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Financiers Scrap Outworn Mummery Of National Pride To Save Private Fortunes

Form One Big Union To Divide Up World's Natural Resources

By PAUL HANNA
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

Washington.—Downfall of French nationalism, and the complete victory of French plutocracy in partnership with British and American financiers for the exploitation of Europe, are events forecast by the present "alarms and excursions" of diplomats here and abroad.

French chauvinism is going the road of Prussianism in Germany. Berlin's great play to rule the continent of Europe crashed to earth in 1918. The tragic effort made by Paris to the same end will meet a similar fate early in 1923. Rulers in both capitals were surprised by "national necessity" no less than ambition, and both have attained national ruin as their reward.

There will be no international loan of billions to restore the German mark nor to balance the French budget. German capitalists headed by Stinnes and French capitalists guided by Loucheur are throwing away the outworn mummery of "national pride" in order to salvage their private fortunes and join the aggregation of international plutocrats which is about to divide up the natural and human resources of both France and Germany for their joint and mutual exploitation.

French nationalist pretensions will go back to the guillotine on Jan. 15. On that date Germany's

final inability to pay will prove the French treasury to be as hollow a shell as the treasuries of Berlin, Vienna, Moscow or the rest of continental Europe.

Leon Daudet, fanatical dreamer of a new monarchy in France, screams his wrath against the thing he cannot prevent, exclaiming in the chamber of deputies:

"What I see coming is a petroleum and hydro-electric ministry, constituting an alliance between the all-powerful American magnates and M. Loucheur himself."

This financial receivership for France, Germany and the rest of central Europe will be wider in its makeup than Daudet indicates. The British will be in it. And J. P. Morgan, now busy in his shift from worthless government bonds to natural resources, has been in Washington to make sure that America will not move until the hour is ripe, and meanwhile do nothing to postpone the political disintegration of France or Germany.

America's sound popular resistance to entanglement abroad will conform very nicely to the new technique of the international financiers. If their scheme goes through the danger of future wars between Germany and France will be removed by the simple process of putting the natural resources of both countries in the hands of a single great syndicate, and reducing hostile politicians to the level of local administrators.

WORKERS' PARTY LABOR PROGRAM

(Editor's Note: The following is the program the Workers' Party hoped to have adopted at Cleveland.)

The Labor Party will support such measures as the direct election of the president, the abolition of the senate and the veto power of the president and the ending of the right of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional. It realizes, however, that such measures cannot change the essential character of the government as an instrument of the exploiters for use against the workers. In order that the government may become an instrument of the workers' struggles against their exploiters the whole machinery of the existing government must be replaced by organs of government springing out of the workers' organizations.

INDUSTRIAL

To strengthen the workers in their struggle for better wages and working conditions the Labor Party will carry on the fight for legislation to prevent the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes; to prohibit the use of troops during strikes; for the abolition of all industrial courts and government boards to regulate wages and working conditions; requiring the payment of union wages to all unemployed; abolishing all limitations upon the right to organize, strike and picket; measures to prohibit the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

SOLDIERS' BONUS

The Labor Party favors the payment of a bonus to all soldiers to recompense them for their economic losses during the period of their service in the army during the World War.

POLITICAL

The Labor Party will work for the restoration of the unrestricted right of freedom of speech, press and assembly. Toward this end it will seek to repeal all so-called criminal syndicalism and sedition laws. It will seek to liberalize the naturalization laws and to abolish residential qualification of the suffrage.

The Labor Party will exert all its strength against the militarism

which seeks to build up a great military and naval establishment in this country. The Washington agreement is already a scrap of paper. The building of other than battle-ships is continuing at an increasing rate. Proposals for increase of the army, for new conscription laws, for building air force are continually emanating from the agents of the exploiters in the government. Against this and the enormous bureaucracy and spy system maintained by the federal government the Labor Party will fight with all its power.

The Labor Party declares itself against the restriction of immigration and against the registration of aliens. Such registration can only be the basis of persecution of the alien workmen.

ECONOMIC

The Labor Party proposes the immediate nationalization of the railroads, the coal mines, the steel mills, the oil industry, the merchant marine and other large-scale industries in which ownership has become highly centralized, thru application of the Plumb Plan modified to give the organized workers in these industries a majority control of the industry and with provisions for taxation of the capitalist owners in such a degree as to quickly wipe out their title to these industries.

AGRICULTURAL

To secure relief for the farmers from the exploiters who now rob them of what they produce the Labor Party proposes the immediate nationalization of all storage, transportation and marketing utilities and the revision of the banking laws so as to provide for the widest credit to the farmers thru government loans without interest. The nationalization of the farm machinery industry which is part of the economic program of the Labor Party, will also bring relief to the farmers.

Such measures of relief as the Labor Party is able to win for the industrial workers and farmers are only preparatory to the time when the Workers' Republic will wrest all the means of production and distribution from the hands of the exploiters.

New Economic Policy Altered The Task Of Russian Labor Unions

(Federated Press)

Moscow.—Wages and working conditions have come to the front again in the All-Russian Miners' union under the new economic policy of the government. Formerly administration of the mines by the union was its principal concern. Although the mining industry includes relatively few enterprises leased to foreign capitalists, the transition to a commercial administration of the works conditioned an alteration of the labor union tasks.

Of the 25 union board members, 13 are working in the central, eight in the Don basin, two in Siberia, and one each in Ural and Caucasus regions. Departments exist for organization, economic work, workers' protection, and for statistics.

Of the 334,000 members of the union, 144,000 work in the Don basin, 76,000 in the central basin, 40,000 in the Ural district, and 30,000 each in Caucasus and in Siberia.

At the first congress of the Red International of Labor Unions an international propaganda committee of the miners was founded.

Frisco Chamber Wants Guns For The Reds

(Federated Press)

San Francisco.—The red has his hand raised against you all the time. We need an army of 13,500 officers and 150,000 men. We have so many internal enemies today that we have not sufficient military force to put them down if they saw their opportunity had come. Our millions of illiterates are easy prey for the soviet, the red, the communist, the socialist, planting a seed of revolution in the republic. Give a little thought to the defense of this nation, with the determination to maintain this government without shooting any more holes in the constitution of the United States.

Thus, amid tumultuous applause, Brig. Gen. Ulysses Grant McAlexander, recalled Rock of the Marne, addressed the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

plotters and bring these under collective ownership and under the management of the organized industrial and agricultural producers. The Labor Party will mobilize all the strength of the exploited class to achieve this goal. It pledges itself to continue the struggle against the existing system of exploitation until the new social order has come into being.

The following program was adopted by the "progressives":

The repeal of the Esch-Cummins railroad law and operation of the railroads for the benefit of the people.

The public control of water power in the interest of the people.

The direct election of the President and Vice-President by the people and extension of direct primary laws in all States.

Action by Congress to end the practice of courts of declaring legislation unconstitutional.

Enactment of the Norris-Sinclair Consumers and Financing Corporation bill, designed to increase prices farmers receive and reduce prices consumers pay for the farm products, and the creation of an independent system of food producers' credits.

Increased tax rates on large incomes and inheritance and payment of a soldiers' bonus by restoring the tax on excess profits.

Legislation providing minimum essential standards of employment for women, equality for women and men, while improving existing political, social and industrial standards, and State action to insure maximum benefit of Federal maternity and infancy acts.

Forgiven a Crime He Did Not Commit

By STANLEY BOONE
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

Detroit.—The inhabitants of the earth learn once in a while, as from the following editorial in a Detroit capitalist newspaper, of what is going on in their midst behind the bombast of judicial oratory, legal phraseology and the straight-faced perjury of the police:

He is "Forgiven"

"Francisco Cona, a lifer, is paroled by the state of Michigan after serving eight years and seven months for murder."

"In simple language, a parole is a release with a warning not to do it again. The governor and the responsible authorities of Michigan have decided that the innocence of Cona was not disproved, hence he was not guilty."

"Cona's arrest and conviction came in the wake of one of those waves of crime which arouse public passions to the boiling point. Detroit had suffered from a series of fatal shootings."

"For nearly nine years Cona marched to convict step. But it is all over now. The authorities of Michigan have decided Cona should not have been convicted."

"The lifer is forgiven for the thing he did not do. Society says: Go home, and don't ever do it again."

What the newspapers neglect to mention is that its own page one stories of crime, owing to the methods with which they are written and printed, in common with all other papers of the kind, contributed materially to the hysteria which contaminated the jury and the court.

Strong Arguments For Amnesty Now In Congressional Record

Washington.—All the pertinent facts and strongest arguments in support of freedom for political prisoners are now a part of the Congressional Record.

Smarting under the charge by Congressman Huddleston that he was afraid to face the facts, and dealt only in innuendo, Congressman Lineberger, California, rose in the house on Dec. 14 and placed in the Record several documents prepared by the friends of amnesty, and which the latter have been laboring for two years past to circulate among all honest persons.

Prisoners of Hope, by Ellen Winsor, was one of these documents. It explains who the political prisoners are, shows that they committed no overt act against the government, cites the truth that all real enemy agents and plotters against the country have long since been set free by executive clemency, and shows that the crafty and safe thing to do in time of war is to rob the government with crooked contracts and plunder the people. Another document is the special Christmas appeal for amnesty made to President Harding a few days ago, signed by all the political, religious and social bodies who favor amnesty.

KUZBAS NEWS

New York.—The plans and specifications of the Kuzbas Organization for the industries at Kemerovo in Kuznetzky Basin, Siberia, have been endorsed by the Russian Council of Labor and Defense. The credits have been granted. Engineer Mahler has left for Germany to secure the remaining machinery for the chemical plant, which will commence production in the first part of 1922. A new Managing Board of three have been appointed for the coming year composed of comrades S. J. Rutgers, William S. Shattoff and Thomas Reese. The last named comrade is from Granite City, Ill., and in company with another member of the American Organization Committee he is now visiting Kemerovo prior to his return to the United States. W. D. Haywood is no longer on the Management Board being transferred to other duties.

Comrade Joe Muron of Dillonvale, O., who has been on the farm at Kemerovo during the past year, arrived in New York on business. He leaves again in the early part of the spring.

Herrin Trial Brings Testimony Damaging To The Prosecution

(By The Federated Press)

Marion, Ill.—With all the most damaging testimony by the prosecution already before the jury that is trying five union miners on murder charges growing out of the Herrin mine war of June 21 and 22, no one has appeared on the witness stand who says he saw any killings except a doctor who had testified for mine operators in at least 100 other cases in which the interests of miners and operators clashed in court.

Robert Officer, a survivor of the battle and its aftermath in which 20 strike breakers and company guards lost their lives after three unarmed union men had been killed, told on the witness stand a story following in its substantial facts the account given by The Federated Press. He omitted some of the elements that were particularly damaging to W. J. Lester, the mine operator, and C. K. McDowell, the mine superintendent. The defense attempted to bring out the omitted facts on cross examination but only partly succeeded.

Officer told of the discharge of union men when Lester determined to break his agreement with the union and ship coal during the strike, of the coming of gunmen into the mine from the Edward J. Hargrave detective agency in Chicago and the importation of strike breakers from the Bertram agency in Chicago. He told of shots exchanged between the mine and men in the surrounding hills. He admitted that George Henderson, a union miner, had been killed the afternoon before the battle but denied that McDowell had killed him as Allen Findlay, another survivor who had been timekeeper for the gunmen, had testified at the coroner's inquest.

He told of an airplane over the mine, of a flag of truce, of renewed firing, of the surrender under promise of safety, of the order to the prisoners to run for their lives and how he and some others escaped to the woods. He heard someone make a speech during a halt in the march, advising the killing of the strike breakers but could not identify the man. Hugh Willis, board member of the Illinois miners, had advised against any killings, Officer testified.

Officer escaped without any stabbing or gunshot wounds. His only injury was a blow on the head with a gunbutt and a number of kicks. Further cross examination by the defense brought out that Officer had remained with the mine outfit after he knew that the gunmen were being brought in and that he had armed himself and took part in the battle. He described the strike breakers' arsenal and the arrival of a carload of food to withstand a siege. There were no disturbances in the district until the mine guards were brought in, he admitted.

Col. Sam Hunter, Illinois national guard, was on the stand for a few minutes in an attempt by the prosecution to show that he was the agent of the union. Hunter denied this. The point was significant because the failure to bring in troops might have then been blamed by the prosecution on the union.

The coming year composed of comrades S. J. Rutgers, William S. Shattoff and Thomas Reese. The last named comrade is from Granite City, Ill., and in company with another member of the American Organization Committee he is now visiting Kemerovo prior to his return to the United States. W. D. Haywood is no longer on the Management Board being transferred to other duties.

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U. S. Corporations Use State Dept. To Make 5 Central Amer. Republics Sign Suicide Pact

By PAUL HANNA
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

Washington.—Central America's first free champion to the Hughes' peace conference here is Senator William E. Borah of Idaho. The spectacle of five handcuffed delegations from the Spanish Main nodding "yes, yes" to the articles of suicide imposed upon them by the state department has proved too much for Borah to endure.

In a powerful assault upon the sham peace conference, Borah recites the strong-arm methods employed by American corporations to upset governments and exact concessions from the five little "republics" and charges that the Hughes kindergarten now proceeding in the Pan-American building is designed simply to make the Latin-Americans write O. K. across the fraudulent contracts and surrender their freedom for a place within the empire of Wall St.

Before the farce conference is many days older a resolution will probably appear in the senate calling for an investigation of our imperialism in Central America from the time American troops took over the capital of Nicaragua in 1912. Senator Borah, second ranking member of the foreign affairs committee, will lead in the oratorical support of that resolution, according to the present outlook.

Debate will show that Mexico, which jointly with the United States called the conference of 1907, is barred from this conference by Secretary Hughes, although the alleged purpose of the meeting here

is to confirm and extend the treaty of 1907.

It will show that the United States itself violated that treaty when, to retain a naval base illegally obtained in Fonseca bay and safeguard lands grabbed on the San Juan river by American capitalists, it violated a verdict rendered in favor of Costa Rica by the Central American court of justice, established by the treaty of 1907.

It will show that the delegates now sitting at Hughes' feet to confirm our mastery in their home lands are all members of families or factions brought into prominence by American bayonets or other coercion.

It will show that when President Herrara was thrown out and Orrellana put in control of Guatemala by American intervention and battleships the little country was immediately forced to accept a loan from the Blair Co. of New York, amounting to \$15,000,000 with exorbitant interest.

It will show that Mexico is barred from this dummy conference because Hughes and the Mexican capitalists involved in Central America knew that if Mexican delegates were admitted they would review the history of Yankee imperialism in Latin America and show that instead of a treaty the little republics are being forced to sign a last will and testament of their alleged sovereignty.

It will show that by excluding Mexico the United States aims to become the sole and exclusive "guarantor and patron" of the new order in Central America and the single judge of when the new treaty shall be torn up and thrown aside, as was done with the treaty of 1907.

MAKING GOOD AMERICAN CITIZENS

San Pedro, Cal.—Faced with an offer of freedom if they would promise to stop organizing the marine workers here, 11 members of the Marine Transport Workers of the I. W. W. refused the bribe, and have been held for criminal syndicalism, with the prospect of 14 years in San Quentin as a result. Two other I. W. W. members are held here on criminal syndicalism charges because they sold copies of Industrial Solidarity, a paper accorded second-class mailing privileges by the U. S. post-office. Another man, J. P. McDonald, is serving an 180-day sentence for circulating a petition for amnesty for political prisoners.

Twenty Thousand Russian Farmers Leave Canada For Ukraine

Moscow, Dec. 29.—Ludwig Martens, former Soviet representative in America, has become chairman of a special commission organized by the Soviet government to assist in the return to Russia of Russian-Americans and Russian "doughboys" from Canada.

More than 20,000 Russian-Americans already have come back to Russia from America during the last two years. The greater part of these men are agricultural workers, and they have brought with them agricultural implements valued at \$50,000.

A big scheme is now on foot to bring from Canada between 30,000 and 40,000 "doughboys," men who under prosecution were forced to emigrate from Russia in 1895. These families intend to bring with them their entire property, consisting of agricultural implements, tractors and livestock.

The soviet government is assigning to them 25,000 acres in the

Gitlow, Out On Bail, Is Back In The Fight

Ben Gitlow is out on bail. Recently a writ of error was granted by the Supreme Court of the United States but no bail was allowed. The attorneys took the matter up and finally, Dec. 13, the bail was fixed at \$7500, and Ben is back in the fight.

Friends and comrades, the question involved here is more than the freedom of one individual. It will affect the remaining New York State cases and will have a direct bearing on criminal anarchy or anti-syndicalist cases in other states. Ben Gitlow as an active comrade with a record of activity very few in the movement can show, too, is entitled to every support. We need at least a few thousand dollars to put up a good fight. We need some money immediately to make some pressing payments. Are you interested in the freedom of these class war prisoners? Show it by your contribution and send it to: National Defense Committee, New York Division, Room 405, 80 East 11th Street, New York City, Nerma Berman, Secretary.

JUDICIOUS

Stockton, Cal.—"If you don't stop talking I'll come down from the bench and give you a good beating." With these calmly judicial words Judge W. G. Atherton, formerly an army captain, addressed J. Lyon, arrested as a vagrant and accused of membership in the I. W. W. Lyons was protesting against the injustice of his arrest.

Ukraine. In addition to the existing soviet laws exempting conscientious objectors from military service, the central executive committee of the soviets has given to the delegates of this sect, who recently came to Moscow to carry on negotiations, a signed undertaking exempting their whole community from military services and all other duties connected with the bearing of arms.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

THESE ARE THEIR PICTURES



THESE ARE THEIR NAMES

Konstantin Konoplew, Alexander Blisharew, Nikolai Konstantinow, Maria Konkowa, Anna Leontewa, Raisa Rewina, Nikolaj Nikonow, Iwan Kanschin, Ewdokja Nechoraschewa, Antonika Kolskowa, Anna Litzina, Maria Butenkowa, Antonia Schirschtskaja, Praskowa Gabrilowa, Anna Syrikowa, Georg Gabrilowa, Michael Ignatow, Wladimir Sokolow, Pawel Nekrylow, Peter Briegalow.

These and 999,980 more await your invitation for Christmas dinner. There are one million little hungry orphans in the Federated Soviet Republics. Their fathers and mothers were killed in the world war or were killed by those who do not agree with the declaration of independence in its claim that peoples have the right to determine their own forms of government or their parents died in the famine.

Russia is meeting this problem of one million orphans bravely. But there is the credit blockade. The nations which won the world war are refusing Russia credit thereby making it impossible for Russia to apply her man-power to machinery and natural resources. If Russia were permitted to produce then Russia would take care of every child, for Russia believes in children.

Today we must aid. We must open our hearts to these little children. Then open our purses and bid them eat. Were you ever hungry? And when you were you ate! Russia's orphans have been hungry for weeks and months. Thousands have never had enough to eat. There they are, one million of them, here you are, with money in your pocket! You must open your heart to these little children. You must open your purse and bid them eat!

ONE MILLION DIMES FOR ONE MILLION MEALS FOR ONE MILLION ORPHANS! How Many Will Be Your Guests This Christmas Day?

Cold, hungry, lonesome little tots. Count their tears these recent years! Could we but cover every tear with a dime!

Then they would smile again and you'd be glad. It feels good to be glad occasionally.

National Office: **THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA**, 201 West 18th Street, New York City

MY GUESTS THIS CHRISTMAS

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA,
201 West 18th Street, New York City.

Here are dimes totalling \$----- with which to buy meals for ----- Russian orphans who shall be my guests this Christmas Day. I shall request my friends to extend similar invitations.

Name -----

Address -----

THESE TWENTY CHILDREN

pictured on this page live in Home No. 1 at Zarizyn, Russia. The Friends of Soviet Russia together with the International Workers' Relief, which has branches in 21 countries, conducts four such homes in Zarizyn alone and many more throughout Russia. Each home contains about 100 orphans. It costs \$5 per child to outfit these homes and \$2 per child per month for upkeep. Russia will provide the building if your organization desires to outfit and conduct a home in its name.

The Destiny of Public Education in Soviet Russia

Workers Must Master Sciences and Become Experts to Insure Victory

By A. W. LUNATCHARSKY,
Intern. Press.

From the beginning the Soviet Government was filled with the consciousness that the only real supplement to the conquests of the proletariat and the peasants, can be the mastery of science. A man who has the power in his hands is a master, —not only in the vulgar sense of the term. And a real good master can only be one who not only has the power, but knows his business thoroughly. It is necessary that the proletariat forms from out of its ranks a wide section of various specialists, who will replace the old semi-bourgeois intelligentsia in the ideological and technical leadership of the political and social life. It is also absolutely necessary to raise the level of the whole of the people, in the field of general culture as well as in the field of political self-consciousness.

Such tasks cannot be solved in a short period in an illiterate country. And if we also take into consideration that the five years existence of our republic were filled with war and continual economic destruction we shall not be surprised that the Department of Public Education could not during this period fulfill the abovementioned tasks to any considerable extent.

Now, on the fifth anniversary of our Revolution, we hear many authoritative declarations which deal with the relations of the Communist Party to the problems of Public Education.

Victory Up To Workers.

Comrade Bucharin declared at the trial of the S. R.'s that the question whether the new economic policy will end with the victory of Communism or the reappearance of the bourgeoisie depended upon how quickly and to what extent the proletariat can provide its own specialists. Comrade Trotsky at the Youth Congress described the question of the education of the youth as a vital question to the revolution. Comrade Rykov, pointed out at the Trade Union Congress that the third front, i. e., the cultural front, (the first front being the military and the second the economic), was the most important. But to characterize the situation we must recall the observation which Comrade Rykov made, to the effect that this third front cannot be quite realized in consequence of the severe situation on our second front.

Of course the struggle of our ideology against the bourgeois ideology, whose importance was pointed out by comrade Zinovlev at the last Party Conference, will be carried on with sufficient energy, but the whole basis of this war—a widespread and reformed public education beginning with the elementary schools—, demands an enormous amount of money which for the time being we have not.

Schools Increase In Number.

We must divide the history of public education during the Revolution into two parts: the years 1918 and 1919 were the period of revolutionary enthusiasm; the years 1920, 1921 and 1922 the years of clear reckoning. Our heritage from the first period are: our Declaration, our fundamental ordinances regarding the Unified Polytechnic Workers' School, the work of political exposition and its methods, a correct formulation of general vocational education, the properly formulated methods for the capture of the higher educational institutions through the most intelligent forces of the proletariat.

Lack Of Funds Hinders.

But these first years of enthusiasm created much more. They created almost out of nothing a network of primary institutions for children below school age which embrace more than 200,000 children. They raised the number of schools in Russia to 60—70,000. They created a whole series of educational institutions in the provinces. Unfortunately these real successes, which arose during the severe war, have proved to be unstable or at least for the time being, —untimely. The desolation which the war wrought in Russia has also affected public education. All means which remained in the country after the war had to be used to heal those wounded organs of the republic, without whose restoration nothing can live: the heavy industry and transport. Public education can only receive the crumbs. We have to effect a great reduction in the number of the pre-school establishments and a greater reduction in the elementary schools; in addition to this, the second grade schools are also in poor condition. In a word: the foundation of the Russian people's education is in a greatly shaken position. The ideal Social-

ist school which we had in view, has not only been retained but in some of the better schools we even see an exemplary extension of many of its main features. For the realization of this plan we simply and solely lack the funds.

What else could we expect? The richest countries, America not excepted, maintain their schools out of municipal funds and out of private means, and only a relatively small percentage is defrayed out of the national treasury. In Russia the conditions during the revolution were quite otherwise. There were no private means available for the maintenance of the schools, there were no municipal budgets, and the central material resources rested entirely on the requisitioning of grain in the village and the printing of bank notes.

The State took upon itself the task of building up the whole system of the people's education. But in view of its weak financial basis it was not capable of coping with such a fearful crisis.

System Of Taxation Restored.

What measures are now being adopted to save, restore and then to extend the foundation of public education, the public schools of both grades, and the education of the masses outside of the schools, the libraries, the reading rooms in the villages, the courses for adults, etc.? The chief measures are the same as those recommended by the People's Commissariat of Finance for the salvage of the state finances:—the restoration of the system of taxation, and not only of the state taxes but of the municipal taxes.

This taxation apparatus is still in its growth. Local means are already available and the People's Commissariat for Education hopes for their increase. The provincial Executive Committees should order a sufficient percentage of all local incomes to be assigned to education.

Universities Are Aflue.

On the other hand the results achieved by public education are somewhat comforting. Although the equipment of the higher institutions has suffered greatly through poverty, energetic measures have been recently adopted to raise the standard of living of the teachers. The formation of Workers' Faculties, i. e., preparatory schools through which the most capable proletarians can pass directly into the universities, have almost entirely won the sympathy of the students. The last elections to the Petrograd Soviet and the elections of the students' councils in Moscow proved that the real leaders of the student body are

Communists. We cannot boast that our universities are in good condition, but we can at least say that they are living.

Art Treasures Collected.

Up to now the People's Commissariat for Education has succeeded in supporting the chief centre of scientific and artistic life and almost entirely to maintain it and to collect great treasures which had been stored up by the Tsar's aristocrats and monasteries. The enormous work in this field will one day be adequately appreciated. Russian art and science constitute an important element of human culture, in the sense of preserving the old traditions as well as in the sense of the new discoveries evoked by the revolution.

Taken altogether we may say: all roads that the revolution has taken are right. We know what we have to do and how it must be done. The ideal machine must only be set into movement by steam power and for this we must obtain the necessary fuel in the form of material resources. The country is for the time being frightfully poor, but a better future awaits it. Therefore we can look with confidence into the future of the Russian people's education.

Charges Against C.L.P. Members Dismissed

Oakland, Cal.—On motion of District Attorney Ezra Decoto, charges have been dismissed by Judge Samuels against J. H. Dolson, J. E. Snyder, J. G. Reed, C. A. Tobey, Sr., and J. A. Ragsdale. The defendants, members of the now defunct Communist Labor party, were recently tried en bloc for criminal syndicalism, and the prosecution-picked jury disagreed, standing seven to five for acquittal. Snyder and Dolson had previously been tried separately, with hung juries resulting. Charges still stand against Edric B. Smith, now in Russia, and against C. A. Tobey, Jr., charged with circulating communist literature.

Decoto stated that the prosecution could gather no further evidence against the men, and that it would be impossible to secure a conviction with what it already had. At the time of the disagreement the judge said that he would entertain motion for dismissal, but the district attorney was not then willing. The five communists conducted their own defense through Dolson as their spokesman.

NEW YEARS GREETING
ALICE RAPP.
CHRIS SETTERLUND.

Five Released On Bonds After 5 Months Torture

(Federated Press)

St. Joseph, Mich.—With the release on bonds of the remaining five of the Michigan red raid defendants, the punishment by imprisonment before conviction of the 20 labor men involved has ended. Four months have been served in jail by Seth Nordling, Portland, Ore.; Norman Tallentire, San Francisco; Joseph Zack, New York; Charles Erickson and Eugene Bechtold, Chicago, though presumed innocent until proved guilty.

The five were released on \$5000 bail each. Bail for all but two of the other 15 was fixed at \$10,000 by the Berrien county judge. More than \$150,000 was scheduled in cash, liberty bonds and real estate. The trial is set for Jan. 15.

The Labor Defense council, organized to defend the indicted men, is now able to turn its attention from raising of bail to presenting the definite issues of suppression of constitutional rights where labor men are concerned and of the anti-labor purpose of the criminal syndicalism laws in American states, of which the Michigan law is a fair sample.

Equally important is said to be the issues of federal attacks on citizens' rights through manipulation of state laws, the use of federal public money and public servants to interfere in alleged violations of purely state statutes. The Michigan red raid of Aug. 21 on a private peaceful meeting of radical labor men was engineered by the U. S. department of justice with several of Atty. Gen. Daugherty's agents in charge. Secret Service Chief Wm. J. Burns has refused to tell why federal money and men were used in a state raid.

DINNER PAIL EPICS

By BILL LLOYD

Good resolutions now are made and all old scores are met and paid. A lot of things occur to me as I greet nineteen twenty-three.

Now Harding he could vow a vow that he would gather some sense now, quit being just a rubber stamp and pour some oil in freedom's lamp, by letting wartime prisoner's go, which should have been done long ago.

Then Daugherty could curb his rage and start a fresh and pure white page, let up on "reds," nab profiteers, and rid himself of deadly fears that government would surely burst if he don't get his hand in first.

Mellon could run the treasury to help the guys like you and me, without a single backward look at his own family's pocketbook.

A lot of these big army men could chase themselves to work again, and help to bring the great peace-day by separating from their pay.

Big navy men could leave the deck and save us money by the peck, while makers of the poison gases could come out straight and call us asses, for tapping of the public till, experimenting how to kill.

The Legion could jump in the lake and die again for country's sake. I pledge a nickel for a mound, if they will just go underground. The Ku Klux Klan could shed its mask and meek and contrite, it could ask that Washington resume its sway on this the coming New Year's day.

The Rot'y folks and such-like clubs could cease from being common dubs, and learn that culture will endure if they will take the talking-cure.

The Daughters of the Revolution could go and study evolution, and learn that wisdom did not die when founding fathers closed their eye.

The Volsteadites can take a nip from something carried on the hip, and learn the joy of being free to hit a three percent of tea.

A Happy New Year!

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DEFECTIVE PAGE

PRECEDENT-FED LAWYERS, "DEAD-HAND" EXPERTS MANAGE OUR GOVERNMENT

They Preserve the Shadow of Yesterday and Use It To Darken the Sunlight of Today, and Charge a Fee For It.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the eighth article in a series by R. P. Pettigrew who is a peculiar capitalist. After twelve years at Washington he exposes the rottenness of the governing machinery better than most I. W. W. or Communists and he keeps out of jail.)

(Copyright 1922 by R. P. Pettigrew. Reprinted by permission of The Federated Press, from IMPERIAL WASHINGTON, published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.)

The constitution of the United States was made by business men. The work of managing and directing the government machinery that has been erected in pursuance of the Constitution has been placed almost exclusively in the hands of lawyers, who sit in the legislatures and make the laws; sit in the executive chairs and enforce the laws, and sit on the bench and interpret the laws.

Lawyers dominate the city, state and national governments to an astonishing degree. In one sense, they are the Government, at least in so far as manipulating its machinery is concerned. The lawyers have become a governing caste in the United States. Their official position is out of all proportion to their number.

Take the situation in the Federal Congress. There has never been a time during the fifty years that I have known Washington when the lawyers constituted less than half of the membership of both houses of Congress. Usually, they made up two-thirds of the membership. The proportion varies, but the principle holds. The present Congress (the 65th) reports in the House 263 lawyers out of a total of 388 who gave their occupations. (No occupations were given for 47.) In the Senate, there are 60 lawyers out of a total of 89 Senators who reported their occupations. The census shows that the lawyers constitute only three in every thousand of the gainful population. In the Senate, they are in the proportion of 674 per thousand; and in the House in the proportion of 677 in the thousand. Thus, two-thirds of our national law-makers are lawyers.

Presidents Are Usually Lawyers.

The same thing holds true of our Presidents. Since the United States has become a government by the corporations, their presidential candidates have almost invariably been lawyers. Harrison, as President, was a lawyer, and reputed to be a good one. He had been preceded in that high office by Grover Cleveland, a lawyer from Buffalo, New York. Harrison was followed by Cleveland. Cleveland was followed by another lawyer—McKinley, who was elected and assassinated, and thus Theodore Roosevelt who was his Vice-President, and not a lawyer, accidentally became President. He was succeeded by another lawyer, Taft, who was not a good lawyer. He had neither the judgment nor the ability to make a good lawyer, and he was therefore a very satisfactory representative of the predatory and exploiting corporations which, during all of my time in public life, have been the real force in control of the Government. Taft was followed by Wilson, a lawyer, and after his eight years the people elected Harding, another lawyer—giving him a plurality of more than six million of votes.

There is no question of party politics involved. Of all the Presidents

that I have known, two were Democrats (Cleveland and Wilson); the rest were Republicans. With the exception of Roosevelt, all of them since Garfield—and including Garfield—have been lawyers.

The lawyers have an even higher percentage among the successful presidential candidates than they have among the members of Congress.

When it comes to the courts, the whole field is in the possession of the lawyers, who have built up a system of exalting the law above everything else in the land—life, happiness and liberty included. They have worked out a "precedent" under which no one may become a judge unless he has previously been a lawyer. As a matter of practical fact, it is not necessary that a judge should be a lawyer. On the contrary, a lawyer trained under the present system is not fit to be a judge, but the thing has been worked out in such a way that all of the judges are lawyers.

Why Choose Lawyers?

Then there comes a question. If the business men of the United States run the Government, as I have asserted that they do, how comes it that they are willing to let the lawyers hold all of the important public positions?

The answer to that question is very simple: Because the lawyers do it so well!

If the lawyers failed to do what the business men want done, the business men would soon put an end to their domination of the political machinery.

A Good Lawyer Preserves the Status Quo.

A man, to become a good lawyer, must have spent his life studying "precedent." What is precedent but the preservation of the status quo, and what is the status quo but the wisdom of yesterday? The good lawyer is therefore the lawyer who is able to preserve the shadow of yesterday and use it to darken the sunlight of today.

The good lawyer, to educate himself, pores over the Common Law of England. When his head is filled with seventeen hundred decisions handed down by judges who lived in the seventeenth century, before the American Colonies found the British rule intolerable, he fills up the chinks of his mind with Blackstone and with Kent's Commentaries. He then studies what the judges (lawyers) of the United States said during the past hundred years, and after that he is considered as prepared to defend the interests of the exploiters of America.

Takes Bribe and Calls It Fee.

This precedent-fed human being is valuable to the great interests for three reasons:

First, because his study of precedent has rendered him incapable of thinking in to the future and has thus made him a natural protector of things as they are;

Second, because the tradition of property rights inherited from the past can best be preserved through such a class of "dead-hand" experts;

Third, because the lawyer, under the ethics of his profession, is the only man who can take a bribe and call it a fee.

The real work of the world is done by those who envisage the future and prepare for it. Such an ability is the first essential in a statesman, or in any other person who assumes to play a role in the direction of human affairs. The lawyer finds it virtually impossible to look ahead. He has been trained to move forward with his eyes over his shoulder.

Any ruling class, depending for its profits on some special privilege, like the ownership of land or of machinery, must see to it that these

special privileges are not interfered with, otherwise its source of profit may be destroyed. At one time, under the Feudal System, it was the church that acted as the policeman for the landlord, keeping the tenant's quiet with threats of dire punishment in the hereafter in case they interfered with the sacred person or with the still more sacred property of their overlords. That function, at the present time, has been taken over by the lawyers, who threaten the penalties of criminal codes and of Espionage Acts for those who transgress the sacred precincts in which the property of their clients is enclosed.

* * *

So far as I know, the lawyers, in both Houses, never hesitated to take a fee from any interest that wished to employ them. They satisfied their consciences by assuming themselves and their friends that no matter what the size of the fee it did not influence their actions as lawmakers.

One Little Fee.

I know personally of one Senator who received a fee of \$49,000 for representing one of the greatest of the industrial combinations in a case before a Federal court. This man was as honest a lawyer as I ever knew. His vote could not have been purchased for any consideration; yet after he had received the \$49,000 fee, if a question had come up which involved the interests of that corporation, or which was in the nature of an attack upon it, it is useless to insist that the thought of the fee would not have had at least some influence in determining what he should do and how he should vote.

Railroads Put Their Attorneys on Bench.

Senator Edmunds of Vermont was chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary during the twelve years that I was a member of the United States Senate. He reported the Sherman Anti-Trust Law from that Committee. Afterward, the United States Government began a suit against the Joint Traffic Association, which was a combination of thirty-two railroads running west from New York, on the ground that that combination was in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, the suit having been started before Judge LaComb, the Circuit Judge of the District of New York. The judge announced from the bench that he was disqualified from hearing the case because he was the owner of the stocks and bonds of the defendant railroad, and he said, in open court, that he believed every judge in the circuit was suffering from a like disqualification. The railroads had put their attorneys on the bench. It was finally found that Judge Wheeler, just appointed through the influence of Senator Edmunds, from the state of Vermont, was not the owner of stocks and bonds in the defendant railroads, and the railroads thereupon employed Edmunds to go before this judge—a creature of his—and tell the judge that the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was not being violated.

No one knows how big a fee Edmunds received, but it created no comment, for it is now well understood that a lawyer can be bought and call the purchase price of his opinions and convictions a fee.

In the case of Foraker, of Ohio, and Senator Bailey, of Texas, the amount of money paid them by the Standard Oil Company was so large, and the transaction was so under cover, that it excited no great amount of comment until the newspapers took it up, and then the matter became so scandalous that the public thought it best to call a halt.

These are only illustrations. It is a universal practice among the lawyers of both Houses to take a fee from the industrial combinations whenever they can get it, and they boast among their fellow members if the fee is big enough to be worth while.

This was the practice during the whole twelve years that I was in the Senate.

AMALGAMATION MOVEMENT GOES ONWARD

(By Earl R. Browder in the Labor Herald.)

Reactionary ideas in the trade unions are being severely jolted. The progress of amalgamation, as reported in the Labor Herald for October, has taken on an accelerated pace. More significant, it is no longer only the bodies known to be progressive, but some of the conservative hotbeds have swung into line. East and west the State federations are sending out the call for industrial unionism through amalgamation. It is no longer possible to keep record of the various city central bodies, who are joining the forward movement in great numbers. Great international bodies are shaking with the aroused membership demanding amalgamation, and additions are being made in the ranks of the independent unions. The amalgamation movement is sweeping onward.

More State Federations Join.

The news of the Michigan Federation action, (about which there is an interesting story herein), had barely cooled off when bang—the Oregon Federation of Labor, meeting in Salem, on September 25th, adopted a resolution which concluded:

"Resolved, that the Oregon State Federation of Labor urges the amalgamation of craft unions thereby providing for only one international head for each industry."

The resolutions committee of the convention held an open hearing on the amalgamation issue, at which a large number of students of the Oregon Agricultural College attended, following the debates with intense interest. The issue was clear-

ly the largest before the gathering, but so well was it supported, not alone in committee but by endorsements from various locals and central bodies beforehand that when it came to a vote it was adopted with very little opposition.

South Dakota followed a few days later, October 2, when the State Federation convened at Sioux Falls. Two resolutions were introduced at this convention, one declaring for industrial unionism, and the other pointing out the method by which this should be achieved. The active work of Delegate Carl Anderson had a great deal to do with the fact that all the delegates were given a thorough exposition of the gains for Labor to come from such a program. The first resolution concluded:

"That this convention of the State Federation of South Dakota, go on record endorsing the principle of organizing all the workers working in the same industry into one industrial union."

The resolution on the means to be used, resolved:

"That the State Federation of South Dakota in convention assembled, expresses as its opinion that the different international organizations should be consolidated into one international organization of each industrial department."

Another International Union Lines Up.

One of the victories of the month was the action of the convention of the International Association of Fire Fighters. This organization, meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma, adopted a general amalgamation resolution introduced by Delegate W. E.

Brown of Milwaukee. These men, public service employees, are also awaking to the weakness of craft divisions within their organization ranks. This small organization, acting about the same time when the great Maintenance of Way Union was entering the same road, is another proof of the thoroughness with which the idea of amalgamation has penetrated through the Labor movement.

THE MASTERS FRAMING MINERS

Bellaire, O.—The prosecution in the New Lafferty mine murder cases is reaching out to convict the subdistrict officials of the miners' union. Robert Farmer, president, Subdistrict 5, District No. 6, will be tried for first degree murder Jan. 10 at St. Clairsville, where Dominick Venturato has been convicted of first degree murder and Dan Agosti of murder in the second degree.

Farmer is conceded to have been two miles from the scene of the gathering in which John Major, leader of a band of strikebreakers, was shot and killed last June. His complicity is charged by the prosecution to arise from the fact that he called a meeting of union miners, after which the trouble began.

Mike Muscello, another union miner defendant, will be tried January 24.

FOODLESS FOODS

Whether or not it is the intent of the masters to poison the bodies and dull the minds of the workers of the United States directly with foodless foods, as they poison their minds with the foodless brain pap they serve up in the controlled press, the effect is just the same as soaking them with morphine or any other virulent poison. The entire working class is today being poisoned by foodless food, their vitality sapped, their bodies broken, their ability to think destroyed.

In the smug hypocrisy of our civilized (?) barbarism we have prohibited the manufacture and sale of whisky and alcoholic beverages; that is, except where they are furnished by special arrangements with government agents and bootleggers. But the manufacture of white flour goes merrily on. The part of rice which is vitally necessary to the nourishment of the body is milled away. Cornflakes and cornmeal are made from corn after the germ and life-giving part of the corn has been

removed. Breakfast foods by the score are turned out from which the mineral salts, germs and vitamins have been removed so that they will no longer sustain life.

Why do 400,000 babies die each year in the United States before they reach the end of the first year of their lives? Bad living conditions generally, of course, but the vital reason is that the mothers

who bore these children were themselves so badly nourished by foods robbed of the mineral salts and ingredients vitally necessary to nourish their own bodies that they were unable to transmit to their offspring bodies abounding with good health.

—Federated Press Health Service.
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Dr. P. L. Clark, M. D.

WORKERS PARTY OF AMERICA DISTRICT NO. 9 CONVENTION, DECEMBER 17, 1922

The Convention was held at the Workers' Hall, Superior, Wis. Seventeen delegates were present: Ungar, Matson, Lahti, Tenhunen, Koski, Halonen, Alanne, Jarvi, Davidson, Aine, Mustajarvi, Dubetz, Helenius, Dirba, Georgian, Usenius, and Ronn.

Chairman—Alanne; Secretary—Dirba; Resolutions Committee—Georgian, Usenius, Alanne; Financial Committee—Tenhunen, Halonen, Dubetz.

Report of D. O. Cash Statement, 5 months, July to November, 1922.	
Cash Received:	
Fed. Dues from N. O.	\$540.40
Non-Fed. Dues Direct	68.90
Initiation Fees	8.00
Convention Assessment	3.00
N. O. Org. Assess.	3.00
Distr. Org. Assess.	16.50
Gen'l Contributions	24.75
Defense Stamps	7.40
Literature and Subs.	72.60
Loans	82.50
Refund on Rent	3.00
Post. and Supplies sold	3.31
Total Received	\$832.36
Cash Paid:	
To N. O. Dues	\$35.25
Init. Fees	4.00
Org. St.	3.00
Def. St.	5.50
Dues to CCC's	47.75
Loans	21.40
Literature and Subs.	131.25
Rent	53.18
D. O. Wages	100.00
Post., Telegr., Teleph.	413.20
Refunds	34.88
Supplies	3.55
Misc. (Carfars, etc.)	16.67
Total Paid	\$833.31
Balance Dec. 1, 1922	.25
	\$833.36

Signed: S. C. GEORGIAN, O. COOVER, Dec. Audit. Com.

Balance of salary still due, \$257.00, was donated by Comrade Keas.

MEMBERSHIP, N. O. Figures Based on July, Aug., Sept. and Oct. Dues:	
Eng. C&St. Finn. Germ. Jew. Lett. Russ. Scand. SoSl. Ukr. Totals	
N. O. Figures	57 19 1275 10 11 98 20 1470
Add from UTA	10 15 11 50 10 85
New and Correct	25 15 11 50 10 85
Totals	57 19 1300 10 11 15 11 50 98 30 1601
Minn. Branches	3 1 27 1 3 1 2 2 5 1 46
Mich. Branches	1 1 5 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 11
Wis. Branches	1 1 5 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 11
Iowa Branches	1 1 5 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 11
So. Dak. Branches	1 1 5 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 11
Total Branches	6 1 53 1 3 1 2 3 8 1 79

CCC's are organized in Minneapolis, Minn. (189 memb.), St. Paul, Minn. (60 memb.), Chisholm, Minn. (50 memb.), and Superior, Wis. (178 memb.).

ON REPORT OF RESOL. COM. THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS WERE ADOPTED.

For Moving District Office to Superior. Resolved that since the bulk of the membership in Distr. 9 is located in Northern Minn., N. Wis., and No. Mich., and since the work of the present party administration in this Distr. has been considerably hampered by a factional fight the seat of which has been in the city where the Distr. Office is now located, the Distr. Office should be removed to Superior, and that, until this removal is approved by the CEC, two sets of DEC members shall be elected, one from the Twin Cities, to hold office while the Distr. Office remains here, and

from the Twin Ports, to take office after the removal.

To Reduce CEC membership from 17 to 9 members.

For a National English Daily Paper, discontinuing the present two weeklies, if it is necessary to finance the Daily.

On Industrial Policy. In agreement with the present policies of the CEC, Urging membership to support T. U. E. L. and to join unions.

On Organization Funds. Half of "Building up Party Fund" to be spent on organization work in this

For Help to Soviet Russia. Urging all workers to give wholehearted support to the Friends of Soviet Russia, the Society for Technical Aid, and the Russian-American Industrial Corporation. Urging all members and workers to withdraw savings from capitalist institutions and invest them in the Russian-American Industrial Corporation.

For Defense of Class War Prisoners. Urging all members and workers to redouble efforts to get out those comrades who are still in jail sending greetings to comrades now imprisoned by capitalist enemy. On Party Program. Proposing additional clause on working farmers being burdened with excessive taxation, and pledging support in their fight against it. (Otherwise all spoke in favor of the CEC draft.)

Further in reference to the Nat. Conv. it was moved and carried:

That the officials of our Party be requested to pay more attention and devote more time than heretofore to the educational work among the masses and the building up of a strong, centralized and disciplined revolutionary party; and that only comrades well acquainted with the American working class movement should be elected to the new CEC.

M. carried that our del. to Nat. Conv. propose and vote for the raising of funds for Nat. Conv. and preceding Distr. Conv. in the future through special assess. levied upon the whole Party membership in general.

Election of DEC. From Twin Cities: Coover, Dubetz, Wasilewsky, Balod, Helenius, Skoglund; alternates—A. E. Georgian, Dmetreschuk, Ungar.

From Twin Ports: Shuestrum, Alanne, Bicanek, Usenius, Tenhunen, Ronn; alternates—Polin, Anderson, Strand.

Election of Delegates to Nat. Conv. Alanne, Koski, Georgian, Dubetz, Markula, Sankelo; alternates—Tenhunen, Helenius, Essila, Mustajarvi.

Chas. Dirba, D. O.

BOOKS!

"Kuzbas", a pamphlet about an opportunity for engineers and workers in Russia. — \$0.10
Red Labor International. Resolutions and decisions of the First International Congress of Revolutionary Trade and Industrial Unions. — \$0.15
The Revolutionary Crises of 1918-1921 in Germany, England, Italy and France, By Wm. Z. Foster. Price — \$0.25
War of the Classes, by Jack London. This book has been reduced from \$1.00 in order to cut down the stock — \$0.50
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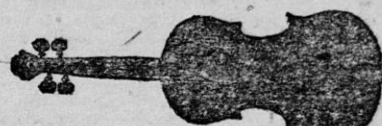
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NOTICE!

Duluth Scand. Local meets every Tuesday Night at Workers Hall, Cor. 19th Ave. W. & 1st St. —New Members welcome!!

DEFECTIVE PAGE

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 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!



14

A NEW YEAR IN WHICH TO EDUCATE, AGITATE, ORGANIZE.

The new year just as a new day presents to the workers another opportunity to help themselves. Those who do help themselves intelligently may do so from very selfish motives and yet prove to be benefactors to humanity. This is true because the fundamental wants of human beings are the same. Food, clothing, shelter, leisure, opportunity for self expression and development are universal wants. To secure these in maximum quality and quantity instead of in stingy minimums is not a job that one worker can accomplish alone. It requires organization—working with others in industrial organizations. Getting for others what he gets for himself.

It also means education in order to understand the economic and social conditions and education to acquire industrial skill. Organization, education, agitation and more organization. These are the steps to freedom and they go together. Those who study the works of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Lenin and Trotsky are sharpening their fighting weapons. Ranting is done in abundance every day but intelligence is a rare article. Ranting never convinces anyone who has brains; it only repels. Intelligent questioning and discussion provokes investigation and study. It must accompany organization work in order to get anywhere.

Those who wish to help themselves will not be content with understanding economic and social conditions and with organization they will also want industrial skill. They will always go after more skill and greater efficiency. Knowing how to build a bridge or a house does not disqualify a man for ditch digging if under a juster system the need for ditch digging should arise. But if more bridges and houses are needed and men can only dig. Then what? The technical men are not as atrociously exploited under capitalism as the unskilled hence they will sabotage under a new order. The proletariat must not depend on them. They must become industrially efficient if they would emancipate themselves.

If enough workers become intelligent in regard to economic and social conditions and technically efficient and industrially organized they will not stop with half measures. Human wants expand with human intelligence. A dollar more in the envelope today but tomorrow the whole works. Education, agitation, organization today, but tomorrow co-operative production and appropriation of production.

OH! FOR A MURDERER'S PRIVILEGE!

If this administration would only give the political prisoners as much consideration as the murderers then they would soon be free. Two murderers came out on Christmas day with unconditional pardons, also a bootlegger.

But the I. W. W. and the Communists who were against mass murder for the benefit of the war workers, still remain imprisoned. Guntoters are convenient to have outside of prison. The administration has frequently made use of them against organized labor when the workers attempted to better their working conditions.

Two grateful released guntoters are an asset to society. But sixty-two grateful released non-guntoters would menace society, so they stay in prison. Marvellous are the deeds of Daugherty! And the brain that prompts such deeds must be a phenomenon for scientists. It is surely of rat capacity.

THRILL PRODUCERS' PAY

Rudolph Valentino's wage is \$1,250 a week. He is a star in movie-land. He is a Sheikh who makes a spectacular flight with an American girl into the land of Romance. That pays. Occasionally a working class Sheikh also makes a flight with some girl into the land of Romance. But the romance soon fades and the grim reality of supporting a family on less than \$1,000 a year takes its place. How many workers get \$1,250 a year? Valentino gets that in one week for producing a thrill. Producers of shoes and coats and stoves number millions, but the owning class can hire them for less than thrill producers.

Is there more demand for screen romance than for coats and shoes? Valentino is going after still more money. \$1,250 a week is too little for him? What is the matter with the millions? If the demand for clothes and houses and food is as great as the demand for thrills it seems that a bit of intelligence ought to be able to provide these millions a comfortable existence instead of a miserly one. Movie romance would look cheap then for the home-variety would last much longer.

BEAUTIFUL MUDDLING

First J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. bought English and French bonds. When it looked as if Germany would win in the scrap between foreign capitalists and depreciate English and French bonds, Morgan and Company got Woodrow Wilson to act as insurance agent for them. These bonds were insured with American workers' blood. Then Liberty bonds were issued which American workers bought under compulsion and sold at a loss.

Morgan and Company made neat little sums while the workers here bought Liberty bonds and the boys abroad were insuring French and English bonds. The Liberty loan money lent to Europe passed through Morgan & Company's hands and tens of millions stuck.

Now France owes the United States \$3,350,762,938.00. Our war makers would like to have that paid but the French cannot pay unless the Germans pay. And the German war

feed the army of occupation, which lives luxuriously while the producers exist. From 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 parasites are under arms in Europe today. Nine-five per cent of these troops belong to the Allies. In Germany they consume production that might possibly go towards reparation; the mark declines from day to day; financial ruin approaches.

Now the muddlers supreme face additional loans or debt forgiving or attempting to force payment with drawn swords. It's a beautiful muddle. It gets more beautiful all the time.

MATERIALISM TAUGHT

The philosophers of the various religious movements are not having a very pleasant time in Russia at present. Three years ago metaphysical subjects of all kinds were discussed in meetings held in the Free Academy of Idealistic Culture. All the mystics and the sophists could discuss to their hearts' content such subjects as "Christ and Theosophy", "The Foundation of Hindu Mysticism", "God and the Aims of Existence" and countless others.

Eventually, however, the Communists decided that they were running a risk at present to have their young exposed to this metaphysical philosophy before they had been able to study science. So they shut down on these speculative philosophers a year ago, even banished some of them. Now only materialism is taught.

Pokrovski, Assistant Commissar of Education, and his assistant are zealous guardians of the Workers Republic who are determined that the communist youths who are growing up now shall understand the Soviet point of view. They are using books written by Lenin and Bucharin as text books in the Soviet Schools. They hope to make materialists of the younger generation. Russia today has many Communists who are idealists and they are quite useless. At least, there is a greater need for scientists than for dreamers.

EXPORT ASSOCIATION WANTS RUSSIAN TRADE

The parrots who always cry shrilly what big business wants will have to learn a new jargon now about Soviet Russia. The old screams about Russia being a land of brutal devils are out of date. The American business men are putting on Russian boots and going after trade with Russia. They suddenly say little about Russian stupidity and injustice. Now they say that Russian trade officials are shrewd and well informed and also reasonable and just. So say the United States Steel corporation, the General Electric company, the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing company and the Standard Oil company of New Jersey. If you are inclined to disbelieve it get the current number of the official organ of the American Manufacturers Export Association called the "Amexa News" and see for yourself.

It states that millions of dollars worth of export and import business has been carried on by Russia with "Soviet House" in London and that the trade is growing rapidly. Investments in Russia are not only considered safe but profitable. A privately owned department store is reported as having made big profits during the last few months. It is evident that big business here is out for trade recognition of Russia. Then their tools in the Department of State must follow soon, and all the little capitalist echoes on all the main streets will have to get in harmony.

NEW YEAR PROGRAM

An exceedingly fine program including folk dances, plays, a chorus of male voices and humorous readings will be given at Workers' Hall, Sunday evening, Dec. 31. Even if you do not understand Swedish you will enjoy the plays and dances, the fine musical program including violin solos and music by the West End Band. Social dancing after the program. Admission 35 and 25 cents.

AMERICA IN OIL DIPLOMACY

Oil—that is the modern fuel of diplomacy. Nor need we Americans feel too superior to the oily diplomacy of the British. More than twenty years ago Rear Admiral Chester, U. S. N., in the course of an expedition to seek redress for damage done to American missionary schools during the Armenian massacres of 1896, obtained from Sultan Abdul Hamid a series of concessions, including the oil-bearing lands of Armenia and Mesopotamia. The importance of oil was then not yet generally recognized, and the concessions were not developed. Abdul Hamid was forced out, the validity of the Chester concessions was questioned, and in due time a friendly group of German and British capitalists, with the aid of their foreign offices, reached an amicable agreement to divide the oil of Mosul between themselves. But during the war Britain had other friends. One of the secret treaties inadvertently assigned Mosul to the French. A later one, however, turned it over to the British. After the war the French protested, and finally obtained at San Remo a "right" to a quarter of the oil. Half was left to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (which paid 20 per cent on its shares in 1921) and the Burmah Oil Company (which paid 30 per cent), and a quarter to the Royal Dutch Shell (which paid 27 per cent). Then our own American Standard Oil woke up and very shortly a hail of notes demanding the "Open Door" in Turkey began to fall upon the British Government. And now, following upon our Mr. Child's moral remarks at Lausanne, it is announced that the British quite agree, and would be glad to offer the Standard a 20 per cent share—the Anglo-Persian group to give up 10 per cent, and the French and the Royal Dutch Shell 5 each. Apparently the Shell is reluctant to give up anything, and the Standard wants more; meanwhile Mr. Samuel Untermyer and others have dug up a rival set of claims—all of which provides ample material for the lofty moral phrases usual in diplomacy.—The Nation.

THE BUILDER

(The rough worker in Nietzschean philosophical terminology.)

An old man, going along highway,
Came in the evening cold and gray,
To a chasm, vast and deep and wide;
The old man crossed in the twilight dim,
The sullen stream held no fears for him,
But he stopped, when safe on the other side,
And built a bridge to span the tide.

"Old friend," said a fellow pilgrim near,
"You are wasting your time with building here.
"Your journey will end with the ending day,
"And never again will you pass this way;
"Why build this bridge at Eventide?"

The builder lifted his old gray head,
"Old friend, in the path I have come," he said.
"There followeth after me today
"A youth whose feet must pass this way.
"This chasm, which has been naught to me,
"To this fair-haired youth may a pitfall be.
"He too must cross in the twilight dim,
"Good friend, I am building this bridge—for him."

AT THE GATES OF TOMBS

By CARL SANDBURG.

Civilizations are set up and knocked down
The same as pins in a bowling alley.

Civilizations get into the garbage wagons
And are hauled away the same as potato
Peelings or any pot scrapings.

Civilizations, all the work of the artists,
Inventors, dreamers of work and genius,
Go to the dumps one by one.

Be silent about it; since at the gates of tombs
Silence is a gift, be silent; since at the epitaphs
Written in the air, since at the swan songs hung in
The air, silence is a gift, be silent; forget it.

If any fool, babbler, gabby mouth, stand up and say:
Let us make a civilization where the sacred and
Beautiful things of toil and genius shall last—

If any such noisy gazook stands up and makes himself
Heard—put him out—tie a can on him—lock him up
In Leavenworth—shackle him in the Atlanta hoosegow
—Let him eat from the tin dishes at Sing Sing—
Slew him in as a lifer at San Quentin.

It is the law; as a civilization dies and goes down
To eat ashes along with all other dead civilizations
—It is the law that all dirty wild dreamers die first—
Gag 'em, lock 'em up, get 'em bumped off.

And since at the gates of tombs silence is a gift,
Be silent about it, yes, be silent—forget it.

THE VICTIMS

By MAY BEALS

"It is not coal you are burning up,
But human creatures' lives."

The flaring, flicking light from the lamps in their caps showed their coal-begrimed faces as they huddled together and talked in hushed tones of the thing that had happened. Near them on the floor of the mine lay a man's head, blackened and blood-smear. A little beyond is was a hand, the fingers still twitching slightly. From underneath the mass of slate, newly fallen, a little red stream trickled slowly toward them. They moved a little farther from it, and a little farther, until they were huddled against the opposite wall, but it followed them stealthily.

They knew they must die. No human power could rescue them before the deadly gases crept upon them. But the horror in their eyes was a horror of death.

The youngest, a boy of fourteen, slipped his hand into his father's.

"Let's write to her," he said, "and to the children."

"Write," groaned the father, "write! What can we tell her how to fill six months when she has nothing—nothing?"

"We can tell her," the boy said bravely, though the horror deepened in his eyes, "that we're not afraid to die."

The man was already fumbling in his pocket for a pencil. The others followed his example.

"I'm not afraid to die," the father said, "but God knows I'm afraid for her to live."

They crouched down in the narrow space and began writing on such scraps of paper as they could find in their pockets, spreading it out as smoothly as possible on knee or dinner pail or smooth bit of slate. For a long while there was unbroken silence, save for the labored breathing of the men as the air became more oppressive and the scratching of the pencils as their stiffened fingers moved clumsily, but rapidly, in the race with death. And, though they knew that it was their master's greed for profits that had made the mine a death trap, there was no word of bitterness or resentment in the letters they wrote to their dearest.

Before they had finished writing one of them fell back and lay writhing and gasping for breath. They did not try to revive him. They knew that to do so would only prolong his torture. When he lay still at last, with distorted face and protruding tongue, they felt relieved. They knew he was at rest.

The boy was trembling violently. Each breath was harder to draw than the one before it. He turned a little with his back to the dead man, and looked at his father.

"I'll tell her to use my clothes for the children," he whispered. "She won't do it unless I tell her to—and it will help a little."

And outside, in the clear morning sunlight, the women were weeping.

But in one of the costliest mansions of the city not far away a man sat at his dainty breakfast table scowling over the news that had just reached him through the telephone.

He looked across at the prettily painted thing for whom he had divorced the wife of his youth.

"It will cost a confounded lot of money," he growled, "to get that mine in working order again."

—All Power.

"DEAD"

B. N. Z.

Dead—for he dreams no more,
Gone—as the brook run dry.
Passed from the enemy hand forever more;
Long Liveth them! who thus for truth can die.

Wise things he spake, this man of men,
When he aloud did cry, "Why dost thou deceive?"
And the potentates answered, "We are the Law,
Our droll portion of justice shall ye receive."

Thus did the law make its battle more strong against the state,
When they pitched their unjust battalions against his doomed fate.

For all valiant men know, freedom is his to share and take;
When good men die in prison—anoined men awake.

December 12th, 1922.

Magon, who died in prison.

HOW TO GET A GOOD BOOK AND A GOOD PAPER

Let your boy or girl have Mary Marcy's *Jungle Tales* about tree people and growing coal and how cave men learned to milk goats and how Big Nose first found potatoes and other tales equally fascinating and each telling a part of the wonderful story of organic or of social evolution.

If you wish to possess this book send \$2.00 to Kerr & Co., Chicago, or you may send us \$2.00. If you order through us we will RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TO TRUTH FREE FOR SIX MONTHS or we will send TRUTH FREE TO A NEW SUBSCRIBER FOR SIX MONTHS. As TRUTH is regularly \$1.00 for six months, you can save a dollar by ordering from us.

The tales are beautifully illustrated with woodcuts by Wharton H. Esherick. Hence you are getting the work of two talented people and are not only educating your child but adding a valuable addition to your library.

OVERLORDS WITCH-HUNTING

Judge Gary sees a labor-shortage and declares that the present law strictly limiting immigration should be promptly liberalized. The number of aliens permitted to enter, he declares, should be equal to the necessities of industry, and we gather from his statement that he is in favor of admitting anyone who is sound in wind and limb. This industrialist point of view, however, is apparently not shared by Mr. Harding and the members of his Cabinet, who are het up about the state of mind of our foreign born to a degree that is difficult to understand. It is proposed to thumb-print and register persons who are bold enough to move from other countries to the United States, and to make them report periodically to some functionary, after the manner of felons on parole. The last suggestion, which seems to us unusually cruel, comes from the Secretary of Labor, who insists that aliens should receive compulsory instruction concerning the blessed privilege of living under a Government manned by Mr. Harding, Mr. Daugherty and himself, and that instruction should include certain inquisitory processes whereby aliens "disposed to treat lightly the institution of law and order" may be weeded out and deported. We suspect that by the time these witch-hunting devices are perfected, our political overlords will no longer have to worry lest newcomers bring with them any trace of intelligence; for by that date migrant Europeans Europeans will generally understand that American institutions are something that may best be observed comfortably from a distance.

—The Freeman.

HALDEMAN JULIUS, INDIVIDUALIST

Co-incident with the change in the name and the editorial policy of the "Appeal to Reason," its publisher is quoted as saying that he is not a collectivist, but an individualist, that he believes the human race can be advanced only by the self-improvement of the individual.

It is remarkable that Haldemann-Julius should only have reached this conclusion after having amassed a comfortable private fortune through having exploited the Appeal to Reason as an advertising medium for his other publications, leaving it to be financed by the "faithful" from time to time, as need arose, through "drives" for this, that and the other thing.

We presume that the "self-improvement of the individual" is to be done through the purchase and study of liberal quantities of the books of the "Henry Ford of literature."

—Excerpt from Davenport Free Press.

THE FOOLISH FIFTY

If fifty men did all the work

And gave the price to five,

And let those five make all the rules,

You'd say the fifty men were fools—

Unfit to be alive.

And if you heard complaining cries

From fifty brawny men,

Blaming the five for graft and greed,

Injustice, cruelty, indeed—

What would you call them then?

Not by their own superior force

Do five on fifty live,

But by election and assent,

And privilege and government—

Powers that fifty give.

If fifty men are really fools,

And five have all the brains,

Th. five must rule as now, we find;

But if the fifty have this mind—

Why don't they take the reins?

—Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

"Without believing in the doctrine of the I. W. W., or the communists, I believe that grave injustice has been done to such persons by the syndicalist laws. Any persecution, naturally feeds the flame of such doctrine. I am told by people in Washington in a position to know, that since the I. W. W. was denied the right of speech, its doctrine is growing under ground, even among the young people of the farms and the ranches. The way to handle the problem is not to persecute, but to study the reasons for the attitude of these people and to take intelligent steps to give them an appreciation and the sense of sympathy of socially-minded people. The cause of the I. W. W. and communism has its source in social injustice. The I. W. W. are the ones who are ground between the upper and lower millstones in the industrial system of their country. Give them a square deal and the whole I. W. W. movement, although it will probably have a few leaders left, will have no great body of supporters. Treat the I. W. W. and communism as the government is treating them today, and they can easily develop into a menace to our social life.

"Our government particularly in the arrest of the alleged communists in Michigan seems to take the position that it is a crime to be a communist. I cannot help but be reminded of the original communists who were the first converts to the Christian faith. If the Roman Government in the early years of Christianity had taken the same attitude, the entire Apostolic College would have been arrested, Saint Peter, Saint John and the rest of them. They would have been in the same position as Mr. Foster, Mr. Ruthenberg and the others are today. Fortunately the Imperial Government of Rome at that time was not so reactionary. As an American citizen and speaking for myself, I want to take my stand on the basic right for anybody in the United States to be a communist who wishes to be one. Has our government so utterly lost its confidence in the judgment of our people as to think that we must be protected from any kind of program? If our people haven't sense enough to reject a propaganda that is dangerous to the country, then I think that it is better for the country to get into a dangerous position. Apparently we are to be cuddled because Mr. Daugherty, the Attorney General, and other moralities are afraid to trust us to consider possible schemes that they feel are dangerous to the community. Personally, I have every confidence in the mass of our people to feel that they can't be fooled and that, therefore, we can permit any propaganda to be disseminated: it will be taken at its face value."—Rev. Chas. M. Lathrop.

"To end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out state boundaries, transform the whole world into one co-operative commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom."—Aims of the Third (Moscow) International, as stated in the Manifesto.

A BOLSHEVSKI RHYMATIC SPASM

(Made on Dry Dock by J. P. Ferguson.)

If you sympathy would gain

Tell the truth.

That our work be not in vain

Sell the TRUTH.

Carry it where'er you roam

Till it lives in every home

And a unity will come

Which spells the truth.