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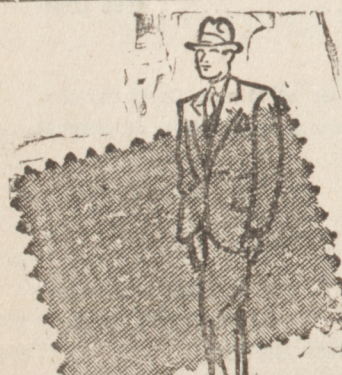
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NATIONALISM, THE SOVIET CRIME; LEADERS GALORE ARE FALLING PREY TO CHARGES HARD TO UNDERSTAND

It Begins To Be Apparent That Such Words As "Spy" and "Fascist" Assume Broad Meaning In The Russian Lexicon; Death or Disgrace Catch Up With Some Who Merely Had Bad Company

(By Joseph Barnes)
MOSCOW — "Bourgeois nationalists," allied with "Fascist spies" and "wreckers," have been bogymen of the Soviet Union's recent heresy hunt. The first epithet has been applied alike to Russians, Tartars, Uzbeks and Jews. "Bourgeois nationalists" have been found among members of Siberian tribes which have never been bourgeois, and which became nations only by grace of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 and its championship, in theory, of the right of all peoples to self-determination.

The use of this epithet, like the others with which Soviet leaders have recently been denounced, has its domestic purposes. These are educational and grow out of the Communist conviction that the Soviet Union faces imminent danger of attack. Only as the political house cleaning approaches the sweeping stage is it possible to discover what crimes have been covered by the indictment.

It is now becoming apparent, for example, that "Fascist spy" is by no means a simple phrase. Many men who did little more than wonder about their own revolution in the 'dark years' of 1932 and 1933 have recently discovered that their speculating was done in bad company. In many midnight conversations of those years, it now appears, sincere but worried Communists, wondering what would follow any upset of the Stalin regime, spoke too freely to real conspirators. The N.K.V.D., or political police, has been too busy in recent months to draw nice distinctions among such men.

Similarly, the word "sabotage" has been seen to cover a multitude of sins. Wreckers, it is now apparent, include a fair number of men who really fought the Bolsheviks with economic weapons; another group who believed themselves neutral and hedged their bets against the future with all the devices of bureaucracy, and a third group who were honest revolutionaries, but tired. These last have been the victims of a sort of revolutionary obsolescence, as remorseless as the depreciation of physical machinery.

Who are the "bourgeois nationalists?" They fit, like the other Lucksters of the Bolshevik heaven, into no easy pattern. Some of them have been, beyond any doubt, desperate counter-revolutionaries who sought to overthrow the Soviet Union by splitting away its component parts. The civil war and emigration by no means accounted for all the bitter men who had cause to hate the Bolsheviks. Recent months have shown how many of them, fifteen years ago "went underground."

Some Real Reds Fall

Many others apparently believed themselves to be sincere Communists. Disgrace has overtaken these apparently because they failed to understand the paradox of the Soviet Union's national policy. Those who were themselves members of national minorities forgot the Bolshevik goal of a working-class dictatorship submerging all national differences. Those who were great Russians, working in the administration of Georgia, or Burvat-Mongolia, forgot that the Communist formula for achieving this working class unity includes the preliminary strengthening of the Soviet Union's national units.

A venerable Abkhassian peasant, living on the shores of the Black Sea summed up this policy more neatly than all the Marxist scholars who have labored to explain the opportunism of a policy which has substituted for Caesar's "Divide and rule" a new maxim: "Disunite in order to unite."

"If an elephant sees some children playing in the open," he said, "and, wishing to protect them from a storm lies down upon them, he smothers them all, even though he does keep the storm away from them. But the handful of Abkhassians that we are is really protected from the storm by the Soviet elephant, because Stalin holds his legs up."

Some Have Been Smothered

No matter how high Stalin held the elephant's legs, some of the Soviet children have been smothered. Consider the record of the last six months.

In the Ukraine, most important of the minor nationalities of the Soviet Union because of its wealth and size and because of its attraction to German eyes, the president of the republic's Council of People's Commissars, Lyubchenko, has committed suicide. Its Communist party secretary, Postishev, candidate of the party's all-powerful Politburo, has been disgraced and demoted to a minor post on the Volga.

In White Russia, possible battleground of the next European war, Chervyakov, chairman of the republic's Central Executive Committee

and one of the Presidents of the Soviet Union, has committed suicide. Goloded, president of the Council of People's Commissars, has been disgraced and arrested. Six of the republic's Commissars have shared his fate.

The Toll in Georgia

Transcaucasia, where the Czar's armies fought a never-ending war to subdue a troublesome people, has fared no better. In Georgia, for example, the birthplace of Josef Stalin himself, Mgaloblishvili and Agnishvili, president and vice-president of the Council of People's Commissars, have been arrested as counter-revolutionaries. Eight of the republic's most respected Bolsheviks, including Budu Mdivani and Eliava, have been executed for nationalist activities which included terrorism.

In central Asia there has been the same story. Uzbekistan, for example, has lost Khodzhaev, chairman of the republic's Council of People's Commissars, and his short-lived successor, Karimov, both of whom have been denounced as "enemies of the people." The party's second secretary Tsekher is under arrest, and its first secretary, Akmal Ikramov, an Uzbek who had risen to a place in the central committee of the All-Union Communist party, is under serious fire at present for having harbored nationalists in his provincial nest.

Tadjikistan has witnessed in recent weeks the disgrace of Rakhim-bayev and Shotomov, president of the republic's Council of People's Commissars and chairman of the Central Executive Committee. In Turkmenistan, Kirgizia and Kabakhistan the same grim story has been told.

The list is as long as the republics of the Soviet Union. The Far Eastern Territory, Buryat Mongolia, Bashkiria, Karelia, the Crimea, Birobidjan—the Jewish republic, Abkhassia, Mordovia—in every corner of the Soviet Union, according to the N.K.V.D., officials in high places were scheming to overthrow Soviet rule in favor of some kind of local nationalism, or to crush the young national republics under a campaign of Great Russian chauvinism.

This breakdown may be more apparent than real. In spite of the self-indictment which the Communist party has drawn up in recent months two curious facts remain unexplained which challenge any assumption that Stalin's regime has been seriously weakened. The first is that none of the arrested leaders has managed, in spite of all their revolutionary training, to publish or be-

NUMBER GIVEN RELIEF IS DECREASED BY ONE-THIRD

Can. Recipients, Apart From Farmers, 468,114 in Sept. Compared to 722,515 A Year Ago

OTTAWA, Oct. 22—Relief recipients in Canada apart from farmers, and their dependents numbered 468,114 in September, compared with 722,515 in September, 1936. Hon. Norman Rogers, Minister of Labor, said in a statement issued over the week-end. The number of farmers and dependents assisted was given as \$63,080 for September, but no comparable figure was given for last year.

The statement, in part, follows: Preliminary reports from the Provinces indicate that during September, exclusive of farm operators, 101,768 heads of families in the Dominion were in receipt of material aid. Dependents numbered 333,496, and there were also assisted 32,850 individual persons, the total number in receipt of such aid being 468,114.

Comparable figures for September, were 152,946 family heads, 517,579 dependents, 51,990 individual cases with a total of 722,515 persons assisted.

The reduction in numbers afforded non-agricultural material aid in the Dominion this September is 33.1 per cent in respect to heads of families, and the total number is increased by more than 35 per cent.

quench a single word of protest. To Russians, this is substantial evidence both of their guilt and of their own realization that they had many of them unconsciously, helped to betray their own revolution.

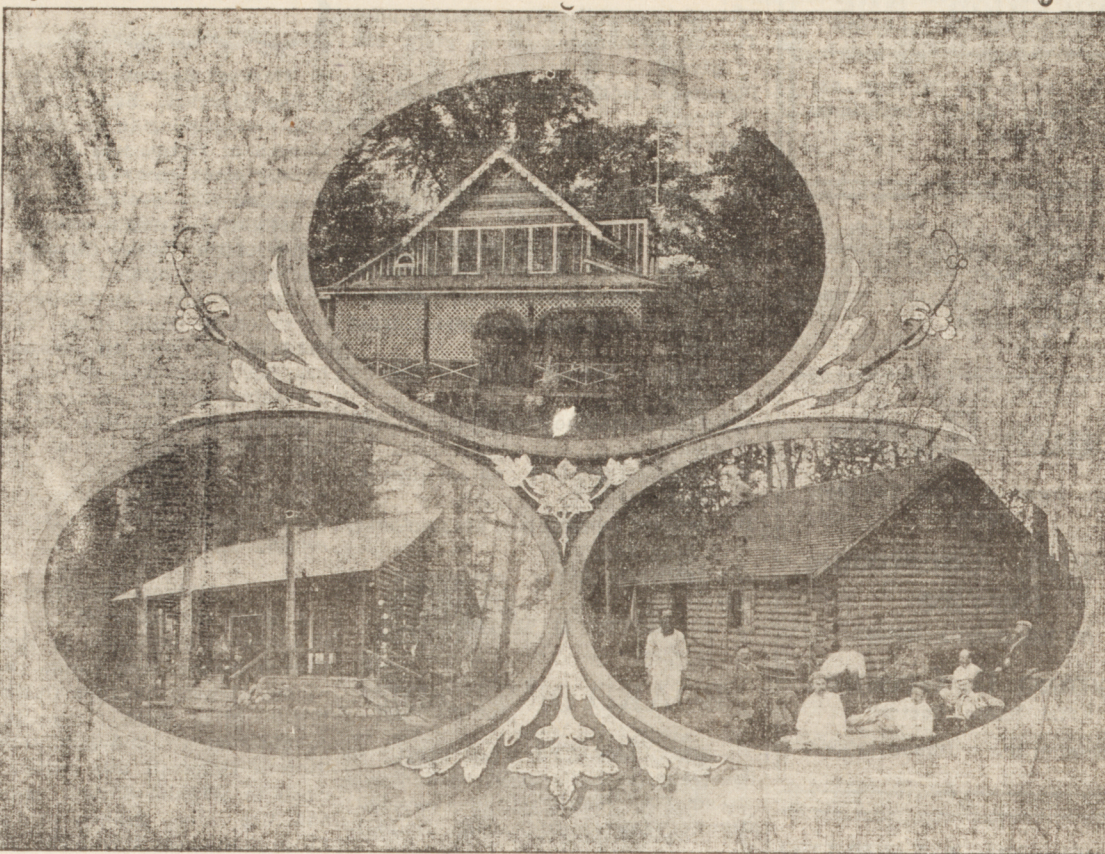
People Not Aroused

The second is that the masses of the people, in these minor republics as in Moscow or Leningrad, have greeted the arrests of their leaders with either apathy or distinct approval. The testimony of impartial observers has been all but unanimous that these tribes and peoples have enjoyed in recent years a cultural autonomy and an economic prosperity unknown to them for generations.

The explanation of the plague of heresy among them may lie in the truism, which Bolsheviks are reluctant to admit, that the prejudices of centuries are not melted down in two decades. There were 174 different peoples listed in the 1926 Soviet census, seventy-four of them having no written language. The Stalinist Constitution was ratified last December by a Congress of Soviets representing sixty-three distinct national groups.

Each of these peoples has lived through recent years in some form of alliance with the Bolsheviks. The number and variety of the alliances was in themselves enough to make the system sag and creak.

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MINORCA TAKES SPOTLIGHT FROM EUROPE'S STAGE

As Many Times Before In War History, Island Is Pawn In Bigger Game

PARIS, Oct. 22—Minorca and Majorca, two small islands in the western Mediterranean, are the most important points in the military map of Europe this week.

But in every European capital naval experts are studying the Mediterranean and sticking their pins on these two islands, the largest of the Balearic group. For last week France, and Great Britain came to an understanding. France bowed to the will of the British Cabinet and agreed to give belligerent rights to Spanish rebel forces after the withdrawal of Italian troops fighting in Spain. In return, Great Britain bowed to France and agreed to take immediate action about the maintenance on Majorca of Italian warships, troops and planes.

Paris and London have learned in the last year that Premier Benito Mussolini is an expert poker player. He bluffs and gets away with it. He himself is seldom bluffed. So they do not have much hope of persuading him to evacuate Majorca. But France wants a clear road to her North African possessions, and so French and British warships will keep a close watch on Minorca from now on.

Minorca, it is argued, must be kept open to offset Italian strength in Majorca. Meanwhile, these Spanish islands will be handled with kid gloves by diplomats and statesmen.

They could be the scene of an incident that might spread to war.

The islands are placed strategically. Minorca has a potentially good naval base in Port Mahon. Majorca has a fair one in Palma. Port Mahon is about 250 miles from the French naval base of Toulon, from Algiers and from Valencia. From Palma to the northwest it is only 133 miles to Barcelona to Valencia.

At present Majorca and Iviza, another island in the Balearic group, and in sympathy with the insurgents and under Italian domination. Only Minorca remains loyal to the Valencia government.

Military history knows the Balearics well. They have figured in every Mediterranean war. During the long duel between Rome and Carthage, Minorca was seized by the Romans. In 903 the islands were overwhelmed by the great Islamic wave, and did not return to Western civilization until conquered by King James of Aragon in the thirteenth century.

In the war of the Spanish succession, when the Hapsburgs fought the Bourbons for the crown of Spain, England intervened on the side of the Archduke of Austria and sailed her fleet along the Catalan coast, where his main strength lay. England need-

ed Minorca as a base, and seized it from the French. When the war ended and Charles gave up the claim, England left the Catalans to Bourbon vengeance, and retained Minorca as well as Gibraltar by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

Great Britain held on until 1782, except for the years 1756-63, when it lost it to the French. Lord Nelson realized Minorca's importance and used it as a base during the French wars until England lost it forever at the peace of Amiens in 1803, when it was ceded to Spain.

At the opening of the present Spanish civil war, all the islands except Minorca declared for the rebels. But the Catalans landed forces on Majorca and Iviza, and tried to win them to loyalist Spain. Later the Catalans reported they had been driven out by Italians.

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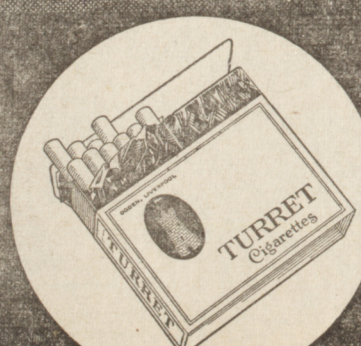
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