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International Press Correspondence

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FOSTER TESTIFIES HE IS NOT MEMBER OF ANY POLITICAL PARTY

Communists Support T. U. E. L. and Constitute 10 per cent of its membership

By JOE CARROLL
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

ST. JOSEPH, Mich.—Though an adherent of the Marxian communist school, as he stated on the witness stand in his own behalf, Wm. Z. Foster, first defendant in the Michigan criminal syndicalism trials, is not and has not been a member of the Communist party, according to his own testimony. Examination by Defense Counsel Frank P. Walsh and cross examination by Asst. Dist. Atty. Gen. O. L. Smith brought out that Foster had been a member of the I. W. W., Socialist and Farmer-Labor parties at different times but that he now belonged to no political party.

High spots in his testimony included his description of the sweep of amalgamation sentiment through American labor unions, his career as A. F. of L. chieftain in the steel strike and in the organization of the packing house workers, his trips to France and Russia, his opposition to treacherous union officials and his part in the Bridgman secret convention which was raided Aug. 21, 1922, under direction of the federal department of justice and was the immediate cause of the present trials.

Foster spoke in a quiet, measured voice that reached every ear of the attentive courtroom crowd. Both Ruthenberg, the preceding witness, and Foster made exactly the opposite impression of that conveyed by the current cartoons of longhaired wild-eyed bolsheviks. Their calm, intelligent manner and unassuming presence had its effect on the Michigan audience which had been led by the prosecution propaganda to expect fire eating harangues.

Foster testified that he had been born in Massachusetts 42 years ago. He has been a worker all his life and is now secretary of the Trade Union Educational league. This league, he said, is an autonomous body, comprising trade unionists of all parties and of no party and working for industrial unionism. When asked what the relation of the Communists to the league was, he stated that the Communists supported the league and its program and constituted about 10% of its membership.

At the Bridgman convention, which he attended on invitation, he showed how the radical and progressive workers in the past had failed because of the policy of withdrawing from the unions and criticizing them from the outside. Opposed to this old policy, he said, the radicals must get into the unions, abandon the idea of merely talking, and instead, go to work doing the every day tasks of the labor struggle, and gain the confidence of the membership.

When questioned by Walsh as to his visit to Russia, Foster said that he had attended the first congress of the Red International, that when that congress adopted the same program for America which he had advocated for a long time, that he approved of that plan. When he returned to America he had met once with the central executive committee of the Communist party, had urged them to adopt the policy laid down by the Red International of Labor Unions, and had stated to them that he, Foster, approved of the Red International policy and

believed that it would have great success in America.

“You were opposed to Mr. Grable, the deposed head of the Maintenance of Way union, were you not?” asked the prosecution in cross examining Foster.

“I was,” Foster answered, “he betrayed the interests of the men who elected him and of the railroad workers as a whole, and as a result he was deposed.”

Smith did not want Foster’s actual position and was displeased when this clearest condemnation of Grable went into the record on cross examination.

In questioning Foster about his speaking trip through the west last July, Prosecutor Smith attempted to drag in the fairy story, already carried widely by the press, that a man by the name of Kovalsky had accompanied him. “I never saw Kovalsky or even heard of him until his name was brought into this case,” said Foster.

Kovalsky is known in New York City, where hundreds of workers know he was working during last July. The prosecution wishes to use his name in this trial because he was sentenced to Atlanta penitentiary for one year for returning to America after having been deported to Poland.

Foster gave an extemporaneous talk in the convention, he said on cross examination, but that this was in no way a report or set speech and was made from no notes or manuscript. This is in direct contradiction to the testimony of the state’s star witness, Francis A. Morrow, the U. S. government spy, who claimed that a manuscript was used by Foster on this occasion. Foster denies that he received, upon his arrival at the convention or at any time thereafter, a “portfolio,” as described by the witness Morrow; or that he at any time received or filled out the questionnaire which Morrow claims to have seen him have in the convention.

Libel Suit by Detective Agency Against Bailin Put to Sleep

Chicago.—Albert Bailin, double-crossing stool pigeon, has another unfinished lawsuit on his hands. The criminal libel action brought against him here by the Wm. J. Burns private detective agency has been continued until March, 1924, because the complainants failed to appear against him. When he testified in the Michigan red raid depositions before Frank P. Walsh that he had sent threatening letters at the orders of the Burns people, pretending that they were from radicals, and that the Burns executives had instructed him to make bombs and to get radicals to throw them, the criminal libel warrants were issued in behalf of Allen O. Meyers, the New York Burns chief.

Now the suit has been put to sleep just as the New York indictment against Bailin charging use of the mails to send threatening letters is lying dormant. Bailin is willing to proceed with both trials. He charges that Burns does not want the New York postal case to be taken up because it would implicate Burns too deeply.

ONE CHARITABLE ORGANIZATION FINDS 1300 POOR IN DULUTH NEEDING FREE MEDICAL SERVICES

Twenty-Two Other Up-Lift Agencies Are Also Busy With the Human Scrap-Pile Caused By the Wage System.

Duluth with its 106,289 inhabitants and its palatial residences on the East side also has its plague spots. The wage system has ground out a human scrap-pile of considerable size here. The total number of the down-and-outs can be estimated by studying the annual report of the Free Medical Dispensary and then remembering that there are twenty-two other ambulance-pushing organizations on the job with similar reports of poverty which they could publish if they chose.

More than 1,300 cases (human beings) were taken care of during 1922 by the Free Dispensary of the Methodist union, according to the annual report of the organization just compiled. A total of 584 were new cases, while 755 were cases returning to the clinics from 1921.

“The work of the dispensary has shown splendid progress during the last year,” according to Miss Pernilla Hagen, registered nurse in charge of the work. “Most of the cases treated are children in the schools who have defective vision and who are sent in by the school nurses.

“The cases in the ear-nose-throat department are mostly those with diseased tonsils and after they are removed their troubles usually disappear.

“The statistics show the actual number of cases taken care of, but do not show the actual amount of work done. Almost every day the dispensary proves to be a social service center, whereby people are directed to different agencies where they can obtain relief for their distress.

“Much follow-up work is needed, but time does not permit. Only the urgent ones are followed into their homes. This would be one way of getting in touch with the other members of the family needing medical attention.”

The report shows that 146 clinics were held during the year, with an average attendance of nine, mostly children. The classification of the new cases is: Ear, nose, throat, 210; eye, 227; pediatrics, 99; gynecologic, 17; prenatal, 11, and skin, 19. In December the new clinic for diseases of the skin was opened. Much need for this clinic has been manifest, according to Miss Hagen. The doctors on the medical staff donate their services, giving as scientific treatment to these poor and needy families as they do to their private cases, Miss Hagen declares.

The work of the free dispensary is financed by the Duluth Community Fund.

The other twenty-two member organizations now in the Community Fund are: Aftenro society, Americanization committee, Associated Charities, Bethany Home for Children, Duluth Bethel society, Bureau of United Catholic charities, Duluth Humane society, Girl Scout, Council of Duluth, Goodwill industries, Home Demonstration bureau, Linnaea society, St. Louis County Association for the Blind (Lighthouse), Milk Fund of Federated Parent-Teachers’ association, Occupational Therapy committee, St. Anne’s home, St. James’ orphan home, St. Louis County Public Health association, St. Luke’s Hospital association, St. Mary’s hospital, United Jewish Social agencies, Young Men’s Christian association and Young Women’s Christian association.

Julius H. Barnes, high-priest of the capitalist system which produces the plague spots, is honorary president of the dole fund. With Judge Gary, he is now in Rome sitting at the feet of Mussolini studying new methods of keeping down the working-class.

WONDERFUL FARM HELP!



Drawn by Callaghan for The Milwaukee Leader

17 WITNESSES TELL DEEDS OF LESTER'S HERRIN GUNMEN

They Shot Vigorously After They Had Raised the White Flag

By McALISTER COLEMAN
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

MARION, Ill.—Seventeen witnesses, the greatest number to take the stand in any one day of the present case, told of the deeds of Wm. J. Lester's gunmen at the second of the Herrin riot trials. They were farmers, miners, coal company officials, taxi drivers, store keepers, men and women from all walks of life, come to tell the jury about the manner in which a nonresident coal operator invaded a peaceful Illinois county.

Several of them swore that the fighting at the strip mine began June 21 when a machine gun on the mine wall, camouflaged by bushes, began sweeping the country side and mortally wounded Jordan Henderson, an unarmed union miner, the first to fall. Others testified to listening in on telephone conversations between Lester and Supt. McDowell, the day before the fighting. McDowell boasted that he could hold off a crowd reported to be coming from West Frankfort, Johnson City and Marion. “Let ‘em come,” he told his boss. “We can handle ‘em. Some of ‘em will never get here.”

Farmers and miners picking berries in the vicinity of the mine, said they were stuck up by Lester's guards who came up behind them and dug rifles into their ribs.

There was a mass of testimony to the effect that as soon as the white flag appeared on the mine wall, the flag upon which the prosecution laid so much stress, men were seen alongside of it and under it shooting away at the attacking forces in the woods.

Several witnesses told of being beaten and jerked out of autos by the mine guards, who stopped machines on the public roads near the mine and dragged their occupants up to the mine office for examination.

“Tell the — union men we’re going to run this mine if we have to run it with blood,” said McDowell to one of his captives. “Tell them to keep off this road or they’ll have their — heads blown off. See that man out there” (pointing to a mine guard sitting outside the office with a rifle over his knees). “That’s old Paddle Foot, he’s a dead shot. He can kill a man a mile away.”

McDowell showed this witness a machine gun which stood in the mine office, called it a “real” gun and said that it worked on a tripod.

Another witness told of being held up by a guard who kept shouting “I’m a man eater. I eat ‘em alive. I love hot blood. Shoot his heart out and feed it to me.”

When State Senator Glenn for the prosecution asked, “You weren’t really afraid, were you?” the witness answered emphatically: “I was so scared I could feel my hat crawling right up off my hair.”

Asked to describe the “man eater” the witness said, “He was a mean, snaggle toothed fellow.”

Sinclair On the Job

SAYS TASK OF NEXT DECADE IS CHANGE FROM CAPITALISM TO PUBLIC SERVICE.

PASADENA, Cal.—Upton Sinclair has accepted the nomination for congress tendered by the newly organized Labor party of Los Angeles and the Tenth congressional district. In his letter of acceptance he says:

“The change from private capitalism to public service is the task of the next decade. If you send me to Washington I shall work for it, with vote and voice and with pen. I shall defend without compromise the right of the workers to organize and to prepare themselves for the control of industry. I shall stand for freedom of speech, of press, and opinion at home, and for the refusal of our country to entangle itself in the intrigues of predatory foreign governments.

“We in America have all things necessary to a great and peaceful civilization. We should stay at home, and devote ourselves to breaking the power of the selfish and unscrupulous groups which now dominate our politics and industry. Let us give the workers of all other nations a model of ordered progress, of freedom and industrial self-government. They will learn the lesson quickly, and when they overthrow their exploiters, and establish industry by and for the workers, let us give them our help and sympathy, and not seek to strangle them by lying intrigues, as we have done in the case of Russia.

“Such are the issues of this campaign as I see them. If you believe in social justice and the rule of the people, in industry as well as in government, you will vote for and support the Labor party. If you believe in poverty, unemployment, prostitution, crime, militarism and war, you will vote for any candidate of the old parties—it makes no particle of difference which.”

FOSTER'S CASE IN JURY'S HANDS

ST. JOSEPH, Mich.—The final arguments in William Foster's trial for criminal syndicalism were completed Tuesday. The case is now in the hands of the jury. Foster, if convicted, faces a prison sentence of 10 years or a \$5,000 fine, or both, at the discretion of the judge.

47 I. W. W. to Serve 14 to 28 Years

San Francisco.—Forty-seven members of the I. W. W. are now in California prisons serving terms of one to 14 years or from two to 28 years under the state criminal syndicalism law. Twenty-seven more are awaiting the outcome of appeals, of whom only 10 are out on bonds. The movement to repeal the law has gained momentum with the active entrance of a number of A. F. of L. central bodies into the fight.

The Occupation of the Ruhr and Soviet Russia

ECONOMIC ROOTS OF THE FRENCH ADVENTURE ARE NAKEDLY EXPOSED AND MAKE EXCELLENT PROPAGANDA FOR DISPELLING ILLUSIONS

By N. BUKHARIN.

The events in the Ruhr bear witness to the fact, that a far more disastrous situation has arisen in Europe than that which existed in the past months. The events in the Ruhr have done much to shaken faith in the belief that stability has been secured in the sphere of international relations between the states, and between the various social forces of the continent of Europe. These events in the first place, confirm the correctness of our assertions and predictions. We pointed out, in opposition to a large number of bourgeois imperialist optimists, that the peace entered into at the end of the world war was inevitably bound to be broken by the course of events. After a few historical deviations, it finally turned out that we were in the right; the happenings in the Ruhr are the proof of the correctness of our forecast.

Strictly speaking, we ought to be grateful to M. Poincare, for the Ruhr events constitute a powerful means of propaganda against the further development of imperialist and bourgeois tendencies. The imperialist war of 1914 was carried on by the bourgeoisie under an extraordinarily powerful ideological cloud. Every book and paper—the most important instruments of capitalism—asservated that the war pursued idealistic aims. We orthodox Marxists were obliged to prove by very complicated arguments that the imperialist powers were actuated by economic motives. But the events in the Ruhr lay bare the naked economic interests at stake, expressed in terms of so many tons of coal, in so many square kilometres of foreign territory, in such and such a quantity of gold, to be received by France in accordance with the treaty of Versailles. There is something new in the character of these events, and in so far as the economic roots of the whole Ruhr adventure are exposed in their undisguised and prosaic nakedness, these events are the best possible propagandist instrument for dispelling the illusions still existing in the heart and mind of many a French proletarian. The Ruhr events dispel every illusion cherished by the French working class in 1914. Thus the chief significance of the Ruhr occupation lies in the great campaign of exposure which it represents, implying for us a great political asset upon which we can rely in the future, upon which we can already rely today, for dispelling the illusions of the working class.

Balance of Forces and Conditions Changed.

An even greater importance is to be attached to the Ruhr events when considered from the standpoint of their ultimate results, as imagined by bourgeois ideologists. The main question, upon which depends the future destiny of the whole of humanity, is the question whether the bourgeois will succeed—through the victory of one bourgeois coalition over another—in healing the wounds made by the war, and whether it will succeed in restoring political balance.

The events in the Ruhr have, during the last few months, considerably altered the form and balance of forces and conditions, especially in the sphere of economics. There have, at times, been favorable conditions of the market permitting a slight recovery. But these partial improvements have been so trivial and inconstant that they could not be regarded as a sign that the capitalist world has entered upon a phase of improvement. The Ruhr events chiefly affect Germany. The German mark fell with a rapidity far exceeding that of the depreciation of the Russian rouble.

This depreciation of the mark led to the greatest confusion in the sphere of economics in general, and especially with regard to wages. **France May Depreciate Also.** On the other hand, the effects of the adventure have also been acutely felt in France itself. Enormous sums are being wasted in occupying the Ruhr area, and in the attempt, somehow, to keep the work going in the Ruhr basin. All this is unremunerative outlay, for sabotage is effectively preventing the French from gaining any profit whatever. Besides this, the whole of Europe and America must realize that the Poincare government is playing a game, and this game may end with a crash which will be inevitably accompanied by a corresponding depreciation of the French franc.

International financial questions are inextricably involved in the catastrophic depreciation of the German mark and the depreciation of the French franc. In this respect the general economic situation can only be characterized as an abrupt destruction of that equilibrium which appeared to be gradually establishing itself during recent months. This economic confusion is mirrored in the sphere of political relations. If hitherto, it was believed (we ourselves did not believe it) that equilibrium would be restored among the powers of Europe, any such prospect has now completely vanished. Political relations have reached a most critical

point, and we may regard the political equilibrium as completely overturned. However we may consider the conditions within the Entente, there is no combination which will afford the possibility of effecting a balance, having regard to Germany's further development. A potential power must arise from within to break through the ring.

With regard to the relations between French capital and Germany, it is perfectly clear that the situation is bound to become more acute. This is also the case within the Entente itself, in its relations to the Near East. No agreement was reached on the most important points, and we are fully aware that we are standing on the brink of a fresh war between Turkey and Greece, each country backed by certain groups of states.

The Confusion Existing May Strengthen the Proletariat.

The confusion and aggravation of the situation is of advantage to the proletariat, for the restoration and establishment of the capitalist order in western Europe would have been most dangerous for us. It would have meant that the starving working class would have become more passive by some slight alleviations, and reformism would have flourished. Under the present circumstances it is quite impossible for this to happen—the events in the Ruhr have helped us greatly. Whatever turn events may take, they will result in the relative strengthening of our forces, for it will be accompanied by a weakening of the total forces opposed to us.

Russia Does Not Desire War.

Perhaps France will be able to surmount all difficulties; perhaps she will go further after vanquishing Germany. It may be, she will recognize the necessity of according some compensation to England and Poland—and perhaps the dividing up of Germany will become an actual fact, and as a result of all these events,—an attack on Soviet Russia. But it is equally possible that France will find herself unable to cope with the economic tasks presented by the Ruhr area. Perhaps she will go further without having digested what she has already swallowed. The result will be Poincare's downfall, and the displacement of his government by that of the so-called Left Bloc. Thirdly and finally, it is possible that France will not undertake any special initiative, but enter into a compromise. Should the first possibility turn out to be right, then France, with Poland and her other vassal states, will fall upon us; but we have struck deep roots, our

position is extraordinarily secure. We for our part would be extremely foolish to plunge into any adventures. We by no means desire war, but we must openly admit to ourselves the possibility of a treacherous attack, and must enlighten the masses as to the possibility.

The second possibility is the most probably. In consequence of the

weakening of the bourgeoisie, its realization would involve a general revival, and create favorable conditions for us. Should the third possibility come to pass, the solution of all problems will be retarded. But during this period our strength will grow, while that of the bourgeoisie will weaken.

When we take all this into consideration, we must realize that for us, the point of essential importance is our economic reconstruction, and the emphasis on our will to peace, as mainly exemplified in the considerable reduction of our army. But at the same time we must emphasize that we have no intention of permitting the enemy to seize us by the throat as the French troops have seized the republic of Mr. Ebert.

WHO ARE SCABS?

BOX CAR SPASM by J. P. F.

In ancient days the slave was whipped And for his job his back was stripped. Until those sores were smoothly healed He grunted, groaned, and limped, and squealed. If the Boss-man wished to fill his place The other slave thought this disgrace Their principles would not allow To such a shameful thing to bow. So if the Boss-man found a crab To fill his place he was called a scab. But now we slaves we are so free, It's only a few men who can see. Tho' we're not stripped on marble slabs, We are a typical brand of scabs. Our half-clad children go to schools To be moulded for the master's tools. Tho' we're not bought and sold and whipped, We still bleed from the economic whip. We're free, oh yes, in idle hours When he doesn't need our labor power. But liberty to think and see Would empty the penitentiary. Hate is the masters' strongest arm, While we will fight he gets no harm. So keep clear of the Boss-man's trap; He likes to see us quarrel and scrap. We all are scabs in every nation, No words can tell our degradation. So nothing should our ranks divide If reasoning power be our guide; Until we claim what we have made We are but scabs of the lowest grade.

"A BACKWARD PEOPLE"

Less Than One-tenth of One Per Cent of Population in U. S. Dominate the Lives of Wage Workers

By LELAND OLDS
(Federated Press Industrial Editor)

The Chicago Journal of Commerce thinks that one characteristic of a backward people is that it allows itself to be governed by a minority. On March 27 it said editorially: "What a minority may do to a backward people is shown in Russia. That unhappy country's population is 130,000,000. Communists in Russia in regular standing number 410,430; with a total, including young communists and candidates for full party membership, of 817,000. Thus the total communist strength in Russia, in full control of her people and government, is only a fraction more than one-half of one per cent of Russia's population. The free citizenship of America could never be thus dominated."

Wait a minute. Perhaps a brief examination of authoritative government figures will show how small a percentage of the total population dominates the "free citizenship" of this country.

An interchange between Senator Sterling and a Galician steel worker in the course of the 1919 steel strike investigation may serve as text to our inquiry. The elegant senator asked the worker who ruled the country from which he hailed. "King, he rules Galicia," was the prompt answer. The loyal senator then inquired who rules the United States. The answer was just as prompt, "Superintendent, he rule the United States."

It would be well if teachers of modern government could get it through their nobs that the superintendent is the representative of the real government of this country who comes closest to the life of the average wage earner.

But we must look behind this local governor to discover who controls his appointment and directs his activity. He takes orders from a board of directors elected by men who control a majority of the stock. Suffrage is apportioned according to the number of shares held. Thus a worker in a plant of the U. S. Steel corporation, whose life and welfare is involved, probably has no vote, while Judge Gary and Richard Trimble, as trustees for some hidden ownership, have a total of 321,000 votes.

How many people together control a majority of all the capital stock of all commercial, financial and industrial undertakings in the country? According to the 1920 statistics of income issued by the commissioner of internal revenue, 78,019 individuals received 55% of all the dividends disbursed in that year. The following figures show how these dividend payments were divided among the various income classes.

Income class	No. of Individuals	Total dividends received
\$20,000-\$25,000	23,729	\$169,984,024
\$25,000-\$50,000	38,548	488,525,560
\$50,000-\$100,000	12,093	377,785,619
\$100,000-\$1,000,000	835	390,440,790
\$1,000,000-\$5,000,000	29	37,632,312
\$5,000,000 and over	4	37,021,628

Total over \$20,000 78,019 1,501,389,933
Total under \$20,000 7,181,925 1,234,455,862

This indicates broadly that a majority of the capital stock of the corporations is owned by 78,019 individuals out of a population of 105,000,000. This small minority, less than one-tenth of one per cent of the population, dominate the lives of wage earners, and through interlocking control of financial enterprises control the whole life of the country and its institutions. They have power more irresponsible because less open than the dictatorship in Russia.

In both countries the industrial interests have established a dictatorship. In both countries the distribution of resources and the direction of enterprise is in the hands of this industrial minority. The only significant difference is that in Russia the industrial interests in control are the workers who produce the goods while in this country the controlling industrial interests are financiers who form a clique with ownership strategically distributed among banks, insurance companies, railroads, public utilities and industrial corporations.

New District Organizer

Finding it impossible, on my spare time only, to do more than the mere secretarial work of the Distr. Office, while the need for vigorous organizing efforts became more and more apparent. I had to send in my resignation some time ago, and I am very glad that the CDC has now appointed a new District Organizer, a full-time paid man.

Comrade Norman H. Tallentire is the new District Organizer for this District, taking charge of the office at once. From now on all communications should be addressed to him at the same old address, 225 So. 5th Str., Minneapolis, Minn.

Comrade Tallentire is an able speaker and field organizer, and I am confident that, with a whole-hearted co-operation of the entire membership of the District, he will splendidly strengthen and build up our organization and influence.

Fraternally yours,
Chas. Dirba, Ex-DO9.

KLANSMEN ARE ORDERED FROM CHURCH, BEATEN

PITTSBURGH.—Six members of a band of 16 white hooded Ku Klux Klansmen were shorn of their masks in a scrimmage after they had been ordered from Bellevue Methodist Episcopal church by the pastor, Rev. Dr. R. B. Urmey, April 1.

The Easter Sunday services had just begun when the white robed figures entered, and walked down an aisle toward the pulpit. They were stopped by Timmer L. Kidney, attorney and member of the church board. The Easter morning worshippers were startled when Mr. Kidney commanded the members of the masked band to leave. At this point Dr. Urmey intervened.

"Gentlemen," he said, "I will have to ask you to retire. You are disturbing the services here which is a violation of the law. You will

BOOKS!

"Rhymes of Early Jungle Folk," by Mary Marcy. Illustrated with 74 wood cuts, fine for children \$2.00
Poison Poems, by Ralph Chaplin. Price \$1.00

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

A. B. C's of Communism, by N. Bukharin. Price \$0.50

Imperial Washington, by R. F. Pettigrew \$1.25

"Kuzbas," a pamphlet about an opportunity for engineers and workers in Russia \$0.10

An Introduction to Sociology, by Arthur M. Lewis \$1.00

Communist Manifests, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels \$0.10

Communism and Christianity, by Bishop William Brown D.D. \$0.25

Value Price & Profit, by Karl Marx \$0.10

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Duluth, Minn.

NOTICE!

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

No. of Total dividends received

Income class Individuals

\$20,000-\$25,000 23,729 \$169,984,024

\$25,000-\$50,000 38,548 488,525,560

\$50,000-\$100,000 12,093 377,785,619

\$100,000-\$1,000,000 835 390,440,790

\$1,000,000-\$5,000,000 29 37,632,312

\$5,000,000 and over 4 37,021,628

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be welcome to remain if you remove your disguise. Otherwise you must go."

The hooded men about faced and marched silently from the church, followed by a number of men from the congregation. Outside the church a general scrimmage ensued and the hoods and flowing robes of six of the band were torn away, revealing their identities. Before they left in automobiles parked nearby, the license numbers of the cars were obtained.

In a statement Sunday night, Mr. Kidney declared his intention to request the district attorney to prosecute the members of the band.

Where Truth Can be Bought

DULUTH, MINN.

J. Eckman,
1922 W. Superior St.
John Hill,
20 N. 6th Ave. W.

Jack Laden,
417 E. 4th St.

A. Kyyhkynen,
10 N. 6th Ave. W.

Herman Olson,
1823 W. Superior St.

Minnesota Tobacco Co.,
518 W. Superior St.

Shusterman's News Stand,
521 W. Superior St.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Sam Murphy,
14½ S. 1st St.

A. Baker,
1025 Wash. Ave. S.

Engleson News Co.,
Wash. & 2nd Ave. S.

Larson-Widell,
1125½ Wash. Ave. S.

Modern Book Shop,
127 S. 4th St.

VIRGINIA, MINN.

S. Milavitz.

GRAND RAPIDS, MINN.

G. C. Smith.

ST. PAUL, MINN.

Liberal Book Store,
408 Cedar St.

SUPERIOR, WIS.

James Hanson,
807½ Tower Ave.

Johnson & Co.,
427 Tower Ave.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

New Era Shop,
221 Wells St.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Erik Brown,
866 N. State St.

Walden Book Shop,
307 Plymouth Court.

Radical Book Shop,
826 N. Clark St.

Proletariat Bookshop,
1237 W. Madison St.

B. Benson,
1151 Belmont Ave.

TOLEDO, OHIO.

Brownella Book Shop,
310 Michigan St.

DENVER, COLO.

Auditorium Book Store,
938-14th St.

HOUSTON, TEXAS.

N. Bell's News Stand,
812½ Preston Ave.

BUFFTE, MONT.

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LINCOLN LIVING AND DEAD

Fortunate for Him That There Was No American Legion and No Espionage Law in That Day

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

(The following article was written for a Terre Haute daily paper after the celebration, on February 12th, of Lincoln's birthday. As the article failed to appear inquiry was made of the editor to whom it was sent who answered saying that the article had not reached him and could not be found in his office. This will account for the delay in its publication. A copy of the article had been reserved to secure it against what happened to the original.)

The anniversary of Lincoln's birthday has just been celebrated all around the world. All sorts and conditions of people vied with one another in praise and homage of the dead. One would imagine Lincoln living to have been an arch-angel or a saint of God instead of a simple man, a mere human being. In the thousands of columns of fulsome eulogy poured out there was not a trace of criticism or a word of adverse comment.

It was not always so. Lincoln living and Lincoln dead, according to the public estimate, are two distinct and widely separated beings, the one maligned as a criminal and the other glorified as a divinity.

It pays to shout Lincoln's praises now. He is dead. Every cheap skate of a time-server, every grafting politician, every subsidized editor, every pliant professor, every spineless pulpiteer, every exploiter of the people, and every looter of the nation may now safely join in swelling the chorus of Lincoln's deification.

But when Lincoln lived and played his part in the nation's affairs the antecedents of the very men who are now mouthing their fulsome platitudes over his dead body traduced and vilified him outrageously and finally brought him to a martyr's grave by the foul hand of assassination.

DURING LIFE LINCOLN WAS LIED ABOUT AND BESLIMED.

The "interests" that ruled America in Lincoln's day and their tools and mercenaries in and out of office lied about him as atrociously and beslimed him with calumny as remorselessly as to the "interests" that rule today those who stand for truth and liberty and progress and whom these predatory and corrupting powers cannot whip into their service or bribe and browbeat into silence and submission.

I am not writing to worship Lincoln as a deity but to pay my humble tribute to him as a man. I do not love him because he was divine but for the reason that he was human, and that is precisely what most of us are not. He proved himself a mortal and not a divinity by the mistakes he made. He would have kept a race in slavery to save the union. Wendell Phillips would have smashed a thousand unions—and I agree with him—if necessary to free the slaves.

The political party that today represents everything Lincoln fought his whole life long is the chief claimant for the inheritance of his fame and glory, while the leaders of this party, masquerading in his bloody winding-sheet, are appealing in his name to the people he served at the cost of his precious life and they are now betraying for their own sordid ends.

Lincoln has become the chief stock-in-trade of political grafters just as Christ has long been of the weak and hypocritical exhorters in His name who daily betray him.

An apt saying of Heine comes to mind: "Christ rode on an ass, now the asses ride on Christ." And this applies to Lincoln the Illinois rail-splitter as it does to Christ the Judean carpenter. Both were men of sorrows. Both were put to death for serving the people, and later glorified as deities by the descendants of their murderers.

N. Y. HERALD SAID LINCOLN'S SPEECHES WERE HACKNEYED.

The New York Herald is today foremost in praise and glorification of the dead Lincoln. Let us see what this same paper had to say of the living Lincoln. In its issue of May 19th, 1860 appears the following editorial estimate:

"The Republican convention at Chicago has nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois for President of the United States—a third-rate western lawyer, poorer than poor Pierce. The conduct of the Republican party in this matter is a remarkable indication of a small intellect, growing smaller. They passed over Seward, Chase and Banks, who are statesmen and able men, and they take a fourth-rate lecturer who cannot speak good grammar and who, to raise the wind, delivers his hackneyed, illiterate compositions at \$200 a piece. Our readers will recollect that this peripatetic politician visited New York two or three months ago on his financial tour, when, in return for the most unmitigated trash, interlarded with coarse and clumsy jokes, filled his empty pocket with dollars coined out of republican fanaticism."

There you have the God-like Lincoln as he appeared to the "interests" that then ruled the nation.

The following day the same New York Herald said: "The rejection of Seward and the nomination of Lincoln, who represents all that is brutal and bloody in Seward's political program without possessing a tithe of his personal ability, is almost as severe a blow to the Republican party organization as was the feud at Charleston to that of the democracy. . . . The highest claim for the candidate who is put up as a fit ruler for 30,000,000 of freemen is that he can mail rails and that he is honest. What part of the first of these qualities is to play in the science of government we cannot conceive; the second we know to be the quality that commends him to the demagogues and robbers that now swarm about the public offices, for it makes them more secure of their prey."

In a later issue of the same paper, then as now one of the powerful organs of the "interests" and one of the leading dailies of the nation, appeared the following:

"Lincoln is the echo of Seward, without his practical acumen—the follower of Spooner with the rabid spirit of Helper, and the worshipper of John Brown without his pluck. . . . Such is the man for whom the fanatical black republicans have rejected every man with conservative tendencies, practical statesmanship, or national views."

It will be seen in this sweet-tempered and illuminating comment that the Lincoln we now idolize was about as popular then as Lenin is today, and for the same reason, just as the early republicans were as full of "treason" and quite as "undesirable citizens" as are now the "reds" and despised, denounced and persecuted accordingly by the eminently respectable despoilers of the nation and their army of servile attendants.

The republican of the present day is a highly reputable gentleman for which "there's a reason" which need not be discussed here.

The popular idols of Lincoln's day are now in oblivion or on the way there. Lincoln who was then branded as a "nigger-lover," a "free-lover," a "freak," a "baboon who had escaped from the morasses of Illinois," a "vulgar clown," a "low-bred village politician," etc., etc., by the leading papers and personalities, just as socialists are dubbed today and with the same regard for truth, lives and will live with every passing age adding fresh lustre to his fame, and for this there is also a reason.

One more quotation from the New York Herald must suffice for the present:

CALLED IGNORANT AND RED.

"Lincoln is exactly the same type as the traitor who was hung at Charleston (John Brown)—an abolitionist of the reddest dye, liable to be led to extreme lengths by other men. Without education or refinement, he will be the plaything of his party, whirled along in the vortex of passion if he should gain control of the government. The comparison between Seward and this illiterate western boor is odious—it is as Hyperion to a satyr. Lincoln has in an aggravated and virulent degree all that rendered Seward unpopular with the conservative classes while he has none of those qualities and gifts of genius which distinguish the son of New York."

The Boston Post, May 21st, 1860, had the following: "Lincoln has merely talent for demagogic appeal that was thought to be worth in New England \$50 or \$100 a speech by those who hired him; but some who heard him were surprised that he should be considered anywhere a great man. He can only be the tool of the fanatical ho-

he will lead on. This is the truth of the case, let the blowers of his party swell him as they may into tremendous dimensions."

SAID HE HAD A VULGAR PERSONALITY.

The Philadelphia Evening Journal of May 24th, 1860, paid the "Nigger-Lover" the following flattering tribute:

"There is not in all the history of his life any exhibition of intellectual ability and attainment fitting him for the high and responsible post for which he has been nominated. His coarse language, his illiterate style, and his vulgar and vituperative personality in debate contrast very strongly with the elegance and classical oratory of the eminent senator from New York."

Hundreds of leading papers, magazines and periodicals characterized the gentle and lovable Lincoln as a monster, a blackguard and a low politician, every one of which that still survives is now besmearing his memory with nauseating eulogy.

The Albany Argus voiced the true sentiment of the ruling and respectable "interests" in the following editorial:

"Lincoln . . . howling with anguish, was driven through the state of Illinois by Douglas. Last spring he made his debut in his state as an orator, and commenced by charging for his speeches at the rate of \$100 a piece and was forced to desist amid such public expression of contempt that he may be said to have been fairly hissed out of the state. He has never held public office of any credit, and is not known except as a slang-whanging stump speaker of a class with which every party teems and of which all parties are ashamed."

The "Reds" including socialists, radicals and progressives—all who have an idea above a shell-fish and the courage for it—are today the "nigger-lovers," "free-lovers," "traitors" and "demagogues" Lincoln was a few years ago, when he lived and wrought in pain and travail, in hatred and abuse as the penalty of his honesty and as the price of his immortal fame.

Fortunately for Abraham Lincoln there was no American Legion and no espionage law in his day!

Terre Haute, Ind., March, 1923.

Trial Brings Out Difference Between Syndicalist and Communist Philosophy

By JOE CARROLL

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

ST. JOSEPH, Mich.—With all the evidence in and attorneys ready to make the final arguments, the jury of 11 men and one woman, in the first test case of the Michigan wartime criminal syndicalism law is preparing to pass on the legality of the acts and beliefs of Wm. Z. Foster, the first of 70-odd defendants indicted after the government's red raid of Aug. 21, 1922.

Foster was again on the stand, undergoing cross examination by the state. The prosecution, in default of better ammunition, spent its time on a syndicalist pamphlet written by Foster and Earl Ford 11 or 12 years ago and since repeatedly repudiated by Foster, who states that he now follows the communist instead of the syndicalist philosophy.

The difference he made clear in the following words:

"The syndicalist hold the idea that through the labor unions, leaving aside political action entirely, he would make a direct assault upon the capitalist system and take charge of the industries directly with the unions, and then proceed to operate these industries, through the unions and without a state government. He has nothing in common with political action or the state.

"The communist, on the other hand, believes in political action; he believes in the organization of a party, to carry on political activities. All of which is anathema to the syndicalist.

"One of the principal weapons in the arsenal of syndicalism is that of sabotage—as read by you in that book. The communist repudiates sabotage, and condemns it in principle. The communist and the syndicalist movement at the present time are antagonistic movements. The syndicalists have an international of their own, and the communist have a separate international, because the two movements found that they differed on so many fundamental points that they do not go along together.

"That is the principal difference: the communists believing in political action and capture of the state—and the syndicalists absolutely repudiating those things."

Much of the day was spent in legal tilts on the admissibility of evidence. The prosecution presented what it declared was a transcript of Foster's speech at the secret Bridman convention where the raid took place. Foster pointed out that topics were included that he had not touched on at all, including a reference to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and that other topics were grossly garbled or had been taken up at another time and not in the speech that was ostensibly reported.

Foster was followed on the stand by one rebuttal witness for the prosecution, a department of justice operative, as it seemed, who identified one of the documents that had been previously offered and said it was taken out of C. E. Ruthenberg's satchel following the arrests.

"The town of St. Joseph has been following the trial with an interest rather friendly to the defense than otherwise. Scores of housewives crowded the courtroom. A local hardware store advertised a special

kind of cook stove which will, so they claim, enable the lady of the house to attend the "red trial" and at the same time have a hot meal ready for hubby when he comes home to get the latest news and the usual dinner. If the attendance at the trial was any criterion, this hustling business man must have sold a lot of these stoves.

One of these estimable women was heard to remark, "Well, they certainly are smart men, and so quiet and dignified, too."

And a farmer in for a holiday, reckoned: "They seem to be regular folks after all."

A local restaurant keeper, who was formerly a union worker, had this to say: "The whole thing seems to be an attempt to prevent the repeal of this criminal syndicalism law—and that is certainly not a good law for union men."

Socialism is Not a Reflex of True Christianity

(Ignatius Philosophus Simplissimus.)

Christianity and Socialism do not have the same object in view nor are they analogous and identical conceptions of gradual developments of the same subject.

Christianity is a mythical concept based on faith and belief in unknown quantities and qualities dependent upon a certain fixed theoretic axiom, by adhering to which man may eventually if not sooner redeem himself from a status of sin and death incurred by partaking and indulging in the fruit of the tree of knowledge when tempted by the curiosity of the mother of mankind Eve or women.

Having been created in God's image man made a fool of himself having to be redeemed by Christ or Christianity as it were.

Thus Christianity, and the Christians' reason from an inceptive perfect status of original man into a status of sin and condemnation from which he can only redeem himself by faith in Christ and the miracle of a pure unadulterated

scheme of living in order to again be able to regain the inceptive state of moral perfection.

Christianity thus reasons from an inceptive definitely perfect status of religion or religious concept to a final perfect and definitive status whose substantiation can hardly be proven by experimental or scientific and actual demonstrations.

Socialism (Marxian, scientific) on the other hand reasons from an inceptive animal crude actual existence of life, gradually evolving and developing itself progressively by adapting itself to new environments and altered conditions as they follow each other in relative chronological order of the social and industrial progressive modes of production and distribution of the material means of life. The relative concepts of good and evil are thus not judged by our faith or individual religious concept of living but by improving the means of production and distribution in such a way that we may be able to obtain essential means of life and sustenance with the least waste of energy and efforts, regulating our life and wellbeing in accordance with the physical laws of nature and utility.

How Socialism thus can be considered a reflex of true Christianity is beyond reasonable conception.

DEBS SAYS SOCIALISTS WILL STAND BEHIND MICH. MEN ON TRIAL

Granite City, Ill.—The Socialist party is going to stand behind the men being tried in Michigan "for championing the cause of the working class," said Eugene V. Debs to an audience of more than 2000 people here. The statement brought prolonged and vigorous applause.

Debs showed much of his old-time vigor as he discussed his opposition to the world war, declaring he had not changed his position, and jocularly referred to his imprisonment by saying that he "had inside information on conditions in the penitentiary."

"People lack the courage to oppose war," Debs continued. "In time of war every preacher has to yell for war, and if he doesn't they'll do to him what they did to me. In time of peace the working man works to enrich his master, and in time of war he goes out and fights for him."

Debs referred to the republic of Russia as "the only attempt ever made in all history to establish the real rule of the people, but the capitalists have lied about and misrepresented this government and tried to break it."

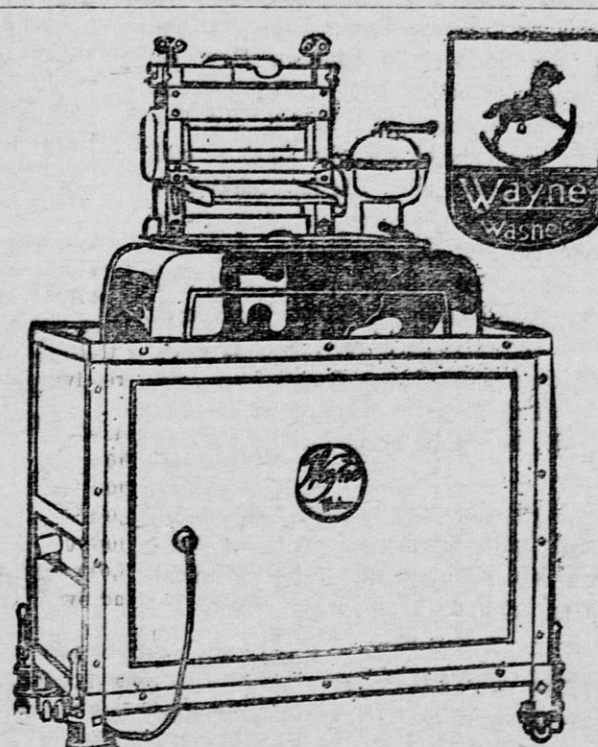
"I could not close without a word of protest against the further confinement of the 50 men who still are in federal prison as war prisoners, and whose only crime was that they opposed war," Debs concluded. "They did no more than the immortal Lincoln once did. During the Mexican war he stood up in congress and denounced the president for carrying on the war. If there had been an espionage act then he would have been sent to prison the same as I was years later."

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OF TRUTH, published weekly at Duluth, Minn., for April 1, 1923. STATE OF MINNESOTA, COUNTY OF ST. LOUIS—SS.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared B. Van Hove, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the editor of the TRUTH and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of Aug. 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher: West End Labor Association, Rex Hotel, Duluth, Minn. Editor: B. Van Hove, Rex Hotel, Duluth, Minn. Managing Editor: None. Business Managers: None.

2. That the owner is: (If the publication is owned by an individual his name and address, or if owned by more than one individual the name and address of each, should be given below; if the publication is owned by a corporation the name of the corporation and the names and addresses of the stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of the total amount of stock should be given.)

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None.

B. VAN HOVE.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 4th day of April, 1923.

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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 believes in patching it up. If you think this decaying system can be patched up you will not like TRUTH.

TRUTH stands for 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 for 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!



MURDER IGNORED

The Mer Rouge murderers are to go unpunished. Masked Ku Klux members last August seized Watt Daniel and T. F. Richards upon their return from a picnic. They were never seen alive again. In December their dismembered and mutilated bodies were found in one of the lakes of Mer Rouge. The murderers are ignored. The Moorehouse Parish grand jury heard 125 witnesses and then did not indict. According to the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, after the hearings, the jury reported that "Moorehouse Parish needs a new jail and the courthouse needs repairs."

Why should a grand jury indict its own members? Eight of them were themselves members of the Ku Klux Klan. The Governor's open hearing of testimony, associating threats, abductions and whippings by the members of the Klan with the murder of the two men, brought no indictments. Murder is ignored.

The testimony at the second Herrin trial emphasizes what was revealed at the first trial, that the Lester mine owners were the murderers who brought in guards to help "mine with blood." Are the murderers to be punished? Mints of money are being spent in an effort to frame murder upon a few worker-rebels who are suspected of having resented the mine-owners' murderers. But the real murderers are ignored.

The Harrison hearing at Little Rock, Arkansas, failed to find the men who hung Ed. C. Gregar. The legislative investigating committee which was supposed to look into the recent attack against union men on strike on the Missouri & North Arkansas, has completed its hearings. These so-called probes into the murder of Gregar were in session five days during which time they examined fifty witnesses all of them without exception opponents of organized labor.

J. C. Murray, general manager and vice-president of the road, denied employing a man named Sullivan, to burn bridges and to arouse antagonism among the strikers, in spite of Sullivan's affidavit which says the railroads employed him for this purpose. Now the strikers have been granted a request to testify in rebuttal. What will result? The murderers will be ignored.

The working-class is not organized powerfully enough to do their own law-making and law-interpreting and law enforcing. All this is left to the master-class whose wage-slaves the workers are. Of course murder of the working-class will be ignored. This is true when war, glorified mass-murder, is carried on, this is true in industry where murder of workers is a commonplace daily affair. Why shouldn't it be true in isolated cases of murder? Until the working-class, which constitutes almost all of the human race, organizes to use its power to make its own laws and to administer its own justice, murder of workers will continue to be ignored.

ONE OF LIFE'S GRIM JOKES

Of course Robert La Follette has brains enough to know that his stand during the war will go down in history as very creditable. He must have known this even in the turbulent days when he did not know what the next hour would bring—tar and feathers or a rail-ride or persecution in some other form.

But we wonder if he ever dreamed that less than five years after the hellish persecution he would be asked as a guest to speak for an organization that is the representative of the 100 percent purest pro-war element. The American Legion of Virginia has invited him to speak and the Minnesota department of the Legion will not interfere although some of the profiteering pro-war patriots have urged that it be done.

What a grim joke life is!

Today they spit on us, tomorrow they honor us.

TOMORROW FOR THE POLITICAL PRISONERS

Senator La Follette, influential bourgeois and doubtless equipped with specific information which he could use against the Washington boddies, got by without imprisonment during the war. He was not even expelled from the senate although he was called traitor and pro-German and threatened with vicious hatred.

Working-class men, uninfluential and poor, are still in prison although some of them said far less than LaFollette. We have brains enough to know that history will record them as heroic. But that is poor satisfaction today. The men are living now, all are producers, some are most capable, one is a poet genius, all have intellectual stamina, humane ideals and courage. These are values that could

contribute something worth while to society. But they are wasted in prison.

The change in attitude towards La Follette is very evident. The papers express it daily. Isn't it about time to let this changed attitude open the prison doors to the politicals? Poor, uninfluential, they are still where the clang of steel bars and keys brings torture to their souls and bodies. Five years ago they were spat upon. Today they are still in prison. Isn't it time for a tomorrow for them also, although they are not senators or bourgeois or influential?

NOT PROBABLE

The Associated Press provides a story which made the front pages of the capitalist dailies about the execution of the vicar general of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia. "Executed by a firing squad" appears boldly in the first paragraph but afterwards in the article appears this statement: "The secrecy that surrounds soviet executions makes uncertain the circumstances under which the sentence was carried out but it seems probable that the vicar general was put to death in the Moscow prison."

Very, very probable! Quite as probable as the story of the "nationalization of women." Quite as probable as the story of Lenin's death nine times or more. Quite as probable as the stories of the Soviet's murder of the former upper classes.

How these probable stories are later refuted is nicely illustrated by the *New York World* which now has explained that the Soviet government didn't really kill off the majority of the educated middle classes in Russia as the daily press told us repeatedly. And best of all it tells us frankly that those who fled from Russia to other parts of Europe are now anxious to get back to Russia. The article follows:

"The outside world's impressions of Russia have been determined to a large degree by small but influential groups of emigres who are living in the principal Western capitals. These emigres have somehow managed to convince people that they were the real Russia, and they were for a long time treated by governments, including our own state department, as if they were the official Russian government."

"The center of the emigre organization is Paris. It is, therefore, interesting to learn that M. Maklakoff, the titular head of the organization, is now ready to work with the soviet government on terms. The importance of the announcement is that it marks the collapse of a great, perhaps more or less unconscious hoax."

"The emigres have taught people to believe that they were practically the only survivors of the Russian upper and middle classes. They are nothing of the kind. The great majority of the Russian educated class has remained in Russia, has endured the sufferings of the revolution and, though opposed to the soviet government, has remained loyal to Russia. Nowhere are the emigres so thoroughly unpopular as among the people of their own class who stayed by the ship. They are regarded as deserters who unpatriotically ran away in the hour of trial and stirred up subsidized foreign wars against their country."

"The Western countries have paid dearly for having allowed themselves to mistake these emigre colonies for the Russian nation. But now that the emigres are found out and are seeking readmission to their own country it would be a great mistake to take their utterances very seriously. The emigres are not Russia. They are exiles to whom Russian people may some day grant amnesty."

When chapter two about the execution of the Catholic vicar appears, it, too, will make interesting reading for him as well as for us. The Associated Press can then run choice articles by him telling how he was forced to eat black bread in prison and to read soviet literature.

GARY LIKES MUSSOLINI'S METHOD

During the meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce at Rome, Judge Gary made the acquaintance of Premier Mussolini of Italy. Then they wine and dined and discoursed, and Gary found Mussolini pleasing. He says of him, "If he lives up to and carries into effect his declaration of rebuilding the nation, nobody will have reason to complain of his having assumed power."

So Gary openly endorsed revolution and a dictatorship. Mussolini's assumption of power was through force and not through parliamentary methods which all 100 per cent Americans are supposed to favor. Mussolini suppressed labor papers, imprisoned the editors and terrorized labor organizations either under ground or into inactivity. We can understand that this must please Gary. Mussolini dissolved parliament with the threat of the bayonet. Now his disciplinary methods vary from bullets and imprisonment to liberal doses of castor-oil. Bayonets and bullets and imprisonment are not new methods of coercion to the steel king. Will he also advocate castor oil? The interests which financed Mussolini in Italy are the same interests which Gary represents in America. But the assumption of power by our dictatorship of big business is still poorly disguised by mock elections where the people O. K. the candidates selected by the business interests. It is refreshing to have Gary come out in the open endorsing a dictatorship. We always knew the crime of the Russian dictatorship lay not in its being a dictatorship, but in its being for the working class.

"We Americans can learn from the Fascisti movement," says Gary. We only wish Julius Barnes and other big business delegates at Rome would be equally frank. It might help the workers to learn from the Russian movement.

WHEN CAUGHT

"I thought you were doing it too," is a typical gutter-snipe's reply when caught cheating. But it was also the gist of Secretary Hughes' reply to Great Britain when she pointed to the appropriations made by congress for raising the guns on our capital ships, "modernizing" our navy in spite of the naval limitation treaty.

The Washington treaty, proposed by Hughes for naval limitation, is not intended to be kept. It is to be used to bluff the other fellow. Capitalism does not make for honesty anywhere. The master-class exploiters are not honest with each other in this nightmare of profit chasing. Bluff, hypocrisy, and uncouth gutter-snipe ethics exist even between themselves.

THE FUTURE ORDER

By N. Bukharin.

The future order is intended to relieve the workers of two misfortunes and evils. In the first place, from the oppression of man by man, from exploitation, from one man's sitting on another man's neck. This is to be attained by casting off the yoke of capital, and taking the wealth away from the capitalists. But that is not the only problem. We have also to free ourselves from the yoke of nature, to subject nature to our own wishes, in order to carry on production in the best, the most perfect manner. Only then will it be possible for each man to devote only a small part of his time to the production of necessary food, boots, clothes, houses, etc., and turn the remainder of his time to study, to art, to all the things that beautify human life. The ancestors of present-day man, who lived at the semi-ape stage, were equal among themselves. But they led an animal existence because they had not subjugated nature; in fact it was nature that had enslaved them. On the other hand, under capitalism, large-scale production has taught man to subdue nature, but the working-class live like working cattle, because the capitalists, owing to the existence of economic inequality, are sitting on their necks. What follows from this? From this it follows that economic independence (equality) must be combined with large-scale production. It is necessary to establish production on the largest possible scale. All small and futile enterprises must die out. All work must be concentrated in the largest possible factories, works, farms. And not in such manner that Sidor shall not know what Petrov is doing, and vice versa. Such arrangements are never of any value. There must be a single working plan. The greater the area comprised in this angle plan, the better. The whole world must finally become one great workshop, one enterprise, in which all mankind may work for themselves according to a single, stringently executed plan, without any employers and capitalists, with the best machines, and in the best working-quarters. In order to give production a forward impetus, we shall not only be obliged not to scrap the gigantic production which capitalism has left behind as its legacy. On the contrary, we shall have to increase it. The broader and more comprehensive the general plan, the more gigantic must be the dimensions of the organization of production, the more necessary it will be to get all data from a single center of accounting, in other words, the more centralization, the better. For the less labor is required of each, the freer each man will be and the greater will be his opportunity for mental development throughout human society.

CHOISE BITS FROM A CAPITALIST MAGAZINE

Of the false ideas that entertain the Rotary Clubs, perhaps the worst is the one to the effect that the true interests of capital and labor are identical. Nothing, indeed, could be less true. The one and only aim of capital is to exploit and enslave labor. To the doctrine that the interests of capital and labor are identical, the Rotary Club Pollyannas usually add the doctrine that capital, in its heart, has a great love for labor, and wishes it well.

The evidence therefore is usually found in the pension funds for superannuated employees established by the railroads and other large employers, and in the free hospitals, schools, Y. M. C. A.'s, brass bands, basket-ball pits and so on maintained by the United States Steel Corporation and its imitators. But all such devices really have the sole object of tightening the chains of the slaves.

The free hospitals, schools and athletic fields of the steel corporation and its imitators not only help enslave the workingman, but also insult him.

No genuinely free and self-respecting man, when he is ill, wants free treatment; what he asks of life is some assurance that, when illness overtakes him, he will be able to pay his way. Nor does he want to go to free concerts, or to play games on free athletic fields, or to go to free schools.

Get a whole body of men used to such degrading patronage, and you will inevitably damage their pride and dignity — i. e., you will make more docile slaves of them.

I do not, in fact, protest against the system of exploiting labor. On the contrary, I am heartily in favor of slavery, and believe that every man who works for another is that other's slave, however cunningly the relation may be disguised.

What I protest against is the custom of swathing the whole transaction in cant. I am myself a member of one of the live sub-orders of the capitalist class, and live in part upon the labor of railroad men. But I am not going to insult those men by arguing that their interests and mine are identical—that when they crawl along the top of a swaying train on a bitter winter night they are doing for themselves precisely what they are doing for me, who am snoring in bed.

Nay, instead of that I admit to them openly that they are getting the worst of the bargain, and that I hope I may never have to change places with them. This much I owe to them in common honesty and common decency.—Smart Set.

IF WAR COMES

"It is the duty of British soldiers and sailors, born, as they are, from the working classes, in no circumstances to fire on German soldiers, French soldiers, or any other soldiers who have sprung from the ranks of the working class."

—J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD, M. P., in the House of Commons, Feb. 15th, 1923.—Hansard.

MAN THE SALVATION OF THE WORLD

B. N. Z.

Tell all who are seeking dominion and light,—
Tell them, oh man, that Right is Might!
Proclaim that all sovereign Gods may be,
That each lowly and great shall be free, free, free.

"Go to thy world distraught by war and shame;
And say your hope in Godlike me, is not in vain,
Yours to bear again the message:
Be thou the salvation of the world
For thou 'rt Man—thou art the light."
—Extracts from "Man to Man."

All Power is Inherent IN the Workers.
Therefore All Power TO the Workers.



Four hundred millions good hard bones is what our friend, John Junior owns, of Standard Oil outstanding stock, which he keeps under key and lock. Eleven million bones a year is what this guy, our worthy peer, knocks down a year in dividends, which faithful Standard to him sends, a sum which figured by the day, should surely keep the wolf away, and when he slips this earthly curse, should furnish him a real swell hearse.

It shows how wise was this here lad, when he arrived and picked his dad, for if the stork had just gone wrong, John Junior might have scrubbed along on say ten millions, or some less, which only niggards would confess was just about the rate of wage at which somebody would engage this man to teach the Golden Rule and lead a class in Sunday school.

He teaches youths in Sunday schools that the great God of justice rules, and if they will keep free from sin, they all most surely will cash in, but not in Standard Oil good shares, for which no pious Christian cares, but in the good sweet by-and-by, when angels wafts their souls up high, they'll get reward for being good and working hard as all men should. They'll get a harp on which to play, and robes fresh laundered every day, a mansion that don't need a drain, at which poor sinners knock in vain, a golden doormat for their feet, an easy chair and cushioned seat, and they will never have to vent their wrath at having to pay rent.

But if these joys they really seek, they must not be a Bolshevik, or lay profane and sinful hands on those to whom God gave the lands, beneath whose green and fertile soil, the Master stowed away John's oil.

I haven't heard just how this guy explains about the needle's eye, or why he loves the Nazarene, who once upon a time was seen a-chasing rich men out of church and leaving Pharisees in lurch.

But one thing we can all allow—John Junior's after his goods now. Of heavenly gifts he's somewhat chary; he sure believes in cash and carry.

NEW LIGHT ON THE RUHR

The suspicion that the purpose of the French occupation of the Ruhr was not wholly reparations, but conquest and dismemberment, deepens as new facts come to light.

Dr. Karl Bergmann, former secretary of state, and director of the Deutsche bank, left Berlin, Dec. 30, 1922, for Paris with a reparations offer to France. Premier Poincare, as president of the Allied Council, would not receive the authorized special representative of the German government.

The nature of Dr. Bergmann's offer was recently disclosed to the correspondent of the Universal News Service in Berlin. Germany offered France 30 billion gold marks, or approximately \$7,500,000,000, as the final sum within her capacity to pay. This sum was exclusive of payments in cash already made, in wares such as coal and dyes, in sequestered or liquidated properties, in mercantile marine, in German cable lines, Saar coal mines etc., which up to Sept. 30, 1922, were estimated by the German government at 56,500,000,000 gold marks.

This would have made the total paid and offered by Germany nearly 22 billion dollars, or about nineteen times as much as France paid Germany in 1870. In addition, Germany had paid in territory all her colonies, Alsace, Lorraine, the Polish corridor, Dantzig and part of Silesia.

Considering what Germany had already paid and what she attempted to offer, it is difficult to believe she could do more and live.—Minn. Star.

"WHIPPING POSTS"

B. N. Z.

Men, shed no tears o'er the grey mound of him who died so sorely beat;

Anger rises as does the tropic sun with heat, with heat.

Waste not a single moment in fair reform to quell—

The outrageous crime committed by a system hard as shell.

Retrench the evils that fall on man and beast alike,

The lassitude of subservient labor must be shaken in its might;

Ye are the master builders whose labor shall not groan

Has all the sense of justice from every man's heart flown?

How dared they whip a boy to such a ghastly death!

Dragging from him his toil unto his very last breath.

Memory serves the purpose of every frightful scheme

Labor is no weakling, nor does it vanish in dream.

THE WORKERS DARE

LEE ROX.

Bitter experience has taught us

That they who dare defy hypocrisy

Will be despised

By the tools and fools of the cunning beast

Mammon.

But reckon not without the workers

For they are willing to work

'And die if need be

That truth and justice and joy may come

For the masses.

Congress is going home, President Harding is going to Florida, and the rest of the people may go to—well, you say it.—Labor.

Norway with only 2,500,000 people has produced six geniuses—Ibsen, Bjornson, Grieg, Nansen, Hamsun and Bojer.—R. Le Clerc Phillips.

When one talks only to Communists and sympathizers one may have an utterly false idea of working class mentality outside.—R. W. Postgate.

Knowledge is power but is must be practical knowledge. There is nothing less powerful than knowledge incapable of application.—Samuel Butler.

The census says 4,000,000 Americans are 65 years old or older. One in three of these is dependent on some one else for his bread and butter. One in each five is a "pauper." This is what becomes of the appendages to machines when they are worn out.