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SECRETARY OF TREASURY INAUGURATED MELON CUTTING ERA

Instead of Enforcing Law Against Tax Evasions He Leads in Violating It.

By PAUL HANNA.
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—If anybody thinks Andy Mellon sacrificed his private interests when he consented to be secretary of the treasury there are some facts at hand that will reassure them. It is no longer hearsay, but established truth, that Mr. Mellon, in his present office, is the watchdog of his private purse.

Congressman Frear asks Mellon why he does not enforce the law and collect the tax on the accumulated profit melons now being cut by the Standard Oil Co. The semi-private circular of a New York brokerage house furnishes this answer:

"Since we were last privileged to address you, two dominant factors in world finances have made decisive moves. Andrew Mellon, banker, oil magnate and capable secretary of our treasury, controlling the immensely wealthy Gulf Oil corporation, inaugurated the stock dividend and melon cutting era of 1922-1923. Gulf Oil led the movement with a 200% stock dividend. The stock jumped from \$400 to \$800."

That is why his friends call him "the secretary of OUR treasury."

Incidentally, "that good gulf oil" is doing its duty in the present campaign. A report of receipts by the G. O. P. says that "R. B. Mellon, of Pittsburgh, the secretary's brother, contributed \$25,000 to the national committee and \$1000 to the congressional committee."

MUSSOLINI MUST FEED MASSES TO AVOID FASCISTI FUNERAL

By PAUL HANNA.
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

Washington.—"White Bolshevism" is what students of Italian politics call the Fascisti movement, now dominant at Rome. And leaders of the clan who have been asked to form a ministry would not deny the phrase.

Benito Mussolini, dictator of the Fascisti, was until a few years ago editor of an Italian newspaper. During the world war he deserted the Socialists and gave his support to the war party. Since that break his shift to the extreme right has been very rapid.

For a time Mussolini called himself a republican. But middle ground and personal obscurity are intolerable to such a man. With the return of peace his ambition faced a crisis; the government needed him no more and the working class remembered his name only to call him traitor.

Then he came under the influence of Alberto Tangredi, once an individual anarchist, but of late a convert to monarchist imperialism. Tangredi soon made Mussolini see that fame and fortune for them both lay in the direction of violent agitation in favor of an Italy restored to her ancient glory and dominion.

United with Mussolini and Tangredi in this ambitious project are Guido Bodrecca, former editor of the anti-clerical L'Asino; Edmondo Rossoni, once a violent direct actionist, resident of America and editor of Il Proletario; and former syndicalist Bianchi.

The year 1920 gave birth to the present Fascisti. In response to a violent lockout by employers that year, the workers seized the plants and continued production. This act showed how easily the workers might become masters of the whole land if they had desired. Instead of seizing power, however, the workers compromised on a legislative plan that was to give them increased authority in the factories.

To defeat that program the Fascisti came into being. Mussolini, Tangredi and the other renegade radicals saw their opportunity, and by playing upon the fears of the owning classes they have ridden into greater prominence than they ever knew before, as chiefs of an exaggerated Ku Klux Klan which cheers for the king, sets the torch to working class property, proclaims its purpose to annex Greek, French and British territories and murders all men who stand in the way.

It is a mistake to think that the government has feared the Fascisti during these past two years. Its ranks are filled with the sons of generals, politicians, chiefs of police, landlords and others whose youthful imaginations are inflamed by the promise to restore the ancient Roman empire. And if its foreign program has been ridiculous its raids against the working class have

made it popular with all the reactionaries.

Small shopkeepers have rejoiced to see the Fascisti attack and destroy the cooperative societies, Catholic and radical alike, and for this abolition of their business rivals the little business men have contributed freely to Mussolini's war chest.

Every passing day makes it harder for the Italian masses to get bread. The lira is at its lowest level—2½ cents. Mussolini must either use his new power to feed the people and restore the lira or find that his entrance into office was a march toward the grave of the whole Fascisti movement.

Another Gesture of Clemency for Political

WASHINGTON.—The actual release of Francis Miller, Providence, R. I., and John Martin, two more political prisoners who received ten-year sentences at the Chicago 1918 I. W. W. trial, is confirmed by the Joint Amnesty committee at the department of justice and by word from Leavenworth penitentiary.

It was stated that Miller left the prison doors unconditionally free, without being required to sign any form of commutation. Martin, a native of Denmark—concerning whom the Danish legation replied to an official inquiry, "Denmark will be happy to recover a man like John Martin; we are sorry you have no more like him for us to reclaim"—has been granted a stay of deportation for 30 days, on bond, in which to settle his affairs.

William Tanner, a Finn, was released a few days ago and is now at Ellis Island awaiting deportation to Russia—because the present reactionary Finnish government refused to receive him. This makes three additional releases of wartime political within the week of October 29.

This gesture of clemency on the part of the administration, however, will not deter the Joint Amnesty committee from urging all the more vigorously the unconditional liberation of all the other war-opinion prisoners still in jail, particularly, it was indicated at headquarters here, as most of them were convicted on the same grounds.

LAWBREAKERS POSE AS PATRIOTS; SOCIAL UNREST INCREASES

New York.—"I here submit a lawyer's brief for free speech. Let those who disagree answer it if they can," writes Henry E. Jackson, an attorney and president of the National Community board, in the current issue of Collier's. He follows with 10 arguments. Collier's, in a statement accompanying the article, grants permission to reprint the article in whole or in part to any publication, organization or individual. It prefaces Jackson's arguments by the statement:

"Your most precious right as an American citizen is in danger. Men who profess to be guarding the constitution are the very ones who threaten it. Will you come to its defense?"

Jackson cites such recent acts of oppression as those of Atty. Gen. Daugherty in Chicago, and the ar-

ANTI-NATIONALISTS DEPORT ASHLEIGH

London.—When Charles Ashleigh, known in the American labor movement as a speaker and writer, arrived in Bombay Sept. 19, the police came on board his ship and demanded his passport. This they took from him, forbidding him to land. Later they permitted him to go ashore and to stay in a Bombay hotel, under police surveillance, until the departure of the steamer Kaiser-I-Hind on Sept. 23. Thus, Ashleigh spent just four days in India.

Ashleigh is a British subject, although he has lived in the United States for nearly 10 years. When his passport was returned to him he found that the portion of it stating its validity for the British empire, was cancelled, and that he was thus automatically excluded from India.

The police official asked Ashleigh whether he had come to India to write about the Nationalist movement, and whether he supported it. Ashleigh replied that he had come to India to report the truth as faithfully and conscientiously as possible. In reply to the government's contention that he is not an impartial journalist, as he writes mainly for working class papers, Ashleigh demands that they also exclude all journalists who write for avowedly anti-Nationalist papers.

Ashleigh was not much put out by his deportation. "I'm used to it," he said. "I was deported from the states last February, after spending three years in American prisons because I believed in the solidarity of labor. I hope the splendid men whom President Harding still keep behind the bars will realize, when they read this, that I am still in the world struggle for emancipation from political and economic servitude."

Middle Class Sinks Into The Proletariat

London.—In an article contributed to the first number of the new Socialist weekly, the New Leader, Prof. Einstein writes that the struggle for existence in Germany among brain workers—Independent artists, musicians, writers, students and professors of all kinds—has been desperate, and that if these conditions continue, the middle class, "hitherto the principal source and preserver of our intellectual heritage," will sink to the level of the "submerged masses." He writes also of the pessimism engendered in all classes in Germany by the hopeless political and economic outlook.

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AMERICAN PUBLIC LIFE

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EDITOR'S NOTE:—With this article we begin a series which promises to be very enlightening. Imperial Washington will be exposed by one who saw it from the inside for twelve years. He is not a Communist or a soapboxer of any kind. He is simply a fairly intelligent capitalist who is sick of the hypocrisy and fake that belong to our government and he exposes it frankly and courageously.

FOREWORD

The American people should know the truth about American public life. They have been lied to so much and hoodwinked so often that it would seem only fair for them to have at least one straight-from-the-shoulder statement concerning this government "of the people, by the people and for the people," about whose inner workings the people know almost nothing.

The common people of the United States, like the same class of people in every other country, mean well, but they are ill-informed. Floundering about in their ignorance, they are tricked and robbed by those who have the inside information and who therefore know how to take advantage of every turn in the wheel of fortune. The people voted for Roosevelt because he talked of "trust-busting" at the same time that he was sanctioning the purchase of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company by the Steel Trust. They supported Wilson "because he kept us out of war" at the same time that Wilson was making preparations to enter the war. The rulers can negotiate "secret treaties" at home and abroad. The people, knowing nothing of either the theory or the practice of secret diplomacy, commit all sorts of follies for which they themselves must later foot the bill.

At the present moment the American people are being taught "Americanism"—taught by the same gentry who are making away with billions of dollars, sometimes "legally" and sometimes without any sanction in the law.

The most prominent among the leaders of the Americanization campaign were the most prominent among the war profiteers. They are the owners of resources and industries—the owners of America. It is from them that the preparedness agitation came in 1915 and 1916, and it is from them that the new preparedness agitation is coming now.

Who Were the Patriotic \$1.00-a-Year Men?

There is a newspaper story in the New York Herald (November 7, 1920) which illustrates the point. The story, evidently inspired by the War Department, is devoted to a description of certain big guns and certain new forms of tanks that the government is at the present time busy manufacturing. The country was caught napping once, says the writer, but the War Department is going to be sure that the same thing does not happen again. Therefore, it is building up its machinery now, while the country is still at peace. In this work the War Department is assisted "by some of the leading industrial spirits of the country, who are keeping up the same enthusiastic devotion to the service of their country they displayed in the war. A little army of dollar-a-year men, headed by Benedict Crowell, former Assistant Secretary of War, has mobilized itself under the name of Army Ordnance Association and is giving its valuable time to the country without costing the government a single cent."

Who are the members of this "little army" of patriots? The Herald gives the answer in full. Besides Mr. Crowell, there are, in the Army Ordnance Association, William Wheeler Coleman, president of the Bucyrus Company of Milwaukee, Wis.; Charles Elliot Warren, past president of the American Bankers' Association; Ralph Crews, of the law firm of Sherman & Sterling, New York City; Guy Eastman Tripp, chairman of the board of directors of the Westinghouse Company; Samuel McRoberts, of the National City Bank of New York; Waldo Calvin Bryant, president of the Bryant Electric Company; Frank Augustus Scott, former chairman of the War Industries Board; Robert P. Lamont, president of the American Steel Foundries of Chicago, and C. L. Harrison, of the First National Bank of Cincinnati.

\$435,000,000 in Contracts for The \$1.00-a-Year Men.

What do these patriotic business men hope to gain by their devotion to the preparedness program of the War Department? The answer appears later in the same articles: "It is this desire to keep abreast of the world's performances in ordnance that has prompted the War Department to ask for an increased appropriation next year. The department's appropriation last year was \$77,246,944. The estimates for this year call for an appropriation of approximately \$814,000,000." The difference, or \$435,000,000, represents the value of contracts that will go to the business interests of the United States.

Again, bankers, lawyers, manufacturers and business men are going to save the country—not by keeping us out of war, but by getting ready for the next war. It is these men who dominate the life and thought as well as the industries of these United States, and it is just such men that have been in control of the United States ever since I entered the Senate thirty years ago.

It is fifty years since I began to take an interest in public affairs. During those years I have been participating, more or less actively, in public life—first as a government surveyor, then as a member of the Legislature of Dakota; as a member of the House of Representatives and, finally, as a member of the United States Senate. Since 1880 I have known the important men in both the Republican and Democratic parties; I have known the members of the diplomatic corps; I have known personally the last ten presidents of the United States, and I have known personally the leading business men who backed the political parties and who made and unmade the presidents. For half a century I have known public men and have been on the inside of business and politics. Through all of that time I have lived and worked with the rulers of America.

When I entered the arena of public affairs in 1870, the United States, with a population of thirty-eight millions was just recovering from the effects of the Civil War. The economic life of the old slave-holding South lay in ruins. Even in the North, the Panic of 1873 swept over the business world, taking its toll in commercial failures and unemployment and an increase in the number of tenant farmers. The policy of sending carpet-bagging rascals into the embittered South hindered reconciliation, and sectional differences prevented any effective co-operation between the two portions of the country. The result was a heavy loss in productive power and in political position. Through this period, the United States was an inconsequential factor in international affairs.

The transformation from that day to this is complete. With three times the population; with sectionalism practically eliminated; with the South recovered economically and the economic power of the North vastly increased; with more wealth than any other five nations of the world combined; with the credit of the world in her hands; with large undeveloped, or only slightly developed resources; with a unified population and a new idea of world importance, the United States stands as probably the richest and most influential among the great nations.

Government Was Betrayed by Business Forces.

I witnessed the momentous changes and participated in them. While they were occurring I saw something else that filled me with dread. I saw the government of the United States enter into a struggle with the trusts, the railroads and the banks, and I watched while the business forces won the contest. I saw the forms of republican government decay through disuse, and I saw them betrayed by the very men who were sworn to preserve and uphold them. I saw the empire of business, with its innumerable ramifications, grow up around and above the structure of government. I watched the power over public affairs shift from the weakened structure of republican political machinery to the vigorous new business empire. Strong men who saw what was occurring no longer went into politics. Instead, they entered the field of industry, and with them the seat of the government of the United States was shifted from Washington to Wall Street. With this shift, there disappeared from active public life those principles of republican government that I had learned to believe were the means of safeguarding liberty. After the authority over public affairs had been transferred to the men of business, I saw the machinery of business pass from the hands of individuals into the hands of corporations—artificial persons—created in the imagination of lawyers, and given efficacy by the sanction of the courts and of the law. When I turned to the reading of American history, I discovered that these things had been going on from the beginnings of our government,

that they had grown up with it, and were an essential part of its structure. From surprise and disgust I turned to analysis and reason and, for the past twenty years, I have been watching the public life of the United States with an understanding mind. For a long time I have known what was going on in the United States. Today I think that I know why it is going on.

When I look back over the half century that has passed since I first entered public life, I can hardly realize that the America, which I knew and believed in as a young man in the twenties, could have changed so completely in so short a time. Even when I know the reason for the change, it is hard to accept it as a reality.

"Histories Written by Ruling Class More Fiction than Facts."

Many of the public men who have lived and worked in the United States during the past century have written their impressions of public affairs. Benton, Blaine, Grant and Sherman discussed the public life of the middle of the last century. Since then, there have been many autobiographies and memoirs. I have read these books carefully, and it seems to me that not one of the writers is at the same time a student and a realist.

First of all, they have written about politics, with very little or no attention to the economic forces that were shaping politics. In the second place, too many of them have written the agreeable things and left the disagreeable things unsaid. In the third place, they have written what they believed should have happened rather than what actually did happen. Fourth, and by far the most important, each of these men has written as a member of a ruling class, pleased with himself, and satisfied that rule by his class was the best thing for the community. The pictures that these men give are like the decisions of our courts—built of precedents rather than of realities.

It is my ambition to tell my fellow-countrymen what has happened during the half century that I have known public life. I know what went on, because I saw it. I want others to have the same knowledge. During my public career I have received very definite impressions, and I am anxious to pass those impressions on to others. I want to do this because I believe that my country is in danger; I believe that the liberties of the American people are already well-nigh destroyed; I believe that we are moving forward to a crisis of immense significance to the future of the American people, and the ideas and ideals for which the United States has stood before the world. We are far along on the road to empire, and we are traveling faster towards that goal than any nation in history ever traveled.

It is with that purpose and in that spirit that I have written this book, and it is in that spirit that I ask them to consider and ponder what I have said there.

The New Government in Czecho-Slovakia

By KARL KREIBICH (Prague).
(Inter. Press.)

After several days of severe birth pangs, the long announced new government of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic has now finally come into existence. It is in reality the old government; there sit in it the representatives of the same coalition parties as in the previous government, only some names have been changed and a minor alteration in the apportionment of the departments among the various parties has taken place. None the less, this change of government is of symptomatic importance. It is the expression of a crisis in the system of bourgeois-socialist coalition government; the new government marks a further stage on the road to the complete disintegration of this system of government.

The national composition of the population of Czecho-Slovakia complicates to a considerable extent the problem of government combinations. There are here not only three possibilities: a bourgeois government, a bourgeois-socialist coalition, or a so-called pure socialist government; there is also the possibility of a German-Czechish coalition government which to be sure, has not yet been realized, and also a so-called government of national concentration which is already had.

The first government of the Czecho-Slovakian republic consisted of a so-called all-national coalition, in which all the Czechish and Slovakian parties were represented. This was the government of Kramar. This government was wrecked because the National Democrats, a party of the large industrialists and financiers, took more liberties than one could then expect of the Social Democrats and because the radical mood among the socialist parties made a coalition with the clericals intolerable. Also the knowledge that the young and not yet consolidated state dare not as yet adopt too repressive measures against the national minorities, contributed to the overthrow of the National Democratic politicians.

There followed the government of Tuszar, the coalition of the two Socialist parties with the agrarians. This form of coalition government put an end to the aversion of the majority of the Czechish Social Democratic Party to the policy of coalition. The question now became one of setting aside the danger which threatened the state from the division of the Social Democracy and the adhesion of its majority to the Communist International. They decided upon the policy of the mailed fist, to which, however, no party wished to lend its name. As a result of this, we got the bureaucratic government with Czerny at the head, who up to the time of the downfall of the old Austria was one of the firmest supporters of the Hapsburgs. This government carried out the provocation of the Czechish left wing in December of 1920, and subdued the resistance of the revolutionary proletariat. This game could not be carried on for long for it jeopardized all too seriously the authority of "democracy" and of the national state towards the masses. The bureaucratic gov-

ernment therefore had to give way before the parties could resolve to take over the helm of state again.

The result of this queer position was a change of government—the government of Benes. It was evident that Benes, as the Communist voyageur for the Great Entente and as manager for the Little Entente who spends most of his time in traveling, would by no means be in a position to act as Prime Minister de facto. The rest of the ministers were only figureheads. The real government was the Committee of Five of the coalition parties, which in official communications was cited as an official institution of the coalition government.

In home politics the government of Benes scored almost nothing but failures. The powerful position of the Committee of Five caused the government to appear ridiculous. It also received a considerable blow from the secession of the Slovakian Clerical People's Party which now made the whole of Slovakia rebellious against Prague. For some months there was much said and written about this hybrid government being impossible and that the coalition parties must formally and openly take over the government and with it the responsibility. Finally it was embodied in the slogan: the Committee of Five must now become the formal government.

Two circumstances make a quick decision necessary: the economic crisis and the movement for the proletarian united front. The bourgeoisie and the ruling clique had clearly recognized the danger from the economic crisis and the movement for the united front which threatened them and their whole system, and forced the two Czechish Socialist Parties to a decision. Thus the fact of a new government means nothing less than that the Czechish Social Democrats and the Czechish

National Socialists have determined to oppose the movement for the united front and to support the offensive of capital against the proletariat.

The task of the new government will consist in preventing the bringing about of the proletarian united front, reducing the wages of the state employees, supporting the capitalists in reducing the wages of the whole proletariat and in overcoming any attempt at revolutionary action by the proletariat. This task can only be realized if the coalition parties throw the whole weight of their authority into the scales, and if they place their most prominent representatives entirely at the disposal of the government. Thus, the present government is the final exertion of the coalition parties in an effort to save the system of coalition governments.

That the new government is following the path of reaction is already evidenced by present symptoms. The most important offices, Presidency, Ministry of the Interior, Finance, Justice, Trade, Agriculture and National Defense, are in the hands of the bourgeois parties. The Foreign Office is in essence only a department of the Entente. The Finance Minister Rasin, is the Director of the largest Bank, the most prominent representative of Czecho-Slovakian Finance Capital who has even advocated sacrificing a portion of industry because the state is over-industrialized.

This new coalition government is the counter-move of the bourgeoisie against the slogan of a workers' government. The two Socialist parties are flinging themselves against this movement which is becoming continually stronger among the masses. The next few months in Czecho-Slovakia will therefore be of great importance. How deep this movement already is among the masses an example will show. A provincial organ of the National Socialists issued an appeal to the soldiers joining the ranks, which was expressed in the most intense anti-militarist tones and admonished them to be Socialists first and soldiers next and to support the abolition of militarism. In this party the masses are rebelling against the coalition policy. The bourgeoisie is centering all its hopes upon the present coalition government and above all on the one hope that this government will succeed in gaining the upper hand over the powerful movement which under the slogan of the proletarian united front and the workers' government, is now permeating the masses of the proletariat in Czecho-Slovakia; for this is now the greatest source of anxiety to the bourgeoisie. It will be the task of the Communist Party to concentrate its fight directly upon this point more strongly than hitherto.

From Richmond Times-Dispatch—

- Q. What is the greatest thing in human experience? A. Love.
Q. What is the greatest joy of life? A. Love.
Q. What is life's greatest misery? A. Love.
J. What welcomes the baby and buries the dead? A. Love.
Q. What comes first and leaves last? A. Love.
Q. What imitation is it that curses literature and degrades the movies? A. Love.
Q. What is the most desired and least appreciated of all gifts? A. Love.
Q. What is the one thing that can and does thrive independently of all other things in creation? A. Love.

FROM A CANNERY-WORKER'S PEN

I am no budding Shakespeare, from whose immortal pen Undying words of wisdom, flow to stir the hearts of men No silver-tongued tongue have I to lift to heights sublime The listeners to my simple song; so when you read the rhyme Remember this, I am no bard, but do my daily round. A simple cannery-worker, a common gurry-hound.

But simple though my calling is, some sights have passed my ken, And in my wanderings I have talked with many kinds of men; And I am always searching for the man whose ring is true; And who is built of solid oak and solid through and through; A man whose word's his bond, who when he calls you "friend" Will fight for you and never fail until the bitter end.

Too many men there are who, soft and rotten to the core With nicely polished oak veneer, with care are covered o'er. But this veneer will never stand the stress and strain and strife, The biting winds, the drenching rains, the blistering suns of life.

And when my race is run and I have drawn my final breath; I think 'twill make my cold clay smile, even though claimed by death. If some good friend will say with moistened eyes—unshamed, "There was a Man!"

A man whose heart was soft as any child's,—whose fist was steel; Who never failed a friend in need,—was never known to squeal; Who never did a coward's act, nor ever shirked a fight, If the cause he was fighting for was just. It will ease my pain And I'll feel that the years I've lived have not been spent in vain. If some honest friend can say these words and weep an honest tear, As they put my ashes in the sod and cover up my bier.

—Anonymous.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLES IN FRANCE

By MARCEL OLLIVIER (Paris)—Inter. Press.

The economic crisis which is raging throughout Europe does not spare France. Though with some delay, due in part to the balance existing between its agrarian and industrial populations, and in part to the economic advantages required through the Treaty of Versailles, it is now in its turn drawn into the swift tide of events that carries along, one by one, all the great industrial nations. With its existence menaced by foreign competition, French industry finds itself in its turn, face to face with the problem of decreasing the costs of production.

This problem can be solved in three different ways: 1. By improving the technical processes of production; 2. By reducing wages; 3. By lengthening the hours of labor. An improvement in the technical processes of production can be effected, first of all, by a better utilization of the productive forces. Regarding the active living forces of production, the improvement is equivalent to a betterment of the conditions of labor, and is opposed to a lengthening of the working day. Regarding the passive, insensible forces of production, that is, tools and machinery, improvement assumes a complete renewal; in other words, the acquisition of perfected machinery for turning out superior products. But this demands a considerable outlay of capital to which the capitalists are unwilling to have to recourse except as a last resort. Besides, this material improvement is itself limited by the state of the scientific technique of the epoch under consideration.

There remain then, the other two alternatives mentioned above: reduction of wages and lengthening of the working hours. Capitalists cannot, however, lower wages and increase hours at their pleasure. The labor conditions in any given period are not at all the result of the wishes of entrepreneurs, but vary constantly according to the condition of the labor market and the stage of the class struggle. Capitalists can influence them only indirectly by creating a labor market favorable to their interests, and by attacking the position conquered by the working class during the preceding period of the class struggle. The capitalists ought, then, to strive to reestablish the army of labor from among whom they draw their reserves; to which they will succeed in decreasing wages and in weakening the proletariat's power of resistance by wresting from it one after the other the advantages it has won in the course of the class struggle.

That is indeed what we are actually witnessing in France. By shutting down a certain number of factories, by successive lockouts, by dismissing part of the labor staff, and by individual discharges, the industrial lords try to sharpen unemployment and thus to create favorable conditions for a general slashing of wages. By a desperate campaign against the eight hour law, they create a state of mind favorable to a return of the 9 and 10 hour day.

Then the offensive begins. One after the other the most important industries force upon their workers reductions in wages. First it is the textile industry, then the metal works, then the mines. That done, a violent attack is made upon the eight hour day. After having been broken indeed in a large number of factories, it is abolished by law for the entire body of workers. The Law of Rio introduced the 12 hour day into the merchant marine. The law of Le Troquer extended it to the railroads. All these measures combined support and complement one another. By prolonging the working day, unemployment is increased, by increasing unemployment favorable conditions are produced for a general wage reduction. In this general offensive against the working class, employer and government work hand in hand, mutually supporting one another.

How does the working class react against this offensive? Up to the present, left to itself, it has replied by isolated strikes having no connections one with the other, and condemned to failure by this very isolation. That was the case, notably in the past year, with the textile strike at Roubaix-Tourcoing and of Ardennes. That will be the case to-morrow with the strike at Havre, if it remains isolated like its predecessors, as well as with the movement of the miners and railway workers who are threatening to be the next to break out. In the face of the united and well organized offensive of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat ought to reply by unified action, in defense of its wages and the eight hour day. It is not only a special category of workers, it is the entire working class that is menaced in its most immediate interests. It is therefore an imperative necessity for it to organize its resistance this time on a national, not a local scale. The sympathetic movement called forth in the working class by the strike at Havre, without distinction as political tendencies, demonstrates that the country is ripe for action of this kind.

But how will that succeed in the actual state of division of the labor forces? It is only too evident that so long as this division exists, cleverly encouraged by the bourgeoisie, all the working class movements will be condemned to certain failure. There exists for it only one way of getting out of its state of actual impotence and of taking up again the offensive against the bourgeoisie; that is, to reestablish its unity of class in its action. The duty of labor organizations is, then, to agree upon a common program of action for the defense of the threatened interests of the working class; a program capable of rallying around it the vast majority of workers, organized or nonorganized. In the present situation, the Communist Party and the C. G. T. U. would utterly fail in their most elementary duty if in a spirit of narrow sectarianism they should refuse to take the initiative in such a step.

Let there be unity, in every part of the country, among all the political and industrial working class organizations upon the basis of a common program of action for the defense of the threatened interests of the working class! The initiative taken by the Communist Section of Toulouse inviting the C. G. T. and the C. G. T. U. to a joint demonstration of solidarity with the strikers of Havre, quite timid and imperfect as it may be, ought to serve as an example.

The desire to unite is there among the working class. It is a question simply of expressing it, of putting it into action. Their support once enlisted the Communist Party and the C. G. T. U. will coordinate the movement. There is no time to lose! The bourgeoisie does not wait. A united front of the working class, for the defense of its wages and the eight hour day, that should be the slogan of today!

INFORMATION

To all people under the age of thirty:

If you are a Trades Unionist and wish to learn something about the unions in America, their origin and their tactics, as well as the history of their constant changing, your place is in our Educational Class.

If you are a young student and wish to learn anything about sociology, economics, and their kindred subjects, we offer you a chance to do so thru the Educational Class of the Young Workers League of America.

If you are a member of the working class and are interested in knowing how you can better your position in society; interested to know why people work all their children are in no better condition financially than the parents are, you should immediately enter one of our Educational Classes.

Our Educational Classes meet but once a week in the evening unless the members themselves wish to change the number of times they should meet. There is NO COST in joining these classes. Write today and secure more information in about the EDUCATIONAL CLASS.

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THE NECESSITY FOR UNITED ACTION OF THE FRENCH AND GERMAN MINERS

By A. DUBOIS (Metz).

The French miners are following with increasing attention the fight of the Ruhr and other German miners against the overtime shifts which capital is trying to force upon them with the help of the cooperating trade union bureaucracy. Why is the interest of the French miners so great? Because overtime work in the Ruhr mines will mean the continued pauperization of the whole French mining working class. The import of reparation coal from the Ruhr in accordance with the Versailles Treaty lightens the attempts of French capital to increase working hours and to reduce the already insufficient wages. All to this that French mining capital is importing a great number of Polish workers, who already constitute 10% of the mining forces and who work under conditions unworthy of man, and thereby help reduce the standard of living of the French miners.

In spite of the destruction of the mines in the North of France, France is still suffering from a continued overproduction. Work has been made up already quite frequently in the individual mines, and the closure of whole mining shafts is not rare. The temporary betterment cannot last; it is a result of the American miners' strike which diverted English coal to America, which otherwise was flooding the French market.

How is it then, since, in spite of the destruction of the Northern mines, France is still suffering from a slight overproduction of coal, that the Government insists upon a strict delivery of the German coal, provided for by the Versailles Treaty, and now even demands an increased delivery? H. Warcy, president of the Comité des houillères, a member of the notorious French financial oligarchy gave a clear answer to this. The Progres Civique published its view of Mr. Warcy's declaration in a series of articles from which we take the following data.

Saar Coal Exercised Destructive Competition.

France's pre-war competition of coal, in 1913, was sixty million tons. After the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine, this consumption rose to about 75 million tons. If we then consider that as a result of the destruction of the mines in Northern France, France's coal production was reduced to 25 million tons, there was then present a deficit of 50 million tons. This deficit was to be covered by the surrender of the Saar mines to France, and by the monthly coal delivery of 2,200,000 tons of Ruhr coal. But the total consumption of coal in France during 1921 was only 48,600,000 tons; that is, 20 per cent less than before the war, instead of the 25 per cent increase which had been calculated. In spite of an export of 2,300,000 tons during that year, 1,300,000 tons of coal piled up during March 1921. The Saar coal, which would not totally be used in the newly annexed Lorraine, was sent further into France, where it exercised a destructive competition. Another market had to be found for the Saar coal, so as not to ruin the home mines. Of 7,684,000 tons of Saar coal, 3,448,000 went to France; the rest, 4,200,000, went to Germany where it sold at a price of 10-15 francs a ton less than in France.

As to why there still are so many adherents of the Versailles Treaty in France, becomes apparent from this same article in the Progres Civique. We read there:

Without Work French Coal Barons Pocket One Billion Francs.

"According to the official French statistics Germany delivered from the armistice to the 28th of February 1922, 28,751,000 tons of coal. These were sold to French industry at a total price of 2,623,263,000 francs, that is, on an average 91.20 francs per ton. Germany, however, only received on the average 51.70 francs per ton, so that the Reparations Commission actually cashed in only 1,439,228,000 francs. We have then, a surplus of 1,134,035,000 francs which were repaid to the French industrialists in the form of reimbursements."

The French coal barons have thus pocketed over 1 billion francs, with no work for their part. This is the way French capital understands reparations. It does not want a rapid restoration of the destroyed territory, but rather a strengthening of the capitalist system as a whole. The eighty to ninety billion francs thrown out by the French Government for reconstruction purposes, while 98 per cent of the destroyed houses still remain unbuilt is a further proof of this policy of big business.

French Mine Owners Plan Greater Exploitation.

During the past weeks, the price of German coal has been nearing more and more the prices of the world market. The French coal barons want to make up the profits they have lost from the reparations coal by an increased exploitation of the miners. They hope to destroy English competition by a further reduction in wages and increased working hours. The price of coal is to be reduced at the expense of the miners, although the index of the cost of living has been rising during the past few months, and the coal mines, including the restored ones, have been showing enormous profits.

The reduction of wages to take place in the French mining industry must not be allowed, under any circumstances. But a successful resistance is possible only by a union of French and German miners. The acceptance of the overtime agreement by the Ruhr miners would mean that a greater amount of coal would be brought into France, to paralyze every strike movement of the French workers. The standards of living of the German, French, Saar and Belgian miners would be further lowered; international capital will have won a further victory.

The continued pauperization of the proletariat of all countries can be met only by a common fight on an international basis, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Red International of Labor Unions.

The Workers Party and the Labor Party

The Workers Party favors the formation of a Labor Party—a working class political party independent of and opposed to all capitalist political parties. Our Party will make every effort to hasten the formation of such a party and to effect the admittance of our party into it.

A real Labor Party can be formed only by the Labor Unions. A political mass party in America is possible only with their support. The Socialist Party failed to become a mass party because it was not rooted in the Labor Unions.

The initiative for the formation of a Labor Party must come from

the Unions. For that reason we are against the caricature of a Labor Party, which was proclaimed in New York by the Socialist Party and the local leaders of the Farmer Labor Party, which, tho it may poll a substantial vote in the coming election cannot be the basis for permanent independent political action by Labor.

A Labor Party is an inevitable outcome of the new developments in the life of the American workers and a necessity for the American Labor movement. The mighty centralization of power of the Government of the United States which was brought about by the war, and

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—but that is impossible; so come with the subs.

the offensive of the capitalist class which resulted from the economic crisis, make it necessary for the workers to defend themselves politically. The changes in the wages of the skilled and unskilled workers, which have brought them nearer the same level and nearer the same conditions of life during and since the war, the taking away of the privilege of the "aristocracy" of Labor by the capitalist power, the assimilation of the foreign-born, the organization of the alien workers as militant trade unionists, have for the first time in the history of the American Labor movement produced a uniformity of the working class. Such uniformity makes possible now, for the first time, the formation of a Labor Party embracing large masses of the American working class.

The notorious "Non-Partisan" policy of Gompers is bankrupt. This policy of "rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies of Labor" (within the capitalist parties) could not protect the working class from the abrogation of all labor laws. It could not protect the workers from being robbed of the right of free speech, free press and free assembly, the right to organize, strike and picket, nor from the infamous fact of government by injunction. The maintenance of even a minimum of these rights require constant aggressive political struggles by the workers as a class.

Only the formation of a Labor Party, independent of all capitalist parties will make the present struggle of the working class effective.

This Labor Party must have a class program. In all previous third parties, the agricultural and middle class elements have been merely an appendage. This time the leadership must be in the hands of the workers, the farm laborers, and the working farmers who do not exploit labor.

The movement for the formation of a Labor Party is the expression of the awakening class consciousness of the American workers, and the Labor Party itself will be the best instrument for the development of this class consciousness. It is the task of the Workers Party inside of the Labor Party to further the development of this class consciousness. Our Party is interested in becoming a section of the Labor Party so as not to be isolated from this big mass movement of the workers.

Our stand in favor of the Labor Party does not mean that we will give up the Workers Party. The Workers Party will continue to exist as an autonomous section of the Labor Party with the right to carry on its educational propaganda inside and outside of the Labor Party, while at the same time supporting the campaigns and other struggles of the Labor Party. We are convinced that the affiliation of the Workers Party to a Labor Party will aid the Workers Party to develop into a mass party. In fact only by raising the political activity of the Workers Party to the highest potentiality will we be able to work inside of the Labor Party.

The movement of amalgamation of the craft unions must be supplemented by the movement for independent political action by the workers. We must state clearly to the workers that although amalgamation has become a matter of life and death to the trade union movement, nevertheless, the amalgamation of unions will not suffice in the present fight in which the state power directed against the labor movement is now concentrated to an extremely high degree.

The slogan of the American Labor movement must be, Amalgamation and a Labor Party!

We welcome the fact that a labor conference will be held in Chicago on December 11th to consider the matter of independent political action of Labor. We know that many of those participating in the confer-

Aliens Have No Legal Right to Protest

THEY MUST PRODUCE LIKE SLAVES AND OBEY ORDERS. By JOHN NICHOLAS BEFFEL.

(Defense News Service Staff Correspondent.)

Chicago.—Aliens residing in United States have absolutely no rights under the Constitution, although they are subject to all the laws based on that document. Even though these workers have unremittently done their share of productive and useful work for American society, they have no legal right to protest against unfair working conditions.

This in effect is the opinion of United States Judge George T. Page of this district, expressed in quashing writs of habeas corpus granted early this summer to five members of the I. W. W. who were ordered deported following completion of their sentences for opposition to the war through speech or writing.

Judge Page, in an oral ruling, took the position that aliens entering the United States come in solely as licensees and are amenable to discipline by Congress. The five aliens in question are William Moran, Joe Oates, Pietro Nigra, John Avila and Herbert Mahler. They were ordered exiled under an amendment to the law enacted in May 1920, which provides for the expulsion of aliens who since August 1914 have been, or may hereafter be, convicted of violating the espionage act and certain kindred laws.

In opposing the deportation order against the five industrialists named, Attorney Otto Christensen pointed out that the act under which the deportation proceeding was brought was not enacted until nearly two years after the defendants were convicted, that the said immigration law is ex post facto (after the fact) in character and that these proceedings were in violation of the constitutional rights of the defendants as specified in Article I of the Constitution, which stipulates that "no bill of attainder nor ex post facto law shall be passed."

Judge Page took the curious stand that the ex post facto provision of the Constitution applied only to citizens and did not in any way affect cases brought against aliens. Reference to the Constitution, however, discloses no evidence that the framers of that document had any intention of limiting its application solely to citizens. It clearly states that no ex post facto law shall be passed, and this must logically be interpreted as meaning that no law of this kind applying to anybody shall be passed.

Instead of taking the case now to the Court of Appeals, Attorney Christensen will carry it direct to the Supreme Court for a final decision. Meanwhile, the five workers will continue their freedom under bonds.

Much of the evidence offered against the defendants when tried here in 1918 had to do with strikes called by the I. W. W. to obtain better wages and working conditions.

Some of the local newspapers in reporting the ruling of Judge Page published the erroneous statement that Pietro Nigra, one of the defendants, fled from Italy to escape a death sentence. Evidence in the hands of the General Defense Committee of Chicago shows that Nigra did not flee any death sentence, and that he came to this country bearing passports issued in the legal way. Evidence of Nigra's legal entrance also is in the hands of the Italian consul in Chicago.

ence are still imbued with discredited notions of political bargaining and trading with the capitalist parties and as yet lack the clarity of vision and the determination necessary for the organization of a labor party, nevertheless, we hope and desire that the greater interests of the organized working class may be victorious in that conference and that it will lead to the formation of a Labor Party in opposition to the Gompers "Non-partisan policy."

We will work to achieve this end and to this end we must demand that our Party be represented at the Chicago conference.

We must mobilize all the forces to our Party to work effectively for the formation of a Labor Party by the labor unions.

We must start a widespread campaign in all trade unions and working class organizations for the idea of a Labor Party and for the affiliation of such organizations with it.

Central Executive Committee, Workers Party of America, C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Sec.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION TO THE TRADE UNIONISTS

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER.

Aside from its great inspirational force, perhaps the greatest importance of the Russian Revolution to unionists generally, is the fact that it has made clear as daylight the function of the trade unions, both in bringing about the revolution and in reconstructing society upon a proletarian basis.

Before the Russian Revolution these vital matters, particularly the question of organizing the new society, were entirely a matter of speculation. But that great event lifted them from the realm of philosophy into that of definite knowledge. In pre-revolutionary days the most militant type of labor unionist, the syndicalist, believed that the reorganization of society was a comparatively simple matter, and that their unions without the aid of a state could take direct charge of industry and carry on production and the social progress generally. But the Russian Revolution has shown the unsoundness of this conception. Production has proved a much more complicated and difficult process than had been supposed. In the great Russian upheaval the labor unions have been unable to master the industries, and have to call to their assistance the bourgeois technical experts. This is an unpleasant fact but one which realistic revolutionaries must reckon with. And not only have the unions been unable to operate industry by themselves, but the whole syndicalist conception of a purely industrial social mechanism has proved unworkable. By the force of circumstances impossible to avoid, the workers have been compelled, in spite of themselves, to create a political state with all its organs of repression in order to achieve communism.

Another most important lesson taught trade unionists by the Russian Revolution is the great significance of the small minority of militants in the big mass of the workers. Before the revolution, the syndicalist theory of the militant minority had some inkling of this matter, but it remained for the great events in Russia to make it really clear. Whereas, the syndicalists with their indefinite conception of the power of the active workers when organized together extended the theory only to the trade unions, the Russian Revolution showed that in the newly born society these organized militants were the heart and soul of, not only the trade unions, but also every social institution. The Russian Communist Party with its nuclei of active workers effectively controlling the state, the army, the trade unions, the industries, the schools, etc., in the face of a practically non-revolutionary population, is a living demonstration of the tremendous, and hitherto practically unsuspected power of a few clear headed brave spirits working among the mass in a united and determined manner. This revelation of the power of the militants is particularly valuable in the present struggle being carried on all over the world by the trade unions. The Russian Revolution has made the militants consider seriously the fact that the fate of all working class institutions rests in their hands, and it has shown them clearly how to organize together in order to effectively perform their historic task as the life giving element in the labor movement. It has taught the militants that they must not be dismayed by their fewness in numbers, but must boldly penetrate the great organized mass, and by their intelligent organization control it.

The recognition of this fact has wrought a revolution in the tactics of American trade union radicals. It has heartened them to enter the conservative trade unions and shown them the way to develop these hitherto impossible organizations into revolutionary activity. In making clear the true functions of the trade unions of the revolution and in demonstrating the importance and power of the organized militants.

Railroad Labor Board Admits Transportation Industry is Parasite

(By The Federated Press)

Chicago.—Vigorous attacks on the denial of a living wage are made against the U. S. rail labor board by A. O. Wharton, one of the three labor members of the board.

The public group and the railroad group had combined as usual against the labor group and fixed a minimum of 25 cents an hour as a "just and reasonable wage" for maintenance of way workers. The union had applied for a minimum of 48 cents.

In rejecting the living wage argument the board majority declared it to be a "wasteful absurdity" and a piece of "mellifluous phraseology," which "would wreck every railroad in the United States and if extended to other industries would carry them into communistic ruin."

Wharton attacks the majority defense of the 25-cent minimum rate. "The statement," he says, "speaks of the cost of living but it does not explain how a laborer can support himself on \$1 a month. It does not explain that the limitation pay increase if granted means only 16 cents a day for each man.

"The majority tries to make the public believe that I would have laborers given pay on which they could buy an automobile this year and an airplane next year.

"I asked only that a man be

given pay that brings decency with it; that Americans be enabled to live as Americans and enabled to live in respectability in their own environment and according to their own lights—not in the environment of the wealthy.

"The majority doesn't distinguish between pauperism and opulence. It pretends that what labor terms a living wage means opulence. Labor doesn't ask opulence. It asks only American decency.

"The majority apparently wished to keep pushing wages forever downward with no thought of the consequence. It is only because of the decided stand taken by labor that any kind of halt at all has been called."

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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."

Subscription: 1 year \$2.00. — 6 months \$1.00.

TRUTH openly declares for the overthrow of the present capitalist system. It does not believe in patching it up. If you think this decaying system can be patched up you will not like TRUTH.

TRUTH stands four square for the industrial form of organization on the economic field. It realizes that the workers must adopt such methods as will give them power to demand their rights, and demand them in an effective way. The workers must also be trained to take full charge of industry when the capitalist system has ceased to function.

TRUTH stands four square for Communism. It realizes that there can be no middle-of-the-road arrangement in the economic world. All the earth must belong to all the workers. All the people of the earth must be workers and not some shirkers. No loafing by any class and no advantage taken by any class over the weak and helpless.

TRUTH is in line with the Third International and supports Soviet Russia and the world revolution. It is convinced that Communism cannot thrive in any one country as long as capitalism attacks it on all sides; that Communism must be international and thus develop into its full fruition.

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 vision 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 the struggle.

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!



ARMISTICE DAY

(Written by J. O. Bentall before he went to prison. The four was substituted by the editor.)

It is now four years since the armistice was signed. Nov. 11, 1918, was a day of great rejoicing among the masses. The people were tired of war—as they always are—and relieved by the announcement that there was a sign of peace. Their overstrained emotions burst forth in wild merrymaking. They longed for peace.

As soon as the armistice was signed every European country let its political prisoners out. It had been the custom from time immemorial to be decent to those who had different economic and political views. The crime of having an opinion has formerly been looked upon with some tolerance. In fact, the Declaration of Independence and our Constitution provides for tolerance.

It had always been conceded that the freedom of speech and press had not been so well guarded in other countries as here. Still it remained for our country to show more bitterness and intolerance than can be found in any other country of the world. The rulers of our country have shown themselves more petty and narrow minded than the smallest of rulers in the most backward countries. Woodrow Wilson sank the reputation of the United States as low as was possible for an abnormal tyrant to sink it. Harding has not raised it to any appreciable degree.

This year there will be a lot of trumpeting by the so-called upper crust to cover up as much squalidness as possible on armistice day. There will be parades and bands and speeches, but there will be no signs of sincerity and there will be no change in the attitude of the ruling class toward those in prisons. They still hang to their old notions that progressive opinions must be shackled. They will try to keep the masses under, in mental subjection as well as in industrial slavery. Armistice day means something in all the other countries but in our own it is only a cover for hypocrisy and tyranny.

AIR SERVICE SPEEDS LIFE AND DEATH

John MacReady and Oscar Kelly who covered the distance from San Diego to Indianapolis, 2,100 miles, in 25 hours and 17 minutes have outdistanced the world's record. They have gone farther without stopping than the British flyers, Altrock and Brown, who plunged across the Atlantic 1,936 miles.

And the best record today will be surpassed tomorrow. Air craft is still in its babyhood. The assistant chief of our army air service says that we will soon have airplanes with the speed of 500 miles an hour. 84 miles an hour, which was MacReady and Kelly's speed, makes breathing hard and sears faces and makes eyes bloodshot. 500 miles an hour in rarefied atmosphere will make breathing impossible without providing extra oxygen. So the army is experimenting on oxygen tanks and inclosed cabins in order that air passengers may be able to live in comfort.

The next generation can fly from here to San Francisco for a dip on a hot day and be back to sleep in cool Duluth. That is if we keep out of war and all human beings are not destroyed by that time.

The skill of aircraft brings not only possibilities of greater service to mankind but also makes possible instantaneous death to millions. Whole cities can be blotted out in a minute. That is why the Fascisti in Italy in their ultimatum to the King demanded control of aviation. And that is why chemists and other scientists are experimenting to find methods of destroying airships. Ernest Welsh, a research chemist in England, claims he has invented a method by which an airship can be destroyed at the distance of 5 miles. He projects beams of fire which ignite the airplanes and they fall as ashes.

It is a big question which will result—augmented, enriched life or annihilation. Other civilizations had airships and other wonderful inventions and used electricity and went to destruction. India had flying carriages that dropped bombs 2,500 years ago, according to archeologists. And scientists in Egypt have found remains of wires that suggested the use of electricity. Perhaps we are facing world suicide. Then the cave-men who escape in secluded corners of the earth can start over again to replenish the earth and move humanity forward.

DAUGHERTY PLAYS WITH 425 PROFITEERS

We are told that "Attorney General Daugherty has the papers ready to bring four hundred and twenty-five civil or criminal suits against Profiteering war contractors who are alleged to have swindled the Government." Indeed, legal action is to be taken in every case where fraud or dishonesty have been practiced or suspected. Of course a few settlements outside of court action, have netted Uncle Sam about 1 million dollars. And keeping a few profiteers from serving prison sentences will net some of Uncle Sam's agents a few millions. What is a million or two among friends, when the people must be fooled?

"If Columbus hadn't discovered America we should all be foreigners," says a wit. No! Economic urge would have started out other nuts like Columbus to save us from this dreadful calamity.

TURKS DEPOSE SULTAN AND ENTER CONSTANTINOPLE

Another of the world's so-called mighty has gone into the scrap heap. The Sultan of Turkey is no more and there will be no more sultans if the Kemalists or Nationalists in Turkey have their way. The grand national assembly sitting at Angora declared the sultan's governmental prerogatives were ended. All power hereafter will be vested in the national assembly. There will be caliphs who will be periodically elected but they have only religious authority and absolutely no governmental functions.

Thus ends another Empire and in its place over night arises a national Turkish State. That is not all. The Turkish Nationalists who have discarded the Sultan have taken control of Constantinople and have demanded the withdrawal of the Allied troops from the city. They have served notice that "the Allied or American sailors hereafter will not be permitted to land their warships at Kemalist ports except by special permission of the Angora government." They have also notified the Allies that the Turkish railroads are to be handed over to the Nationalists at once.

Of course the British say the Turks have disregarded the agreements in the Mundania convention in entering the neutral zone. But reliable British papers state that while the British government was in conference with the Turks, British battleships and submarines were hastened over to the Straits. British regiments were carried in British transports and merchant ships carried the munitions. This was going on while the government was assuring the masses that there would be no war, that the crisis was over.

The talk about the Turks' violation of the agreement by entering the neutral zone falls flat. Aren't the British there also? They dug themselves into the same territory a few weeks ago. But of course that was to maintain neutrality not to violate it. Much depends on who is entering the zone, in deciding what constitutes a violation. Certainly.

Blow the bugle boys. Another war is on. And as the English Communist so aptly said, "Who will cut throats for kerosene? Who'll bleed to make fat men fatter?"

FACTS ABOUT UNMARRIED MOTHERS

Olga Petrova, the famous actress is reported as having said in Des Moines, Iowa, recently that women with the rising tide of economic independence are less frightened by the conventions of society. She says, "You do not hear of a girl and her babe being thrust into the snow anymore. *It isn't being done nowadays. The girl with the child goes to work."

If Olga is reported correctly then she evidently thinks she is stating facts when she is merely stating what she wishes to be true. When she says that the girl with a babe is not thrust into the cold she is not talking about America. She is not talking about the unlicensed mother in Chicago, in Burlington, in Duluth, in Minneapolis, in Madison, or in any small town that has a main street. She is just dreaming dreams and stating them as facts.

Let Olga rush the ambulance awhile for a charity organization or for a settlement in any big city or let her live in Podunkville and she will lose a few of her lovely dreams. The girls who are unmarried mothers may not go into the snow but ninety out of a hundred go through a living hell that is worse. That is why thousands commit suicide rather than face it. Others risk their lives by having abortions performed. Chicago is full of vicious men and women who pass as physicians and prey on these unfortunate. Their agents are in all the big establishments that employ girls and they offer liberal take-offs for every girl that is brought to them. So kind is the world to the girl-mother that thousands, rather than face the torture, choose the child-murderer instead. Those who give birth to a child usually leave it for adoption and go to a new environment where they are not known. Only a few have the courage to keep it and seek work. And they have no easy road. After they try it awhile there are more suicides and more child desertions. Try it once Olga, dreamer, and see what kinds of homes and jobs are open to an unmarried woman with a child. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred those who open doors to her do so because they see a chance to prey upon her. Housekeeping for men who want mistresses and offer them board and room and kitchen work for the women who cannot keep their slaves. These are the doors that are open. Some get discouraged and take their children home. Some put them into day nurseries and check them out at night like baggage. In either case, her whole life is forced to become lies. She lies to her employer, she lies to her friends, she lies to her mother, she lies to her own child. And the smaller the town the louder the whispers, and smutty remarks. This is the beautiful freedom she enjoys outside the conventions. Every dirty sneak who has heard of her baby will not rest until he has approached her. Even so-called upright men will not hesitate to court her, but secretly of course. She eventually becomes either the mistress of some one man and sneaks and lies a life-time or she becomes a joy-bringer to many men and mates as promiscuously as cats and dogs in alleys. Then she feels no pain. She is past that. There are mighty few exceptions. These are the facts for the vast majority. This is what is being done even if Olga thinks it isn't.

The mere fact that a girl today can get a ten-cent job does not give her economic freedom. Most of them get a wage insufficient for one. Much they can do toward supporting a child!

People today, with a few exceptions, are thinking the thoughts of our industrial age. And this age says Property is sacred; protect it; license the mother; guard your property, keep it for your own child, kill the unlicensed, the illegitimate. Insult them, torture them, starve them if they try to live by work. If they wish to live by selling sex, that is a different story. Then they can have the best of everything.

These are the unlovely facts. Not beautiful dreams or wishes.

CLEVER T-BONE HAS LIFE'S THRILL

(T-Bone Slim)

Rumor has it that T-Bone Slim starved to death on the "wheatline"—this isn't strictly true, in the sense given out by sympathizers. Any celebration in commemoration of the event is premature and should be discouraged from the start. No one is more disappointed than Slim.

Salvationists here assured Slim that his chest, swelling out between his shoulder blades, will be made straight as a surface plate in the next world—Death, where is thy sting?

Let it be noted, Slim got round shouldered looking for work. It's a wonder he didn't lose his eyesight. As it was, when he got back from Dakota the milk on the doorstep did appear to be blue.

For some time past society has failed to find work for its victims—still it expects us to live by work—still, it puts the onus, of finding work, on us.

—Deliberately stolen.

SINGERS OF DEMOCRACY GUARD IMPERIALISM

By KARL RADEK (Inter. Press).

A telegram recently announced that the English Labor Party was plunged into great excitement over the danger of war in the Near East. We regarded this excitement on the part of the English Labor Party with extreme scepticism. Events have justified our scepticism.

The leaders of the English Labor Party requested an interview with Lloyd George. Lloyd George received them and furnished them with explanations, after which they left Downing Street pledging themselves to make nothing public regarding the purport of their conversation with the head of the English Government. We have before us two reports of declarations by two leaders of the Labor Party: Mr. Clynes, M. P., and Mr. Thomas, M. P. These reports which are published in the Manchester Guardian, expose the whole nature of the politics of the Labor Party, as well as the whole policy of the Second International.

What does Mr. Thomas say, the railwaymen's leader who brought an action against the organ of our English comrades, an action in which the Royal Court of Justice confirmed with its signatures that Mr. Thomas is no traitor to the working class. Mr. Thomas said:

"The past week was filled with the atmosphere of August 1914. The world was faced with the danger of a war the consequences of which would be no less severe than the consequences of the last world war."

Mr. Clynes declared, on his part, that "the policy of Lloyd George was in words a policy of peace but in reality it was a policy which prepared for war." He declared "that the Labor Party repudiated all responsibility for this policy."

We now ask what inference any honest worker would draw after he had read these premises. He can but draw one inference, namely, that the Labor Party would declare war on the government in order to prevent an international war. That they would sound the tocsin with all their strength to mobilize the working masses. But only a native person could expect such a thing from Messrs. Thomas & Clynes and similar leaders of the English working-class. Their demands are quite of another sort. They complain that the government is leading to the isolation of England from its glorious allies, and that perhaps the English fleet will have to defend the Straits alone. Mr. Thomas welcomes the news from Paris over the agreement reached between Lloyd George and Poincare. If these saviours of humanity go hand in hand, what more can the leaders of the English labor movement expect?

Clynes expresses himself in the same sense, but adds at the end of his speech that peace will not be secured unless adequate efforts are made. Mr. Clynes, however, says no word as to what efforts "everyone" must make. This "everyone" must probably listen to the speeches of Clynes and Thomas and then go quietly home. The leaders of the English Labor Party have again proved of what their policy consists. If the proletariat budges, they mount the tribune, but only in order to tranquilize the workers. They turn to Lloyd George and make the workers believe that "the thing is now in safe hands; they will talk to him straight." After emerging from the ministerial reception chamber, they talk "daggers" for an hour, as Shakespeare says, but afterwards thrust these "daggers" into their pockets and divert the attention of the workers to the negotiations of those very diplomats whom they have just "exposed" and tell them to expect satisfaction from them. In the best case they do but disturb the air with some general phrases, and then calmly betake themselves to the offices of their trade unions. Everything is in the best order. They are great singers of democracy, but they help to blunt even those means which democracy places at the disposal of the working class in the struggle against imperialism. The bane of the English workers consists in that their leaders believe in the bourgeoisie and that they believe in their leaders. All shouts of "Down with War" are only a means of lulling the masses so long as these masses tolerate such leaders.

WHAT IS CAPITALIST?

There are always workers who say, "What do you soap-boxers mean when you talk about the capitalist class? Who is it? Draw a line so I can tell who is in the working class and who is in the capitalist class."

"One man has 100 millions; guess you'll call him a capitalist; another has 50 millions, guess you call him too a capitalist; a third has 1 million, isn't he a capitalist? Yet another has \$100,000, is he a capitalist? A fifth has \$10,000; a sixth has \$100, a seventh has 50 cents. Where are you going to draw the line? One day I heard how a capitalist of \$100,000 'smoked out' a lot of 'middle class people,' and another day I hear of one capitalist having gulped up the property of a millionaire. Unless you can draw the line sharply between capitalists and non-capitalists your distinction is foolish."

But how many workers are ready with a reply that gets somewhere?

"You can tell an elephant from a coconut tree. You are positive that the elephant is an animal and that the tree is a plant. However, if you descend along the line of plants and animals you will come to things that you cannot classify. There is no such thing as drawing a line between plants and animals because at a very low grade of development they merge into one. This does not seem to bother you when you classify plants and animals but because the capitalist class and the working class at a low grade of development also merge into one you claim you cannot tell one from the other."

"The man who has nothing but his labor power to sell is of the working class. He cannot sell his labor power at work unless he has access to the tools of production, hence he is the slave of the class that owns these tools of production, machinery, factories, mills, land, etc. He may own \$5 or \$50 and he may have \$100 or more in the savings bank, but that property is not capital and its owner is not a capitalist, because that property is not enough to equip himself with the machinery of production, without which he must starve or sell himself to the man who does own such machinery. His property is not worth mentioning."

"All the others belong to the Property-holding class. But they do not all hold an equal amount. The less of it they hold, the less able are they to compete with the bigger ones. That portion of them whose property is very small is bound to go down in the middle class; that portion of them whose property is large enough to smoke out lesser fellows constitutes the capitalist class proper. Among them there also is going on a struggle; individuals are ruined, but sufficient individuals remain to profit by this ruin, to absorb the wealth of the capitalist class."

The quicker you begin to understand the better, for then, you will begin to help yourself instead of expecting help from the capitalists.

—Adapted from the Peoples' Weekly.

In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of Life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle!
Be a hero in the strife!

—LONGFELLOW.

A PARODY OF JUSTICE

(From the British Communist)

Before the war all the reactionaries and obscurantists looked to the Russia of the Czars. To-day they look to the United States.

Czarist Russia suppressed ideas, practised a malevolent tyranny. To-day the United States does the same. Czarist Russia was a cesspool of political and legal corruption, making a parody of justice through an elaborate legal farce. To-day the United States is a cesspool of political and legal corruption, and its parody of justice would fill with shame a Dey of Algiers. There were prison torture chambers in Riga; there are prison torture chambers existing in the States—from New York to Montana, where jailors beat and give the Third Degree to innocent victims. Czarist Russia was infested with spies and agents provocateurs and curious moral abortions—the vermin of tyranny and misrule. The United States is infested with spies, Pinkerton and Baldwin Feltz detectives, thugs and gun-men, monsters of the underworld who will commit murder for a few dollars or perjure away the lives of guiltless strangers for a little monetary gain. Cases against innocent persons were deliberately rigged up in Russia—but the craft of the Czarist agents provocateurs has been infinitely surpassed by the subtlety and cunning of the agents provocateurs of capitalism in the United States in the "frame ups" that are now being made against men active in the working class movement.

We should speak now of the Black United States, just as we used to speak of Black Holy Russia. And to those who demand evidence why—give them the history of the working class struggles in America during the past fifty years.

Tell them of the Chicago martyrs, hung for the throwing of a bomb by someone unknown—most likely a police agent. Tell them of the Bull Pen of Colorado. Tell them of the "frame up" against Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. Tell them of the Ludlow massacre.—The civil wars waged against the workers in the mining regions and the lumber camps.—The countless "frame ups" against members of the I. W. W.—the "frame up" against Tom Mooney—with a prostitute as "star" witness for the prosecution. Tell them of the lynching of Frank Little. Tell them of the men tried for "criminal syndicalism" who are now in Leavenworth Penitentiary. And tell them of the "frame up" against Sacco and Vanzetti.

If a year ago, a few working-class organizations had not insisted that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent of any crime—their bodies would now be mouldering in the grave. As it is, in spite of the repeated demands for a new trial, they have been kept in prison, while all the time a stream of evidence has come to light proving that they had nothing to do with the motor banditism with which they are charged. First one witness then another has stated that they were induced to give false evidence by the prosecution, new witnesses have come forward on behalf of the condemned, but the gates of the jail have remained closed upon them. Now, just recently, Mrs. Andrews, the chief witness of the prosecution, has made a confession in which she states that the prosecution used its knowledge of her "past" to force her into perjury. Following the filing of this confession—the capitalist newspaper "Boston American" demands in a lengthy editorial that "someone in the District Attorney's office at the time of the trial ought to be arrested and tried for attempted murder." In addition, Mrs. Dodson, who recently obtained a divorce from her husband, has stated that he, William F. Dodson, had said to her: "These fellows had nothing to do with the murder. I was the driver of the automobile in the shoe factory killing at South Braintree. Sacco and Vanzetti had nothing to do with it."

Thus the drama unfolds. In view of this fresh evidence we do not see how the American legal authorities, despicable and brazen as they are, can continue to keep these innocent men in their cells. Everywhere the workers should demand the release of these men and acclaim to the world the horrors of the administration of law in the Black Republic of the West.

SUBMITTED WITHOUT COMMENT

HIGH ART OF TAX DODGING

(From Capper's Weekly)

Congressman Frear fears that some of the recent big stock dividends may be tax-dodging schemes. He writes Secretary Mellon regarding section 220 of the 1921 revenue act, "which provides methods for reaching holders of surplus held for the purpose of escaping taxation." If Mr. Frear follows up his clew, he'll find that the major financial crimes these days are staged in some bookkeeping departments—that, being within the law, they are not technically crimes. Bookkeeping has become one of the fine arts. For instance, a certain rich man took \$100,000 and bought 1,000 shares of stock at their par value of \$100 each. This happened in 1919. During one of the 1921 stock market slumps, the value of this stock dropped to \$40 a share. So the rich man sold his holdings, losing \$60 a share, or a total of \$60,000. He "wrote off" this \$60,000 as a loss in making out his income tax return. This enabled him to dodge paying income tax on \$60,000 of his 1921 income.

The "loss," however, was all on Paper, for he no sooner sold the stock than he bought it back at the same price. To keep within the law, he could not buy back until thirty days after the sale, so he bought in his wife's name, the stock to be transferred to him later. Thus he was out of pocket nothing except a small commission to the broker. This re-bought stock is on his books at \$40,000. Later, if he sells it for 100 cents, he'll realize a profit of \$60,000 and have to pay income tax.

THE WORKERS

Eliz. Newport Hepburn.

The day is gray, not shifting gray
Of wind-blown fog and shining sea,
But steel-like, still, with that grim chill
Of barren, dead monotony!

No colors gleam, no banners fly,
No laughter rests the tired brain,
The old, grim drill, the money-mill—
And in the street the beat of rain.

Tame faces all about the room,
And tame the day, its dull routine;
Gay Youth seems but a mockery,
Trapped, helpless in the vast machine.

Today the City's noise and dust,
Its heat and crowds and senseless speed
Seems only selfishness and lust,
A cynical and cruel greed.

Men work in cages, like tamed beasts,
For shelter, children, daily bread,
Not just for gold—while young and old
Are haunted by one common dread.

Not dread of pestilences, wars,
Not dread that Death may come too soon,
But fear of uselessness, lest they
May lose their work, that priceless boon!

—N. Y. Times.