

Subscription Rates:

One Year\$2.00
Six Months 1.00
Foreign 2.50

TRUTH

NO. 48—WHOLE NO. 283

International Press
Correspondence

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1922

Member
The Federated Press

FIVE CENTS

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO—

"TRUTH"

20th Avenue W. & Superior St.
DULUTH, MINN.
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WHO WANTS A SOFT JOB?

Eighty-six Alabama miners were buried yesterday by the weeping population of Birmingham. Their reward was death. A week ago seventy-seven miners in Barnesboro, Pa., were given a life-long vacation. "We further find the mine management responsible for the aforesaid explosion", the verdict concluded. But the men are still dead. The bodies of the forty-seven trapped Argonaut miners are hardly cold. Within two months, two hundred and ten miners are rewarded by death. All cripples and maimed secure free hospital beds and all live diggers get fodder. Who'll mine?

800 CASES OF MOB VIOLENCE IN TEN MONTHS IN THE U. S.

WHO ARE THEY THAT ADVOCATE AND PRACTISE FORCE AND VIOLENCE?

By HARRY GODFREY
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

New York.—Throughout the period beginning in 1917 when state and nation began making laws designed to nullify the constitutional free speech guarantees, and throughout this same period in which hundreds of men have been given ferocious prison sentences on charges of inciting violence, there has been one class of persons who have indulged freely in inflammatory utterances; who have appealed times without number to the basest human passions; who have over and over shouted words of hatred and venom against certain classes; who have repeatedly incited to mob violence, and awakened the beast that seems only to slumber in most human breasts.

And these appeals to force, these impassioned, vituperative speeches and writings which inflamed mobs to rend and tear and bruise and burn, have gone unpunished. For they have been the utterances of federal officials, of judges, of governors, of mayors, and of heads of organizations. And they have been directed against men and women who did not agree with the federal officials and the judges and the governors and the mayors and the rest on such subjects as war and labor organizations and political methods.

Largely as a result of the incitement to violence of these persons, there have been in the 21 months ending last June, more than 800 cases of mob violence. The figures are given in a statement by the American Civil Liberties union, 100 Fifth ave., New York, in a pamph-

let entitled, Who May Safely Advocate Force and Violence?

In that period, the Civil Liberties union's compilation shows, there were in the United States 85 lynchings; 51 cases of tarring and feathering; 127 floggings, and 450 forcible mob deportations.

Thirty of the 85 persons lynched were white. Forty-nine of the 51 persons tarred and feathered were white. Ninety of the 12 persons flogged were white. Fewer than one-third of those attacked were Negroes. The Ku Klux Klan was identified with 53 of the mobs.

The incitement to mob violence, the report says, began in the early days of the war and has since marked the utterances of many public men. The analysis of these utterances of officials and others gives a glaring contrast of their freedom from prosecution with the imprisonment of "radicals for far less dangerous utterances."

"We have no record," the Civil Liberties union says, "of any case since 1917, when these restrictive laws against radicals were first passed, where those clearly guilty of inciting violence, or actually using violence against radicals or workmen, have been successfully prosecuted. Nor have we any record whatever of mob violence by radicals. We do not refer, of course, to the record of industrial conflicts, in which violence on both sides has been common, but which involves no issue of radicalism."

Speeches and writings are quoted by judges, governors, federal officials, mayors and organization heads the effect of which is incitement to mob violence.

Amnesty Memorial from Progressives in Congress Would Hasten Release

(Federated Press)

Washington.—President Harding has destroyed the hope of amnesty workers for a large number of political prisoners to be freed in conjunction with the celebration of Thanksgiving day. In a letter addressed to Mary Gertrude Fendall, director of the joint amnesty committee work here, the president recalls that he has said repeatedly there would be no wholesale grant of clemency, and that he is "quite determined that he will not change his position in relation to that matter."

In this letter, signed by his secretary, the president states that he will never again receive any committee seeking to plead with him on behalf of political prisoners, inasmuch as "no further presentation of their case would in any way expedite the grant of clemency which is nowdays in process of making."

Gradual release of a few prisoners from time to time is therefore

the utmost that friends of justice can expect. "These men will trickle out like drops of water, until all their cells are empty," is the way one official describes the situation.

Even the trickling will be a slow process if the president does not accelerate his present pace. Papers for the release of John Pancer and Dan Buckley, approved and urged by the justice department, have been lying on the president's desk for a fortnight past.

To stimulate executive action a memorial urging immediate amnesty may be drawn up and signed by all the members of that powerful group of progressives in the house and senate who will control the next congress. Absolutely no legislation can be enacted without the consent of these members, and if they should carry an amnesty memorial to the White House it is believed that the president would revise his opinion that the freeing of political prisoners is not an urgent matter.

HUGHES' COERCIVE TACTICS IN MEXICO ARE EXPOSED

URGES MEXICAN CONGRESS TO PASS OIL LAW TO SUIT AMERICAN CORRUPTIONISTS

(Federated Press)

Washington.—Secretary of State Hughes has a clear conscience on Mexico. Being caught in the act of telling that country what kind of laws it should or should not pass affecting American oil corporations is politically unpleasant to Hughes, but it does not ruffle his spiritual calm.

Our present secretary of state is a mystic. He is religious. He believes in the manifest destiny of the United States to rule the entire western hemisphere, and as far beyond as our welfare suggests. The word of Charge d'Affaires Summerlin telling the Mexican congress what to do was, in Hughes' mind, the voice of God dictating a new code in the interest of his favorite people, the American oil magnate.

But, if the spiritual Hughes is well content, the political Hughes is vastly disturbed by the revelation of his coercive tactics toward Mexico. The intelligent and practical, or non-religious side of the secretary of state tells him that this exposure of his tactics comes at the worst moment imaginable.

In his limping march between the cradle and the grave Mr. Hughes knows that his big asset is his reputation, for honest liberalism. It almost made him president a few years ago. It might have made him president two or six years from now if he could have kept it alive. Seeing it torn to shreds and cast upon the wind fills him with dismay.

When cruel circumstances forced Hughes to become the platform champion of Senator Newberry, the secretary of state must have thought the worst of evils had arrived. Pleading for the Michigan corruptionist, he had also to plead for Frelinghuysen, Lodge, Kellogg, Poincaré, and all the other human symbols of chicanery, reaction and corruption rule. And, when the people scorned and repudiated those

men on election they scorned and repudiated Charles Evans Hughes. Other political consequences of the exposure in Mexico City are that the Central American delegates summoned here by Hughes for a conference Dec. 6 will come in a suspicious mood, while the whole of Latin America is given fresh and impressive warning of what the United States is bent upon.

The secretary's hastily published excuse for meddling in Mexico is worse than feeble. By telling the Mexican congress it must not enact a proposed oil law Hughes was, he states, merely giving the advice which he thought Mexico desired from him. That excuse is refuted in the printed exchange of notes.

On Oct. 19 Attache Summerlin sent to Foreign Minister Pani of Mexico a copy of a proposed oil law, with the statement, "I will appreciate very much if an official copy can be given me for the information of the department of state." Almost by return mail Pani replied that President Obregon knew nothing about the alleged bill forwarded by Summerlin, and that the American government would be notified concerning new oil laws after they were presented in congress.

Summerlin refused to wait for the Mexican congress to introduce a bill. On Nov. 15, and without ever being asked for his advice, Summerlin wrote again to Pani, saying: "Mr. Summerlin has received instructions from his government to advise Mr. Pani that the project of petroleum sent personally to Mr. Pani on Oct. 19 is entirely inadequate for the protection of legally acquired rights of American citizens."

To this affront President Obregon replies: "The honor and sovereignty of Mexico make it impossible absolutely to accept laws which receive the previous censorship of governments of other countries."

BOHEMIAN TEXTILE WORKERS NEED INTERNATIONAL AID

(EDITOR'S NOTE:—Below is a copy of a letter from the Mid-European Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions. It contains an appeal for assistance for the striking textile workers in Northern Bohemia who have been engaged in a 30 weeks strike. This is an opportunity to make a demonstration of real international solidarity. Will you help? Donations may be sent through the Trade Union Educational League, 118 No. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill. It will account to all contributors for disposition of the money.)

Dear Comrades:

For thirty weeks 600 textile workers at Kratzau, Northern Bohemia, a part of Czechoslovakia, have been on strike. There is not a question of wages and hours involved in this fight; but one of principle. I. Klinger, the owner of the factory involved, dismissed the shop-committee, and in spite of the fact that a law exists in this country that no shop-committee representative cannot be dismissed without permission of a mixed commission of employers and workers, under the chairmanship of a public official, nevertheless he has carried out his blacklisting of unionists. The public officials, and law enforcing bodies not having the courage, or the will to discharge their so-called duty by bringing pressure upon this exploiter, he is able to continue his intimidatory method.

It is well known that this is only a case of making an example of

valiant fighters, and all manufacturers are behind this fight. So it becomes a class issue which means much for revolutionary Unionism and class consciousness. Moreso, because this union group belongs to those who have been excluded from the reformist union, for the advocacy of the principles of the Red International. Therefore, we must come to their assistance as international unionists.

Further: the reformist leaders have the treasury of the textile workers union, and refuse assistance. They are sabotaging in every possible way the success of this strike, to have a flimsy argument for their miserable reformist policy. The workers have financed this strike for 30 weeks, but owing to the increased unemployment, with over 80% of the textile workers laid off, it has become impossible to get sufficient funds to carry on the strike.

The strike is important because the owners are not so trustful as they are in U. S. A. or England. We can win this strike with international assistance. The workers are stopping all shipments of goods from leaving the factory. Will you help to feed those revolutionists, and build up revolutionary international unionism?

In America and England their currencies have a high value. Central and Western Europe cannot help much. Owing to the high value of the check crown we must raise 4,000 dollars in America, and 200

Millionaire Imprisoned; "Scabbed" on His Class

THINKS THE BANKER CONTROL OF U. S. SHOULD GO WAY OF CZAR NICK

Joliet, Ill.—Because he scabbed on his own class, the millionaires, William Bross Lloyd, Chicago communist, was framed up and sent to the penitentiary here on a criminal anarchy charge. Lloyd made the assertion before commencing his one to five years term as a political prisoner of the state of the state of Illinois. He entered the prison and was assigned to a detention cell the night of Nov. 21.

"A certain group of very wealthy and influential Chicago men arranged the prosecution and sentence," Lloyd said, "because I am one of these plain, blunt spoken fellows. A scab on my class, if you want to put it that way."

Lloyd joined six codefendants who had preceded him to Joliet while seven others are in the Cook county jail in Chicago.

His "scabbing" consisted in membership in the now defunct Communist Labor party and in his outspoken belief that American capitalism exploited the people and should be abolished. He wanted the "dividend ring" and the banker control over the United States to go the way of czarism in Russia.

COMMUNISTS ENTER PRISON

JACK CARNEY, FORMER EDITOR "TRUTH" IN THE GROUP.

After a fight extending over two years the Communists who were convicted of state sedition in Illinois for organizing the Communist Labor Party have entered the walls of the state prison to serve indeterminate sentences of from one to five years.

Ludwig Lore, editor of the New York Volkszeitung, Wm. Bross Lloyd, Edgar Owens, Jack Carney, editor of the Voice of Labor, in Chicago, Charles Krumboltz, Arthur Proctor, and twelve others are now added to the list of Communist political prisoners in the United States.

Nonpartisan League Sends Food to Strikers

San Francisco.—The Nonpartisan League of California has sent a letter to all members in the state asking them to form and collect foodstuffs for distribution to the families of striking railroad shopmen. The trainmen will collect the food and take it to strike headquarters, where it will be given to approximately 250 needy strikers' families in San Francisco and Sacramento.

pounds in England. Think what it means, comrades: In Czechoslovakia the reformists have expelled Railwaymen, Chemical, Textile and Agricultural Workers, 20,000 Metal Workers, 300,000 in all excluded from "Amsterdam." These revolutionists must be supported by winning this principle fight against the Bosses and Reformist "Leaders."

They will carry on the fight, if you will do your duty by sending international assistance. Arrange meetings and vote donations in your union meetings.

If you will send us a cable, stating how much you can donate, the Mid-European Bureau of the Red International will make immediate advances equivalent to your subscription.

Trusting you will be able to raise enough to enable this principal fight to be won to the credit of International Solidarity.

With best wishes, we are

Yours for the International Work-

ing-class,

KREBY, Secretary of Mid-European Bureau of R. I. L. U.

GEO. HALL, Member of Mid-European Bureau of R. I. L. U.

POLITICAL PRISONER DIES; HARDING REFUSED RELEASE

NEW YORK.—The death in Leavenworth prison of Ricardo Flores Magon, federal political prisoner, has drawn a protest to President Harding from the American Civil Liberties union for his failure to act on Magon's pardon application, which has been pending for more than a year. Magon was serving the longest sentence of any political prisoner convicted under the espionage act for expressions of opinion during the war. His term of 21 years and one day, with good conduct allowance, would have expired Sept. 30, 1932. Since he was known to have been in ill health for over a year, the Civil Liberties union asked the President for his release, and it also asks the speedy consideration of the cases of other political prisoners suffering from tuberculosis and other serious ailments not susceptible to proper treatment in prison.

Unemployment Hits Miners' Union in Japan

By GERTRUDE HAESSLER
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

Tokio.—Unemployment in Japan is affecting the miners' union to a greater extent than any other branch of organized labor. Since the beginning of organized labor in Japan, the miners have been the most troublesome to the industrial owners, and probably the most successful in their fight. The peak of their power was reached in the early part of 1921, before unemployment placed the trump cards in the hands of the employers.

The Ashio copper mine is the most famous mine in Japan because it is the storm center in the miners' struggle for emancipation. Early in 1921 the largest strike in the history of the mining industry in Japan was started, and showed every indication of success. Then the hard times wave that started after the war and traveled round the world in a westerly direction hit Japan and the back of the strike was broken. It ended in a compromise. Since that time the strength of the union has declined.

Unemployment is so acute in Japan that every man is holding frantically to his job. Organization activity has practically stopped, and it has gone so far that when a man is known to be a member of a union he has little chance of keeping his job.

The number of miners at the end of 1920 was: Men, 226,500; women, 90,900; total, 317,400. The number of mines was 506.

The number of miners who died in 1920 from accidents or disease was 3636, of whom 582 were women.

According to the compiler of these figures, the illness was caused in most cases by bad working conditions. The mines are usually poorly ventilated; coal gas and other gases are thick and little is done to mitigate this evil; the food is bad, and the camp conditions unsanitary.

Accidents are also due to bad working conditions. There are many cases of gas explosions. Poor construction of the mines and the unsafe propping result in numerous collapses.

The women are employed mostly outside the mine, either as trammers in pushing the cars, or as muckers. Human labor is cheaper in Japan than animal labor, and the heavy work usually done by mules in America is done almost entirely by human beings, and in a good many cases by women.

About 12% of the miners during 1920 were organized. This percentage fluctuates considerably, according to emergencies that had to be met. It is one of the characteristics of Japanese labor that it is strongly organized in an acute crisis, and that membership falls off as soon as the emergency has been faced.

There were 184 mine strikes from 1917 to June 1921, involving over 50,000 miners. Most of them were compromised with some benefit to the workers.

The miners' union is a national organization on industrial lines. Until two years ago it was part of the National Federation of Trade Unions, but since 1920 it has been an independent industrial union.

600,000 Lives Lost Yearly by Preventable Accidents and Disease

Washington.—In answer to the charge of Secretary Weeks on Oct. 23 that "groups seeking universal peace are undermining the ability of their own country to protect itself," the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom makes reply in an open letter by its national board, saying: "Our dangers from outside attack are the least that we have to face. In the five foreign wars which we have had we have lost in battle fewer men than the 85,000 the American Bar Assn. assures us is the number of our homicides in the last ten years. Every year, by preventable accident and preventable disease we lose about 600,000 citizens. . . . Our chief dangers are from within, and we hold that our chief defense lies in the education and upbuilding of our own people."

DINNER PAIL EPICS

By BILL LLOYD
Dramatic critics is some keen of writing of the plays they seen. I've wrote a book review or two, to tell about some things that's new, and I don't see no reason why I shouldn't take my pen and try to tell you about a play I went to see the other day.

The Hairy Ape is its crude name, and it has got a lotta fame. Eugene O'Neill's the man who wrote it, and I am surely goan to vote it a play that really is immense, and one to wake up folks that's dense.

One scene is laid in the stockhole, where stokers is a-shoveling coal, to give an ocean liner power to make some 20 knots an hour. The audience is really faced with men stripped naked to the waist. It ain't no parlor scene for dame that can't see hide without some shame.

A rich man's daughter on the liner, who's dressed in white and sure looks finer than any dame I ever blinked, is full of notions and she thinks she'd like to see men shovel coal down in the liner's great stockhole. And so she takes the engineer, who goes along to guide and steer, and she sees things and hears a lot of language that is best forgot. One man is cussing fierce as hell, and when he turns and sees her—well, she screams s'if something wuz the matter; he up and throws his shovel at her.

The men they call him Hairy Ape, and sez the woman was agape at seeing such a living critter who is so coarse and ain't no fitter than just to shovel coal all day and go to shore to spend his pay.

Well, say, that guy with his hard mug just gets to thinking and goes bug, a-wondering why on earth he works when dames like her just lives and shirks. One scene is laid in prison cell, where this rough guy hears someone tell about the wobbles and their aim, and after that he ain't the same. The play it ends in a great zoo, and it's a scene to scare you, too.

The play's about the great unrest, that's spreading from the east to west. It shows the under dog up right and sure should stir him up to fight. I say the drama's on the rise, when they give plays like this in size.

IMPORTANT FACTS FROM THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD

(According to data received by the Central European Bureau.)

GERMANY.

Of the 90 Communists among the 694 delegates at the General Trade Union Congress in Leipzig, 48 were metal workers.

The growth of the Communist influence can be measured by successes achieved at all recent trade-union conventions. At the national congress of the railwaymen (10th to 16th of September) 46 Communist delegates were opposing 170 Social Democrats. 64 of the latter were employees of the union and 51 members of either central or local bodies. At the national congress of the Transport Workers' Union, 33 delegates out of a total of 305 were Communists; at that of the Leather Workers' Union, 69 reformists were opposed by 7 Communists and 21 other radicals. Of the 267 delegates to the annual congress of the Municipal Workers' Union, 41 were Communists.

At a conference which took place on August 26th, it was decided that the members expelled from the Building Trades Union should organize, and strive to bring about reunion with the old organization. This new union has at present 6,000 members, organized in three large locals (Chemnitz, Munchen-Gladbach, Berlin). It is carrying on an effective struggle, resulting in an extension of the vacation period and a leveling of the wages of skilled workers. Fully 20 per cent of the membership of this union is organized in the Communist Party. It has a fortnightly organ, the Bauarbeiter (Builder); its income for ten months exceeded 1 million marks with dues equalling one hour's wages, while strike benefits amount to 6 to 7 times that amount daily. The union has repeatedly proved its solidarity towards other unions and is carrying on a systematic struggle for the reunion of all workers in the building trades. During the last winter it succeeded in two instances in enforcing the reemployment of dismissed shop stewards.

The struggle of the Union of Hand and Brain Workers as well as that of the opposition in the Miners' Union, is directed against overtime. Under the pressure of the reformist leaders the German miners have agreed to work 8 hours daily instead of 7, by working two hours overtime on three days of the week.

This is the international significance, as the overtime is expended in mining reparation coal, thus endangering every movement of the French miners. The international conference of revolutionary miners in Essen, (September 25th to 26th) at which the solidarity of the German and French miners was expressed in a number of practical decisions, seems to have had some effect on the French coal barons who desisted from their demands in the very last minute.

Agricultural Workers.

During the summer, strikes of the agricultural workers broke out in different localities. In Oberbarnim County 3,000 agricultural laborers struck work, but were defeated by the technical Emergency Corps (a well-organized strike-breaking institution of the German bourgeoisie), and police troops. This strike was led by the Union of Hand and Brain Workers. Another strike in Anklam County (Pomerania) also collapsed through the treachery of the bureaucracy at the head of the German Agricultural Workers' Union. A strike on the island of Fehmarn (Schleswig-Holstein) lasted a full week before the bureaucratic sabotage could strangle it. All these treacheries of the A. W. U. officialdom resulted in a marked decrease of the membership.

The strength of the opposition in the Metal Workers' Union was shown in the elections for the Berlin local committee (15th of July), where the Communist candidate, Comrade Walcher, polled 27,000 votes and the reformist nominee only 31,000.

Woodworkers.

In the Woodworkers' Union there is an opposition in about 214 branches, while in the council (not the committee) there are 5 Communists. At the recent election for the General Trade Union Congress, 40 per cent of the workers in this union voted for the Communist candidates, so that it is safe to say that we can count on 155,000 revolutionary workers in this union. The bureaucracy of the Woodworkers' Union has also displayed its venomous hatred to the Communists at the Vienna International Congress of the Woodworkers' Federation.

In the Bakers' Union, there are Communist fractions in 35 locals. Unfortunately, the expulsion of Communist functionaries has not met with an effective answer on

the part of the membership. Of the 16 members in the Advisory Committee 2 are Communists.

In the Union of Hotel and Restaurant Employees, there are oppositional fractions in 5 cities. Recently the Berlin local decided with 121 against 120 votes in favor of Amsterdam. This and the presence of 5 Communist and 12 other oppositional delegates at the national convention of the Lithographers' Union (August 22, total of delegates: 84) goes to prove that the Communists have secured a foothold even amongst those categories of labor which as a rule cannot be considered revolutionary. The presidents of the Stuttgart and Dresden local committees of the last named union are Communists.

The German Seamen's Federation led a strike of the German sailors, lasting from July 1st to 26th. The union is steadily accepting the principles of the R. I. L. U.

FRANCE.

At the congress of the old C. G. T. at Lyons, (15th to 21st of September, 1919) 538 unions had declared against the tactics of the majority and in favor of the Russian Revolution.

At the congress in Orleans, (September 27th to October 2nd, 20), the minority voted for Moscow. Previous to this congress a revolutionary trade-union committee had been formed. At the first congress of the R. I. L. U., most of the French delegates decried organizational connections between the R. I. L. U. and the Communist International although they were just as decidedly against Amsterdam.

At the Lille Congress, (25th to 30th of July, 1921), the minority moved affiliation with the R. I. L. U., provided that the latter's constitution were changed accordingly.

The Unitarian Congress in December, 1921, did not deal with the question. The French delegates to the syndicalist conference in Berlin in June, 1922, did not take part in the establishment of the so-called Anarcho-Syndicalist International.

Favor Red International.

In St. Etienne, finally, the French trade-unions disapproved of the formation of a new international and declared themselves in favor of affiliation to the R. I. L. U., provided the latter's constitution were revised in favor of autonomy. (Amendments quoted previously.)

The strike in Le Havre was broken off on October 9th, after having lasted 110 days. And though it was not a material success, it roused the solidarity of French labor and enhanced the prestige of the C. G. T. U. The number of organized workers rose during the strike from 250 to nearly 3,000.

The Miners' Union has 25,000 members, of whom 5,000 are in Alsace-Lorraine and 3,000 in the Northern provinces. The annual budget amounts to approximately 30,000 francs. The union maintains four paid officials. Dues are 45 centimes. The union is at present confronted with a serious struggle to defend the 8 hour day and wages. Expulsion Policy Results in New Union.

The Unitarian Railwaymen's Union which was founded in December 1921, as a result of the expulsion policy of the old organization, has at present 65,000 members. It has had to carry on a determined struggle against the railway companies which tried hard to abolish the 8 hour day and reduce wages. 20 per cent of all railwaymen, distributed over 409 locals, are organized in the union. The locals are combined into sections coinciding with the railway sections. The reformist union has 20,000 members; the Christian 60,000; the various craft unions 70,000; while 270,000 railwaymen are not organized. Since its last annual convention in June, the Unitarian Union has gained 5,000 new members, while a like number have either been dismissed or expelled. The union is publishing a bi-monthly paper, la Tribune des Cheminots with a circulation of 76,000. It has 5 salaried officers and its budget amounts to 200,000 francs.

The Unitarian Agricultural Workers' Union participated in the general strike to support the Le Havre strikers on August 28th, and thereby gave, for the first time in France, the example of solidarity between industrial and agricultural workers. The union is also increasing its influence on the small peasants' organizations. It demands for the agricultural workers shorter working hours and, wherever possible, the abolition of the institution of board and lodging with the employer. Its demands for the petty peasants are: two thirds of the harvest to the peasant and only one third to the landowner.

The Unitarian Union of Workers

in Foodstuff Industries, through its central committee, has decided unanimously in favor of sending a delegate to the R. I. L. U. congress.

The Union of Chemical Workers has 2,500 members. In this union, as in that of the railway workers, the split took place previous to the Lille Congress. The last reformist secretary, however, has succeeded in confiscating the funds of the union.

The Unitarian Leather Workers' Union has 50 locals with 3,586 members.

The C. G. T. U. has delegated the following comrades to Moscow: Monmousseau, Semard, Jacob, Delfosse, Budilleux, Berard.

ALSACE-LORRAINE.

The principal organizations are in agreement with the R. I. L. U.

At the Muhlhausen Congress (September 19th, 1920), 58,000 votes were cast for Amsterdam and 42,000 for Moscow. At the Strasbourg Congress (August 27th, 1922), a national executive consisting of 9 members was elected.

The Alsace-Lorraine Miners' Union which includes both the workers in the Lorraine coal and ore district and in the upper Alsatian potash industry, has 10,000 members. In the former districts, 25 per cent of the workers are organized; in the latter 50 per cent. One third of the laborers are foreigners. At the convention in Merlebach, (February 26th, 1922), seven eighths of the delegates voted for Moscow. The union is publishing a regular paper, The Miner. It maintains 12 salaried officials; its budget is 500,000 francs. Dues are 5 francs monthly; no strike benefits.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

The strength of the Communist influence in the trade-unions at the beginning of this year was shown by the voting at the trade-union congress in January. There, in spite of all manoeuvres and machinations, 227 delegates, representing 222,000 members voted in favor of Moscow, and 339, representing 338,000 members for Amsterdam.

On August 3rd the committee of the Building Trades' Union, the Carpenters' Union, the Transport Workers' Union, the Leather Workers' Union, the Butchers' Union and the House Workers' Union, submitted a protest against the exclusion from the Czechoslovakian Trade Union Council of the woodworkers' and chemical workers' unions. A reply was demanded within two weeks. The reply was the acceptance into the Trade Union Council of the reformist unions in the wood and chemical industries and the order to the workers in the sugar and alcohol industries to leave the Chemical Workers' Union and join the reformist Food Workers' Union. As a result, the conference of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Committee decided to discontinue the remittance of monies to the Trade Union Council.

Reformists Unruly.

In the meantime the rank and file of the reformist union became ever more unruly. On September 10th the textile workers held a conference at Königgrätz where the road was cleared for the affiliation of the union with the already existing German textile workers section of the Chemical Workers' Union. The dissolution of oppositional metal workers' locals resulted in 20,000 metal workers joining the Chemical Workers' Union.

For October 26th an all-trade-union congress was summoned by the revolutionary unions, over the heads of the reformist leaders. This congress had but one point on the agenda: Restoration of trade union unity. At the time of writing this no news is available as to what transpired at this congress. Since September 7th, there are being published Rudy Odor for the Czechish, and Czervony Zavodovics for the Polish revolutionary trade union members. The German Red Trade Unionist has been appearing in Reichenberg for a long time.

The first congress of the revolutionary railwaymen took place on August 20th. 81 delegates represented 15,000 members. In Slovakia separatist tendencies are making themselves felt. The excluded Municipal Workers' Union locals have, in conjunction with the already existing Clerical Employees Federation, formed the Union of State and Municipal Employees.

The Reichenberg Textile Workers' Union has for 30 weeks led the strike of 600 workers in Kratzau, who struck work because of the dismissal of shop committees.

The Czechoslovakian trade-unions are faced with wide-spread unemployment and an acute general economic crisis.

ITALY.

On October 1st, 1921, the wage agreement in the North Italian me-

tal industry, the outcome of the factory occupations, expired. Owing to the unrelenting attitude of the employers, a general strike broke out in Liguria and Istria, which ended, however, after a few days, in a defeat and wage reductions. The plea of the Communists to start an action of solidarity throughout the country met with no response.

The general strike of the workers in the wool industry, lasting three months was a similar failure. Already in August, the Social Democratic union leaders had induced the cotton workers to lay down their tools and had then agreed to a 20 per cent wage reduction which in a number of localities was limited to 10 per cent. Only after this defeat did the wool workers enter upon their struggle. At the annual convention on November 23rd, 1921, the Communists submitted a sharp resolution against these fatal tactics.

Strike in Rome.

On the occasion of the national congress of the Fascisti in the middle of October 1921, a general strike took place in Rome in which the railway workers in Southern Italy participated,—with the result that the government employed disciplinary measures against them. This gave the first impetus to the Railway Workers Union to start its activities for the united front.

And in February of this year there actually took place in Rome, a joint conference of all trade unions. This conference was originally scheduled to take place in Genoa, but was, in compliance with the wishes of the reformist leaders transferred to Rome where a crisis had broken out in the cabinet. At this conference, a national committee, the famous Alleanza del Lavoro, was appointed, consisting of 5 representatives of the Confederazione del Lavoro and 2 representatives each of the Unione Sidacale, the railwaymen and the seamen.

The Communist trade union committee endeavored in vain to be also admitted to the National Committee. This notwithstanding, the Communist Party issued a manifesto declaring its willingness to support the Alleanza and make it a real instrument of the class struggle. At the time of the negotiations between the three Internationals in Berlin, the Party demanded of the Alleanza that it call meetings to demonstrate for the common aims. But as the Alleanza, refused to call such meetings, the Party saw itself compelled to call them itself.

On the 1st of May, which had been declared a public holiday by the government, the public utilities also struck work, leading to a number of bloody clashes between the workers and reactionary forces.

In February a general strike of the ceramic workers set in, which lasted five months and, owing to the Fascisti terror, resulted in a defeat.

Strike in Milan, Florence.

In the building trades as well, the reformist leaders agreed to wage reductions and the so-called "ricupero", i. e., making good for the losses of time sustained through bad weather. In Milan, Florence, and other cities, the workers in the building trades declared the strike over the heads of their leaders, and having elected Communist leaders, won better working conditions after a two months struggle. In Florence, Cremona, and other cities the eight hour day remained unimpaired. Ever since the occupation of the factories, the metal workers had been the subject of savage persecutions on the part of the employers, and the agreement then contracted had in the course of time become a mere scrap of paper.

Finally the employers openly demanded the abolition of the high cost of living bonus. When the union had the referendum taken, 44,000 out of 50,000 declared for the strike. This referendum, however, was confined to Lombardy, where the strike was begun on June 1st, while in the other provinces negotiations were still going on. Thanks to the unremitting propaganda of the Communist Central Committee, the union convention was summoned to Genoa, for July 16th.

At this congress the 17,000 votes of the union functionaries were against a general strike, while 39,000 were for the general strike, for an appeal to the Alleanza to extend the struggle, for a vote of censure against the union executive; 44,000 others were for a general strike, but against the vote of censure.

The general strike set in on July 26th under the leadership of the same functionaries who had voted against it. It ended on July 10th with a compromise and a wage reduction. On June 8th, the textile

workers of Venetia had called a general strike to oppose wage reduction and to defend the rights of the factory councils. While in Venice certain results were achieved, in most cities work had to be resumed under the pressure of the Fascisti terror.

Wage Reductions.

The continuous wage reductions, the sharp difference in the Socialist Party induced the Committee of the Confederations to call a National Council for July 3rd, to take place in Genoa. This council had to deal with five resolutions: a Communist one, a Maximalist one; one submitted by the fraction of the Third International, one submitted by the Executive, and a Centrist one. The results of the voting were as follows: 53,351 for the resolution submitted by the Executive of the Confederazione, and 43,533 for the Centrist resolution, a total of 580,884 reformist votes; Maximalist votes, 250,472, Communist votes 249,513, fraction of the Third International 34,784. The Communists controlled the labor councils in the following cities: Cuneo, Turin, Savona, Vigenza, Goerz, Pola, Trieste, Trient, Forlì, Grosseto, Foligno, Rome, Tivoli, Aquila, Teramo, Naples, Salerno, Tarento, Girgenti, and Tempo Pausania. Of the trade unions, the Communists only control the Wood Workers' Union.

On July 19th the workers of Lombardy and Piedmont called a general strike against the Fascisti terror. But the Alleanza del Lavoro, instead of extending the struggle throughout the country, appealed for a resumption of work. The assassination of eight workers in Ravenna resulted in a general strike throughout Romagna. Here too, the struggle was betrayed by the Alleanza which concluded peace with the Fascisti, in spite of the heroic struggle the Communist put up in Forlì.

Government Discipline.

While Turati was having his interview with the king and the Socialists were entertaining the idea of entering the government, the Alleanza suddenly called, without preparation whatsoever, a general strike throughout Italy, for July 31st. In a number of localities street battles ensued, with the Communists in the front ranks. The enthusiasm of labor grew immensely when suddenly the secret strike bureau of the Alleanza declared its approval of the new Facta Cabinet and called off the strike for August 1st. When the railwaymen had returned to their work, the Fascisti organized a well-planned terror against labor. The government took recourse to disciplinary measures against railwaymen and postal employees, while many trade union groups were compelled to join the Fascisti. The Railwaymen's Union, the Unione Sindacale and the Unione Italiana, withdrew from the Alleanza. The influence of the Communists within the Confederazione is growing daily. The best proof of this are the expulsions in the Railwaymen's and Seamen's Unions, which gave rise to an effective counter-agitation. Everywhere the Communists advocated the retention of the old class organizations and spoke against joining the Fascisti.

The Woodworkers' Union is an industrial union with 25,000 members, 15,000 of whom are unskilled laborers. These are distributed over 200 locals amongst which Milan with 1,500, Turin with 1,000, Venice with 970, Bologna with 800, and Genoa with 750 are the most important. The union which comprises about 30% of all wood workers, conducted during 1922 not less than 20 strikes, all of which with the exception of that in Lombardy, ended in victory. The union has already declared in favor of the R. I. L. U. at its convention in Bologna in 1920, and had renewed this decision in Turin in April 1922, where 22,000 were for the Communists, 2,000 for the Socialists, and 300 for the Anarchists. The union has its own organ, Il Lavorante in Legno; its income is 300,000 lire, its expenses 250,000, so that its financial status at present is not very favorable. It has five salaried secretaries in the provinces, who are drawing salaries of highly-skilled workers and are without exception appointed by the Executive. The dues are 35 centesimi weekly. Strike benefit is 30 lire per week.

Fascisti Activities.

As an instance of the manner in which the Fascisti reaction affects the labor organizations, we may mention the Miners' Union which had five of its secretariats destroyed, involving a loss of 20,000 lire. Sixty organizations were dissolved by the Fascisti and their members forced to join them. How this is being done is shown by the example of Saragiolo. Here a clash took

place between the workers and the Fascisti, whereupon the former were arrested and given the choice either to join the Fascisti or be tried for murder. The Fascisti prevent the functionaries from visiting their branches; they compel the organized workers to go to bed immediately on returning home. After such preparations, they proposed to found a National Trade Union. The membership of the Miners' Union was 5,232 in November last. There is no doubt however, that it has decreased considerably since then. Nearly everywhere wages are being reduced and working hours lengthened under the pressure of the Fascisti labor representatives. The Secretary of the Union, Comrade Nazzari, was cruelly beaten in Sienna. A number of other functionaries met with a similar fate. The Union was furthermore compelled to centralize its finances, increase the monthly dues from 50 centesimi to 4 lira and increase and improve the benefits. The Miners' Cooperatives have also suffered at the hands of the Fascisti.

In the Railwaymen's Union and in the Tramwaymen's Union a joint Communist Committee is very active. The wages of the railwaymen vary between 28 and 35 lira per day. This Union too is being savagely persecuted by both the government and the Fascisti.

Metal Workers.

At the end of 1921 the Metal Workers' Union had 130,000 members; 44,000 in Lombardy, 37,000 in Piedmont and 16,000 in Liguria. This membership has decreased to 60,000. Some of the best locals, for instance in Turin and Trieste, are presided over by Communists. At the National Council session in Genoa, there were 47,000 reformist and 39,000 Communist votes represented. The number of metal workers in the Unione Sindacale is unimportant. The industry is at present in the midst of a rather serious crisis. The bankruptcy of the big firms Ilva and Ansaldo has affected many smaller concerns. On January 1st, there were 75,000 unemployed metal workers, on June 1st 58,000, i. e., 14% of the total of unemployed. To these figures must be added 250,000 part-time workers.

At the July Congress of the Building Trades at Genoa, 31,000 Communist votes and 123,000 reformist votes were recorded. The Executive has already dissolved the Novara local because it was led by a Communist and is now proceeding to do the same in Alessandria, Mantua and Cremona.

Communist trade union work in Italy is adapted to the structure of the Confederazione, with every committee working in close connection with the corresponding Party committee. In the Unione Sindacale, the fraction headed by Vecchi is working for the R. I. L. U. This fraction whose main support are the North Italian textile workers has about 30,000 followers.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The influence of the R. I. L. U. in the English trade union movement has grown considerably during the past year. The stronghold of our movement are the 118,000 miners in South Wales who at the last Miners' Congress in Blackpool voted for the R. I. L. U. At the London District Conference on September 16th, 310 delegates represented 189 branches with a total of 49,000 workers. The engineers, the wood workers and the unemployed were very strongly represented.

At the Newcastle Conference on September 13th, 84 delegates represented 40,000 trade union members. The result of this recent Conference is that 12,000 metal workers and 68,000 workers in other trades (excepting miners) are followers of the R. I. L. U.

At the Glasgow Conference, 27,000 workers were represented and at the Birmingham Conference, 16,000. All these figures take into account only those organizationally affiliated with us; the number of sympathizers is of course much larger.

HOLLAND.

After the defeat of the metal workers in January 1922, the capitalist offensive gained in impetus and most of the branches had to submit to wage reductions varying between 10 and 30%. By decision of Parliament the 45 hour week was replaced by a 48 hour week. Unemployment benefits were reduced. In September, 10% of all workers were out of work. Unemployed Councils were formed. The membership of the trade unions was reduced substantially, the Socialist trade unions losing about 80,000, the Catholic trade unions about 50,000.

The Syndicalist Committee of the

National Labor Bureau recently took a referendum on the question for or against Moscow; 3,200 votes were recorded for and 4,900 against the R. I. L. U. The transport workers, the miners, the wood workers and the clerical employees voted in favor of the R. I. L. U.

The Transport Workers' Federation which is affiliated with the Syndicalist organization and is carrying on propaganda for the R. I. L. U. has about 5,000 members and 36 locals, including the longshoremen and the seamen from Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The organization comprises 5% of the transport workers. Of the strikes conducted by the organization, special attention is merited by the long strike on the Rhine shipping. The organization declared with 1,452 against 472 votes in favor of the R. I. L. U. Its organ is Het Transportbedrijf; its budget is approximately 133,000 gulden, dues are 60 cents a week.

The Building Trades Federation which is also affiliated to the Syndicalist organization has about 5,000 members. The unemployment benefits have been discontinued. Regarding affiliation to the R. I. L. U., the majority of the members has adopted the same attitude as the French C. G. T. U. The official Executive Committee, however, is in contact with the Anarcho-Syndicalists in Berlin.

DENMARK.

The nucleus of the revolutionary trade union organization was the Fagopositionens Sammenslutning, founded as early as 1910. This organization split in March 1921, with the majority deciding in favor of the R. I. L. U. and the minority in favor of the Anarcho-Syndicalists. At present, the trade union opposition has well-organized fractions in 22 cities. The irresolute leadership of the reformists in the great wage struggles resulted in the withdrawal from the trade union council of the Unskilled Workers' Union having 19,000 members. The next general meeting of the Trade Union Council is scheduled to meet in 1926. At the last convention of the Wood Workers' Union the opposition commanded 60 votes out of 157.

AUSTRIA.

Communist work in the trade unions is being conducted by a Trade Union Committee consisting of nine members. The backbone of this work is the periodical, The Red Trade Unionist. Oppositional conferences were held in the following unions: graphical workers, glass workers, shoemakers, railwaymen, tramwaymen, and bank clerks. During the last year the membership of the Socialist trade unions has increased by 133,000. A marked decline has only been noticeable among the insurance employees.

The Building Trades Union, on the other hand, could record the biggest increase. There are organized oppositions among the wood workers, the leather workers, the metal workers, the chemical workers, and especially the workers in the building trades, 50% (5000) of whose membership belong to the opposition.

The stronghold of the opposition in the Railwaymen's Union is the Vienna Northern Depot. The opposition among the workers of Fohnsdorf and Grunbach is very strong.

The Cap Makers Union as well as the Glass Makers Union of Vienna are controlled by the opposition. The introduction of an emblem has served to strengthen the organization of the opposition, which is, however, still rather weak towards the reformists.

BULGARIA.

In this country the whole trade union council with all unions represented in it is affiliated to the R. I. L. U.

The 34,000 organized workers belong to 19 different unions, chief amongst which are the Tobacco Workers' Union (7,000); Transport Workers' Union (3,600); Miners' Union and Building Trades (2,500 each); Leather Workers' Union (2,100); Teachers' Union (2,300).

The Bulgarian working class has victoriously gone through a number of struggles. The lockout of the shoemakers at Plovdiv lasting two months, ended in a complete victory of the workers. The leather workers in Gabrovo and Sofia are still in the midst of an embittered struggle. The strike of the 10,000 tobacco workers has ended in victory (35% wage increase, 30 leva daily). The movement amongst the tobacco workers is continuing. A great movement of the state and municipal employees, affecting about 100,000 workers, is afoot. In all the strikes the revolutionary trade unions have a leading role. The Amsterdam International has no section in Bulgaria. The propaganda activity of the organizations is instanced by the fact that in the

BANKERS' RIGHT TO ISSUE MONEY A POWERFUL DESTRUCTIVE WEAPON

BY MANIPULATING CREDIT AND THE VOLUME OF MONEY THEY REAP THE HARVEST OF THOSE WHO TOIL

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(EDITOR'S NOTE:—This is the fourth of a series of articles by a capitalist who saw Washington from the inside for twelve years. In this article Pettigrew shows that when congress delegates the right to issue money to bankers they use it to cause panics and to increase the exploitation of the workers.)

My experiences with the world of affairs have convinced me that the power in our public life was exercised through the bankers. My study of banking showed me that the grip which the bankers were able to maintain on the economic system depended largely upon their ability to control money. There were two ways in which they exercised this control. One was by determining who should issue money. The other was by specifying its character. The bankers of the United States have been in a position to decide both of these questions in their own interest.

The Constitution of the United States says that the Congress shall have power to coin money, to regulate the value thereof and of foreign coins, and to fix the standard of weight and measures. The Constitution does not empower Congress to delegate the right to issue money to any person or combination of persons.

Yet the Congress has always delegated the right to issue money to the banks. The power thus conferred by Congress upon the banks to issue money has been used by the bankers to exploit and plunder the people of the United States.

Law of Supply and Demand.

While I was a member of the House of Representatives (1880) I had become acquainted with Peter Cooper of New York. The renewal of the National Bank charters was under discussion in the House at the time and of course the whole question of currency and of our economic system was covered in the debate. One day Peter Cooper of New York placed upon our desks a pamphlet dealing with the money question. I read this pamphlet with great interest, because Peter Cooper was called a "green-backer" and was supposed to be in favor of what they called "fiat" money. Again and again throughout the debate his name had been mentioned and he had been abused by the speakers.

The foundation theory of Peter Cooper's pamphlet was that the law of supply and demand applied to money just as it applies to other commodities, so that an abundance of money would be registered in the rise in the price of all those things whose value is measured in terms of money. In other words, that the law of supply and demand (the theory that quantity affects price) applies to money as well as to corn, oats, and potatoes. Therefore, the proof of a too great abundance of money lay in the universal rise of prices; and, conversely, the proof of money scarcity was the universal decline in prices. Following this theory, it became evident that while the price of any one commodity would rise or fall, according to the variations in the supply of and demand for that commodity, a general rise or fall of all prices indicated that money was too abundant or too scarce. Peter Cooper held that money was redeemed whenever it was exchanged by the possessor for the things which he desired more than he desired the money, and that there should be no other form of redemption. In other words, money should be issued by the government and its volume so regulated as to maintain a steady range of prices.

I was so interested in this pamphlet that I went to New York, made the personal acquaintance of Peter Cooper, and talked with him many times and quite fully upon social and economic questions. These talks, and the ideas which I had secured from my reading, convinced me that so long as the banks controlled the issue of money, they would be able to determine the economic life of the United States.

Trust Controlled Government.

The United States had become a capitalist nation—producing surplus wealth; exporting it in the form of goods and investment funds, living on the interest that these investments produced, and thus saddling upon the backs of the undeveloped countries of the world the burden of taking care of those nations which were rich enough to bind the poorer peoples to them by the lending of money.

The gold standard was a part of the harness that the eastern bankers had used to drive the western farmers. The fight was lost by the free silverites. The gold standard won the day and with that victory went the triumph of protection, the establishment of a trust-controlled government, the degradation of labor, and the assurance of plutocracy's power.

The government of the United States has allowed interested parties—creditors and bankers—to manipulate its credit and volume of money in such a way as to produce panics and, by this means, to plunder those who toil. These panics have come at stated intervals. M. Juglar (a French authority) has fully analyzed the three phases of American business life into prosperity, panic and liquidation, which three constitute themselves into a "business cycle" which ordinarily occupies about ten years. These ten years may be apportioned roughly as follows: Prosperity, five to seven years; panics a few months to a year; liquidation, three or four years.

Harvest of Panics.

Here is a list, with dates, of all the panics in the United States during the last century, with the corresponding dates for France and England:

France	England	United States
1804	1803	----
1810	1810	----
1813-14	1815	1814

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course of one year the Building Trades Union tripled its membership (from 800 to 2300).

SWITZERLAND.

On July 1st of this year, the Building Trades and wood workers united into one union with a membership of approximately 18,000. While the great majority of the wood workers is organized, there are still great masses of unorganized

laborers in the building trades. But the wood workers and the building trades workers had to carry on defensive struggles during the last year. The majority of the membership in the cities as well as of the National Executive are Communists. The organization is publishing a paper in the three languages spoken in the country. Dues are divided into three classes, 60 centimes, 90 centimes, and 1 fr.; strike benefit of 4, 5, or 5.50 francs.

The Union of Commercial, Transport and Food Workers is also controlled by Communists. The membership of this organization is, however, split up into numerous craft unions. Dues vary between 50 centimes and 1.200 frs. Of the rural workers 62% are organized, of the bakers, however, only 10%. The total membership is about 15,000.

The Leather Workers' Union has 3,804 members. At the National Congress in Bern (May 1921), the organization declared with 63 against 11 votes for Moscow, although only 150 of its members are organized in the Communist Party. Dues vary between 30 and 80 centimes per week. The Union is about

1818	1818	1818
1825	1825	1826
1830	1830	1829-31
1837-39	1836-39	1837-39
1847	1847	1848
1857	1857	1857
1864	1864-66	1864
-----	1873	1873
1882	1882	1884
1889-90	1890-91	1890-91
1894	1894	1892-94
1897	1897	1897
1903	1903	1903
1907	1907	1907
1913	1913	1913

What evidence could be more conclusive of the utter failure of a system of economic life than these successive breakdowns in the machinery of production and exchange? Yet here is the record upon which the present economic system must stand condemned in the eyes of every thinking human being—the record of disaster following disaster, with neither the inclination nor the ability, on the part of the masters of business life, to put a stop to these successive stoppages of economic activity.

Government for Benefit of Rich.

The figures just cited show that, during the past century, panics have occurred in England and France at the same time that they occurred in the United States. These three countries are linked together by the "gold standard," and their governments are capitalistic governments—administered by the banks and creditor classes for the benefit, not of the people, but for the benefit of the rich. Furthermore, all three countries have the same, or about the same, distribution of wealth. In each of these countries the workers are robbed of what they produce by the same process. The creditor classes, through their privileges, are able to manipulate the money and credit through panics, so as to produce, first, a rise in prices—by expansion of money and credit, then a withdrawal of both, followed by a sudden drop in prices, and then liquidation. Or, in other words a gathering in all of property produced by toil. With the liquidation, the cycle is completed and there follows a new cycle of ten years more, of prosperity, panic and liquidation.

Farm Tenancy.

I have had an excellent opportunity to observe the effect of these successive economic disasters upon the producing class. I went to the Territory of Dakota in 1869 and located at Sioux Falls, near the northwest corner of the State of Iowa. At that time, all of the land in Dakota was owned by the Government and was subject to entry under the Homestead and Pre-emption laws, and could only be secured by actual settlers. The result of the panic of 1873 caused very many of these homesteaders to commute their homesteads, because the price of farm products had declined below the cost of production. As a result, the movement for farm tenancy was begun. The United States publishes no figures on farm tenancy previous to 1880, but by that year the percentage of tenant farmers in the rich Middle West was for Illinois, 23.7 per cent; Michigan, 31.4 per cent; Iowa, 23.8 per cent; Missouri, 27.3 per cent; Nebraska, 18 per cent, and Kansas, 16.3 per cent.

The next great disaster to the producing classes culminated in the manufactured panic of 1893. Grover Cleveland had been elected President of the United States upon the tariff issue in 1892, and when he took office in 1893 he called a meeting of Congress for the purpose of repealing the purchasing clauses of the Sherman law of 1890, which provided that the Treasurer of the United States should purchase and coin not less than two million dollars' worth of silver and not more than four and a half million dollars' worth during each month, thus adding to the volume of circulating medium. The cutting-off of four and a half millions of silver by the repeal of the Sherman law purchasing clauses, with its consequent decline in the volume of money, proved disastrous. The prices of all farm products fell sharply, causing the ruin of the agricultural classes and a prolonged panic nearly as disastrous as that of 1873.

The panic of 1893, resulting from this act, which involved a contraction of the volume of money and a reduction in prices, again drove large numbers of people from the land and reduced agricultural production below a remunerative point. As a result of this panic and the panic of 1873, the lands in Dakota, which had all been owned by the cultivators, passed into the hands of the mortgage companies, the banks, the creditors, so that in the county where I reside—Minnehaha County, South Dakota—52 per cent of the farms now are cultivated by tenants. Within my memory, every acre of land in that county belonged to the Government. Both in the panic of 1873 and in that of 1893 the results were the same. The owners and monopolists of money used their monopoly power to squeeze the small producer and to enrich themselves.

The panic of 1893 was followed by the discovery in South Africa of the richest gold deposit in the world and within the next few years these mines produced vast sums of gold to be used as money, and caused a rise in the price of everything that is the product of human toil.

These were the two outstanding economic disasters that occurred during my connection with public affairs. Both arose from similar causes and both produced like results—the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few; the bankruptcy of the small business man and of the farmer; unemployment, distress and lowered wages for the worker; suicide and murder.

to fuse with the Garment Workers' Union.

The Federation of State Employees, comprising the railwaymen and postal employees will in the very near future and thanks to the efforts of the R. I. L. U. followers, be transformed into an industrial union. The big Basle local with 3,000 members is controlled by adherents of the R. I. L. U. The type-

graphical workers' section of the same city is also under Communist leadership.

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TRUTH

Issued Weekly By The West End Labor Association.

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

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

TRUTH openly declares for the overthrow of the present capitalist system. It does not believe in patching it up. If you think this is a 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 profitably 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, much 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 for the change from capitalism to the Workers' Republic. Come with us!



THEN THE REVOLUTION

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

When does the Revolution come? When we have educated the masses? When we have organized the working class? When we have elected socialist officials and established our free press and rostrum?

No.

Won't the revolution come by intelligent awakening?

Never.

Won't it come through the hungry stomach?

Never.

When oppression becomes endurable and tyranny a nightmare; when hunger stalks abroad and want haunts the slaves; when liberty is taken away and the world is robbed of freedom; when war and blood and pestilence and death has overtaken the masses, and life becomes a ghost, a skeleton, a rotten carcass, when life becomes loathed and despised and death becomes the bright desired bride of the disgusted, discouraged, honned, beaten humanity—when the people get sick of life—then the Revolution.

THANKSGIVING

We seek cause for rejoicing. Our thoughts roam the world. England has its masses in poverty with its restless unemployed tramping and their wives and children naked, starved, aweated, enslaved.

Germany, boasting of being the most literate country on earth, has its workers go hungry, bleeding, picking food out of garbage cans and manure heaps.

France with its beautiful rich fields and sunny climate has an intoxicated few well fed and the worms are feasting on the millions of robust producers and creators who gave their lives in a war for dollars.

Italy has a drunken Mephistophiles dancing madly in the midst of explosives and liable to burn up the world.

Hungary is a paradise for white guards and the organized workers flee under cover.

Russia courageous, idealistic, is building under most difficult circumstances because a brutal capitalist world wants no new scheme of economics to succeed. It wishes to continue the mad fray of human exploitation.

America, the land heralded for freedom and opportunity, gives freedom to the Ku Klux Klan, to the most corrupt politicians, to the bootleggers in high places. They are all draped in flags and laugh scornfully at the masses whose toil gives them a miserable gutter existence. Their freedom and opportunity is in the path from their huts to the producing pens. Most of them have never been outside the county. Freedom in America for the vultures, slavery for the workers and prison for honest men who dreamed of showing the masses a way to lift themselves out of their gutter-existence. Not only imprisoned are these courageous souls, who spoke when truth was at a premium, but they are also forgotten by the masses they thought to stir. The majority of the workers yawn and chew their cud and the prison doors stay closed.

America, the richest country in the world, has its children in the sweat-shops, technically perfected to extract the last cent of profit at the cost of child-bodies, brains and spirits. America has hungry people crying for bread in city-pens while corn is burned and potatoes and fruits decay. We have a distorted, confused, wasteful, cluttered, anarchistic system of grabbing for dollars while human beings are trampled and maimed and torn. All are bruised wrecks instead of joyous living expanding personalities that they might be under a scientific system for service.

It is only when we temporarily take our eyes off this earth and its dung-pile civilization and think of the whole big universe with its suns and stars and planets swinging through space that we glimpse harmony. Only then one realizes that human beings agonizing, straining, fighting, starving, glutting are but mere specks compared with the harmony of the universe as a whole. It brings a bit of satisfaction to sense this but it is meager satisfaction when the speck you are, lives and craves expression and is thwarted on every hand. Before there is much basis for a feeling of thankfulness we must have a better showing of earth-harmony and this will never be until the profit system is ended and working human beings eat and create together unmolested by exploiters.

ORGANIZE

To join no organization of any kind, to stand on the side-line and criticize those who are in and making mistakes is easy. It is also stupid. To join a small holy group in which are all agreed upon the exact steps to industrial freedom and to fling bouquets at yourself continually as having the only dope that will bring salvation is also easy. It is also satisfying to some who are in the holy circle but it gets the workers nowhere.

While those who are outside of organizations fling stones and laugh at the stupidities of those who are in, they are flinging stones at a part of themselves. Their cause is with that of the organized workers, not with the organized capitalists. There is no cause between. And in shutting themselves off from organization work they are denying themselves a valuable development that makes for progress.

Take the most reactionary trade union imaginable and the contacts that come, as a natural result of their ordinary activities, sharpen the wits, dispel illusions and prejudices, develop confidence and cooperation and make the chance for progress greater.

The working man who isolates himself from all intellection

ual contacts with his fellow men except those on the same job with him, succumbs to despair. He gets the nothing-matter's-it's-all-useless attitude. This means death.

Join the organization in your locality. Get working-class literature and educate yourself in regard to the world's workers. Familiarize yourself with the aims and programs of all the various groups of workers who are organized to free themselves from industrial slavery. Become intelligent as well as active.

To consider the I. W. W. barn burners is the height of asininity, but there are working people in Duluth who believe that. To think that Communist are bomb throwers is most unintelligent but there are workers who think that. To class Communists, I. W. W., Syndicalists, Socialists, Anarchists, Single Taxers and Non-partisan Leaguers together is capitalist intelligence, but they haven't a monopoly on such absurdities. Many of the workers are not a whit more intelligent.

In organization work there is some chance of getting such stupid ideas knocked out. Witness the members of the reactionary railroad craft unions working for amalgamation. Witness trade union after trade union asking the release of the imprisoned I. W. W. Witness so-called reactionary unions coming to the front for the defense of the Communists in the Michigan case.

Don't be a side-liner, be a get-inner. The world is full of jamfules, but you'll have to learn to work with them towards something more intelligent or die.

Education, industrial skill organization, these are the steps to freedom. They go together. Education will slough off the old prejudices, superstition and traditions which keep various groups of workers apart when they desire to attain the same end. Industrial skill will help the proletariat to furnish the technical skill required for production after the crisis. Skilled bourgeoisie are poor producers at the point of a gun. The proletariat must develop technicians so they need depend only upon themselves.

Organization work will eventually dispose of all craft and national boundaries and unite the world's workers internationally to produce for service. Those who enter a union today because they hope to get six cents more for a day's work, stand a better chance of getting a vision of international working-class solidarity than a side-liner. They also have a chance to make their criticisms count towards more constructive work which the outsider does not have. Don't stand off. Get in! Criticise some but push more. Organize!

ONCE BUT NOT NOW

Once we mourned because Eugene V. Debs warned the Russians to spare the counter-revolutionists. It seemed as if this old warrior had joined the motley group who fight and hinder Russia.

Not Debs! His heart and head and his indomitable spirit are with Russia. He made that evident again in his speech Sunday in Chicago. "Out of the war," he said, "one great good came quite unexpected to the ruling class of the world. That was the soviet republic."

He ignored the bickering between the I. W. W., Communists, Socialist Laborites and Socialists which are always over-emphasized by a petty-brained few who are bound to get into every group. Aware that the ultimate goal of all these groups is industrial freedom he embraced the members of all the groups in his plea for justice. Of the imprisoned I. W. W. and Communists, he said:

"I am almost ashamed to be out of prison while those men are still back of the iron bars. Their continued incarceration is a high compliment from the government of the United States, a government so cowardly it fears those 68 men will overthrow it."

"I would far rather," he continued, "be in jail with my self-respect than on the street with a gag in my mouth. I despise and defy their laws. I am not a citizen of the United States, despite the fact that I was born and raised in Indiana. Because I obeyed my conscience I lost my citizenship, but I would far rather have it that way than keep my citizenship and lose my conscience."

He flayed government by injunction and said that if he had been in Chicago when the recent rail strike injunction was issued he would have "asserted my manhood by defying it and the corporation lawyer-judge that issued it."

The self-styled highbrows in the American labor movement who are ever on the alert for missing Marxian periods and commas will get nowhere with the masses. Neither will the mushroom parrots mouthing empty phrases. But the masses will listen to a Debs who is not a self-seeker nor a quibbler. Until the American Labor movement develops more men whom the masses trust and respect as they do Debs there will not be much guiding towards constructive building when the old capitalist wreck falls.

PIERCE BUTLER TO SERVE HIS CLASS

President Harding's appointment of Pierce Butler, St. Paul corporation lawyer, on the supreme court of the United States seems to the average working man exactly true to class interest. It is to be a war to the finish some time between those who own and those who work so it is reasonable to expect an owning-class president to give such a strategic position as a supreme court judgeship to one who has always staunchly defended all corporate wealth against the public good.

For thirty years Butler has been the attorney for railroads and other public service corporations such as the Minneapolis Gas Company and the Twin City Rapid Transit Company. He has always fought organized labor and has ever opposed viciously any effort of the workers to secure more reasonable rates. He is 100 per cent for the capitalist class. There isn't the shadow of a doubt about it.

However the so-called liberals and progressives, without label, and also some Republicans and Democrats and Farmer Laborites feel that Harding has made another blunder by appointing a man so reactionary. They consider Butler too blatantly against all human rights and think a more liberal defendant of capitalism would serve Harding's interest much better.

Butler has for years been a regent of the Minnesota University at Minneapolis. That his absence will not be greatly mourned by those who have been keenly aware of his suppression of academic freedom is evident from the statement of A. W. Rankin, former professor of education of the University of Minnesota, who said:

"It is true a number of educators were thinking of starting a movement against Butler's appointment when we first got wind of it, but on second thought we decided otherwise.

"If we could get him out of the state by letting him be appointed to the supreme bench we agreed it would be a good thing for the university.

"We knew if we defeated his appointment that President Harding would name someone else of the same stripe; in other words, we decided we would not be doing the supreme court any good, but would be doing the state of Minnesota an injustice by keeping him here as a regent of our university."

AS OTHERS SEE US

Instead of always looking at Communists through the eyes of Communists it is sometimes worth while to look at them through the eyes of outsiders. "Devotees to a New Religion" is what R. H. Markman calls them in the Nov. 1st issue of the *Freeman*. He writes from Bulgaria where he had ample opportunity to observe them. He says in part:

The Communists here, altogether without intending it and knowing it, have started a spiritual movement which in a great many respects is more akin to first-century Christianity than anything the world has seen for centuries.

Of course they are atheists; they hate the Church, despise professional Christians and detest the priests. They also talk incessantly about revolutions, threaten to cut off whole mountains of heads and picture continually the oceans of blood they are about to spill. They give innumerable talks hours and hours in length about Karl Marx, economic determinism, capital and the like. They print an equal number of articles equally long about these same dry and unpleasant subjects. But all of these things are the merest incidentals and are not vitally connected with the Communist movement here.

The early Christians called the expected good times God's kingdom; these folks call it the Communist State and the dictatorship of the proletariat. About the manner in which the new era is to come the Bulgarian Communists agree with the first-century Christians. These latter expected it to come with a bang and a crash, anticipated that most people in the world would be killed off and that the Christian proletariat would triumph, forming a dictatorship of their group under the direction of the Lord. The Bulgarian Communists teach that a big revolution will take place pretty soon, in which the world will be rocked to its foundations, all the iniquitous capitalists will be killed off and the poor will be carried on the clouds of victory to a new kingdom or rather to a new despotism of peace, plenty, brotherliness, justice and knowledge.

This hope has taken a deep hold on the Bulgarian youth and the Bulgarian proletariat—the poor folks. Mothers, tired and sleepy, after a hard week's work, listen for hours to beautiful and glowing descriptions of the new day until they feel upon their faces the refreshing breezes from the promised land, and they go home to work and suffer and sacrifice in patience against the good time that is coming. The young men and women listen to thunderous, prophetic denunciations of present-day wrongs and to stupendous descriptions of to-morrow's peace and justice until their souls become aflame and they go out with foreheads flung high to lead poor deluded mankind into the promised land, into the new city of mankind.

Then again these reds are desperate internationalists. They utterly disregard or even hate their national flag, the Bulgarian flag. That's awful, isn't it? Why, of course it is. But it's vehemently liberating, emancipating and exhilarating. It makes a person over. It recreates him and lifts him up and gives him strength. It goes without saying that such a person is a crack and a fanatic and in all probability is altogether deluded, but he is powerful, especially just after a war, a useless and unlucky war. When you find a group of twenty, thirty, or fifty thousand men who are willing before all the world, before policemen and soldiers, ministers and kings, to trample on their national flag and to spread to the winds a great red international emblem, then you have a stupendous force which is able to rend empires and to draw a great many young people unto it.

What a going concern it all is! What vigor and vim and "pep"! In every city, Communists; in every village, Communists; everywhere, Communist clubs; on every billboard, Communist signs; every holiday, Communist parades; and once every year, a great Communist day when thirty thousand people march through the capital, when everybody goes on a picnic, when all work is stopped and the world left to get along just any old way it can. What the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., the social settlements, the employment agencies, the women's clubs and such organizations do for Americans, the Communists are trying to do for the Bulgarians, and almost no one but the Communist is making an effort to do these things.

Naturally this movement has swept over the whole country, capturing the whole proletariat and most of the youth. Just imagine! there are Communist clubs among army officers and a large proportion of the primary teachers are Communists. At the polls the Communists have elected the municipal Governments in a large number of the more important cities. They represent the second strongest party in Bulgaria. They circulate far more literature than any other group. They are the most vigorous and energetic social group in the land.

Of course they will not start a revolution. They will not undertake to lop off any heads. The red sun of the new day is not going to dawn in a red sky over a red sea of capitalistic blood. They sing about these things and make a great deal of noise about them, but that's all; they take it out in talk. These words are all a part of their theology and mean just as much to them as our theology does to us. They sound well in songs and speeches but they are not meant to be applied. Christians of course do not apply their theology; they do not turn the other cheek or refuse to go to war, or love their enemies so that anyone can notice it. They do not consider that Heaven is important enough to justify them in making much of a sacrifice for it, and they do not believe a thousandth part of what they say about Hell. If they really want help they do not count on angels to bring it and not one Christian in ten thousand really expects the second coming to take place soon. Most Christians are not half as bad as the gory God they proclaim and likewise these Communists are not anywhere near as fierce as their theology. They are respectable and reasonable, have houses and gardens and cows and big families, are as human as anybody else and are working hard so as to lay something by for their old age.

Their movement is not primarily economic, but social and spiritual: It has given the poorer and weaker people self-respect and pride, friends and comrades, hopes and dreams, bright visions of a new day and an exultant feeling that they are the people destined to bring in the golden age—the golden age which will never come. I am, etc.

R. H. MARKHAM.

Good books are to the young mind what the warming sun and the refreshing rain of spring are to the seeds which have lain dormant in the frosts of winter.

—HORACE MANN.

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

It is easy to write a few cheerful words and to send it to the politicals. Do not excuse yourself by saying that you know nothing of interest. They are the same kind of human beings that you are except that they probably take life more seriously and are more courageous than the average slave outside. If you are eating good food and enjoy it forego it for a meal and send them a dollar or two. Many of the men have dependents outside who are in need. Placing a man where he is helpless to earn for years while his loved ones suffer does not bring happiness. Unless a man is almost a saint he becomes bitter. Treat the politicals as you would wish to be treated if you were in their place.

The following is the list of December birthdays:

MILWAUKEE.—Birthdays in December of political prisoners still confined in American prisons are announced by the Workers' National Prison Comfort club, 2923 Chestnut St., as follows:

At Leavenworth, Kan., Box 7: Dec. 4, Harry Gray, Reg. No. 13571.

At Huntsville, Tex., Box 32: Dec. 5, J. M. Rangel.

At Auburn, N. Y., 135 State St.: Dec. 5, L. H. Mizher, Reg. No. 37728.

At Dannenmora, N. Y., Box B: Dec. 10, Paul Manko.

At San Quentin, Cal.: Dec. 13, R. V. Lewis, Reg. No. 33776.

At Boise, Idaho, Box 58: Dec. 15, A. S. Embree; Dec. 19, H. E. Herd.

Cora Meyer, national secretary, invites sympathizers to send birthday postcards and letters to these political prisoners. Money is most advisable for gifts.

F. D. M., a political, whose birthday occurred recently, writes: "The cheery tone of your letter contrasted with the impression made by dozens of postcards sent by well-meaning friends." F. E. writes: "I wish my birthday came once every month, instead of once every year."

SAVE A DOLLAR

If you do not possess a copy of Mary Marcy's rhymes of "Early Juggle Folk" you will want one because it is a very valuable scientific book. She gives in rhyme an outline of events that occurred before history was written. We think she has done this with a master hand. She says the rhymes are all about—

The forming of mountains,
Of volcanic fountains,

The time when our earth was a sun,
Of earthquakes that grumbled,
And shivered and rumbled,
In the days before Man was begun.

(It was then that the trees
Sprung from plants in the seas,
Where there never was life on the shore);
How animals followed,
And basked as they wallowed
In ways never heard of before.

How the creatures were dressed,
How they cy-cads were pressed
In the soil to make wonderful coal;
How geography changed,
And the animals ranged,
And the Ice Era menaced the whole.

How the mammals appeared,
And the monkey-folk reared
Their babies in trees, as they swung.

Although the book was written primarily to interest young boys and girls in the evolution of our own world, it is a book that grown-ups will read with pleasure. It is beautifully illustrated with wood-cuts by Wharton H. Escherick, so it represents the work of two skilful people and is artistic as well as scientific.

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. Instead of buying useless Christmas gifts give your relatives or friends good reading so that they may rid themselves from the curse of the restricting cramping influence of superstition and prejudices.

COMRADE MEETING

Tuesday, December 5th, is Comrade Meeting again. We have not been able to see the program committee, so we do not know what it will be. But it is the same committee that planned the last program. That says enough. Come!

MULLIGAN MIXER SONG

Knead the dough and knead it well,
And bake it hard as the hobs of hell;
What care I if it's heavy and black?
It's good enough for the lumberjack.

For years they've kicked about the chuck,
And blamed the cook and damned the luck;
So what care I if the stew traps flies?
It's up to them to organize.

Thus spake the chef, on a summer's morn
Up from the city of cider and de-horn,
Where Rollers howl, and the wind blows free,
And hypocrits prate of Liberty.

Many a man has enjoyed my stews,
As he hit the camp, after the booze,
And many a scissor developed the gout
After I had taken the wrinkles out.

The gravy is thick with lumps of flour,
The mush is burnt and the beans are sour,
The hot-cakes may be as tough as staves—
They're all good enough for contended slaves.

So what care I if I burn the hash,
Their bellies are used to raisin-mash;
I'll have more concern about their health,
When we get the industrial commonwealth.

—Exchange.

VERY ODD!

The Arbitrator wonders if the faculties of some of our great universities have not "come across the poem attributed to Stefansson, said to be the shortest complete poem in the English language":

How odd
That God
Should choose
The Jews!

In these days when the scholarships in all the higher institutions of learning are almost universally carried off by Jews and the wise faculties are working their excuse factories over time to keep the Jews out, it surely brings a smile.