

When the Army of a Nation Gets to the Point of Refusing to Fire Upon the Workers a Revolution Is Almost Accomplished

—LINCOLN STEFFENS

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TROOPS TO KILL THE UNION MEN WHO REFUSE TO STARVE TO DEATH

Uncle Sam, Master Scabber, Will Help Mine Owners Make Peons of Workers

The so-called “emergency coal control plan” went into effect July 26. This plan is the contribution of the wise heads of President Harding, Secretary Hoover and some captains of industry. The coal, under this plan is to be routed to the points where the need is greatest. But the coal that is left is dwindling daily. They admit there is danger of industry coming to a standstill. In spite of the protection that our government offers strike-breakers it seems that the workers will not scab for a government any more than for an operator. Almost no coal is being mined. No new product has been attained from Pennsylvania's unionized coal fields since troop protection has been furnished and nonunion production in West Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky has decreased far below levels maintained in June.

Uncle Sam's flag waving and attempting to force men to produce profit for the absentee mine owners is not very successful so far.

The strikes of the railroad men and the miners are dovetailed very closely now. Any action in one group is seen to react immediately on the other. The strength of the striking shop men grows daily. “Outlaw strikes” are increasing. Notwithstanding the effort of the fake leader Grabel to hold the Brotherhood of the Maintenance of Way workers in check, 35,000 of them walked out in spite of Grabel's threats and orders. 90,000 members of the American Federation of Rail Workers voted to join the strike.

The class war has gotten to the stage when the miners and shop men have the big interests scared. So at their behest federal agencies are mobilizing to be ready to force workers at the point of a bayonet.

In 1917 the government mobilized to fight the devilish Huns to secure the blessings of “democracy” for us. Today it mobilizes to fight the devilish workers who dare to ask for regular work and a paltry increase in wages. Our government mobilizes and under cover of the flag will help the mine owners make peons of the workers.

The capitalist system of industry is a wonderful system. Its chief exponents say they cannot afford to pay those who do the work more than a wage fit for beasts to exist on and then spend millions in an effort to get scabs. Of course the capitalists defend such a system because they have millions of dollars in it that they claim although the workers produced it. But it is strange that any human being who is a wage slave should still think that such a system should be perpetuated. Most of them are getting wise. They will organize to wipe it out and replace it by a saner system based on service.

“INALIENABLE RIGHT” OF SCABS TO WORK SAFEGUARDED BY STATE POLICE FORCE

(Federated Press.)

Boston. — With only the thinnest camouflage, everything is being fixed for the use of state troops against the railroad workers on strike in Massachusetts. President James H. Hustis, Boston & Maine railroad, and Gov. Channing H. Cox were in conference, discussing ways and means of protecting railroad property. The governor denied that a specific request for troops had been made by Hustis, but intimated that the general question was under consideration.

Maj.-Gen. Clarence R. Edwards, commanding the first corps area, is making regular reports to the war department in Washington concerning conditions in his section. Following a long conference with the governor, Gen. Edwards ordered that all leaves in the first corps be cancelled.

The newly organized state constabulary and all other units of the state police force have been ordered mobilized by Gov. Cox to safeguard “the inalienable right to work.” The order does not apply to the national guard.

Following the governor's action, the commissioner of public safety rushed constabulary to East Billerica and North Deerfield, railroad centers. Minor disorders were reported from these places.

The governor's proclamation reads in part: “The Commonwealth of Massachusetts cherishes its good name and is ready now to use every force at its command, whether civil or military, to protect the avenues of transportation, to prevent intimidation, to suppress violence and to maintain the public safety.”

Detroit. — It is reported from Lansing that Gov. Alex J. Groesbeck has asked Col. Roy C. Vandercok, director of the State department of public safety, to investigate reports that machine guns have been concealed by U. S. Marshal Frank T. Newton in the \$1,000,000 Pere Marquette roundhouse at Saginaw, for the protection of guards, strikebreakers and property.

The governor is quoted as saying that if the machine gun nest is found to exist he will order Vandercok to withdraw his state troops from the district and withdraw all other state support in the policing of the district.

Marshal Newton, testifying before Federal Judge Arthur J. Tuttle here recently, criticized the state troops and the governor for refusing to suppress picketing at the Saginaw roundhouse. Following Newton's testimony the judge referred to “certain men who were afraid of other men because they belonged to a labor union.” But on the next day Newton, arriving in Saginaw with 14 deputies, had to be rescued from the hands of strikers who thought Newton and his guards were strikebreakers employed by the railroad. The troopers escorted Newton to the roundhouse in safety.

The suspension of passenger trains continues on the Wabash railroad.

Judge Tuttle's indignation is not heightened, possibly, by the fact that he is the absentee owner of large apple orchards near Leslie, Michigan.

STATIONARY FIRE- MEN AND OILERS STRIKE IN N. Y.

(By The Federated Press)

NEW YORK. — Two thousand members of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers in the metropolitan district have quit work in response to the strike call issued by Timothy Healy, president of the union. So eager were the firemen and oilers to throw in their lot with the striking shopmen that several hundred quit work before the time set by President Healy.

I. W. W. Organizer Tortured by Brutes

(Federated Press.)

Chicago. — Demand for investigation of the torturing and tar and feathering of William Bugher, organizer, Oil Workers' Industrial union, near Shamrock, Okla., has been made in a telegram sent to Gov. J. B. A. Robertson of that state by Harry Feinberg, secretary, General Defense Committee here.

Bugher is in a critical condition following a beating by three men who kidnapped him from the porch of the Hotel Erin in Shamrock, a town in the oil fields 22 miles southwest of here. In a lonely woods they stripped him naked, and fastened his wrists to a tree limb above his head. They asked him why he belonged to the I. W. W. He said: “I have a right as an American to belong to any organization that is not against the government.” He explained that the I. W. W. newspapers were accorded second-class mailing privileges by the federal authorities. Each of Bugher's captors then flogged him with a split strap, which cut into his flesh with every blow. They finished their work by tarring and feathering him.

Cold rain began to fall as they left. For two hours Bugher struggled before he freed his wrists and tore the bandage from his eyes. Through the darkness he stumbled back to Shamrock. At the Hotel Erin he was told that he had 30 minutes to leave town. Bugher took a train to another community, where friends are caring for him.

International Tool Drive For Soviet Russia Gaining

Workers all over the world are collecting tools and machinery for Soviet Russia. A big drive was conducted in Germany and England and netted a large amount of machinery.

The drive in America is just getting under way. All the propaganda and publicity material has been sent out and the comrades are putting all their energy, enthusiasm and vigor into the work.

Unique Methods of Carrying on the Work.

The machine that is capturing the fancy of the FSR branches is the tractor. Each town is promising to purchase several of them “to have one working in Soviet Russia for us.”

YONKERS is buying a tractor, which it will exhibit in a window for a month and then use for propaganda on the streets. NEW YORK will buy one or more tractors as a starter, using the same methods

I. W. W. Out on Bail After Four Years of Outrageous Treatment

(The Federated Press.)

New York. — Faced with the alternative of spending probably many months of imprisonment on Ellis Island or of joining the Spanish army and fighting the Moors in North Africa, Ramon Fernandez declares he would rather die in prison than fight for imperialism anywhere. He now has been released from Ellis Island on bail furnished by the Workers' Defense union, after having been held for deportation since February, 1918. His story is one of almost unbelievable brutality on the part of governments which treated him as if he had no right to stay on earth because of his opinions.

Once, during his incarceration, he was taken to Spain, but was refused admittance there for technical reasons. The reason for his exclusion, he says, was his radical beliefs.

“The Spanish government,” he said, “has learned to fear workers who come from other countries with ideas of liberty. But when the American government sought to force Spain to admit me, the Spanish officials attempted to compromise by offering me a chance to fertilize North Africa with my bones—all for the benefit of Spanish capitalism. I declined the offer—without thanks.”

Fernandez was arrested in Seattle, Wash., and charged with criminal syndicalism, and sentenced to from one to fourteen years in state prison. He was pardoned by the governor after having served three months in order to permit the department of labor to deport him. From the Washington prison he was taken to the immigration station at Seattle, where he was held until March, 1920, and then brought here to Ellis Island.

In November, 1921, he was deported to Spain. There he was refused admission because he was born in Cuba, although at the time of his birth Cuba was a Spanish possession. Then he was brought back to the United States and again imprisoned on Ellis Island. Last March he was put on Ward Line steamer bound for Cuba. There he was refused admission because the Cuban officials declared he had lost his citizenship by not having offered his services to the Cuban government when it declared war on Germany.

Workers in the offices of the Workers' Defense union, inured as they are to stories of cruelty and injustice, declare that the conditions under which he was forced to make the trip to Cuba and back were the most inhuman and revolting they ever heard. Fernandez was strapped up to a stanchion of the ship, with his arms fastened high above his head. He was forced to stay in that position most of the daytime of the trips going and coming. During part of the return trip, he said, he was almost suspended by the wrists.

When he was returned to Ellis Island for the second time the immigration officials told him if he was not wanted in any other country, this country had plenty of places to keep him as long as he lived. It was then that the Spanish counsel here offered him a chance to join the Spanish army.

of reaching the people in the streets. ROCKAWAY, N. Y., is adopting the same method.

Reports are coming from towns all over the country. The Tool Drive has caught the imagination of workers everywhere, and they are realizing that by participation in the reconstruction of Soviet Russia, they are not only helping to feed Soviet Russia today, but are helping her to prevent famines altogether.

PROMINENT MEN AND WOMEN BROUGHT GREAT PETITION URGING AMNESTY

INSPIRED BY PRESIDENTS CORDIAL RECEPTION, THEY HOPE FOR EARLY ACTION

By John Nicholas Bessel.
Defense News Service Staff Correspondent.

Washington, D. C. — Prominent men and women who came from various parts of the country July 19, bearing to President Harding a great petition urging general amnesty are returning to their homes with fresh hope of early action by the President on the cases of numerous war opinion prisoners of which there now remain 86 in federal penitentiaries. This hope was inspired by the cordial reception given to them by the Chief Executive in an audience which extended nearly half an hour.

This petition contained the signatures of more than three hundred thousand Americans who contend that the war opinion prisoners ought to be released in view of amnesty proclamations by all of America's Allies in the war. Ever since March 1 the petition forms which made up the great roll, three feet in diameter, which was laid before the President, has been circulated in all states and island possessions of the United States by the General Defense Committee of Chicago.

Speakers at the hearing were introduced by the Rev. R. A. McGowan, of the National Catholic Welfare Council. These speakers were Paul F. Brissenden of Columbia University; the Rev. Doremus Scudder, of Boston, officially representing the Federal Council of Churches; James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; Jack Bradon of Minneapolis, national president of the World War Veterans; Morris Hillquit, of New York, officially representing the Socialist Party; and William B. Harvey, of Philadelphia, officially representing the American Society of Friends.

The President received the delegation cordially and stood while the visitors presented their case. Mr. Brissenden informally presenting the petition, emphasized the point that those present came not to ask for action on any individual case, but to urge upon the President the logic and justice of releasing all of the men still held as war opinion prisoners. He said that the majority of the prisoners held on political charges in Leavenworth had steadfastly refused to make applications for clemency because they contended they were convicted not as individuals but as participants in a conspiracy, and that they were convicted mainly because they were members of an unpopular organization, the Industrial Workers of the World.

Speaking for the great body of Protestant churches in America the Rev. Scudder offered the contention that the offenses charged against the 87 prisoners were war time offenses and ought to be no longer charged against them inasmuch as the war was ended. He said that so long as the Espionage Act was a law, so long the deeds of these men constituted a crime, but with the repeal of that act in 1921, Mr. Scudder said it ceased to be law and their deeds ceased to be criminal. He spoke of the grant of amnesty which President Lincoln made to all political prisoners, even those who had taken up arms against the Union.

It was explained to the President by James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, that that body had at two successive conventions gone

on record for general amnesty. “Not only did the convention delegates vote in favor of this,” declared Mr. Maurer, “but they made it a point to test out the sentiment among the rank and file of our organization throughout Pennsylvania, and we found that the rank and file was overwhelmingly with us.”

“Back of the action of our State Federation is a similar vote of the American Federation of Labor on the question of amnesty. Not one of the 86 men in whose behalf we come are members of my organization but we of the Pennsylvania Federation and the American Federation of Labor are anxious to see justice done to these prisoners and because they are brother workers.”

“It is not the rank and file of the ex-service men in America who are objecting to the release of the politicals,” President Harding was told by Jack Bradon, national head of the World War Veterans, an organization of approximately 600,000 ex-service men. “In the organization which I represent there are great numbers of disabled soldiers, men who gave blood and limb to the cause of democracy. They believe, as we believe, that one of the cardinal tenets of democracy is freedom of expression. It is for that reason chiefly that I was sent here today to speak for these veterans, and to urge that you release those who stand convicted on war opinion charges.”

Morris Hillquit said that while he spoke officially for the Socialist Party, he did not come to plead for any Socialist cause, but for the cause of American justice and fairness. “During the past two years,” said Mr. Hillquit, “the great majority of the war time prisoners have been set free, by expiration of sentence, by executive clemency, or by parole. Most of those now remaining in prison on Espionage Act charges are members of the I. W. W., an organization of unskilled migratory workers. There is a widespread sentiment that they are held in jail not because they were more culpable than those that have been freed, but because they are poorer, humbler and more friendless. Just because of this condition justice requires that they be freed immediately by act of general amnesty.”

Voicing the beliefs of the American Society of Friends, William B. Harvey suggested that the continued retention of the political prisoners behind the bars had been the cause of a great deal of discontent among the workers of the United States and that if the President could see his way clear to grant amnesty, one important reason for unrest would be eradicated.

During the hearing, the question of what constituted a political prisoner was raised. For the benefit of the President, Morris Hillquit gave this definition: “A political prisoner is one convicted not of a common law crime involving moral turpitude, but of a violation of a special statute enacted in a political emergency which has since passed.”

President Harding indicated to the amnesty delegates that the cases of the eighty-six prisoners for whom they spoke would receive attention as soon as other responsibilities now pressing upon the Chief Executive were disposed of. He made it clear that the Government was entirely disposed to be just to all the men concerned.

The delegates left with the im-

pression that no conviction would be allowed to stand solely because the prisoner was a member of the I. W. W. Several of the visitors declared that they were greatly encouraged by the attitude displayed at the White House.

Those who carried the big petition to the President included the following:

Dr. James P. Warbasse, president of the Cooperative League, representing the cooperative movement of the United States, having 750,000 members, which at its last Congress, 1920, passed resolutions favoring general amnesty.

Miss Helen Todd of the Farmer-Labor Party which received about 250,000 votes in the last Presidential election.

J. A. R. Hopkins, national chairman of the Committee of Forty-eight.

Mrs. George Odell, past national chairman of the Women's International League.

Mrs. Rosa Yates Forrester, district chairman of Women's Trade Union League.

Mrs. Rachel Davis-Dubois, executive secretary of the Women's International League.

Mrs. Robert La Follette.

Bishop Paul Jones, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Mrs. Lorado Taft of Chicago.

Mrs. William Vaughn Moody of Chicago.

Prince Hopkins, publisher of Labor Age, New York City.

Robertson Trowbridge, New York City.

Francis Fisher Kane, former U. S. District Attorney for Eastern Pennsylvania.

Clarence C. Hoag, of Philadelphia, members of the Society of Friends.

Mrs. Maurice Weyl, Pennsylvania Women's International League.

Eva Farrell, Philadelphia Young Democracy.

Caroline Katzenstein, member of the Ethical Culture Society.

Ida G. Jaffe, of the Philadelphia Women's Economic Club.

Ruth May, Pennsylvania Committee for General Amnesty.

Ruth Verlenden, chairman Pennsylvania Branch of the Women's International League.

Mrs. George Trowbridge Hendrie, of Detroit leader in the Michigan suffrage movement.

CHAMPAIGN, Ill. — Finding themselves obliged to kill their own fathers if ordered to do so, is the situation which confronts several members of the local militia. When they were induced into the militia they took oath to “obey orders,” and whenever those “orders” are to shoot to kill, that is exactly what they are supposed to do.

There are several instances in which local railroad strikers have sons in the militia, at least one has a son-in-law, and several strikers themselves are now on duty at Bloomington, guarding strikebreakers which have been imported by the Chicago & Alton railroad to crush the shopmen's strike.

RATHENAU'S MURDER AND THE POLICY OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT

By PAUL FROELICH (Berlin).

The murder of Rathenau, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, is the present culminating point of a powerful nationalist movement. Its immediate aim is not the seizure of power by a Monarchist Putsch. But it aims at the preparation of opinion through the encouragement and incitement of the reactionaries and the terrorizing of its opponents. Therefore nationalist demonstrations, regimental festivals, parades before Hindenburg and various Hohenzollern and Wittelsbach princelings bomb attacks on Communist papers and book-stores and assassinations of politicians are methodically used to inflame public opinion.

The danger for the petty-bourgeois cabinet today at the head of the Government is as great for its individual members as for the government as a whole. This the Government knows and it was expressed in the pointed speech of Chancellor Wirth which proclaimed the guilt of the chauvinistic parties and threatened a sharp fight against the Monarchists, calling on the strength of the working class.

The words of the Chancellor awakens such hopes in all those who are only accustomed to listen to words. But the first "deed" of his Government was the deepest disappointment to the Left and awakened a scarcely concealed disdain among the right. The petty-bourgeois democracy in present-day Germany is no Jacobin Society in spite of its brave words. It is not even a caricature of the Jacobins of the Frankfurt Parliament. It deserves in an even greater measure the scorn of Karl Marx for the Paris Mountain Party in 1848. The contradiction between the mighty phrases and the weak deeds of this people is unexampled in history.

This contradiction becomes crasser and more ridiculous at each expression of the Government. During the Erzberger murder we heard the same brave words. Mr. Wirth assured us that during civil war he would be found on the side of the barricade where the workers stood. Then followed the weak extraordinary decree against murder propaganda which in practice was used only against the Communist. But even that did not satisfy the counter-revolution. It desired a complete triumph. The Barbarian Government declared war on the Government of the Reich. The result was the complete capitulation of

the Reich before Kahr-Bavaria. The Reich Government renounced its sovereignty in Bavaria. Nothing could be undertaken against the center of the murder organizations. The Monarchists remained the masters of the situation and this found its expression in the increased exploitation and suppression of the working class.

The Government has now picked up the threads of the matter just as they lay before the Erzberger case. It has confirmed its former capitulation before Kahr-Bavaria by renouncing the unconditional fulfillment of its orders in that state. Today the Orgesch-Government may openly state that it will wage war against political murder and the Reich that it will respect Bavaria's will in this matter. Over the so-called National Supreme Court any man with the slightest political understanding must laugh.

What are the causes of the weakness of this Government? It is a Government which owes its being to its assassination of the revolution. It is therefore incapable of fighting the counter-revolution. It has not a single instrument of power. The whole apparatus of administration is tainted with Monarchism. Any measure decided upon is sabotaged by this administration. No steps are ever taken against the murderers. They have their accomplices in the police from the highest to the lowest authorities. The law is also involved. It tramples over the Government and the Republic. The Monarchist murderers feel nowhere safer than in its arms. The acquittal of Killinger, accomplice in the Erzberger murder, has lately proved that. It has encouraged the murder gangs to further deeds.

The military is not in the hands of the Government. The Reichswehr as well as the Schutzpolizei is led by Monarchist officers. The last few weeks have proved that in the Monarchist parades and regimental festivals. The republican elements have long been expelled from these organizations. The Orgesch therefore has well-organized troops which in civil war could prevail against the military forces of the Reich even if these latter were filled with republican sentiment.

To this the Government is bound by the needs of its policy. It pursues a bourgeois "fulfillment" policy. It cannot carry this out without the approval of big capital which can precipitate financial and political

bankruptcy through the power of its capital. Therefore this Government of Socialists and bourgeois democratic elements must not only pursue an outspoken Stinnes policy. The Stinnes Party jealously sees to it that no political situation brings the working class any strengthening of its power. If therefore stands protectively over the Monarchists whose military and murder organizations are supported mainly by big capital. On this protecting wall every political action of the Government breaks.

Now comes the question how this Government exists without power. How does it come that it is not overcome by these powers. The reason lies in the position of power possessed by the working class. The Government lives because it is the balancing point between the two real powers, capitalist counter-revolution and proletarian revolution. Politically, capital is in preponderance because of the inactivity of the proletariat. Therefore big capital compels one concession after the other from the Government. Therefore the Government can wage no war against its sworn enemies, the Monarchists. Therefore the exploitation and political suppression of the working class wax ever intenser.

But the economic and political counter-revolution can only gain ground step by step. In a fight for power it would call forth the active resistance of the whole proletariat and would endanger its positions. The working class is the strongest political power in Germany.

Why then is this power not put to use? It shrinks before the necessary force and fierceness of the fight. It follows for the most part therefore—though with ever greater mistrust—the petty bourgeois leaders who fear the social revolutionary character of the fight and satisfy themselves with sham actions. The German working class is in the same situation as the working classes of France during the long period of reaction after the fall of the Bastille. Great provocations and great dangers are needed for the German proletariat to learn this. The counter-revolutionary attacks may mean this provocation. The sham actions of the Social Democrats hinder the development of the energy of the masses. But they lead in spite of the wishes of the leaders to the mobilization of the masses.

—Inter. Press.

MOSCOW CONTRASTS

By Anise.

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent.)

A gaunt beggar-woman sitting in the dust of the streets, whining for paper rubles.

A barefoot child, lifting arms ecstatically out of rags gray with age, to dance Isadora Duncan steps across uneven cobbles.

Lilies of the valley on sale, and lilacs, and cigarettes, and little bread rolls, on all the street corners.

Fifth underfoot, rain-washed air above and sun shining on the gold roofs of Moscow.

Five priests shot for inciting pogroms and withholding church treasures from the famine. The patriarch on trial. War between church and government.

At the same time giddy children celebrate Pentecost with government autos and government gasoline, careering madly through the streets in giant auto-trucks, waving green boughs, driving all before them. The elevator of the foreign office in festooned in green for the Christian festival.

I pay \$5 for a night in a dingy room on the fourth floor of the hotel, with all servants absent because of holiday, the elevator not working, the toilet broken and no water pressure anywhere, sleeping in a rain-wet suit because of lack of bedding. This because I am a correspondent with money.

My friend gets a \$5 wage per month, and flourishes happily, refusing a job at ten times the sum. This because she is a government stenographer and gets rations and fuel and lodging.

Speculators rampant with fortunes from grain hoarding and juggling of vanishing rubles, splurge through the restaurants and theatres as if they owned Russia.

Then the government advertises a \$10,000,000 bread loan, selling at low cost, flour to be delivered after harvest—thus, at one blow

cutting the cost of food, forcing speculators to unload and stabilizing the ruble.

Pavements broken to dust. Wind-dowless shops. Gaunt houses with plumbing wrecked by fuelless winters. A city lacking in every corner the tiniest repairs.

And today opens the Kashira electric power station, first link in the electrification of Russia, begun two years ago in the darkest hours of the revolution. The highest economic official of the republic presides, the orchestra of the Grand theater makes music, and an old blind peasant poet, led by a young boy, stands in working clothes to improvise an ode on the Triumph of Labor over Chaos! Chief Engineer Zuruka and 20 ablest workmen honored as heroes!

A million mistakes a minute, a million petty grafts, the old inertia, ignorance, sabotage, greed, spite.

And a cool, lean will, from which all superfluous flesh of emotion is long worn away, notes all these evils with cynical clearness as parts of a problem, through which it drives relentlessly, retreating here, advancing there, towards an end which lies beyond the generations.

DINNER PAIL EPICS

By BILL LLOYD.

(By The Federated Press.)

Our Harding, so the papers say, spoke out on Independence day, and reading what the papers said, I think our Harding has turned red. I hardly could believe my eyes, but there it was it type of size. "Men has the right to work," sez he. "Good Lord!" sez I. "Can such things be?" Why that is what the wobbles say, and have been preaching night and day. Think I, now Wall Street will be sore and will be shedding Harding's gore.

But I reads on and then I bet that Harding ain't 'turned wobbly yet. He means strike breakers has the right to help to block the workers' fight. He doesn't mean five million men, who can't go back to work agen, because the factor-

ies is shut down in our big cities and in town, are given any right to ask that they shall set themselves the task of making things their needs demand and use the tools in this here land.

He means that when they is a strike to get a wage that men will like and great big type in bold black face in begging men to take their place, the scab has really got the right to break the strike with all his might. And that is what our Harding means behind his sound-ing words' smoke-screens.

I wish he meant just what he sed, that everybody who ain't dead had right to work day after day, without the rich old bosses' say, the right to use machinery to make some things for you and me, not let machinery be still, when profiteers can't fill their till.

Our Harding still is safe, I bet; he ain't turned very red as yet.

THE IRON HEEL IN SIX STATES

The shop workers of six states are today threatened with the iron heel of the state military power. Already in Illinois the state militia is patrolling several points. In Clinton where a gunman murdered a child of a striker last week the militia, recruited from small towns and from college students at the Illinois state university at Champaign-Urbana rules the town.

The five other states where militia is being used are Ohio, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky and Missouri. In Chicago and New York all police vacations have been suspended until the strike is over. In fact the entire armed force of cities states and the nation is held in readiness to smash the strike.

The private detectives, company detectives and railroad guards are supposed to goad the strikers into resistance against their bestiality as an excuse to put all the strong union points under martial law.

In fact no stone has been left unturned to incite to violence as an excuse to bring the iron heel down upon the strikers everywhere.

Will Be a Good Sport and Take Hooper's Job For Half

The following communication appeared in the Chicago Herald and Examiner for July 3, 1922.

Sir: You say you will print anything. Let's see you print this. In view of the fact that Mr. Hooper, of the Rail Labor Board, calls on the employees to be good sports and accept the cuts authorized by said board, I take it he will be a good sport and gladly give up his job to me.

I am an ex-locomotive fireman and stood at the business end of a locomotive for years.

Mr. Hooper draws, so I understand, \$10,000 per year and expenses, while he will not allow the men who man the roads and make the fortunes of the Goulds, Vanderbilts, and others possible one-tenth the salary he gets for doing the roads' bidding.

I never had much use for a "scab," but in this case I will gladly "scab" on his job and work for \$5,000 and pay my own expenses. He should be a good sport and relieve the government of a great deal of unnecessary expense.

I haven't much of an education, but feel that I could carry out the road's wishes as he has done, and at a great reduction in cost.

Le Roy, Ill. E. F.

A SCAB HERD

Did you ever hear of a scab-herd? Perhaps you have wondered what a scab herd was. You need not wonder any longer, for there was a splendid example of one brought to our attention recently at Jersey City.

At Pier No. 5 of that city last week there were hundreds of Hindoos, Chinese, Negroes and the lowest types of white creatures on earth herded like cattle. So vile were their surroundings that the city health authorities forced them to move in order to prevent the spread of pestilence to the inhabitants of the town.

The Erie railroad company had recruited them from various parts of the country and had placed them on the pier where they were sleeping, cooking and eating. There were hardly any cooking utensils, they slept on lousy cots and bunks and over half of them were suffering from loathsome diseases.

James Hagen, health officer of Jersey City, reported that the pier was a veritable pest house and that he had never seen so much filth in his life. He called for assistance from the police force and the place was cleaned out.

In a nearby tenement house the company was also discovered to be sheltering others. In a ramshackle building owned by the railroad near the pier there were ninety men, quartered in three rooms, each twelve by thirty feet, living in indescribably filthy conditions. There was no plumbing in the house and at night coal oil lamps furnished the only light.

General Manager Objects.

J. J. Mentall, general manager of the Erie, issued a statement to the capitalist press wherein he expressed surprise that the health authorities should desire to remove a pest house from the city.

"The action of the Jersey City police was absolutely unheard of and unprecedented," said Mr. Mentall. "It has forced the men to eat out in the open and tonight they are being housed on boats which, so long as they are not tied up to the Jersey shore, are outside of the jurisdiction of the Jersey police."

"Their action, moreover, has served as a very serious obstacle to the movement of interstate traffic and has already resulted in the elimination of five commuters' trains. It will also hold up the movement of fruits and other perishable food-stuffs, because of the bad effect it has had on the men. Of course, it may be possible to obtain an injunction in the Federal courts, but it seems a shame that it should be necessary to resort to such legal action in such an emergency."

The boats in which the scabs were then herded for a night were as vile as the pier and the ancient tenement house from which they were driven by the Jersey City police.

In a short time, however, the railroad company found a judge that would issue an injunction against the city, so the scabs are now back on the pier and the health of the people of the city is threatened, because of their presence.

Eye-witnesses to the scenes on the pier say that the scabs herded

there are the very dregs of humanity; that they are so low in the scale of human degradation that it is impossible for mankind to sink lower. They live under conditions that would kill a pole cat.

Such is the type of creature that is used to break the strikes of the men who have built the industries of this country. If the railroad owners have their way they will reduce all labor to the level of this swineherd, rotting in its own filth on the pier at Jersey City.

—The Toolers Pub. Co., N. Y. City.

OUT 100 PER CENT

By SELMA MAXIMON.

That cry rings from city to city throughout Minnesota among the strikers in the railroad shop crafts. And they are out to stay and stay together. Dire necessity is teaching these men who represent perhaps one of the most conservative groups in the country, the lesson of solidarity. With pride they speak of the fact that all the shop crafts are out together, and they question why the rest of the railroad workers are not out with them. Gradually the truth is beginning to dawn upon them that that fault lies in the craft method of organization, and so from Crookston down to Duluth the shopmen would ask me about Foster and cautiously at first and then more vigorously speak of the need for amalgamation.

And it is not the shopmen alone who are waking up. The men in the brotherhoods, the trainmen and the engineers, realize that if the shopmen lose their fight, their turn will come next. In the small towns you find some of the brotherhood members sitting in unofficially at the strike meetings of the shopmen. They want them to win. But the craft lines hold.

At Hibbing some railroad engines badly in need of repair were taken to the repair shops of the Steel Trust where the engines used in Mahoning and surrounding mines are overhauled. When they brought in the railroad engines every one of the skilled machinists laid down his tools even though as is the law under the rule of the Steel Trust, these men do not belong to organized labor. Those engines were not repaired. The Steel Trust shopmen were not scabs.

The mine operators, the railroad operators and the Steel barons have shown a united front, because they are united. This truth and its lesson to the organized working class is slowly but surely being realized.

WORKERS!

Join the Workers Party of America.
Join the Party of Action.
Meeting Wednesday, August 2, 8 P. M.
Workers' Hall, Cor. 5th & Tower,
Superior, Wis.
—Superior Branch.

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT HARDING

(By A Striking R. R. Machinist).

Mr. Harding, who owns "Our" government?
Why are we told that a strike against the railroads is a strike against the government of the United States?

How is it that the government of our country can be used to cut wages to \$1.84 a day in place of being used to raise them to a living wage?

If the government does not see fit to do something to improve the lives of the workers (the majority of the citizens), why does it not at least butt out?

Mr. Harding, who owns "our" army?
How is it that it is used to protect armed company gunmen and not unarmed strikers?

How is it that we are forbidden to carry arms while company gunmen are not?

Mr. Harding, who owns "our" courts?
How do you explain the fact that the company can use the courts to prevent picketing? Why injunctions against unarmed picketers and not against the use of armed guards? Why injunctions against strikes and not against wage cuts?

Mr. Harding, do you really propose to drive us to work for a starvation wage that the Department of Labor declares inadequate for human life? Do you really think you can drive "free" men to work at the point of a gun?

Why do you threaten us?
Why have you outlawed us?
Mr. Harding, we want to know.

—Labor Unity.

NEXT SUNDAY

Selma Maximon

Will Speak at

Workers' Hall

19th Ave. West and 1st Street

SUBJECT: The Sacco-Vanzetti Frame-up. The Mooney case of Massachusetts. Read Mrs. Maximon's contributions to "Truth" in this issue.

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AS LABOR NEARS THE GOAL

HAL BROMMELS.

I sit dreaming of the future days of Labor

When the workers of the world have struggled free,
When they start to build the humanized foundations
After all these years of want and slavery,

There comes hope into my longings as I listen—

To the orators of Labor on the stand,
As they urge the workingmen to join the fighters,
As they stir the unionmen thruout the land.

Ev'ryday the ranks of Labor grow in power,

More are conscious of the struggle of their class;
And I feel a thrill which only comes at dawning—
For the night of Greed is bound now soon to pass.

Labor's spokesmen rise in ev'ry town and city;

Labor's printing presses scattered Truth to all;
LABOR'S HOPE OF COMMUNISM LOOMS BEFORE US,
As the signs foretell that Capital shall fall.

I sit dreaming of the future days of Labor

When the toilers of the world have struggled free,
When they start to build the socialized foundations
After all these years of graft and tyranny.

STATE USED NOTORIOUS CROOK AS TOOL AGAINST SACCO AND VANZETTI IDENTITY OF "GOODRIDGE", EX-CONVICT AND PERJURER, EXPOSED BY DEFENSE

By EUGENE LYONS.

Boston. — The State of Massachusetts used a notorious ex-convict, horse thief, perjurer and refugee from justice in obtaining the death verdict against Nicola Sacco and Bartholomeo Vanzetti last year. Overwhelming evidence of this was filed today by Fred H. Moore, of the counsel for defense, in the Superior Court of Norfolk County in further support of the motion for a new trial now pending.

The witness in question testified under the false name of Carlos E. Goodridge. Like Louis Pelsler, who has since confessed that his testimony was a long winded lie, he claimed to "identify" Sacco as on the scene of the murders in South Braintree, Mass., on April 15, 1920.

It now turns out that he is Erastus Whitney, wanted by the authorities of New York State on an indictment charging grand larceny; formerly an inmate of Elmira Reformatory and Auburn State Prison in the same state; reputed in his home town Cohocton, New York, as an "habitual criminal" and a "bad character;" accused by those who know him closest, including several of his many wives, of thieving, adultery, forger and a congenial passion for falsifying; and a reckless perjurer according to documentary evidence now in the hands of the court.

In Massachusetts he lived under the assumed name in order to escape the New York indictment. But even as "Goodridge" he was arrested for stealing. It was when brought into the court in Norfolk County on this occasion that he saw Sacco, who was being arraigned. Goodridge pleaded guilty to the larceny charge. But he was not imprisoned; instead he was put on probation the next day. Several months later he was sprung as a "surprise witness" in the famous Sacco-Vanzetti trial in Dedham. His being put on probation is extremely significant: if he had been imprisoned for his self-confessed crime his value to the prosecution would have been almost nil. Was an open or implied bargain concluded between the authorities and this criminal? After doing his bit in swearing away the lives of the Italian labor men, Whitney—alias Goodridge, etc.—broke probation. Not however, until he had completed a sensational swindle in Massachusetts.

Such is the man whose testimony was in large measure responsible for the death verdict in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The importance of the disclosures lies not alone in the fact that it eliminates another of the "identification" witnesses, but that it indicates the type of witnesses the state used against the accused labor men. The analogy between "Goodridge" and some of the witnesses in the Mooney-Billings case is remarkable.

HERRIN, 1922

By SELMA MAXIMON.

Herrin, Ill., June 22, 1922. — When the man begged again for water "for God's sake" a woman with a baby in her arms placed her foot on the mangled body and said: "I'll see you in hell before you get any water."

—Associated Press dispatch.

You smirched my name in all your lying sheets
And made my last born child dumb witness to your lie!

You snatched my babes from parched and withered breasts
And gave them milk from tins and poisoned meat
To feed your greed.

You took my girls in ripe young womanhood
And placed them in your houses of ill-fame,
Exact profit from their youth;

You prostituted my sons—that once were men;
You sent them to betray and butcher their brothers,
That you might live upon their lusts and fears;

You sent my boys down into the pits
And gave them back to me wounded maimed and dead,
That you might own their manhood

It is not that religion is merely useless; it is mischievous. It is mischievous by its idle terrors. It is mischievous by its hypocrisy, by its fanaticism, by its dogmatism. It is mischievous by its threat, by hopes, by its promises. Considered under its mildest and most amiable forms, it is still mischievous as inspiring false motives of action; as holding the mind in bondage and diverting the attention from things useful to things useless. The essence of religion is fear, as its source is ignorance. — Mrs. Frances Wright D'Armsmont, 1840.

Judge Martin Was Kind to Flag-Waving Thief

By HARRY GODFREY.
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent.)

New York. — Jerome A. Myers, who several weeks ago pleaded guilty to stealing \$5,000, has been freed by a New York court on condition he report monthly to a probation officer, and not go and do anything so thoughtless again.

There need be, however, no anxiety among believers in "law and order" lest this extraordinary act of leniency denote a crumbling of the wellknown pillars of society. For Myers is not an ordinary law-breaker. His case might be termed a de luxe one.

Myers, you see, didn't make the mistake of being jobless and desperate, perhaps, because of a hungry wife and children. He didn't steal for any such vulgar reason—and he didn't get, therefore the usual sentence of several years at hard labor, with a sanctioning lecture thrown in by a well-fed judge. What he did was take a check for \$5,000 contributed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to the Constitutional League of America, of which he was national director, and run away.

Myers' more genteel procedure, however, as to the actual theft, was not the only thing that made his case different. As has been told in a previous news story about the case, he happens to have been a flag-waving, fist-shaking, radical-hating defender of the constitution and 100 per cent Americanism, a patriot of patriots and one of New York's best anti-bolsheviks; one of the ho-man Americans who helped save America from the bloodthirsty radicals who eat babies for breakfast and nationalize women for pastime. Now do you see?

Throughout the war he fought the Germans in the most exposed positions on New York platforms. He was generalissimo of the local speakers' and meetings' bureau of five Liberty loan drives, of Red Cross and Boy Scout and Savings campaigns. Things like that. Then, needing some sort of outlet for his "aggressive intelligence" and "driving energy," he organized, or helped organize, the Constitutional League of America.

Things seemed to be going fine. Then, right after John D. Rockefeller, Jr., sent in his check for \$5,000, Myers disappeared. So did the proceeds of the check. A couple of months went by. Then Myers—suffering, perhaps, from shell-shock sustained in action on the New York front, turned up. He pleaded guilty to grand larceny.

Usually, in fact almost invariably, when a man is convicted of crime in New York he is not admitted to bail. Myers, of course, was different. He was permitted to remain at liberty on bail for three weeks pending sentence. Then he came into court. And right there was Assistant District Attorney Donohue and William De Forest Manice, treasurer of the Constitutional league, and they both told the court it would be nice to be merciful to Myers. And Supreme Court Justice Martin seemed to feel it was too bad, too, and he said he would not "stand in the way" as he understood the money would be restored. So he gave him a suspended sentence.

And now you take from me, the primal mother,
My very motherhood
That you might own the face
Within my womb!

—New Majority.

A FAIR WARNING TO SCABS!

As the strike goes on we hear more and more about the clashes between the strikers and the scabs. The operators are sending their agents to all the larger cities to hunt for scabs to take the jobs of striking miners. These outcasts of the working class are armed and guarded by the special thugs and gunmen and taken into the mines. The scabs and operators who hire and arm them and no one else are responsible for the bloody struggle in Williamson County and for all the other conflicts in which the innocent blood of striking miners is shed.

We have said and repeat again that if the operators have the right to hire scabs and give our jobs to them; we have a hundred times more right to protect our jobs, i. e., our very existence, and fight these outcasts tooth and nail, and we will fight.

We warn those who accept jobs from the operators and go scabbing on us not to do it. Those who continue to do so will be responsible for the consequences. WE WILL PROTECT OUR JOBS!

—Miners' Voice.

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If you give your help—if you donate of your money, your savings, if you will make a sacrifice, so that the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia can build up their country and save it from another famine—

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If you fail at this critical moment—when the famine is not over and THE CAPITALISTS ARE MAKING ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO SABOTAGE AND DESTROY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT—

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SAND THE RAIL

T. BONE SLIM.

It is a sad commentary upon our national commissary that the scab and strike breaker, gunman and stool, are eating better than are the workers.

Workers are denied a living wage and when they strike for a "fair days' pay" the company doesn't hesitate to pay strike breakers ten and twelve dollars per day for minimum labor performed.

The workers modest demands are frowned upon—and any demand for the full product of ones toil is equivalent to a jail sentence.

But there are men who refuse to scab on strikers altho sadly in need of a livelihood.—When the strike is won, and the strikers return to work, what becomes of the men who refused to scab? — Have the strikers shortened their hours to give the unemployed a chance to live—I'm afraid not.

A few questions . . . If business will bear a pension why not give it, to the men, in their pay envelopes along with the rest of their earnings?

What right have railroads to withhold a part of one man's earnings and pay it to another one—as a pension.

If the man receiving a pension really has produced the equivalent of it in days gone by—then by what line of reasoning do the railroads justify their failure to pay the man in the first place?

What authority, if any, have the railroads to appoint themselves as trustees—guardians, over the earnings of labor—old and young?

It is possible the railroad workers are denying themselves the "necessaries" of life in order to enable the company (benevolently) to pay out pensions from the wealth they are producing?

Are the Companies Trustworthy?

Isn't it true the companies have pulled sixty year old men off "light

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repairs", transferred them to transferring grain from one car to another on the "rip track" on a hot day?

Isn't it true that he was then sent to "pick up" scattered track-jacks?

Isn't it true the company sent one 60-year old man, instead of two 30 year old men, to do this work and isn't it true the old gentleman expired as he was trying to pick up the last jack just as the whistle blew — quitting time?

Isn't it true the old gentleman didn't draw a cent of the pension the company had been saving for him?

Isn't it true the companies are totally unreliable and unfit to administer any part of our earnings either as pensions or bonuses crutches or coffins?

Wouldn't it be a better plan to organize in one big union, draw your pay in full, keep it in the bureau drawer and buy these things when you need them — pension yourself off when you feel like it.

A rumor has it that the I. W. W. will destroy government and overthrow property — The item mentions not the fellow worker's name. Take it from me the Industrial Workers of the World have not authorized anybody to do so. — The government may now rest assured, the rank and file will not countenance the business of smashing furniture.

If this man, referred to, bothers the government again, (or any) please report him to the working class headquarters, Chicago, Ill.

Ho, Hom. The backbone of the summer is broken—and no winter stake—as yet.

PUNCTURED.

"Here waitress. The doughnut has a tack in it."

"Well, I declare! I'll bet the ambitious little thing thinks it is a flivver tire."

BOOKS!

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TRUTH

Issued Weekly By The West End Labor Association.
J. O. BENTALL, Editor.

*Entered as second-class matter November 12, 1920, at the post office at Duluth, Minnesota, under the Act of March 3, 1879.
Subscription: 1 year \$2.00. — 6 months \$1.00.

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

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

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

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

TRUTH declares that the working class must capture the capitalist state and establish their own state until the class antagonisms have been destroyed and until there remains no further need for the state. During this period of transition there must be the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is folly to think that the capitalist class will give up possession of the wrongfully owned industries without a struggle. In this struggle there must be a well disciplined working class and a clear vision and firm leadership. The tactic is no Sunday-school play and no lazy man's job. It will mean sacrifice and hardship and much study and much training. The workers must prepare for the day when they will take the state.

It is to reach the workers with this message that TRUTH exists. It is the child of the loyal workers in Duluth who recognize the imperative need of the change from capitalism to the Workers' Republic. Come with us!



UNLAWFUL

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

The press is busy telling the country how the miners are attacking the bosses in West Virginia with clubs and shooting at them with guns.

All that performance is of course unlawful. The miners should know that when they pick up arms to defend their lives and their families they are committing unlawful acts. Nobody should dispute that. They have no legal right to demand better conditions and better wages. When they do so they act unlawfully.

But when the bosses pick up guns and when they shoot the miners they have a perfect right to do so. They have the law to back them when they protect their property and their profits. If they are not able to cope with the situation themselves they call upon the police and if the police are not able to handle the slaves the bosses call upon the sheriffs and if the sheriffs fail they call upon the state and if the state fails they call upon the federal government. All these agencies are at the beck and call of the bosses. Not one of them can be called by the workers.

The law of the land protects property and refuses to recognize the workers as property. The law does not protect life—not the life of the workers—when property is at stake. Property first. Always first.

The miners are foolish to fight with guns down in Mingo county. That isn't the way to fight—not yet.

In only one country so far have the workers any right to fight with guns. And there they do fight with guns. When the former bosses in Russia want what belongs to the workers they are told to go to work or get shot. The workers in Russia do not allow the parasites to cop the factories and mines. Not on your life. The workers have made the law that protects their own class and they enforce it. They have the power, just as the barons in W. Virginia have the power to protect their property.

The thing to do is not to fight with guns to get a little more wages and a little better conditions, but to get wise and to help put the workers into power and control the whole country.

There are some chances that some of the miners are wise to the situation, but the great majority of them believe devotedly in the system of private ownership and the present industrial system. They would use guns against the workers in a struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

But the experiences may lead them to lose faith in the present order and if they do the struggle is not in vain. It is very likely that the education they get at the point of the machine guns will be of use to them in the final struggle, when little skirmishes in a coal region will look like a bloody ten cent piece in comparison to the big battle that will decide forever that the workers shall have charge of the earth.

RAW DEALS BY THE GOVERNMENT

The capitalist class puts over so many raw deals that it is surprising that more workers do not become class conscious and forget that "there are no classes in America" stuff. The methods the capitalists employ to get their claws into the wealth the workers produce would make a highway-man blush.

During the war the work of the Alien Property Custodian was in the hands of A. Mitchell Palmer and Francis P. Garvan. They proceeded to seize private property from aliens in defiance of the laws of nations and in defiance of specific treaties. Garvan, a government official, sold 4700 German patents to the Chemical Foundation of which he himself, is president. Mr. Garvan sold these patents to his own company for \$250,000 and it is admitted that one of the patents alone is worth \$10,000,000.

Now it has just occurred to President Harding that the patents ought to be returned to Germany but Garvin says Harding is pro-German. The idea of returning those patents and destroying the organic chemical industry of America! It is absurd according to Garvin. He says that "the protection of the one-time German patents involves the very safety of our nation." But he should have said that it involves the very safety of many millions for Garvin's company.

Our idle merchant marine which is costing millions daily is about to be sold to private individuals for a few cents on a dollar.

Teapot Dome, Wyoming, an oil reservoir of national importance, has been given to the Standard Oil Company. It is worth half a billion dollars. This deal gives the Rockefeller interests absolute monopoly in oil for our naval ships. The Standard now can charge the government what it pleases to buy the oil back.

Another raw deal was pulled by our government when it sold railroad ties to the Pennsylvania Railroad for 35 cent a piece that cost the government \$16.00 to produce. The ties were cut and finished in France during the war. General Atterbury, head of the Pennsylvania Railroad had thousands of his soldiers working on these ties six months even after the armistice was signed. He knew he could use them for his rail-

road even if the government did not need them. Then the government sold them to him for 35 cents apiece.

"No, there are no classes, in America. The government looks after the interest of all of us". This comes from the fish who expects to get his money by exploiting and to join the Atterbury class. All the raw deals pulled by the government to strengthen the capitalists' hold on the money bags only makes the poor fish shout louder for our government but some others who are not poor fish are organizing to prepare for another day.

FRIENDS OF TRUTH

Last week we went a Gypsying in a Ford to the Range for subs. They can be gotten. We will tell you how. Select a neighborhood with a good TRUTH booster in it and have him give you suggestions. He will know several workers who are somewhat interested. Then work evenings. Select a nice rainy evening when everyone is home and go after them.

You will be surprised at the amount of money you will be able to get. Most people are kind and helpful and some are hungry for information. Give them TRUTH to read and send us the \$2.00.

We will tell you a secret because it will encourage you to work harder. For many weeks now TRUTH has not only paid its current expenses but it has been slowly paying off past expenses. The old debts can all be paid easily if you help. It must be done. It will be done. Others have helped and we know you, who owe us, are going to help also.

Send us your own sub and at least one new one. It will make you feel fine to send it and the steady hustlers for TRUTH will rejoice because you are intelligent enough to help them.

TRUTH with no debts! That's what we want to greet Comrade Bentall with when he comes out of prison. We know he rejoices when we hustle. He reads TRUTH more eagerly than any other paper. Work hard to make TRUTH a strong paper, and get it into the hands of the workers so that their intelligence may increase.

M. J. O'Rourke, Duluth, won the picture the "Barnyard" given by Comrade Nordmark. Comrade O'Rourke has hustled for "Truth" many years. We are glad that he won the picture, and we know he is pleased with it.

GOODBYE "FIFTY PER CENT" WHEN WHITE IS ARRESTED

Czar Allen of Kansas believes in freedom of speech for all who are in favor of the present industrial system, but woe to those who dare even to hint that the system is unjust. Jail for them!

Allen had a warrant sworn out to arrest William Allen White for putting up a placard saying, "We are for the striking railroad men 50 per cent." Czar Allen declared that to put up this poster was a violation of the Kansas Industrial Court Law.

Of course White hauled down his placard when the warrant was out. White is not with the workers. No one can be with them 50 per cent. To be with the workers 50 per cent it to sit on the fence, and in the class struggle you can't sit on the fence. You are either on one side or the other fighting according to your economic interest — 100 per cent for the workers or 100 per cent for the capitalists. That is the way people are forced to line up.

White fooled himself into thinking he was 50 per cent with the workers because he may be a bit softer hearted and a bit more diplomatic than the rank and file of capitalists. But he is true to his class all the time. One little puff of disapproval from his class and down he hauls the 50 per cent. That was a fair weather 50 per cent at best.

And Baby Czar Allen will continue his capers with the Industrial Court Law until he has capered himself into the same kind of a fix that old Czar Nick did. Because already there are many people in Kansas who think Wendell Phillips was right when he said that "any law that fails to give justice is only fit to be trampled on."

WHAT ANATOLE FRANCE SAID ABOUT GREAT MEN

"All really great men have the prime virtue of sincerity. They extirpate hypocrisy from their hearts; they bravely reveal their weaknesses, their doubts, their vices. They dissect themselves. They expose their bare souls, so that all their contemporaries may recognize themselves in this picture, and reject the lies which corrupt their lives. They are courageous. They are not afraid to challenge prejudices. No power, civil, moral or immortal, can impose upon them."

"Sometimes, it is true, frankness is so dangerous that it would cost them their liberty or even their lives. Under the most liberal, as under the most tyrannical, governments, to proclaim what will be recognized as just and right fifty or a hundred years later is sufficient to incur imprisonment or the scaffold."

"As it is better to speak than to be silent, the wise often behave like fools, in order not to be gagged. They gambol, shake their cap and bells, and give utterance to the most reasonable follies. They are allowed to caper because they are taken for buffoons. This stratagem must not be held up against them. Concerning the opinions which he held dearly, Rabelais used to say mockingly: 'I will maintain them to the stake... exclusively.' Was he wrong? And if he had gone to the stake would it now be possible for us to enjoy his pantagruelism?"

"Great writers have not mean souls. That is all their secret."

LABOR TEMPLE WANTED

A carnival will be held in Duluth July 31st under the auspices of the DULUTH LABOR TEMPLE ASSOCIATION. This organization is backed by the trade unions of Duluth and its object is to build a hall in which the various labor groups of the city can hold public meetings. They estimate that the building will cost between \$25,000 and \$30,000. Of this amount they have already raised about \$7,000.

The workers in this group are not expecting the revolution very soon. If they did they would count on using some of the buildings now in existence, for labor meetings; and would use their energy and money to hasten the day of worker's control in other ways, instead of erecting more buildings.

The workers need a meeting place. The capitalists, as a rule close all doors to labor groups. If they ever make an exception they charge extortionate rates. If labor will not, now, exert itself to get the use of halls already in existence, which they built, perhaps the next best thing is to raise money to build another.

We hope they get much money from carnival goers, who enjoy the shows and then are glad to part with their dollars.

THE MINE GUARD

RALPH CHAPLIN.

You cur! How can you stand so calm and still
And careless while your Brothers strive and bleed?
What hellish, cruel, crime-polluted creed
Has taught you thus to do your master's will?
Whose traitor dole has damned your soul until
You lick his boots and fawn to do his deed—
You pander to his lust of boundless greed
And guard him while his cohorts crush and kill?

Your sneaking crimes are like a rotten flood—
The beating, raping murdering you've done—
You sycophantic coward with a gun;
The worms would scorn your carcass in the mud:
A bitch would blush to hail you as a son —
You loathsome outcast, red with humanblood!

WHO WILL SUPPORT NON-PRODUCERS?

(Have you ever asked who would support the vast army of nonproductive workers if each worker were to receive the full product of his toil? If you have then read Daniel De Leon's answer—Editor)

(DANIEL DE LEON)

The word "horde" evokes before our mind a thing of evil. Our sense of the term is borne out by the only passage from literature that the Standard Dictionary cites in illustration of the word — the passage from Everett — "The magnificent temples of Egypt were demolished in the sixth century before our Savior by the hordes which Cambyes had collected from the steppes of Central Asia." Accordingly, the word "horde" especially preceded by the word "vast" is a repetition of the offense of the surreptitious injecting of premises. The premise, surreptitiously injected in this question, is that in the Cooperative Commonwealth there will be a "vast horde" of non-productive workers. The assumption in this instance of an unwarranted premise compels the division of the question into its component parts so that it will read:

"Will there not be a vast horde of non-productive workers in the Co-operative Commonwealth?"

"If there will be such, who will support that vast horde, if each worker should receive the full product of his toil?"

Before tackling the two propositions, a definition of of terms becomes imperative. What is "productive" and what "non-productive" work? Upon this subject there is a vast amount of confusion of thought. It will be necessary to dispel two manifestations of the confusion. Take the following chain of closely connected links of work: the work of the miner, who mines the coal; the work of the carter who carts the coal from the mouth of the mine to the station; the work of the railroaders who convey the coal to the centres of population; the work of the servant who carries the coal from the cellar to its last destination where it is finally consumed.

There are many other links of work necessary for the continuity of the chain, some subsidiary, others leading. The few that are mentioned will suffice to illustrate the point. Of course, the work of the miner will be readily and unanimously accepted as "productive." Not so with the work of the other links.

Discriminate analysis, however, establishes that, appearances notwithstanding, every single link of the chain belongs in the category of productive work.

The coal is of no use at the mouth of the mine. Its use-value comes into play only on the spot of consumption—the furnace, the cooking, or the heating stove. Seeing that only then is the coal useful, every link of work necessary for the realization of the coal's use-value, is "productive" work.

This economic fact being established, the numerous other links of work, without the performance of which the use-value of the coal could not conduce to physical wellbeing, will readily occur to the mind, without need of their enumeration. The work done at each of these links—whether it be "manual" or "clerical", directly or indirectly productive is "productive" work.

But these are not yet facts enough from which to deduct the definition of "productive," and less so of "non-productive" and of "unproductive" work. In order to marshal these further facts, the second manifestation of the confusion of thought regarding "productive", "non-productive" and "unproductive" work must also be dispelled.

The impression is quite common that "productive" work is any work that brings into existence a material object which did not exist before. In common parlance the impression may pass. In social science it many not.

The work that brings into existence, for instance, a Yale lock to block burglars, or a blackjack for the footpad's use, or flaming advertising placards, or a Krupp cannon—all these species of work are, in a sense, "productive"; and he, whose mind has been sufficiently clarified to realize that all the several links of work needed for the fruition of the coal's use-value also come under the category of "productive" work, might by parity of reasoning conclude that all the several links of work, needed for the realization of the use-value of the Yale lock, the blackjack, the flaming advertising placards, and the Krupp cannon, are likewise "productive". This is an error in social science.

The consideration of Yale locks, blackjacks, flaming advertising placards, Krupp's cannon, and of all other products of kindred nature, together with the several links of work that are necessary for the realization of their use-values, belong for treatment under another head. Suffice it here to distinguish that no such work can be dignified with the appellation of productive, because all such work is either harmful to society, or is rendered needful by harmful social conditions, which, once removed, would render the product superfluous, and relegate it to museums alongside the thumb-screw and the rack of still darker ages. Such work is "un-productive."

We now have the requisite facts from which to deduce the definition of "productive" and of "unproductive" work.

"Productive" work is that effort of the human brain and brawn from which, directly or indirectly, flow material objects that are conducive to physical wellbeing, and the welfare of society.

"Unproductive" work is the exact opposite—the material objects that it directly or indirectly brings into existence are a waste, and wasteful of human energy.

Finally, there is "non-productive" work to describe and define.

A few simple illustrations will serve.

The school teacher works; so does the detective; so

does the clergyman; so does the soldier; so does the lighthouse keeper; so does the lawyer; and so on through a long list.

While all of these personages work, the work that they perform has only one feature in common, to wit, their work is productive of no material object, good, bad, or indifferent. Beyond that common point, the different kinds of work that these personages perform differ widely.

They differ, first, in that they partake of the qualities that distinguish "productive" from "unproductive" that is, useful from harmful work; the teacher and the clergyman and the lighthouse keeper perform work that is useful; on the contrary, the detective, the soldier and the lawyer perform work that is harmful, or that harmful social conditions render necessary.

The work of these personages differ, secondly, in that the work of those who perform useful work differentiates between work that is social and work that is not; the teacher and the lighthouse keeper performs work that is social, the test whereof is that, however remotely, they do co-operate in the collective work of society; services that by being specialized, enable the directly or indirectly "productive" workers to bestow their undivided time upon their work; on the contrary, the clergyman performs work that is non-social, the test of which is that it in no wise co-operates in the collective work of society.

Accordingly, work that is either directly or indirectly productive of material objects, yet is useful, is "non-productive." Non-productive work that is not useful falls, broadly, under the category of unproductive" work.

Thus work is either "productive," or it is "non-productive," or it is "unproductive," the workers in the last of which category are the equivalent of the French "useless mouths"—mouths that must be fed without their returning any service.

The expression "hordes of nonproductive workers" in connection with the Co-operative Commonwealth is contradiction in terms.

The opportunity for work, together with the certainty of the worker's enjoying the full fruit of his toil, that the Co-operative Commonwealth guarantees to all; man's physical need of exercise, together with the fact that, in point of hours and of conditions of work, work will cease to be a curse and become pleasurable exercise; the further fact that production—once emancipated from the trammels of being conducted for sale and having become for use—will yield an abundance for all—these are circumstances and economic facts that inevitably will swell the ranks of the "productive" workers; reduce to a minimum the ranks of the exclusively "non-productive" workers; knock the bottom from under the ranks of the "unproductive" workers; and empty the "reserve army of the unemployed," workers who are ready, but are not allowed the opportunity to work, that cruellest of the essential conditions for the capitalist regimen.

THE GETHSEMANE OF THE INTELLECTUAL

Maxim Gorky's last work, "Ecrits de Revolution," published in Paris, records the path of uncertainty trod by intellectual leaders the world over when the Russian revolution thrust itself into the old scheme of things.

The book, containing as it does Gorky's writings and speeches covering the three years period from 1917 to 1920 affords an opportunity of tracing the change that took place in his attitude toward the revolution.

In November, 1917, Gorky described Lenin as "a boss," "a Napoleon of Socialism," "a Russian baron" with "certain moral traits of the fallen baron class." He called Lenin "a slave of dogma" and of using the working class as material for experiments. Under Lenin's leadership during this period Gorky maintained that he was "destroying the best elements among the workers and arresting for a long period the normal development of the Russian revolution."

By July 20, 1920, Gorky's views had changed completely and, according to the review of his book in The Freeman.

Lenin had become in Gorky's eyes "a great man and an honest man" to whom "nothing that is human is foreign" and whose "whole aim in life is the happiness of humanity"; "a Puritan" whose "private life is such that in an age of great religious faith he would have been regarded as a saint"; an "idealist" who addresses a meeting of workers "in tones extremely simple, with a tongue of iron, with the logic of an ax," without "offensive demagoguery or any banal searching for fine phrases"; and, finally, "the man who is striving to transform the potential energy of the slow-footed masses of Russia into effective energy."

Gorky did not recognize the revolution for what it was from the very beginning. He did not know what revolutions were and like almost every other intellectual in the world who sincerely desired an end of economic slavery obscured their vision of its final goal and almost without exception they have spoken only to denounce it. The honest ones were mistakes and as for the others history has already assigned them their place. Gorky acknowledges his mistake but the fact that a Gorky can err so grievously in the dark hour of revolution shows that when that hour strikes the workers stand alone.

The friends who went with them in the early days of the struggle will know them not.

—The Worker.

SONG OF LABOR

By ISIDOR KREININ.

March on comrades, March on forward—
Ye who work, and ye who bleed;
Ye who toil and always suffer,
Victims of your masters' greed.

Rise and halt the wheels of fortune,
And demand them for you all;
Raise the banner of deep crimson,
Forward! till all tyrants fall.

A CORRECTION

Ralph Chaplin is the author of "Prison Athlete" and "When Death Comes", two poems used in the previous issue of TRUTH. The name was omitted in the printshop.