended by delegations from 17 countries, as well as by representatives of the Soviet Government, the Communist International, the Red Trade Union International, and by Eiduk, chief administrator of the Central Famine Relief Commission of Soviet Russia. The United States and Canada were represented by delegates from the Friends of Soviet Russia.

\$3,000,000 International Workers' Loan.

An International Corporation was organized for the purpose of handling concessions and floating a workers' loan of three million dollars to Soviet Russia. The loan was guaranteed by the People's Commissars of the Soviet Government at a special session on September 13th. The bonds, soon to be issued by the corporation, bear interest at 5 per cent, and the principal is repayable at the end of ten years in gold. The project for such an international loan has long been popular, and the workers of America will soon have an opportunity to lend financial assistance to the Republic of Workers and Peasants through the Friends of Soviet Russia, who will be the American Agents for the loan.

Important Economic Concessions.

Probably the most important undertaking of the International Workers Relief will be the development of numerous concessions granted to it by the Soviet Government. These are very extensive and include agricultural estates in Kazan, Cheliabinsk, Moscow and the Urals (including the F. S. R.

agricultural unit at Perm), industrial factories in Moscow, Petrograd and Kazan, forest concessions in Kazan (employing 3,000 workers), fisheries in Astrakhan (employing 15,000 workers), the motion picture expert monopoly, and participation in the exploitation of the manganese mines in the Black Sea district. Interest bearing stock will be issued and sold to support these enterprises.

Cooperation Here With Russian-American Industrial Corporation.

The Friends of Soviet Russia, who represent the International Corporation in America, have decided for the present to cooperate with the Russian-American Industrial Corporation in the matter of concessions; and a campaign will be conducted by them during the coming months to encourage subscriptions to the stock of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation.

To Support 25,000 Famine Orphans.

The famine has left many thousands of orphans in its wake. The International Workers Relief Committee has undertaken to maintain 20,000 Russian orphans, of whom 10,000 have been allotted to the Friends of Soviet Russia in America. It is proposed to have individuals, families, unions and other sympathetic organizations adopt one or more of these famine orphans at a cost of \$2.00 per month, plus an initial outlay of \$5.00 per child for providing the homes, schools and hospitals with linen, clothing, utensils, books, medicines, etc.

Sale of Food Drafts.

Arrangements have been completed for the sale of food drafts in order that individual, unions and other organizations may provide food to needy Soviet Government

Latest Victims of Capitalist Persecution

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
EARL R. BROWDER
CHARLES KRUMBEIN
NORMAN TALLENTIRE
T. J. O'FLAHERTY
CHARLES ERICKSON
ALEX BAIL
SETH NORDLING
EUGENE BECHTOLD
JOHN MIHELIC

C. E. RUTHENBERG
CYRIL LAMBKIN
WILLIAM F. DUNNE
CALEB HARRISON
T. R. SULLIVAN
WILLIAM REYNOLDS
MAX LERNER
PHILIP ARONBERG
ELMER McMILLAN
JOSEPH ZACK

These active trade unionists arrested in the Michigan "Red Raids" by Burns-Daugherty agents, face long prison terms under the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism law. THEY MUST BE DEFENDED—THEY MUST HAVE THE FULL PROTECTION OF THEIR CLASS.

The arrests and prosecution of these men are the challenge of the capitalist class to us.

Our enemies challenge us with the destruction of our labor organizations.

They challenge us with the sacrifice of our most active labor militants.

WE MUST ANSWER BY RALLYING ALL OUR FORCES.
WE MUST ANSWER WITH ALL OUR RESOURCES FOR
DEFENSE AND COUNTER ATTACK.

LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL

Federation of Labor Bldg. 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

National Executive Committee:

Roger N. Baldwin, Dennis E. Batt, Robert M. Buck, Eugene V. Debs, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Max S. Hayes, Moritz J. Loeb.

Co-operating with Committee of the Defendants:

Earl R. Browder, William F. Dunne, William Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg.

William Z. Foster, National Secretary.

This is part of my answer to the latest capitalist attack.

I enclose \$_____ for the defense of those prosecuted under the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism Law.

Name _____

Address _____

Send remittances and make checks payable to:

LABOR DEFENSE COUNCIL,

166 W. Washington St. Chicago, Illinois.

employees, unions, friends and relatives in Russia. The price per draft will be \$2.50, and the food will be distributed from centrally located warehouses in Soviet Russia.

Detailed Announcements Soon.

The Friends of Soviet Russia will soon issue detailed announcements regarding the various projects. Meantime the need for general hun-

ger relief continues and donations are urgently solicited. Likewise all kinds of wearing apparel in good condition are wanted, particularly now that the cold weather is approaching. Donations in money and bundles of clothing should be sent to the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

Pres. Wobbles Again In Regard to Amnesty; Wishes to Please Bigots

(Federated Press Staff)

Washington.—Early freedom for the I. W. W. and other political prisoners held by the federal government, on condition that they be returned to prison upon their first subsequent violation of any law, is being considered by Atty. Gen. Daugherty.

President Harding, in whom resides the exclusive power to extend clemency, would be the sole judge of when a political prisoner on this kind of probation had violated the truce, and a nod from the White House to any U. S. marshal would send the man back to his cell.

This plan for disposing of the political prisoner issue is said to have risen after a scrutiny of the parole methods now in use in various states. More particularly, however, it is an effort by the administration to handle the troublesome problem in a way that will give least offense to the organized bigots who demand that the political prisoners shall stay in prison till they rot away.

Preliminary to any final decision to adopt this conditional amnesty, the department of justice is striving to obtain individual pleas for clemency from its prisoners of opinion. With all the pathos of embarrassed politicians, officials here keep asking why the men who were tried and convicted on a single indictment will not make separate bids for freedom.

In this connection an officer close to Daugherty makes the curious argument that the individual addresses to the court, made by the I. W. W. in Chicago after they were convicted, counteract the fact that they were tried as one man. In the official minds these remarks by the prisoners to Judge Landis seem to rattle more than anything else at present.

No less curious is an apology for President Harding that one hears in the department of justice. Early in July, it is said, a memorandum was sent to the White House saying that the cases of all those political prisoners who had not applied for clemency would be in the president's hands within 60 days.

Therefore, runs the apology, the president was in error when he promised an amnesty delegation that the cases of all political prisoners would be disposed of within 60 days. Had he not been so busy with other matters he would have noticed that the memorandum referred only to prisoners who asked individual mercy!

ISADORA DUNCAN HAS BEEN SEARCHED

FIND NO DAGGERS OR GUNS,
PROPAGANDA OR
WHISKERS

By HARRY GODFREY
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

New York. — Isadora Duncan, American dancer who went to Russia in 1917 to conduct a school of dancing, has been admitted to the United States after being held up here with her young Russian poet husband by immigration officials in secret orders from Washington.

She is billed to give a number of exhibitions here in the land of her birth and citizenship, but because in Moscow she had the cooperation of the Russian government in teaching children to dance, it is believed the immigration bureau became panic-stricken lest she spread "soviet propaganda" here.

"We are not coming to spread propaganda," Miss Duncan said. "All we are here for is to let people know how the Russian children live on black bread. I am not concerned with politics or governments but with the Russian children. They are wonderful. To see a child half starving, with a red cloth bound around its head, and the looks of a king in its eyes—that is what I have to tell America. They say to me: 'We are starving, but we are free.'"

That sort of talk did not please the burly immigrant officials. They grabbed the baggage of the dancer and her husband, turned every arti-

The Workingman's Store A. Y. LITMAN, 1831 West Superior St.

—From the British Communist.

WHO'LL CUT THROATS FOR KEROSENE? WHO'LL BLEED TO MAKE FAT MEN FATTER?

There will be no war—just now. Later on, of course, we shall see—what we shall see; but just now there is "nothing doing" in the "making the world safe" line. Lloyd George, Churchill & Co., have run into a snag and until they can pull themselves together again, the world can go back to its normal occupations of making money or hunting jobs.

What was it all about?

Capitalism Makes War

We need waste no time on technicalities—on the exact excuse that would have served up to us. The fact is plain beyond all disguising, that British and French Imperialism clashed in their grab at the lands of the Near East—lands which each need to repair the all but irredeemable chaos into which their economy has fallen.

Capitalism in its beginning demands and must have "freedom." Freedom of sale, freedom of purchase, freedom of access to markets and materials, freedom of competition, freedom of men so that they may freely offer themselves in the free and unrestrained labour market—in the name of all these freedoms whose essence, distilled out, became the world-redeeming slogan "Free Trade," Manchester went forth and conquered, the British Empire grew until God felt small and all the other Empires started to sprout.

But Capitalism grown old and crabbed, scorns the romantic exuberance of its youth. Free Competition is a fine thing for those who win in the scramble—and all the finer (for the winner) because its logical end is the monopoly of the Conqueror. As in the battlefield so in the economic struggles of the bourgeois world. The fights from being the tiny tussles of fretful minnows become the savage onslaughts of furious sharks. Finally, the Great Deep itself is split in the clamorous conflict of the frantic Leviathans.

Capitalism, passing from the stage of individual enterprise, leaving behind the childishness of the joint stock company, enters upon serious business with the trust, the combine, the cartel, and the merger, and reaches mature and complete hideousness with the overlordship of finance capital and the total subversion of the State to its imperious and Imperialist needs.

There arises then no question of freedom—there is only Security to be sought and gained by the one great State which can manage to emerge triumphant when the last issue has been joined and the fall of the last rival has left its power unchallenged; wealth, dominion absolute.

To speak plain English on a plain matter—Nationally centralized Finance Capitals, inflated beyond imagination by the gains of the Great War, have grown so vast that the world has not room enough for them all to grow. Something must smash—and the crisis in the Near East was but the preliminary rumbling of an inevitable, final eruption.

Oil and Blood

Let none fool you with talk of Right and Wrong.

From the point of view of Capitalist Imperialism there is no Right but the Right of Property; no Wrong but the Balance on the Wrong Side; no joy, but the joy of a Great Gain; no adversity but the adverse rate of exchange.

Who bothers about the "Rights" of small nations—when they possess oil wells or trade routes necessary to the stability of a hard-pressed Empire?

There are hundreds of millions of mere human beings in all that part of the earth that lies East of the Meridian of Vienna and all have their human capacities, wants and desires—but who that thinks Imperially regards them as anything but material for Imperial conquest and control?

When the Turkish armies swooped down on Smyrna and tumbled the Greek army into chaos and annihilation, there crashed into ruin along with it all the old bourgeois philosophy which sought to keep the exploited wage-slaves of Western Europe safely acquiescent with their slavery because, being "White," they thought themselves the natural superiors of the "dago" and the "nigger."

"East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." The rhyme of Imperialism said it and its dupes swallowed it as gospel until the whole East surged and seethed under the exploiters' rule

and the "Asiatic" Turks hurled their philosophy into chaos along with their schemes and the rabble of the routed Greek army.

The Spectre of Communism

It was a hard pill to swallow—to find that Turks could grow as enthusiastic for Nationalism as though they were French or Irish; still harder that they could fight in a manner to excite the envy of even the I. R. A.; hardest of all that ties of kindred, common faith, and community of suffering should so bind them to the millions of India that their triumph should excite in them hopes and enthusiasm of fearful portent to the Lords of Lombard Street and their kept statesmen.

But worst of all was the fact that within its own house Capitalism had engendered its own worst enemy—a discontented, a rebellious working mass whose hopes had been excited by the triumph of their fellows in Russia; and who, despite punishment and defeat, saw (even though dimly through a smoke screen of lies) in the continued existence of the Soviet Republic a sure and certain sign that their day of deliverance would dawn.

The surest way to extinguish the last spark of revolutionary fire in the breasts of the toiling masses of Britain, France and Germany—to bring upon them all once again that "hope deferred that maketh the heart sick"—was to secure the overthrow of Soviet Russia.

Open attack had failed; suborned treachery had failed; the blockade had failed;—there remained diplomatic entanglement and the occupation of adjoining lands.

All the Powers—bourgeois and anti-proletarian as they were—were agreed upon occupying the Straits which form for half the year the only sea outlet for the produce of Russia. All the Powers were agreed that the Turk must go—in order to let some one or other of them in.

All were agreed because no other way could Russia be encircled and the virus of Communism kept from spreading to the robbed and exploited wage-slaves of the West.

But who was to be the one? Who was to hold the Straits? Who was to have the corn of Syria? Who was to have the oil of the Caucasus and the lower Caspian? who the Bagdad railway? who Mesopotamia? who Persia? and what of Central Asia and all the East beyond . . . ?

And in the clamor of their greed and the snarling of their infuriated cupidity, comes the conquering Turk, bringing visions of a worse peril—the Red Army of Soviet Russia.

For the time being, therefore, the war is off. The Press is working overtime trying to manufacture a super-Talleyrand out of Curzon, and their psalms of praise are already counter-pointed by the first mutterings of the storm of wrath that is going to burst upon the Man who Made their Flesh Creep—Dirty David George. But who that is sane believes all this stuff?

We were saved from war because such as French Imperialism hates British, each is afraid of America, doubtful of Japan, fearful of Germany and terrified at the great Might Be of Soviet Russia.

We are saved—not from misery—but "saved up" until time and circumstance shall be ripe for the war to decide who shall be Master of the World.

The day for that decision will most surely come. When it comes it will not be our fault if the answer to the question who?—is any other than—THE WORKER.

They have fooled us, they have bled us, they have robbed us, they have insulted us—but an end comes to all things and the Day of our Judgment is nigh at hand.

The Council of Action must meet. If not to end war to end the rule of the war-mongers.

Lloyd George has got to go—and his gang with him—and the Labour Party must be (whether they want to be or not) the agents of his going, so that the workers of the world may know that there are still men among the British Proletariat—that the working class of Britain are ready to take their place in the vanguard of the Emancipation Struggle of the World's Disinherited.

—From the British Communist.

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THE SECRET OF THE EAST

By WYNKOOP (Amsterdam).

Constantinople, the Byzantium of old time, is The Gate of a Europe thirsting for plunder, in the rich land of India.

Already in pre-Christian times, bloody combats were waged for the possession of this gateway between the antique trading states of Europe and the cultured countries of Western Asia. The Roman Empire laid its hands on it; the crusaders often preferred to settle themselves in this rich centre than to perish in the Holy Land; and in 1453 The Gate was closed, while the Mussulman Turks settled there for the ensuing centuries.

The way to India had now to be found by sea. Columbus with his discovery of America and the new navigation, opened the new era, in which the bourgeoisie developed capitalism into a world force.

Neither the small Italian City States, nor Catholic Spain, nor Calvinistic Holland could develop this world power. But in England, at the end of the eighteenth century, the factory system of the English ruling class began to lay its classic foundations, and before Napoleon caused France to flare up in her last convulsions, the world struggle between France, who dominated the continent of Europe, and England, the mistress of the sea, was already actually decided in favor of the latter.

The nineteenth century then saw the new preparations for the struggle for the land route between the two great continents of Europe and Asia. This world conflict had remained in abeyance for nearly four centuries. Long before the Prussians, as rulers of Germany and Central Europe, could think of exploiting Asia Minor and Mesopotamia through the Berlin-Bagdad Railway (via the Bosphorus), there resounded about the middle of the last century, the cry of Constantinople, as the slogan for the maintenance of England's domination against the then mighty Czarism. Then came the World War of 1914 which really centered about Constantinople through the growing conflict between England and Germany over the domination in the Near East, in Greece, the Balkan States and Asia Minor, in fact, the route to India.

But neither did the World War succeed in solving this old problem, just as it has failed to solve the other problems of capitalist society. The problem of the world-dominating gateway on the Bosphorus now once again stands before us in all its magnitude. At about the same time when Soviet Russia expanded towards the South, when she captured Black Sea port on the Crimean tured Sevastopol, the northern peninsula, and drove General Wrangel into the sea, the leader of the Anatolian peasants, Kemal Pasha, began to establish his power on the south side of the Black Sea against the actual rulers of Constantinople at that time, the English. Solely through the World War and through the Russian Revolution, both of which have exercised an enormous influence upon the hitherto passive peasant population of Asia Minor, India, China and Africa, an influence whose farthest consequences will only be recognized after some decades, the problems of the gateway to Asia via Byzantium has not remained quite the same. It seems, indeed, as if the German antagonist against the sole domination of the British in these areas has been simply replaced by the "French friend", who understands at least to make it as difficult there for the English as ever the Germans did. But the people themselves have undergone a change, especially the peasant peoples.

In Europe too, the peasants have come into a new position as a result of the war, but that is nothing compared with the changed condition of the peasant peoples on the South East borders of Europe and in Asia. In Europe the peasants have chiefly begun to feel their power as possible exploiters in a working partnership; hence, they behave as an integral part of a modern capitalist society, a part which they appreciate the more, the more the people of Asia keep their harvests for themselves, thus rendering the European State more dependent upon its own peasant proprietors.

In the East, however, the peasant movement is, consciously or unconsciously, directing itself against modern capitalism and imperialism. This shows itself already among the so-called "communist" peasants of Yugoslavia and among the farmers of the Bulgarian so-called "Green International" who sympathize with Russia, but particularly among the peasants of Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan and Turkestan. At the same time, the Russian Revolution shows that the first peasant people, who in the unceasing struggle between armed exploiters and working country inhabitants, were actually victorious, were those who were led, not by heroic deliverers or brave petty bourgeois, but by a section of the international proletariat.

The Russian proletariat conferred no inviolable property upon the Russian peasant, but the free use of the soil as a preliminary condition for its own international victory. This fact of the final and lasting victory of millions of peasants over every form of exploitation for the first time in the world's history, is the great secret of the East, which in China, India, Asia Minor, and Africa, is circulating among the many millioned masses over all political frontiers and military barriers, and through which the people are awakening.

And it is this which marks the struggle that is now being waged for the gateway to Asia, between the Greeks (as representatives of the English) and the Turks (as the friends of the French). Kemal Pasha, who stands before the gates of Constantinople, is, of course, no Bolshevik, but it requires a certain measure of Soviet ideas and the moral support of the Soviet Power to lead his Turkish mountain peasants, the most warlike vanguard of the millions of Islamites, against imperialist England. And France, who hates Soviet Russia more than does any other capitalist country, is compelled, in spite of herself, to strengthen the friend of Soviet Russia in order to compel her world competitor, England, to respect her to the extent of possibly dividing the booty.

And at this sharpening of the world conflict, at this historical junction, America will not remain a mere passive spectator. This dangerous robber-play will be carried on at the point of the bayonet. Just as in the year 1914, so now, no one knows what a coil of conflicts this one conflict can draw in its train, not only in the Caucasus, the source of the human race and . . . petroleum, but also on the Danube and the Rhine.

And whatever may occur, this conflict will certainly not end until the international proletariat follows the example of its Russian comrades and takes into its own hands the conduct of the world's affairs. Only to the proletariat in its hour of victory will fall the task of establishing an eternal peace in that eternal city at the gateway of the Continent. Now, however, war approaches rapidly; and only if the proletariat closes its ranks, internationally, rapidly and solidly, together with Russia, will it succeed in keeping the world conflagration at least within certain limits.

—International Press.

Government Winks at Law Violation of Lake Carriers' Association

UNABLE TO FIND CAPABLE SCABS TO REPLACE THE 3,500 STRIKERS, THEY OPERATE SHORT-HANDED.

Chicago.—Safety laws for crews on lake boats are being thrown to the winds during the strike of the sailors' union for the abolition of the 12-hour day, according to K. B. Nolan, secretary. "I have wired three times to the department of commerce at Washington which is in charge of enforcing the safety laws," said Nolan, "but I get no reply. The law requiring a certain percentage of able-bodied seamen on the crew before a boat can clear from port is being ignored entirely. Some boats haven't a single able-bodied seaman on board. The excuse is that the law can be waived in an emergency and the government joins with the steel trust in declaring our strike an emergency.

"A few boats have agreed to the eight-hour basis and the men on those boats have returned to work but all other boats of the 400 ship fleet of the Lake Carriers' Assn. are operating with scabs, if they are running at all. About 3500 of our men are on strike."

"Yes," said the famous physician, "that man has spigoricatid detritus spionbulum, and I'm charging \$2,000 to diagnose his case."

"Beg pardon," said the student, "what did you say this man has?"

"He has \$2,000," replied the physician.—Richmond Times-Dispatch.

MEN'S OVERCOATS at LITMAN'S STORE

Workers' Pay Envelopes Burst, Say Republican Press Agents

By PAUL HANNA
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

Washington.—Have you heard that plasterers are earning \$25 a day under the Harding administration? Do you know that times are so good and workers so scarce that big employers are conducting "shanghai" raids to steal men out of one industry and place them in another?

It must be so for they're printing it in the papers. And if it is all true the Republican party will get the benefit in the November voting.

New York appears to be headquarters for this joyous information, and it is being carried to the inland dailies as "special dispatches" from the metropolis. The only authority given in these news stories is "reports received by telegraph from various sections of the country." Were they addressed to the Republican national committee by Republican state leaders? is a natural question.

Concerning the plasterers, a New York dispatch printed in Washington says: "In one case welders of the trowel are being paid \$12 a day regular and \$10 daily bonus for sticking on the job. Overtime at double pay in occasional instances has doubled this sum."

Carpenters and others have a specially soft time of it, according to the G. O. P. press agents: "Carpenters, plumbers, bricklayers, masons, cement workers and electricians have been kept in idleness but under full pay so that contractors could keep their working forces together."

Except that Stone & Webster are offering common laborers 50 cents an hour in New York, actual wage figures are not given in these rainbow special dispatches save in the case of the plasterers. We read, in fact, that "the inducements are not expressed in terms of wages; it is the outside attractions" that are freely offered. These take the form of reduced house rents, remission of light and heating expenses, prospects of overtime and bonuses.

"Parts of the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania prepared today to make it hot for labor agents known to be in the district seeking to attract hard coal diggers to the Connelville coke ovens. One agent who smuggled out 200 workers had a narrow escape from the indignant mine bosses," the legend runs.

"On the Michigan and Minnesota copper ranges bosses are making offers to mechanics and artisans as well as common laborers in the northern cities of comfortable houses and exceptional living conditions if they will seek the mining fields." This may be news to the copper miners, and workers farther west may be surprised to learn that "Butte is beckoning eagerly to the harvest hands, wool shearers and oil workers of the west and northwest."

"Similar conditions exist in the big porphyry copper properties in Utah and in the gold and silver mines of the Coeur d'Alene and California. The mines and smelters of Arizona are drafting labor from across the Mexican border."

There we have the picture of bursting pay envelopes from coast to coast and from the gulf to Canada. Republican press agents point with pride to the spectacle of big employers sandbagging each other while humble workmen pick up the coin that falls from the pockets of the combatants.

The men on the job may have a different story to tell about work and wages in America today, but the middle class sentimentalist is relied upon to believe what he reads and give the Republican party credit on election day.

JEAN LONGUET BOOKED FOR LECTURE TOUR IN U. S.

(Federated Press Staff)

Washington.—Jean Longuet is not being barred from the United States by the secretary of state at Washington. That statement was given today to The Federated Press by the highest authority concerned. This official statement contradicts the official excuse given in Paris to the French Socialist, the grandson of Karl Marx and editor of the moderate Socialist daily Le Populaire, who has been detained in France for more than three weeks on the ground that the American government could not make up its mind to visa his passport.

When it was explained to them that Longuet is booked for a lecture tour in the United States, which may be seriously embarrassed by the present delay, and that

IN SOVIET RUSSIA--INTERNAL SITUATION

By R. D. (Izvestia, Moscow)

The crops.—The insufficient crops of last year and the subsequent famine have had a very depressing effect on our economic life. Another such year would have placed us before an impasse. Happily the present crop will give us, besides the necessary amount for home consumption, an excess of several hundred million poods (1 pood = 16 kgs.). Compared with last year's crop, the 1922 crop is not only much better, but much better distributed throughout Russia, which will enable an easier transportation. The crop, however, is somewhat below normal.

The tax in kind will be paid in full this year. We have every reason to believe that we will be able to collect it promptly. This is necessary to provide food for the famine-stricken regions, upon which depends the extension of the area under cultivation.

The general data that we have been able to gather on the progress of production show that we have overcome the economic depression, and are slowly recovering from the crisis. The increased activity which follows every good crop should be a great help to our industry.

Trade in Soviet Russia must be the bond between industry and agriculture. First, we had exaggerated the hopes that could be founded on cooperation. Now we have entered upon a phase of exaggerated commercialism. Trade is to be found everywhere. The governmental offices buy and sell and dispute with each other the right to buy and sell. To regulate trade finally, a special commission for internal trade has been created. It is composed of representatives from the Supreme Economic Council and the Central Soviet (Soviet of the Cooperatives). Two commercial events which have just taken place must be mentioned: the opening of the Nishni Novgorod Fair and the Commercial Conference. The Fair of Nishni Novgorod was a great success. Our state industrial trusts, a certain number of big businessmen and the tradesmen of the Near East, especially Persia took part in it. It is difficult at the present time to measure the capacity and the extent of the Russian market. The Fair and the Commercial Conference throw some light on the matter. These recent experiences have shown us the defects of our system of credit, and the necessity of giving the closest attention to the reorganization of our transportation.

The instability of the rouble was the obstacle to the development of trade. This year has brought an important amelioration. The rouble has been relatively stable for the past few months. Several measures become apparent to maintain this stability: reduction of new note issues, regular collection of taxes, balancing of the budget. But the stabilization of the rouble is primarily dependent upon the amelioration of the general economic situation.

On the whole, we can say that our internal situation has much improved since last year. The new economic policy has justified all our hopes. Nevertheless, we must recognize that it has created several political dangers which Lenin had foreseen and foretold. The best means to ward off these dangers is the consolidation of socialized production, that is, of our state capitalism.

The economic rebirth of our country has raised the economic importance of the trade union movement. The August Conference of the Party has drawn the balance of the first period of trade union activity since the introduction of the economic policy. Here too, the results are satisfactory. The voluntary adhesion to trade unions has strengthened our position. We have lost but an infinitesimal portion of adherents. 90 to 95 per cent of last year's members have taken union cards this year. The trade unions remain what they must be—schools of Communism and defensive organs of the workers. They take care of the settlement of wage scales, labor protection measures, social insurance, etc.

The cooperatives did not justify our hopes. Perhaps we expected too much of them at the start. They must be more firmly grounded, and developed. The relations between the working class and the peasantry may be assured by Consumers' Cooperatives, uniting both workers and peasants. Up to the last conference of the Party, certain comrades demanded that Workers' Cooperatives be separated from General Cooperatives. The Party decided otherwise. Workers' Cooperatives must influence the whole cooperative movement. Besides the Consumers' Cooperatives, the Agricultural Cooperatives which are now in a precarious state, require the whole of our attention.

The last Conference of the Russian Communist Party, examining the new problem brought about by the development of a bourgeois ideology due to the introduction of the new economic policy, said definitely: "Our economic retreat has ended and the political offensive continues."

That does not mean that we intend to return to our old methods of combat. New circumstances demand new methods. The petty bourgeois elements have given up the attempt to overthrow the Soviet Regime by force of arms and try to take advantage of all possibilities of legal activity. Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, the Smena Vekh cadets, hope that the new economic policy will slowly bring back the bourgeois state. Their capacity for adaptation is often surprising. To defeat them, the working class must maintain the direction of political affairs with a firm hand, and assert its leadership in the ideological field. This is what Zinoviev pointed out at the Conference of the Party which advocated several practical measures, among them, intensification of the activity of the Socialist Academy, the central laboratory of revolutionary thought, the formation of a red professorship for the universities, the amelioration of our press, the improvement of our Party Schools, the enlargement of the work of Marxian Study Circles (especially in the country). Which does not exclude any repressive measure that the Soviets may adopt against the intellectual representatives of the petty bourgeois class, whose counter-revolutionary activity is particularly dangerous. A certain number of them have been recently expelled to foreign countries and to the provinces of the North.

Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the State of Minnesota

Submitted by the Legislature at its General Session, 1921, to the People of Minnesota at the General 1922 Election Together with Statements of Purpose and Effect of each

Prepared by
CLIFFORD L. HILTON
Attorney-General of Minnesota.
Addressed to
MIKE HOLM
Secretary of State.

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ture tour in the United States, which may be seriously embarrassed by the present delay, and that

Longuet has been advised that the matter was still under advisement here, state department officials expressed complete surprise. Reporters had it explained at some length that the secretary of state has a standing order that all such issues shall be brought immediately to his attention for prompt disposal, and that the name Jean Longuet was still unknown to that official. It will be recalled that Longuet was denied an American visa two years ago, which fact is now being used at Paris to persuade Longuet that the present stalemate is due to Secretary Hughes' refusal to give him clearance for the American tour.

United States Senator Ladd, North Dakota, is among those who have interested themselves in the Longuet passport. Ladd has written to Secretary Hughes to inquire if and why the French Socialist is barred from the United States by a diplomatic barricade.

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TRUTH

Issued Weekly By The West End Labor Association.

"Entered as second-class matter November 12, 1920, at the post office at Duluth, Minnesota, under the Act of March 3, 1879"

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TRUTH declares that the working class must capture the capitalist state and establish their own state until the class antagonisms have been destroyed and until there remains no further need for the state. During this period of transition there must be the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is folly to think that the capitalist class will give up possession of the wrongfully owned industries without a struggle. In this struggle there must be a well disciplined working class and a clear visioned and firm leadership. The task is no Sunday-school play and no lazy man's job. It will mean sacrifice and hardship and much study and much training. The workers must prepare for this.

It is to reach the workers with this message that TRUTH exists. It is the child of the loyal workers in Duluth who recognize the imperative need of the change from capitalism to the Workers' Republic. Come with us!



TIGHTENING UP

(Written by J. O. BENTALL before he went to prison.)

Among the first and also the surest signs that a system is breaking is the use of force to suppress those who point out the flaws in it. Whenever a country has to use force to keep its people in subjection one may expect something to happen soon.

The hounding of radicals in this country indicates a great change when one looks back upon the period of comparative liberty we once enjoyed. Now we have stoolpigeons, frame-ups, injunctions, guns and prisons.

The only force that will win out in the long run, is the force of thought and justice.

So while the governments are closing in they are not intimidating the workers. They are only showing the weakness of their own position, and the workers are intelligent enough to recognize this.

WILL RUSSIA WIN?

The danger of a collision between British and Turkish troops and a consequent war is not altogether past.

Although the capitalist press makes loud acclamation of the sincerity of the British in the evacuation of Eastern Thrace, between the lines it is possible to read something else. The British labor press service states definitely "while the British government is ostensibly holding out an olive branch to the Angora government, it belies its protestations of peaceful intent by dispatching troops and munitions to the East with all possible speed."

Lloyd George is facing a crisis—the question of the continuation of the coalition looms big. He is being subjected to the most severe criticism. If the Eastern mess is the final blow that will bring his downfall as prime minister of England, Russia will profit greatly, for it is Lloyd George and the anti-bolshevik elements standing with him that stubbornly refuse to recognize Russia.

M. Litvinov, vice commissar for trade and foreign affairs stated recently that he was not only hopeful that Lloyd George's downfall would result in trade agreements between Great Britain and Russia but that France also, as a result of M. Herriot's visit to Moscow, will soon change its attitude towards Russia. If this should happen, then Russia, a mere observer of the Eastern debacle, will be the real winner.

LIFE-LONG DEPORTATION

When the Department of Justice secretly commuted the sentence of the dynamiter Robert Fay, who attempted to blow up a munition ship for the German imperial secret service, there were no strings attached to his release. Ragnar Johansen, Carl Ahlteen and Sigfrid Stenberg, politicals in Leavenworth for terms of ten to twenty years were not so favored. Their release is conditioned upon their life-long deportation to Sweden. This is only making a pretence at justice while their sentences are in fact prolonged.

To an ordinary working-class mind such a move in place of the unconditional release of these men looks like a catering of the Department of Justice to the blatant 100 per cent war profiteers. Their loud noise against the politicals who exposed the war game is supposed to keep the eyes of the public off their bulging pockets.

It must be that Daugherty fears their noise. If he were not catering to them why ship our politicals to Sweden? If they are undesirable people to have here, destructive of happiness and safety, how does deportation solve the situation? You cannot get rid of ideas by putting the men into your neighbor's yard. There is no fence built to keep opinions in Sweden. Deportation is merely a cheap childish way of toadying to the few who benefitted by the war.

It will be a loss to the working class of America to lose men of such caliber as Ahlteen, Johansen, and Stenberg for a while. But we swear it will not be a life time. These men are still young and the government that ought to be ours, but isn't, will not always be run by gibbering czars. It will yet be made the home of free men where the expression of opinion will not be a crime.

WALSH TO DEFEND MICHIGAN VICTIMS

The men arrested in the recent Michigan red raids will be defended by Frank P. Walsh, former joint chairman with Wm. Taft of the United States war labor board. He will put up a strong fight to prevent Wm. Foster and the other victims from being railroaded to prison for their political and economic opinions. It is Foster's intelligence and persistence in propagating industrial unionism that makes him a dangerous enemy to the owning exploiting class. They would like to deport him but since he was born here they must use their other ever-ready method of disposing of intelligent active workers for freedom from capitalism; namely, prison.

Any method will do to get him to prison. The Department of Justice employs stool-pigeons to become members of the workers' organizations; it uses the third degree and it drags out a war-time hysteria measure like the Michigan criminal syndicalism statute. They must get Foster. Why be particular about the method? Our country must be saved from industrial unionism for the workers and kept holy for the one big union of the owning exploiters.

But Walsh has the ability to make the frame-up sneaks look like two-cent pieces. Wait and see.

EXIT GRABLE

The convention of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers held in Detroit recently was one of the most progressive in the history of organized labor.

First the convention adopted by a 4 to 1 vote the proposal to amalgamate the 16 railroad crafts into one industrial union. This put it in line with two other great bodies of railroad workers who have also endorsed amalgamation; namely the Shopmen and the Railway and Steamship Clerks and Freighthandlers, with a combined membership of 1,100,000 men. But the Maintenance of Way Brotherhood did something else beside endorse amalgamation. It canned E. F. Grable who as grand president of that organization was one of the most notorious misleaders of labor and bitterly opposed to industrial unionism. Grable was the man who evicted the strike of the 400,000 maintenance of way men last summer when they voted overwhelmingly for a strike when their wages were cut.

It is safe to say that had he stood true to the rank and file of his union and let the men go out at the same time that the shopmen were out the shopmen would not have been defeated and the maintenance of way men would not be accepting the miserable 2 cents an hour increase now. They could have gone back on their own terms.

The railroad owners were hard hit as it was, with the shopmen out. With the 400,000 trackmen out, the roads would have become so unsafe that the engineers and firemen would absolutely have refused to take out any trains. The shopmen would have won and the maintenance of way men would have won.

The disposal of Grable from his throne gives evidence that the maintenance of way men are on the job. They can now proceed to build up their industrial union and to make common cause with the coal miners who will probably walk out again on the first of next April. Together they will have power enough to make the coal and railroad barons give them a substantial raise in wage and to forge ahead to the ultimate goal which is nothing less than all the workers organized on industrial lines and all the industrial unions combined into one big union to establish a Workers Republic.

MILITARISTS BUSY

Those who were trusting enough to think that the administration was sincere when it boasted of reducing expenditures for armaments will have a rude awakening.

Preparations are being made for the next war. The militarists are having meetings in Washington and a regular drive is being made to get the appropriations for the army and navy increased.

General Pershing is here to help push. He said: "When a regular army man talks of such movements he is immediately accused of harboring selfish motives. Therefore, it is up to you to take advantage of your opportunities to outline and guide the mass of people in the proper direction."

"Of course, without appropriations your organization can not function and appropriations will not be forthcoming unless sentiment for a moderate military force is aroused in the masses."

Manufacturers who are experienced in munition making were there. And Secretary Weeks oozed forth figures for the group to substantiate their demands. Eight "dollar a year men" who are manufacturers were selected as district organizers to mobilize munitions in case war should break out.

There you have it. Let us repeat what young Cornelius Vanderbilt said in connection with this and the whole program is in a nutshell. He said:

"I learn from positive military sources that preparations have been carefully made for defense against 'internal trouble.' The War Department, I learn, is prepared to meet any emergency within twelve hours. The weapons selected for the first line of defense are to be tear-gas grenades, light aerial bombs, calculated to do greatest damage in confined areas, riot and machine guns and tanks."

The capitalists are ours.

"I learn as well that a complete set of military orders and instructions have been prepared for telegraphic delivery to nine corps area commanders, and that these orders contain instructions that if 'the situation warrants, the troops are to shoot FIRST AND SHOOT TO KILL, that there is to be NO QUARTER where a riot threatens to spread from, say, for instance, a ROUNDHOUSE OR STATION to the town itself."

"The employment of big guns is rendered impracticable, the purpose not being DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY as much as suppression."

"The War Department is not going to embark upon a campaign of reckless destruction. There is no limit to the number of workmen who may be killed, but property must not be injured."

THERE CAN BE NO INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY

E. B., who writes for the Labor Monthly published in London, has been looking around to see if he can discover any factors in the capitalist world that make for industrial recovery. The following article is a digest of his study. It is worth careful attention for the facts stated hold good for America also.

From official figures it is shown that 12 per cent of the workers in England have been unemployed for over two years. This means decreased production, less purchasing power and more unemployment. At the same time the expense of maintaining the capitalist state increases. Taxes in proportion to production are increasing, largely due to unemployment benefits, military and naval pensions and special charges of interest on war loans. The State budget alone in England absorbs one-fourth of the national income.

The State cannot reduce taxes. It is impossible to retrench on pensions, unemployment benefits, etc. It can only reduce the government staffs but this again means more unemployment, reduces the purchasing power of consumers and so increases industrial stagnation and wage reductions. Thus the vicious circle is continued.

The result is that the state which is supposed to be the capitalists' servant, is now beginning to be the master.

Natural factors that might make for industrial recovery, such as good grain or cotton crops, leading to lower prices and greater purchasing power are absent. Grain and cotton growers (apart from Russia) have deliberately restricted output because the stagnation had reduced prices and the amount consumed.

Unnatural factors for reviving trade such as war are also lacking. War is not a good business proposition just now for new loans cannot be made in order to get the necessary equipment for another war.

So there are no factors in any part of the capitalist world that will help to bolster up the industrial machine. 12 per cent of the machine is not working at present. As production decreases and the burden of government administration increases unemployment will increase. The workers in employment as well as the unemployed will be with their backs against a wall.

Eventually there will be a crash; the industrial machine will break.

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FROM SYNDICALISM TO COMMUNISM

The French United Confederation of Labor which embodied all the old principles of revolutionary syndicalism recently decided to affiliate with the Red International of Labor Unions. Hence it will be of advantage as well as interesting to read Tom Mann's article in the October London Labor Monthly "From Syndicalism to Communism." The following are the main points in the article:

The holding of the British Trades Union Congress at Southport makes a fitting occasion to review the position of the Trades Union Congress itself, of the Trade Union Movement, and the Labour Party.

Respecting the agenda of the Congress, as Robert Smillie declared at the Labour Demonstration at Southport on the Sunday preceding the Congress, "it was not a very revolutionary one," apparently regretting the mildness of it. At the same meeting Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M. P., Secretary to the Congress, was also a speaker. Commenting upon the 5,000,000 organized workers represented by the 800 delegates, he was reported as saying, "That was a wonderful achievement, and he hesitated to think what would have happened during the year had it not been for the powerful trade unions with their funds to help the workers." (A voice: "Revolution!") "We want to avoid that," retorted Mr. Bowerman, "and I will make my point straight away. Practically every adult above a certain age now has the right to cast a vote, but does every workman do his duty to his own class when an opportunity to use it comes along?" ("No!") "Let him do that, and you will avoid all talk of revolution." Thus the chief official of the Congress is calling for such action as will prevent a revolution, and expects such changes in the social system as are desirable, to be brought about by all workers recording votes for the electing of Labour members to Parliament.

Nothing Less Than Overthrow of Capitalism Will Cure.

Long ago the question of the nature of the change desired was thrashed out by clear thinkers, and as the years have rolled on the genuine students of sociology, viewing life from the working-class standpoint, have known and declared ten thousand times that nothing short of a revolution can correct the evils we deplore under the existing system. That is, nothing less than the overthrow of the capitalist system based on production for profit, and the bringing in of a system of real socialism or production for use, can cure the evils that afflict the working class, and this means, in plain and clear language, the social revolution.

It was in consequence of the failure of the Labour members of Parliament to see this, or their unwillingness to endorse it and to act accordingly, plus the fact that the Labour Party tamely acquiesced in this attitude, that caused many of us fifteen years ago to strike out on Syndicalist lines. We were quite clear that to go on merely vote-recording in and out of Parliament was never likely to give the workers that actual control over their own lives and conditions of work that would enable them to escape from the domination of the exploiter, or free us from social enslavement by the plutocratic State. We looked upon the organized State under the complete domination of the capitalist plutocracy as our enemy, whilst most of the Labour politicians and Labour Party required only its modifications.

The Syndicalists' Aim.

The Syndicalist aimed at depriving the State of its power to tyrannize, and for the workers to secure their own freedom, by such industrial organization as would enable the workers to refuse to produce, and therefore to refuse to carry on industry under capitalist domination, by themselves undertaking entire responsibility for managing industry.

The aim was to organize each industry, and to link up these for administration purposes on a national basis, contending that industrial solidarity, inspired by the communal or co-operative principle of common action for the common good, would admit of a complete and permanent cure for unemployment, and the progressive raising of the standard of life for all as productive capacity increased. Some of us were anti-parliamentary, others were non-parliamentary. The vitally essential principle we held to be the complete control of all work by those who did the work, and the control of all the results of work, and thus the abolition of the wages system and therefore of the profit system and of the profit receiver.

One result of the Syndicalist propaganda was to give new life to the trade union movement, to achieve industrial changes more drastic than had been thought possible by the mild reformist school, and generally to give a stimulus to industrial organization, and the amalgamation of sectional unions. Thus it was as the direct outcome of the vigorous men's unions together, resulting in the formation of the National Union of Railwaymen in 1912, the outcome of the industrial struggles of 1911.

The Syndicalists, in their constant endeavor to organize and control industry, believing that parliamentary action was of no avail unless it was preceded by effective industrial organization, gave very little attention to parliamentary methods, and were frequently termed the "anti-politicals" or "industrialists." This was right so far as it meant opposition to relying upon parliamentary institutions; but when it was taken to mean that the struggle was simply an industrial struggle to be waged on the industrial field, and that the State would be ignored, this was a misunderstanding of the real Syndicalist view, and this misunderstanding has led to harmful results in this country.

Industrial Organization Not Enough.

Now, however, the experience of the war and after the war has shown conclusively that we can no longer think simply of an industrial struggle, and industrial organization alone is not enough. Whatever is done by industrial organization, the organized State machine will continue to function, and will beyond question be used by the plutocracy in any and every available form against the workers. The dominant ruling capitalist class, the plutocracy, have complete control of that highly efficient machine for class purposes, the interests of the community are ever secondary to the maintenance of power by the master class, and that machine will continue to be theirs until it is wrested from them by the workers.

It is right and necessary that we should continue to organize industrially, but industrial organization is not enough. The struggle that we are concerned with is not simply the struggle of sections of the workers against sections of the employers, but the whole working class against the single power, the interests of the State, to destroy this State machine and set up our own in order to obtain economic and social freedom.

The most dangerous threat to us as believers in the power of industrial organization are compelled by facts and experi-

ence to realize that the State institution in the hands of the master class is not merely a danger to our success but makes our success impossible no matter how perfectly we organize in our respective industries.

We must be able to function as a class and not merely as sections; we must be directly related to each other district by district and in every occupation. We require therefore a suitable agency through which we can function, by means of which we can take concerted action; we must turn the industrial struggle into a political struggle, and our outlook must be not national only but genuinely international also.

Communist International, Unifying Force.

The Communist International is the unifying force that must bring together and organize all the militant workers in their right relationship, so that each can play his part in the common struggle; and our work as individuals is to have the right outlook, to be actually identified with such organizations as will afford us best opportunities to function effectively; and at the same time to take our part in the common organization for uniting all our forces for the common struggle, the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishing of Communism.

In the order of progress the Labour Party will be saddled with the responsibility of government; we wish them the most complete success. We can hope they will soon be able to command a decisive majority, that they will work under conditions that will give them opportunities of applying their programme. Not only are they entitled to the responsibility of government, but it is imperative that they should accept it and proceed to function and demonstrate the full value of their programme and their methods.

Labour Party Program Party Will Fail.

Those who are alive to the fact that nothing short of the complete social revolution can meet the necessities of the case, and that the capitalist class is not in the least likely to be talked out or voted out of the dominant position they occupy, will not be surprised if the Labour Party fail pitifully in their attempts to cope with a class that is, in any one week, constitutional and revolutionary, democratic and plutocratic, oligarchic and despotic, according to the needs of the hour and place, for the maintenance of their domination. Meanwhile it is for the more far-seeing to prepare beforehand.

As one who has been identified with the trade union movement for over forty years, and having lived and worked in many countries, and having been a constant observer and student of the social struggle, I unhesitatingly say there is no possible hope for our class short of the revolution. I have lived and worked in America, a country that was thought to hold out hope and good prospects for all who could make their way there. Experience long and bitter has taught us there is no salvation for the workers in that country as it now is, not a whit more than in this. I have lived for eight years and more in the younger countries of New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa; every one of these is just a replica of this, with trade depressions, unemployment, Labor struggling with the capitalists, the machinery of government used to maintain the dominance of the master class. The same urgent need for the social revolution exists in the countries referred to as in these older countries of Europe, but until they had been thoroughly sampled, until cities and towns and comparatively settled communities demonstrated (unconsciously) to the world that the old Adam of capitalist exploitation was exactly the same in the relatively new as in the relatively old world, hope remained in the worker's breast.

Lessons From The Last Seven Years.

The world events of the last seven years have been illuminating. * * * We must get out of the ruts—the trade union ruts, the parliamentary ruts, the industrial ruts, the sectarian ruts—and take a full survey of the position. Learn from America, and equally or more so from Russia. Learn from the American land of freedom how readily the authorities shoot and kill those who try to get better conditions, as in the case of the steel workers, many of them with a twelve-hour work day, and seven such days in a week. Learn from South Africa, where the miners have recently been shot dead in considerable numbers, and ten thousand arrested, and now undergoing trial, some of whom have been sentenced to death. Learn from Italy where the reactionary Fascists, encouraged by the Government, have killed many hundreds and burned their trade union buildings and destroyed the Communist offices. Teuton and Latin and Anglo-Saxon alike, capitalism at present dominates, but the day approaches when, like the Russians, we and others will be called upon to prove our mettle. May we be found tried and true.

GRASS

By CARL SANDBURG

Pile the bodies high at Austerlitz and Waterloo.
Shovel them under and let me work—
I am the grass; I cover all.

And pile them high at Gettysburg,
And pile them high at Ypres and Verdun.
Shovel them under and let me work.
Two years, ten years, and passengers ask the conductor:
What place is this?
Where are we now?

I am the grass;
Let me work.

AT LEAST 267 LIED A LITTLE

Persons who have read Klein's book, "Dynasties in America," compiled from official figures showing that there are 300 families in the United States with fortunes of more than \$20,000,000 and whose aggregate wealth is fifteen billion six hundred million dollars, will find it hard to swallow the federal income tax returns, which say there are only 33 individuals in the United States who received more than a million dollars in 1920.

PROFITEER

By CARL SANDBURG

I who saw ten strong young men die anonymously, I who saw ten old mothers hand over their sons to the nation anonymously, I who saw ten thousand touch the sunlit silver finalities of undistinguished human glory—why do I sneeze sardonically at a bronze drinking fountain named after one who participated in the war vicariously and bought farms?

TO WIN SUCCESS

Not spurts of activity followed by inertia but regular continued vigorous effort will bring results.

Not riots, but strong, persistent, consistent mass organization.—Glasgow Worker.

Only a class that marches along its road without hesitation, that does not become dejected, and does not despair on the most difficult and dangerous crossings can lead the toiling and exploited masses. WE DO NOT NEED HYSTERICAL OUTBURSTS. WE NEED THE REGULAR MARCH OF THE IRON BATTALIONS OF THE PROLETARIAT.—N. Lenin.

—Glasgow Worker.

When Grable was swept out of the way with him won 14 vice presidents at annual salaries of \$6000 each. In their place are put five vice presidents at \$4200 salary. More sweeping needed.

Then welcome each rebuff
That turns earth's smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand, but go!
Be our joys three parts pain!
Strive, and hold cheap the strain;
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!
—Browning.