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FIVE CENTS

The Law of Self-preservation is More Powerful Than Government's Restraining Order

The government's temporary restraining order of September 1 against the striking shop crafts and their leaders and sympathizers was continued in effect for ten more days. Federal Judge J. H. Wilkerson ordered its continuance in Chicago last Monday. So the force of the government is openly being used on the side of the railroad owners to compel the workers to come to the terms of their masters. The government uses a temporary injunction which if carried out would deprive the workers of freedom of speech, assemblage and press. It would prohibit all trade union activity—the use of funds, picketing, meetings, printed or written statements to the public. All is under government ban. Verboten is as popular in America as it was in the land of the German autocrats. Who is the government? What is the source of the verbotens to the workers? A few lackeys chosen at the behest of the owning class to execute the wishes of the owning class—the dominating economic class. Shall the workers bow down in abject slavery and submit to the injunction of these lackeys of the dominating suppressing class? Or shall they ignore it and speed up organization work by changing their weak craft unions into strong industrial unions? They will answer by increasing their activities so that they may become the dominant economic power. The capitalists defy the laws they make when these laws interfere with their economic interests. Where did the Clayton Act go when it stood in their way? There is a higher law for workers than any capitalists' injunctions, be they temporary or permanent. That higher law is the law of self preservation. This law says that workers must have stomachs filled and limbs covered. Justice demands it. No bunch of exploiters can permanently deny these fundamentals to the workers and remain in power. Injunctions may be penned but they will go into the scrapheap. And eventually their makers will go there. The workers number millions. They will not always submit. They will organize even as their masters are organized today. Nature's law—the self-preservation of the race—will wipe out the few who stand in the way of the wellbeing of the many. Workers, organize! Increase your intelligence, close up your ranks! Let no small bunch of exploiters deprive you of such fundamental rights as food, clothing, shelter and the right of freedom of speech, assemblage and press.

BENTALL IS DENIED PAROLE

Last Wednesday J. O. Bentall was called up before the parole board. There were about 600 up. About 90 were granted parole. Bentall was not. He was asked only two or three ordinary questions, where he was born, if he spoke while he was out on bond after arrest, if he believed in no war at all, what he worked at. That was all. A pleasant short interview and he stays in.

If he had been a murderer or a thief it would have been different.

90,000 COAL MINERS PLEDGE DEFENSE MONEY

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

Peoria, Ill.—One percent of every dollar earned by the 90,000 members of the Illinois coal miners' union was pledged to defend the members of the organization indicted in connection with the Herrin mine war by the 550 delegates in the convention of the Illinois mine workers here. The action came after the Herrin situation was discussed by the delegates in executive session.

Hugh Willis, board member from the Herrin field, wired the convention that many members of the union had been indicted and that many more might be named before adjournment of the grand jury in Marion. Hot resentment was expressed by the delegates against Attorney General Brundage for his Labor day comment on the Herrin matter to the effect that the rank and file of the miners would not support the indicted men.

The following resolution, stating the position of the union, was unanimously passed:

"Whereas, on Aug. 31, President Farrington in further announcing the policy of the district organization, gave an interview to the press at Marion, Ill., wherein he stated that:

"The Illinois miners' union has already pledged every means at its command to the defense of any and all of its members that may be indicted in connection with the trouble at the strip mine, and also we have a proper appreciation of the magnitude of the forces that have combined to convict our members, and we shall leave nothing undone that will enable us to combat these forces. The very magnitude of the agitation which is nationwide for convictions jeopardizes the lives and freedom of innocent men and makes it necessary that the state organization furnish every possible means of defense for our members, and

"Whereas, in reply to this announced policy of District No. 12, United Mine Workers of America, Attorney General Brundage stated in a newspaper interview and also in a Labor day speech, that if Mr. Farrington would permit a secret referendum of the rank and file of the union he would find a vast majority of the men were not sympathetic to his announcement and that they would not favor the position taken by the district executive board and their district president; therefore, be it

"Resolved, that this convention unqualifiedly endorse the position as stated by President Farrington in behalf of the district executive board; and be it further

"Resolved, that we here and now declare, so that Attorney General Brundage and the Illinois Chamber of Commerce and all other labor fighting organizations that have given their pledge to raise money in unlimited amounts for the use of Attorney General Brundage, may know that the United Mine Workers of America, District No. 12, are determined that the liberty and freedom of our members shall not be jeopardized by the combination of wealth and powerful influences that are working hand in hand with Attorney General Brundage; and be it further

"Resolved, that we shall protest and denounce any or all attempts that may be made by Attorney General Brundage or anyone else to convict our members through the public press instead of giving them a fair and impartial trial in the courts of justice for a private persecution, rather than a regular public prosecution as provided for by the laws of our country."

East St. Louis, Ill.—Two local dentists have advertised that they will furnish free dental service to railroad workers and their families during the present strike. Presentation of the strikers' union card is necessary to secure free treatment.

GOVERNMENT TRIES TO BREAK THE RAIL STRIKE

INJUNCTION IS A BLUFF WHICH WILL PROVE TO BE A POLITICAL BLUNDER FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

By LAURENCE TODD
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—"Attorney General Daugherty's blanket injunction will have no effect upon our strike, except to demonstrate the complete control of the national administration by the monied interests," said Wm. H. Johnston, president of the International Assn. of Machinists. "Daugherty is an errand boy for a little group of railroad executives who would dictate a national railroad policy."

That the injunction is a bluff, which will prove one of the biggest political blunders in the history of Republican party service to railroad corporations is the opinion at the capital. Congressmen from the middle west and far west were much disturbed when convinced that the administration had "jumped off" in its strike breaking campaign.

The fact that the coal miners had won their strike, that the steel workers had been granted a raise in wages as a bid for their loyalty, and that the textile workers of New England, after one of the most heroic struggles ever waged on this continent, have likewise won, has given to most of the congressmen the impression that the winning of the railroad strike is not more than a few weeks off. Daugherty's deliberate flying in the face of the industrial facts, the politicians believe, will be followed by a speedy backdown.

Shop craft officials say that Daugherty cannot do any more now than Palmer did in the coal strike of 1919, when a similar injunction was issued by Judge Anderson. Indeed, since the strike has been so long under way, and since no regular strike benefits are being paid, the seizure of the funds of the unions, if attempted by Daugherty, will have much less effect than was the case with the coal miners. Strikers will continue to refuse to repair locomotives. Strike sympathizers will continue to show their sympathy. Names and pictures of strike breakers will still be collected and distributed for future reference. Locomotives will break down as usual, and train service employees will refuse to endanger the lives of passengers.

A report from the Erie system received here on Friday is to the effect that the Erie has cut the power rating of all its locomotives by 30 percent—a startling confession of the effectiveness of the strike. Shopmen declared that this was more important than the injunction, and that similar reductions in the power ratings of the engines on other systems could be expected before the end of the week.

In the first of what is expected to be a series of denunciations of the Daugherty injunction to be voiced in congress, Rep. Huddleston, Alabama, a keen lawyer, says:

"The present administration has definitely and clearly aligned itself with the railroad executives for the purpose of driving the strikers back into the shops. The wickedness of the administration's course in obtaining the injunction is matched only by its folly. The injunction is unprecedented in the history of American jurisprudence."

UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS ACCEPT

The acceptance of the offer of the Pacific Mills of Lawrence, Mass., to striking textile workers last week was made complete in so far as the United Textile Workers are concerned by the vote of the dyers and the finishers. The board of the U. T. W. immediately met to lay plans for a general return to work in the Pacific Mills by members of that union.

TRIBUTE TO FRENCH LABOR LEADER

Paris.—Socialist and Communist organs unite in tribute to the memory of Jules Guesde, the Eugene Debs of the French working class. His death has furnished the occasion for special issues of l'Humanite, organ of the Communists, and of Populaire, organ of the Social-Democrats. Hereafter the annual Jaures day is also to be made the

occasion for commemorating the life and work of Guesde.

Entombment Alive of 47 Miners Due to Negligence of Owners

By Defense News Service.

Jackson, Cal.—Entombment alive of 47 miners 3,700 feet below the surface when fire broke out in the Argonaut gold mine here, was unquestionably due to criminal negligence on the part of the owners. Exactly as in the Speculator mine fire at Butte in 1917, these workers were trapped by a bulkhead of concrete at a point where a safety exit originally existed.

Up to three years ago, there was a safety exit leading through an adjacent mine, the Kennedy. But one day there was a disastrous fire in the Argonaut, which necessitated flooding the mine to get the flames under control. The Kennedy of course was flooded at the same time.

Owners of the Kennedy demanded that the Argonaut company pay the costs of unwatering the Kennedy. There was a conflict, a lawsuit, and the bulkhead was built.

So there was no safety egress in the Argonaut. And it is to be expected that the doomed miners will be found, as many were in the Speculator mine, lying dead in front of the bulkhead, their fingers worn to the second joint from clawing at the concrete in their frenzy to escape.

It was generally supposed among the workers in the Argonaut that the old exit still remained open. The fact of its being closed for three years was disclosed after the 47 were buried alive on August 27.

And when the fire came, 31 hours passed before the first digging began in the Kennedy and an effort to rescue the miners. This criminal delay was one more symptom of the feud between the rival mine companies.

It is reminiscent of a similar delay sanctioned by the Illinois State mine inspectors when 300 coal miners were buried alive at Cherry, Illinois, in 1909—an act of negligence which undoubtedly cost the lives of many of the 280 who died.

George Gabardini, president of the Argonaut company, has decreed that no photographs of the death mine be made public. And his orders are recognized as law, even though local photographers have negatives of the scene, made before Gabardini issued his mandate.

Coffins for 47 men have been ordered. The gold-diggers here are largely Serbs, Croatians, Italians and Spaniards. Numerous miners in this field have signed a pledge never to work again in the Argonaut mine, and to boycott every mine which has only one outlet.

Los Angeles.—The 35 members of the Ku Klux Klan on trial here because of the Ingewood raid, as a result of which two men lost their lives, have been freed on all counts—assault with intent, to commit murder, kidnapping and false imprisonment.

E. F. DOREE IS RELEASED; CITIZENSHIP NOT RESTORED

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ADMITTED HE HAD BEEN IMPRISONED WITHOUT EVIDENCE OF VIOLATION OF LAW.

(By The Federated Press)

WASHINGTON.—E. F. Doree, political prisoner, convicted as one of the Philadelphia group of longshoremen affiliated with the I. W. W. in the Chicago trial, has at last been given a commutation of sentence, effective immediately. Doree was recently permitted to go home from Leavenworth prison, under guard, to visit his little son, who was apparently dying from heart trouble. Last week he received a brief extension of leave, which would have expired Sunday night. Doree's case excited the sympathetic interest of many influential people in Philadelphia and the east, because of the pitiful appeals of the sick boy and of Mrs. Doree for permission to have the prisoner come home to visit his child.

The American Civil Liberties union has interceded at the department of justice for prompt action as to a pardon. President Harding, by commuting the sentence, fails to restore Doree's citizenship rights, although the department admitted that he had been imprisoned without evidence of violation of the law.

A total of 75 political prisoners remain behind the stone walls, serving aggregate sentences of 800 years. All but five of them were, like Doree, active in labor organizations. On July 19 the president announced his intention, when visited by a big amnesty delegation, to have the attorney general hasten the reports on all these cases, as to their reconsideration. He indicated that he would dispose of them within 60 days, or by Sept. 18. Thus far no perceptible progress has been made either at the department or at the White House, in the carrying out of this promise. Doree's is the first case disposed of since Aug. 1.

If by Sept. 18 no important action in the remaining cases is had, the organizations seeking the release of the prisoners will discuss their future tactics. There appears a strong probability that picketing of the White House will be resumed.

RUSSIA WILL ACT IF FRANCE INVADES RUHR

Leon Trotsky, Minister of War in the Soviet Government of Russia, recently submitted to an interview with correspondents of various newspapers throughout the world and reaffirmed the determination of the Soviet government to preserve its revolutionary integrity.

Trotsky declared that the army of the Soviet government has been reduced from 5,500,000 to 800,000, and that the government stood ready and willing to enter into a disarmament conference with any large nation, such as the United States, that would propose disarmament.

Although he did not anticipate any immediate intervention in the Ruhr district by the French government, Trotsky let it be known that he considers such an attack always possible and declared that Russia would not remain passive in such an eventuality.

"If France, by invading the Ruhr, and by the assistance of Poland, precipitated a new European conflict, do you think Russia could remain passive?" he was asked, and his reply was "I doubt it."

"If the occasion came for a revolution in Germany," M. Trotsky said, "Russia and Germany would form an unconquerable bloc economically and agriculturally. This assertion, of course, will be misrepresented in America, where," he

added with a laugh, "I am in bad repute."

In response to another question he declared that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat would continue until capitalism had been completely defeated and there was no possibility of its arising again.

In regard to Russia entering trade relations with the United States, without recognition, Trotsky waved the suggestion aside as a joke and said:

"What does recognition mean, anyway? That is not important, but commercial relations are. Recognition, what is it? I can breathe the fresh air without Mr. Hughes recognizing the fact. I breathed it yesterday, I breathed it today, and I shall breathe it tomorrow."

RUTHENBERG RE-LEASED ON BAIL

St. Joseph, Mich.—C. E. Ruthenberg, executive secretary, Workers party, has been released on bail after his arrest with 14 others on Michigan state criminal syndicalism charges. Ruthenberg and the rest are alleged to have been present at a gathering of radicals in Berrien county the night of Aug. 21. Efforts are being made to obtain bail for the others.

WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA District Nine.

225 Fifth St., So., Minneapolis, Minn., September 2, 1922.

All City Central Committees,
All Local Branches, Workers' Party of America.
Dear Comrades:

The National Defense Committee is faced with the necessity of raising immediately a large defense fund as well as many thousands of dollars in bail.

You are therefore instructed to at once organize the defense work in your district to the fullest extent. Create in every local a Defense Committee. Get this committee on the job organizing public defense meetings, collecting funds and raising bail for imprisoned comrades.

Inform Edgar Owens, Room 307, 166 West Washington St., Chicago, of all bail you can raise. All contributions for defense are to be remitted to the National Defense Committee, Room 405, 799 Broadway, New York City.

A number of other defense organizations are lending assistance to us in the present emergency. However, we must depend upon our own organization to meet the situation.

Organize your defense committees.

Raise all bail possible at once, liberty bonds and cash.

Raise defense funds through contributions and meetings.

Further information will be sent you within a day or two.

IMMEDIATE ACTION IS NECESSARY!

Yours in comradeship,

H. E. KEAS, District Org.

U. S. Refused to Go 50-50 With Russia on Technical Inquiry

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

Washington.—Because it cannot tolerate the idea of an equal exchange of courtesies with Russia, the state department's scheme for sending a technical commission of inquiry into the soviet republic has been abandoned before it was fairly born. Moscow was willing to receive the American delegation and to let them look at anything in the Russian industrial and economic situation that might excite their interest, but it asked for the equal privilege of sending men to the United States to look into our business conditions. The department then dropped the discussion.

Nevertheless, trade with Russia goes forward indirectly, in spite of the department's private war against the Russian government and people. It is disclosed, for example, that the Baldwin locomotive works has delivered to Moscow a large shipment of modern locomotives, paid for in gold, after the state department through its Russian division—then in charge of Arthur Bullard—had brusquely assured the lawyers in the transaction that no such shipment would be permitted. Reasons given by Bullard were that Russia might use these locomotives for military purposes, and that the United States was interested in protecting Poland against possible Russian attacks. The lawyers were discouraged, but the Baldwin firm shipped the locomotives through an agent—said to have been Swedish—and made a big profit on the transaction.

CHAPLIN DISCRIMINATED AGAINST

(By Defense News Service)

Leavenworth, Kas.—One more instance of discrimination against political prisoners in the federal penitentiary here is seen in Warden Biddle's action in depriving Ralph Chaplin, I. W. W. serving 20 years for not believing in the war, of the privilege of writing letters to any one or of receiving any visitors.

Biddle's heavy hand descended thus because of a telegram which Chaplin sought to send to Pardon Attorney James A. Finch in Washington in behalf of the 52 I. W. W. members who have refused to apply for individual clemency.

Finch had indicated to the General Defense Committee of Chicago that statements of fact by prisoners might facilitate the work of reviewing their cases. Acting for his 51 fellow-prisoners, Chaplin presented to the prison offices a message for transmission by wire to Finch. The message read:

"Your letter to General Defense Committee misunderstood here. In what manner can prisoners help to settle points in controversy that full justice may be done? What do you mean by statement of fact which should properly come from prisoners? Kindly tell us just what we are expected to do."

Biddle summoned Chaplin, told him the telegram was impertinent, scored the former editor of the Industrial Solidarity because of the poems he had written since being imprisoned, and ordered him transferred to the prison laundry. He also threatened him with reduction to the third class, which would mean taking away practically every remaining privilege.

Trade Union Educational League Resolutions

Chicago.—The first national conference of the Trade Union Educational league passed a number of resolutions defining its position on several subjects.

One resolution dealt with unemployment. Calling it the greatest menace to the workers in all capitalist countries today, and stating that it is the very basis of capitalist exploitation, it urges the workers in each industry to place the burden of continuously sustaining the workers usually employed therein directly upon the capitalists of that industry. It recites that the operation of many shops is many times deliberately and unnecessarily stopped as a means of sabotage on the part of employers.

The resolution on political action declares that the policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies hooks the labor movement to the tail of the capitalist political kite and literally poisons the trade unions.

The soviet government of Russia is dealt with in another resolution, which recites the struggles of the first workers' republic against the backwardness of industry, the ruin of the world war, the allied invasions, and the counter-revolutionary movements. The resolutions send the greetings of the league to the Russian workers and calls upon the workers of the world, and especially of America, to show their solidarity with them in every possible way.

THE SCAPEGOAT

Disease in Russia, according to the most recent report of the League of Nations Secretariat, is steadily increasing. There have been 25,000 cases of Asiatic cholera since the beginning of the year; typhus and relapsing fever are as prevalent as ever; there have been a number of deaths from plague, and the famine grows daily worse.

These tragic facts have caught the attention of the Times, which makes this comment:

Such is the record of Communism as a system of Government. The world has, perhaps, never been afforded an object-lesson of so terrible a kind on so great a scale.

Apologists of capitalism may save their consciences, by attributing the frightful ravages of disease in Russia to its new system of Government, but history will say that the famine and pestilence which has decimated the Russian people are as much the fruit of Allied policy as of the Russian Soviet's political errors.

—Labor Press, Eng.

TIDYING UP

In a sly little attack upon the British Prime Minister, the *Matin* prints the following under the heading, "Mr. Lloyd George's Little Presents":

In 1917, at St. Jean de Maurienne, Mr. Lloyd George promised Smyrna to Italy. On July 5, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George promised Smyrna to the Turks. In 1919, Mr. Lloyd George attributed Smyrna to the Greeks.

Well, what is the poor man to do in tidying up the map? He cannot leave property lying about. He might, of course, have offered Smyrna to the people it belongs to, but at least we can admire his generous disposition.

—Labor Press, Eng.

SWEDISH METAL WORKERS MEET RUSSIAN WORKERS

By W. DEMAR
(International Press Correspondent)

The Swedish Metal Workers' Union has invited representatives from sister organizations in many European countries, to attend its forthcoming convention. So far, so good. But the Swedish Union signed against the ethics of the international labor movement, as defined by Amsterdam, by inviting among the others, the Russian Metal Workers' Union.

This unprecedented and unheard of act has been brought up by the official organ of the Social Democratic premier of the Kingdom of Sweden. In an editorial of the *Stockholm Socialdemokraten* for July 1, we read: "The so-called Red International of Labor Unions, that is, the special organization for splitting the European trade union movement, received today rare encouragement from the Swedish unions. . . . And, further on: 'If anyone had told us, a month ago, that the Bolshevik cell tactics could grow to such an extent that they could menace the unity of the Swedish labor union movement, and that they could lead this union into disloyalty to its international relations, we would have ridiculed him. . . .'

Yet, it happened. Even the deepest fears of the Swedish high priests of the Second International have been justified. How comes it then, that Mr. Branting and his party have not sufficiently watched over the Swedish workers, who are now preparing to meet the Russian metal workers, just as though it meant nothing? The reason is quite simple: In the previous convention of the metal workers, the minority, sympathetic to Bolshevism was able to secure the majority of the seats on the executive committee. (It has long been well known that these Bolsheviks are skillful scoundrels. . . .) And even after Amsterdam had ceased protesting over the above disclosures of the personnel of the committee, the Social Democratic gentlemen continued their plans.

They were not exactly against the unity of the Swedish and Russian metal workers. The evil of the whole matter is just "that, on such an invitation, a few representatives of the R. I. L. U. will present themselves. . . . Quite evidently, the Russian metal workers will not send them Amsterdam adherents; on that matter it is not merely the editors of the *Socialdemokraten* who are convinced, but also those who invited the Russians. In this manner, the Social Democrats seek to frighten the insurgents of the Metal Workers' Union by stating that their act constitutes the moral support of the R. I. L. U. against which the Amsterdam International is conducting a bitter struggle.

We do not yet know whether the leaders of the Metal Workers Union are really terrified, but we do know that the Social Democrats are in a state bordering on panic.

At the Fifth All Russian Metal Workers Congress, we also invited the Swedish organization and hoped for nothing less than that they would send us, as representatives, adherents of the Red International. It was far more probable, however, that Amsterdam men would come; yet we had no objection to discussing with them the international labor movement, before several hundred delegates of the Russian metal workers. The secretary of the Swedish Union wrote us that the delegates could not attend, owing to technical reasons; the invitations were received too late. We regretted this greatly.

We must, however, recognize that the panic of the Socialdemokraten is not altogether groundless. The Russian metal workers' union has now received two official invitations to conventions of foreign comrades. The Norwegians invited us some time ago; and they made a final break with Amsterdam in their last convention, without the participation of the representatives of the R. I. L. U., as our delegates arrived late for the convention. But it is not only the metal workers who are entering into relations with the Russian unions. Some of our unions, as is well known, have already been accepted into their international federations, and take part in international congresses.

No other than O'Grady has told our chemical workers that he will take all measures to assure their entry into the international federation.

Herein lies the real reason for the anxiety of Branting's party in a matter which is, after all, not of world importance, namely, the invitation of the Russian Metal Work-

ers. The blockade of the Russian unions, conducted by the Amsterdam International, with the aid of its lackeys, the Second and the 2½ Internationals, has been broken through. This blockade was the love-token, presented by Messrs. Vandervelde, Branting, Thomas and Co. to the capitalists of the world, who desired, with the help of this blockade, to cancel the harmful revolutionary influence of the Russian Soviet Republic. What an irony of fate! The methods of Amsterdam were precisely those of the capitalists. Of the results of these methods, their originators can judge best.

The adherents of the R. I. L. U. do not split unions. It is the Amsterdam adherents who do this, through their blockade of the Russian unions, and through their mass expulsions of revolutionary groups from unions and the expulsion of whole unions from national federations. (See Germany and Czechoslovakia.) The Russian Metal Workers' delegates do not come to split Swedish unions, but to unite with the Swedish workers in a common fight against capital. And we fear that this "safeguarding" of the Swedish labor union movement, against the "attacks of the Moscow splitters," will also be favored by the Swedish government, which is affiliated with the Second International.

And, if this does happen, the working masses of all countries will understand, without special explanation, where the reason lies. And that will not greatly rejoice the Amsterdam gentleman. For this reason, the Swedish metal workers, will not be particularly enthusiastic supporters of Mr. Branting and his party.

Minister Sides With Strikers; Expects to Be Enjoined From Praying

Pledge of allegiance to the cause of the strikers was given in a letter sent to B. M. Jewell, head of the striking shophmen, by Rev. Wallace M. Short, former mayor of Sioux City, Iowa, a copy of which was received in Minneapolis today.

The letter follows:

"Sioux City, Iowa,
"Sept. 6, 1922.

"Bert M. Jewell,
"Somewhere in the World:
"One whose fathers have fought in every battle for human liberty on American soil sends you greetings. You and your fellows are fighting one of the great battles of history for the rights of man.

"I pledge my allegiance to your cause, and hasten to offer up a prayer for your success, expecting tomorrow to be enjoined from offering prayers for you.

"REV. WALLACE M. SHORT,
American, Incidentally for a Few Years Mayor of Sioux City."
—From Minn. Star.

A "Model" Penitentiary

By MIRIAM ALLEN deFORD
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

San Quentin, Cal.—Here is an extract from a letter from a prisoner in this "model" penitentiary, with its "advanced" warden. For the sake of protecting the writer, his name must be omitted:

"I am in what they call the old man's ward. The doctor visits this part of the institution daily and he makes quite a lot of noise about sanitary conditions, but it would surprise anybody who is a judge of cleanliness if he could see the rottenness here.

"All have to bathe in the same bathtub. One man died here yesterday who was rotten with syphilis. He was regularly bathed in the old man's bathtub, and after he would be taken out of the bath you would find small particles of flesh (rotten flesh at that) left in the bathtub after him.

"They put healthy men to sleep on mattresses and blankets that are never sterilized. Men are placed in cells that are never thoroughly cleaned or renovated."

Newspaper reports to the effect that the protest strike of the criminal syndicalism prisoners has been "called off" are false. The men are still confined in dungeons or solitary, with the exception of Sanchez, who had to be carried out because of his weakened condition, and Hannon, who has lost the sight of one eye and is rapidly going blind in the other.

Demand for General Rail Strike Grows

Omaha Resolution Asking for General Strike Endorsed by Many Labor Bodies.—Two Central Bodies Reject Plan.

The sentiment for a general strike against the efforts of the capitalist class of the United States to destroy the unions and reduce the standard of living of the American working class is rapidly developing, though, for the most part, the agitation is in misdirected channels.

The Omaha resolution, adopted several days ago has been made public by John M. Gibb, president of the Central Labor Union of that city, and calls upon the executive council of the American Federation of Labor to call a national strike in protest against "the slavery conditions that are being imposed upon us."

The resolution, after referring to the strike of the miners, railway employees and New England textile workers, declares that "the President of the United States now informs us through the medium of the public press that it is his purpose to use the full power of the government, both military and judicial, to intimidate and oppress a free people and to bend them to his will; that the American standard of living must be reduced."

After providing for the forwarding of copies of the resolution to all departments of the American Federation of Labor, railway brotherhoods, and all central labor unions for their support, the document concluded with a pledge of "our lives, our liberty, and our sacred honor to the establishment, maintenance, and defense of a living rate of wages in the United States."

Many central bodies, among them the Portland, Ore., Central Labor Union, have endorsed the Omaha resolution, and only two such bodies have refused to endorse it. Those two bodies are the Denver, Colo., central union and the arch-reactionaries of the San Francisco Labor Council, who gave aid and comfort to the capitalist class enemy in its efforts to keep Tom Mooney and his co-defendants in jail in California, although it is known to all the world that they are innocent of the crimes against them.

The adoption of such resolutions shows the unmistakable trend of labor in this country, and, although the American Federation of Labor is powerless to even call strikes in the large industries, such demands serve a useful purpose in arousing the workers and impressing upon them the necessity for united action.

Miners of Europe Will Raise 10,000 pounds For American Miners

(Condensed from European Service)

Frankfurt, Germany. — International miners' congress pledges 10,000 pounds for assistance of American miners. No action taken on export of scab coal during the American miners' strike or admission of delegates from Russian Federation of Miners. Folly of forcing German miners to work overtime to mine coal exacted by Versailles peace treaty, thereby throwing out of employment 50,000 British miners, is to be presented to reparations commission appointed by congress. Proposal to call 24 hours' strike to convince bosses of power of miners to enforce demands was turned down in favor of one approving a general international strike in the event of threatening war.

Cost of Living Rising

The cost of living is 56 per cent higher than it was in August, 1914, according to the National Industrial Conference Board.

Not only is the cost of living higher than in 1910, but it is rising steadily. The United States Department of Labor through the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that food costs are 4 per cent higher than in 1921.

Food represents 40 per cent of the total expenditure of the average family. An increase in food prices, therefore, means a very material increase in the general cost of living.

With wage cuts and more wage cuts threatened the workers are facing an unusually hard winter.

Approximately 5 per cent has been subtracted from the value of the workers' wages, in terms of purchasing power. That is a reduction of 5 per cent in real wages.

—Solidarity.

FORD SAYS WALL STREET PROFITEERS CAUSED STRIKES

DETROIT.—Declaring that the railroad and coal strikes "were brought about artificially by the Wall St. interests that own the railroads and the coal mines, for the sole purpose of getting a higher price for their coal," Henry Ford announced that he would close down his factories and branches, employing about 100,000 men, rather than pay profiteers "dishonest prices" for fuel.

The complete shutdown, which will affect about 1,000,000 men in other factories depending on Ford orders, is called for Sept. 16.

Ford said that if his railroad, the D. T. & L., went directly from his factories to his Kentucky coal mines, he could bring 250 cars of coal a day to Detroit, but that he was dependent on a short haul over either the Chesapeake & Ohio or the Louisville & Nashville. Both of these roads, D. T. & L. officials said, have ceased to deliver coal to the Ford road, owing to strike conditions, since the Ford road organized its equipment for handling heavy trains.

Increasing Paralysis of Transportation

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

National strike headquarters at the railway employe' department, A. F. of L., point to daily reports from division centers as evidence of the increasing paralysis of rail transportation.

The Rock Island System Federation has received reports from 23 out of 93 points. These 23 points report 153 engines completely tied up. This means that there are today more engines completely tied up at one-quarter of the points than there were on the entire line prior to the strike.

Herrington, Kan., reports: "I am told that no air brake work has been done at this point since July 1. It looks like a government man could do good work at this point if he would just get in here."

Buffalo (Erie R. R.), reports 800 loaded cars on the side tracks with no power to move them.

Grand Fords, N. D. (Great Northern), reports: "Following letter sent to Chief of Federal Locomotive Inspection—A few days ago, G. N. engine 88 was tied up by Federal Inspector Dixon. This engine was put back in service without repairs being made. Tires are worn below limit."

Central of Georgia Federation reports: "Vice President and General Manager L. A. Downs of the road gave a statement to the press while here recently that trains were moving practically on time, plenty of men in the shops and that they were moving all freight they had by given time. I went and talked to some of the shippers and they branded this statement as false. They said that he might fool some people with a statement of that kind but that they knew better. I went out Tuesday and counted 237 bad order coal cars that were stowed away on tracks two miles out of town."

Lehigh Valley Federation reports: "Seventeen hundred cars of freight in Coxton Yard said to be shipped. No engine ready. One crew called three times in 24 hours and dismissed on account of inability to get an engine in."

San Antonio, Tex. (Southern Pacific) reports: "On Aug. 23, the engine on the north bound night special (I. G. N.) broke an axle—and the right main wheel broke completely off. The rods whirled around and stripped the whole side of the engine. One of the crew jumped and was badly injured. A serious accident, in both cases, was only averted by the slow speed. If there had been a serious wreck, the shophmen would have been charged with wrecking the train. The newspapers are silent whenever the accidents are chargeable to the management of the railroads."

Bakersfield, Cal. (Southern Pacific) reports: "There are seven miles of trains on double tracks west of

Needles, waiting for power to move them. A freight train was pulling out when one of the boys noticed a brake beam dragging. He called it to the attention of a brakeman who got the train stopped after some time was spent in getting the signal to the engineer. A serious wreck was averted and if there had been no strike, Brother Hutton, who was the one who notified the brakeman, would have had his name in the company's bulletin and been given a number of merit marks."

Figures Prove Coolie Standard

In an article appearing in "The Minn. Star" on Aug. 24, G. R. G. claims to have saved \$8,000 in a period of 32 years of married life. No doubt he did, if he claims so. But I have some figures which can show that he lived the life of a coolie (or collie) and is a disgrace to mankind if he allowed his family to live on the amount he spent for food and clothing while he attempt to save (?) for the future.

I have figured these items very conservatively and take it for granted that he has never been "laid off" or out on a "strike."

From his article I take it for granted that his average wages for the 32 years have been \$25 per week, but I doubt very much if such is the case.

His budget as I have made out is as follows:

Earnings for one year at \$25 per week, \$1,300; one-third of earnings for rent, \$433; insurance, \$20; charity (strike fund, dues, church, war chest, etc., \$35; carfare and other transportation, \$47; amusements, candy, etc., \$30; music, \$45; doctor bills, medicine, etc., \$30; total in this group, \$640; balance, \$660; savings for year, \$260; balance, \$400; clothing, \$160; food, \$240; total for all, \$1,300.

So we see that he really spent an average of less than \$5 per week for food. I wonder what that man's name is that can live with a family of five on \$5 per week.

MAX GREENBERG.

—Minn. Star.

CAUGHT IN THE ACT

Washington.—That a U. S. deputy marshal was caught redhanded while placing a bomb near the Santa Fe shops at San Bernardino, Calif., is charged by M. D. Farrington, of the strikers' publicity committee at that point. He reports that strike pickets, watching the man, insisted that Sheriff Shay go with them and dig up the parcel the man had concealed, which proved to be a bomb. Previously a number of harmless explosions near the shops had been blamed on the strikers. Now the Santa Fe management and the U. S. marshal are declared by the strike committee to be trying to hush up the scandal of the deputy's exposure. No arrest appears thus far to have been made.

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No law should e'er permit a need
To satisfy some tyrant's greed.

Above all kings and parasites,
All crooks however high,
Are those of labor-usefulness—
The class of you and I.
No lords of earth or sky or hell
Should e'er a word have leave to tell.
No law but what the workers make
Should be the one for earth to take.

There is no thing like "honest" gold
While things of use are bought and sold.
There is no room on earth for those
Who profit by the people's woes.

THE JESUS-THINKERS

By MICHAEL GOLD.

Jesus suffered and died for something he believed good; he was not a verbose, tricky journalist, a successful parson, a cunning exploiter of labor, or even a politician, and for this we must respect him. For his age Jesus was undoubtedly an innocent and beautiful poetical voice of all that is best in the emotions of the animal man; we can love him for that, as we love Shelley and Whitman. We have all of us his tender child-hunger in our veins, that makes us dream of a simple and gentle world, where there is no strife, where all is mild and fraternal, and where men are as little children. It is a beautiful weakness to try to live in that world now. It is a cowardice, too, and must be extirpated from one's soul with a terrible knife if one is to become a man. The spirit of Jesus, His legend in one's blood, leads to confusion, ineffectiveness, and despair in the modern world. Exactly as we must learn to break loose from our earthly fathers to become men, so we must cast off the Heavenly Father of Jesus, and stand with firmly planted feet on the earth. Just as we outgrow the fantasies and follies of childhood, so must we outgrow the follies of the young superstitious Jesus in order to understand reality and conquer it.

For Jesus was a savage and a child. He was subjective, as are children and savages. He believed only in the workings of his own imagination; he did not construct his picture of life from the world around him, as do active men, scientists and others who live on this planet of mud and blood and suffering. Jesus made no concessions to the outer world. Neither does a child. How painful and long is the process by which it learns that fire burns, and knives cut human flesh, and all food is not equally good. What years of stubborn battling before it yields to the truth of human limitation! Jesus never yielded to that truth; he claimed up to his death that his desires were everything, and the world nothing. And he did not love humble men and women enough to understand their problems, and to teach them a way out. He strove to make them perfect at a bound. He was the most savage of despots, exactly like a child. He wanted a world fashioned after his own fantasy, and since the world could not respond, he felt himself a persecuted saint. Why did he not think out the simplest program that would benefit the suffering world of the poor by even the slightest fraction? Why did he leave them in misery, with only the vision of a perfect and impossible world before their tear-blurred eyes? It was because he was a child—Jesus was ever the Son of God. He was never a man, he remained a child.

It is still necessary to discuss Jesus, because his legend has crept into the blood of every social philosopher of the western world, and it causes much damage still. Our pacifists are Jesus-thinkers, our liberals are all Jesus-thinkers (except in wars against other nations), most of our Socialists hold the flag of Jesus and become bitter humanitarians when they wish to attack Soviet Russia; the taint is everywhere.

The Jesus-thinker knows that he is good, fraternal, just and equalitarian; and he wants the world to become that way. Human misery wounds him to the heart; he would die, as did Jesus, to make men happy and free. He is a fine type of super-being, but he makes the typical Jesus-mistake of refusing to admit that there are obstacles in the path of such a world. There are governments, policemen, capitalists, politicians, armies, navies, gunmen, the state. To the Jesus-thinkers these count for nothing. It is necessary only to be noble and to save other souls for nobility. It is not necessary to think out plans for meeting the opposition, for there is no opposition to nobility. It is not necessary to think about what might happen if millions of the poor suddenly rose against the rich, and the rich turned machine guns on them. It is not necessary to think about what to do with men who try to assassinate the leaders of a free and fraternal world, as they who sought to assassinate Lenin.

The Jesus thinkers care only for the nobility and purity of their own souls. They are ethical. But does a doctor dream of ethics when he is cutting some rotten flesh out of the side of a sick man? Does a drowning swimmer think of nobility and purity when he is caught by an undertow? He thinks only of objective things, of the force of the waves. He thinks of his own force. The doctor thinks scientifically when he is performing an operation. There is a science in human history, too; that is what the Jesus-thinkers will never admit or see. They mistake their own longings for the movement of humanity. They are egotists, worried about their own souls. They refuse to be objective. It is an ethical crime in their eyes to acknowledge that the majority of mankind acts in certain ways, and to study those ways scientifically, in order to control them for the greatest ends. Jesus-thinkers believe in every science but the science of human happiness.

For Jesus-thinkers want a fraternal world, but they are not willing to pay the full price—which is thought and action. They want only to feel. They want humanity saved as Jesus saved it, preaching and seducing to righteousness a few simple fishermen in a little village of Palestine. They are villagers. They refuse to look at the immense forces of economics and politics with which the fate of humanity is now bound up. They refuse to join parties, to aid in the control and manipulation of those forces. They have no program to carry out, to maneuver for, to scheme for, to fight for and fight others for. That is why they can be pure and pacifistic. The best pacifist generally has a fine income. Poor people are notoriously bloody and bitter when aroused. And the poor have a definite program, based on the source of all our woes, the industrial system. But the best Jesus-thinker is one who has nothing more to gain in this world; he is above the battle. Poor people have so much to gain; no wonder they cannot help fighting.

Jesus-thinkers, like Debs and Anatole France, act on the theory that the Russian Bolsheviks have some sort of special craving for bloodshed, and that is why they sent a message asking for the release of the Social Revolutionary leaders. It does not matter that these leaders plotted for the death of Lenin, and aided Wrangel, Denikine, and the Allies in the killing of hundreds of thousands of poor Russian workers and peasants. The Jesus-thinker pardons his enemies (sometimes). Would a Socialist Jesus-thinker have pardoned Wrangel and Kolchak? Might he have perhaps even not resisted them, but turned the other cheek? It would have been a lovely ethical gesture, but it would have not been scientific, say the Bolsheviks. And it is not scientific, men being what they are, to give the Russian nation the impression that these Social Revolutionaries were correct in sending an assassin with poisoned bullets to shoot Lenin. Other men are waiting to shoot Lenin, and the Allies still wait outside the borders to swoop down and kill, maim, rape, hang, burn and destroy the citizens of the first worker's republic at the next sign of faltering or weakness. Jesus-thinkers hate to believe this, however. They can never

believe anything but goodness of the enemy; they are not scientists, and refuse to accept reality.

I have mentioned Debs in the foregoing paragraph and his message to the Soviets. Debs, of course, is not of the cheap, rangy Socialist political type that seized upon this opening to subtly stir up more sentiment in the west against the Russian regime. He is a friend of the Soviets. He is a labor man to the core, and a great labor man. His message to the striking railroad workers and miners was virile and realistic. It is just what Lenin might have said to them. But why this Jesus-taint in the blood of the grand old Debs? Why, if he is behind the strikers, though they have killed scabs here and there, and burned down buildings, does he turn against the Russians, though they have been stung into protection against their own scabs? It is a mystery—a Christian mystery.

No; Jesus was a child, and we must not follow a child in a world where all the strength and wisdom of a man are needed if one is to survive. Millions of human beings die of famine in this world. Millions live in slums, amid bedbugs, dirt, disease and hunger. Millions work under masters who starve them and shoot them down in strikes. The hospitals are filled with the innocent victims of poverty, the jails, the asylums tell their story. There is a giant edifice of tyranny and woe built upon human bodies. What is to be done? We must study the conditions and fight a way through this wilderness. We must not think about our own souls; we must think of the destiny of humanity. We must drive through at any cost—the world infamy must end. And it is not enough to feel this all—one must think and act. The legend of Lenin is more beautiful to me than the legend of Jesus. A strong, practical man with a heart as pure as that of Jesus leads great masses to emancipation; steals himself against the bloody sacrifices that must be made, and wins to a tentative victory. Victory—not purity. The Russian Bolsheviks will leave the world a better place than Jesus left it. They will leave it on the threshold of the final victory—the poor will have bread and peace and culture in another generation, not churches and a swarm of lying parasite minister dogs, the legacy of Jesus.

—The Liberator.

THE CO-OPERATIVE CONVENTIONS OF 1922

By KARL BITTELL (Esslingen)

This year's conventions of the cooperatives in the various countries have shown that the proletarian opposition is growing. The differences between the masses, which are the basis of the consumer's cooperatives, and the leaders, acting on purely business principles; appear more and more clearly. While the proletarian opposition wants to make of the cooperatives an organ of the class struggle which would support the party and the trade unions, the leaders hold on to the asinine dogma of "political neutrality," and believe that the cooperatives will serve to overcome the class differences. Circumstances are forcing them however to concede, little by little, to the demands of the proletariat.

The convention of English Cooperatives in Brighton, at the beginning of June, gathered 1700 delegates. The striking thing was the convention was presided over by a woman, Miss Evelyn Davis, the foremost important role in the cooperative movement. For the first time, the convention was presided by a woman, Miss Evelyn Davis, the former General Secretary of the Guild of Women's cooperatives. In her opening address she pointed to the necessary democratic reforms within the movement to render it more fit to fulfill its task in relation to capitalism. She spoke very warmly of the Soviet Cooperatives.

General Secretary, Comrade May, spoke for the Cooperative International. He merits our sincere thanks for his defense of the Soviet cooperatives in the International.

The most interesting questions raised at the English Convention have been, for years, those concerning the International. The break-up of the Cooperative International at the beginning of the war was again brought up, and the problems of its reconstruction discussed. The London vote of censure was rejected. The question of cooperation with the Labor Party and the trade unions roused a lively discussion. A credit of £605,700 was voted to the striking miners. A resolution was passed to create a cooperative daily newspaper. Most remarkable was the unanimous acceptance of a resolution presented by Perry of the Cooperative Party, demanding the revision of the Versailles Treaty. In this resolution we find the following passage:

"The Congress further recommends that, that in order to secure peace, any government accepted by a people shall be recognized by the other governments." Which, we believe, is direct reference to Russia.

Comrade Polovtse, spoke at the International evening. She was heartily greeted. She appealed to the congress to promote the practical reconstruction of the Cooperative International by actual inter-cooperative trade. For the first time again, the German Central Union was represented by three delegates.

The English Guild of Women's Cooperatives held its Congress in Portsmouth on the 20th and 21st of June. The independence and activity of the Women's Guild was demonstrated again; in a resolution, that not only a purely cooperative newspaper should be founded (which would cost over 10 million gold marks), but a political trade-union cooperative newspaper.

At the Congress of the French Cooperatives in Marseilles the Communists led a sharp attack against the bureaucracy of the cooperatives.

Comrade Henriot (Paris) reproached the central organization for not having fought sufficiently against the profit and turnover tax, and pointed out that this was due to the efforts of the leaders to work in harmony with the bourgeoisie. Our comrade demanded that the cooperatives change their tactics and join the ranks of the revolutionary workers. He criticized further the inimical attitude of the cooperatives towards Soviet Russia, and their failure to meet the present economic crisis.

Poisson of the central organization accused the opposition of aiming at the destruction of the cooperatives, and demanded a vote of confidence for the Central Executive. At the final vote it appeared that 213 cooperatives stood in the opposition. A resolution was adopted demanding an energetic campaign against all indirect taxes, especially against the sales tax. On the motion of Levi, a cooperative bank was founded.

The Belgian Cooperative Congress took place in Lutich at the end of June. We have received no report as yet.

The Congress of the Swiss Cooperatives took place in Olten, July 13th, and lasted 1½ hours. The fall in prices had dealt a serious blow to the consumer's leagues, enormous losses were sustained and desperate measures advocated to meet the situation—lower wages and longer working hours. At the end of the Congress a Women's Cooperative League was founded.

The Finnish Convention took place in Helsingfors at the beginning of June; the Swedish in Stockholm.

The German Cooperative Convention was held in Eisenach, in the middle of June. The proletarian opposition registered a victory against the bureaucracy. Its former economic policy (free trade) on account of the frightful losses it caused to the proletariat was completely changed. The disastrous taxation policy of the trade unions had already been repudiated in the course of the year, and Communist motto: no taxation of the Consumers Leagues, adopted. In general, the majority of the delegates again proved themselves ignorant of the requirements of the cooperatives at the present time. For instance, the demand of the Communists that self help should be increased to its limits and state and regional help demanded before applying to any bank, to maintain the independence of the cooperatives from banking capital, was emphatically rejected. And this is at a time when the necessity of governmental credit is as clear as day! A collective fight against the sales tax was also refused. The Cooperatives disgraced themselves again in their attitude toward Soviet Russia. For instance, Kaufmann supported the refusal to send an inquiry commission to Russia, (a proposition which all other countries had accepted with enthusiasm), on the ground that he refused to travel as "guest of the Soviet". The Russian delegation, led by comrade Rosovsky, which had come uninvited, was treated in such fashion that it was compelled to leave the hall in protest. A resolution demanding more energetic relief for the Russian famine sufferers, was defeated.

The Russian Cooperatives met in Moscow during the first week of July. 700 delegates were present; 533 Communists and 117 non-partisans. The congress enlarged its plan to unify the cooperatives, and

pointed out the necessity, that the cooperatives become a part of the Soviet system, and exist for the benefit of the workers' government. Theirs were the greatest tasks in the reconstruction of Russia, and the protection of the Soviet Government assured them such possibilities for development as no other cooperative movement in the world possessed. It is only in Russia that the government has given all possible help to the cooperatives in their industrial enterprises. It is only in Russia that the Commission for economic institution) ordered the Work and Defense (the highest state industries to furnish credits to the cooperatives. The cooperatives have been granted the greatest possibilities to organize the international cooperative exchange on the largest scale.

The congress greeted heartily the admission of the Soviet cooperatives into the Cooperative International, and the cooperation of the non-Soviet Russian cooperatives which had formed a fraction at the congress and sent their representatives to the Administrative Committee. The Western European cooperators were greeted with enthusiastic applause, especially Clara Zetkin, who addressed the congress in the name of the Executive of the Comintern.

—Inter. Press.

DINNER PAIL EPICS

By BILL LLOYD

(By The Federated Press)

Red raids is come to be the rule in our policemen's Russian school. We have the notebook leaves today which czars and kaisers threw away. For anyone the powers dislike might just as well go take a like, or else he won't go very far before he lands behind the bar.

Let anyone displease the powers and the police will choose the hours when they will make a quick descent and show for fair their Prussian bent. A "red" is anybody who the interests would railroad through, and if the guy ain't naturalized the officers have him sure sized as a bomb-thrower and a guy who's really only fit to die.

So if the liberal statement's made the officers pull off a raid. The office furniture is smashed, the office boy is cut, and gashed, the office records are destroyed, while the police are overjoyed. The Black Maria is backed up, the janitor is sore hacked up, the typist is slapped on the wrist, the boss he gets a plain-clothes fist. The poor book-keeper is thrown out, the van is loaded with a shout. In short, when everything is said, they've gathered in a bunch of "red."

A charge against them is no matter. They must not be allowed to scatter what any of 'em thinks or

knows, for fear the constitution goes. And so with something of a clatter, the constitution goes to shatter. The interests sigh with great relief, the reds are booked before the chief, the bunch is all thrown into jail, and the sky-limit is the bail.

That's how they stage the thing these days, while every working man he pays. His freedom shrinks beyond all hope, like woollens washed with too much soap.

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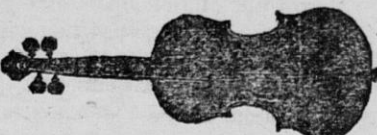
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Issued Weekly By The West End Labor Association.
J. O. BENTALL, Editor.

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

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

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

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

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



14

WHERE IS THE VICTORY?

This week the hard coal miners returned to work after a strike lasting five months. Like the soft coal miners, they evidently decided to go back with the mules to stand the dangers and hardships and privations of mine life a while longer.

The acceptance of peace proposals came about last week at a joint meeting of the union representatives and operators in Philadelphia. The miners go back at the old scale of wages although the operators declared last April that there should be a reduction in wages. This fact is heralded by many as proof that the miners won.

The operators are keeping still. They are busy looking after the dollars which the increased price for coal brings them. They do not need to talk about winning the strike. They can listen to the jingle of the coin and laugh up their sleeves. They know who won the strike. They do not need to brag about it. Such a strike suits them well. They can, with profit, afford to shut down during a season and hold the reserve stock of coal for high prices. The stock that is now being mined will also go at the same rate. Good business proposition for the operators!

This is not all. The hard coal miners return to work under a contract which is to expire August 31, 1923. The soft coal miners difficulties come up again in April 1923. Then the hard coal miners are tied up with a contract. The operators scored again and again they can laugh up their sleeves. A contract to them is but a scrap of paper anytime they wish to end it. But they know very well that labor has not gotten to that point yet. Who won?

In spite of the bluff that is put up by many labor papers everyone knows who won. No one is deceived by being told that the miners won now. They lost and all workers lost with them. But there will be more skirmishes in the class struggle before labor wins. The miners gave evidence of solidarity. We shall hear from them later.

INCREASE PRODUCTION—ELIMINATE WASTE

There would be enough for all the workers to live well if production were increased and waste eliminated, thinks the editor of the Duluth Herald. He sees the waste in class war, particularly in strikes. He sees the pile the master class has accumulated and he sees the masses in poverty. He figures that the masters' pile divided would not give the masses comfort. He says, "Increase production, eliminate waste, that is the only way it can be done."

We grant all this. But the editor of the Herald thinks this can be done under the capitalist system. We know it cannot be done that way for inherent in the development of the profit system is an ever increasing waste and unproductiveness. His method of increasing production would be to speed up the workers and have them refrain from strikes and trust God and God's employers to give the workers a softer bed.

The capitalist system doesn't work that way. As long as there is an owning class and a wage slave class there will be strife and waste. The workers wish to keep more and more of what they produce and the owners of the tools of production wish to take more and more of the workers' production. It means continual strife as long as the system lasts.

The workers seeing that their share is always a mere pittance, regardless of the amount produced, slump on the job. They retard production. But this is a mere drop in the bucket compared to the retardation of production caused by the masters' laying off men due to loss of markets—not two or three men, but millions. This scarcity of markets will increase as the system continues so that loss of production will increase greatly.

The masters organize to keep the workers in subjection. This means taking more and more men from productive work. Production is retarded. They have their chambers of commerce, their detective agencies, their investigators, their inspectors, the whole system of law and courts, the army and in fact the whole government machinery. All this is necessary to protect property—the property of the owning class. And all of these thousands and thousands are taken from productive work and set to watch the pile that the masters have.

Then there are many of the masses who have been subjected to undernourishment, poor housing, bad environment for generations and the result is that they have degenerated. Some are diseased, some are delinquent, some have been laid up as a result of industrial accidents. They are in the scrap heap. Having produced this scrap heap with the capitalist system, the capitalists are forced to watch it. So we have our doctors, our nurses and social workers of every brand and description. Children's protectors, legal aiders, vocational advisors, humane officers, attendance officers, probation officers, matrons of hells for the homeless, welfare workers, industrial secretaries, lend-a-handers and dog-chasers—all non-productive and numbering thousands.

Add to this list the advertisers, hawking salespeople and agents and peddlers of all kinds and you increase the list of non-producers by several thousands more.

Besides all this there are the millions of workers who are engaged in producing killing paraphernalia, guns, battle ships, explosives and whatnot. All necessary to the capitalist system, but destructive of human welfare. Every worker

digging iron ore that goes into a battleship is engaged in unproductive work as far as human welfare is concerned. So is every worker who turns a hand towards producing any instruments of war, and they total millions. Some one has estimated that under the capitalist system perhaps about one in seven is actually engaged in productive work. If all were, two hours of useful labor diverted to the welfare of society would give the average worker more comforts than he has now under capitalism with long hours and spasmodic unemployment and strife.

Most people have let the capitalist profit system get such a clutch on their brains that they cannot even imagine an economic order based on anything but profit. An industrial system based on service to society would mean that all the workers do productive work and work useful to society. This would increase production and eliminate waste.

Such a system will not come until the workers are organized and powerful enough to get control of industry away from those who have accumulated the big piles. Not for the sake of the piles. We agree with the Herald editor that the piles divided would amount to nothing, but to get the system, the pile owners are defending, out of the way as old rubbish. Then the workers must build up on an entirely different basis, not for profit, but for service, not competition, but cooperation. It will be a slow painful task, but it is the only effective way. It is the only way that leads to life for the coming generation.

CO-OPERATIVE A FACTOR IN THE SHOPMEN'S STRIKE

Those who think that the main value of cooperatives is educational will have to readjust their thinking machinery somewhat after getting in touch with the Consumers' Co-operative in Duluth. This store is giving definite material benefits right now, as hundreds of striking railroad men in Duluth will testify. Not only is credit given but the strikers are given a reduction below the price that other customers are obliged to pay. Thus the Cooperative takes a very important part in the class struggle today.

Without the Cooperative the solidarity of the shopmen might still be one-hundred percent. One can never tell what kind of heroic stuff there is in the fellow next to you at the counter. But with the Cooperative it is certain that solidarity of the shopmen is more easily attained.

In a similar way cooperatives in neighboring vicinities have been able to benefit the workers during the strike. In Minneapolis the Franklin Co-operative Creamery, in spite of a falling off of the milk supply, has been instrumental in keeping the price of milk from advancing.

In Two Harbors the workers have a cooperative store that is part and parcel of their class struggles. It has been a force to keep the strikers united.

Of course, as soon as the cooperatives become powerful enough to do much effective work for labor the wrath of the capitalists will be turned upon them and they will be crushed.

Wholesale houses can easily cause the cooperatives embarrassment. It is unreasonable to expect the cooperatives to be able to stand up against such strong and powerful groups as the Retail and Wholesale Associations, once they decide that the cooperative stores must go.

The cooperatives are too weak. But in spite of their weakness they are doing practical constructive work in that they give definite help now without deceiving the people into thinking that thru cooperative patchwork here and there capitalism cannot be ousted.

Many cooperators state definitely and frankly that they are for no patchwork modification. They say they are laying the foundations for a new industrial civilization to replace capitalism. Then we are for them and hope that while they are giving temporary relief in the class struggle they may educate many to work for the new industrial civilization.

THE COMMUNIST PLOTTERS AGAIN

Editor's Note:—This editorial sounds like America, but it was taken from a Scottish paper called "The Worker."

When Sir Basil Thompson left Scotland Yard we thought the C.I.D. had been cured of the infantile stupidity of imagining that the Communists were a set of beetle-browed conspirators engaged in hair-raising plots against the powers that be. However, a certain amount of recreation must be provided for the police during the dull weather, and the detective staffs of the various cities are as busily engaged in spotting Communists as the small boys in these cities are in spotting beavers. If you happen to see Detectives Noble and M'Gimpsey looking exceptionally pre-occupied, you will guess that they are in the midst of the great game of "spot the Communist." The Sunday Mail tells us that—

"Considerable uneasiness prevails in official circles concerning the activities of the Communist Party. Although the bulk of the British people are too level-headed to be swayed by extremist propaganda it is frankly recognized that the Anarchists will do their best to provoke trouble the coming winter, and that a serious menace to law and order may result."

Of course it must be realized that our dear docile unemployed would never dream of doing anything that would disturb law and order. If the unemployed are restive, it is not due to their anxiety to avoid another winter of heart-breaking suffering; it is merely the Communist telling them about the adventures of the rich unemployed in delicious Deauville, and thereby creating quite a lot of unnecessary resentment. So all that requires to be done is to catch the Communist, and our unemployed will be happy and contented for ever afterwards.

DID YOU SEE YOUR NEIGHBOR?

All current expenses were paid this week, by TRUTH, but nothing was subtracted from the old accumulated expense. We have been doing more and we can again. The whole debt shall go and it will go if many help.

Did you see your neighbor about that sub? Did you give him your copy of TRUTH to read? Did you see the fellow near you in the shop? He may subscribe if you only ask him. Try. Here is what some of our readers say about TRUTH in letters to us. From Juneau, Alaska, comes a letter saying, "I deem TRUTH the best labor paper of the N. W., second to none in the entire United States. Keep up the good work. Will try to get more subs."

From Elkhart, Texas.—"Inclosed find \$2.00 to renew sub to TRUTH, the only real brain food."

From Minneapolis.—"Your paper is worth twice the price that it costs. Here's hoping that Bentall will soon be released."

From N. D.—"I can't get along without TRUTH, but the business men of Glenfield say it is a bolshevik paper that ought not to be printed."

From Chicago.—"All workers should read TRUTH."

From Pillager, Minn.—"We are poor but we would rather do without shoes than miss TRUTH."

If others feel this way about it and put that feeling into action, there will be money enough to enlarge the paper. Let us do it. We can if we will. We will.

WHAT VANDERBILT SAID

Young Cornelius Vanderbilt has gone to work. He is the great great grandson of the Cornelius who began as a boat rower and scraped up a pile big enough to let several generations of Vanderbilts live in idleness. But young Cornelius works. He is a newspaper reporter and a regular "go-getter." From LABOR, the voice of the railroad labor organizations published in Washington, we take these interesting and illuminating statements made by Reporter Vanderbilt:

"I learn from positive military sources that preparations have been carefully made for defense against 'internal trouble.' The War Department, I learn, is prepared to meet any emergency within twelve hours. The weapons selected for the first line of defense are to be tear-gas grenades, light aerial bombs, calculated to do greatest damage in confined areas, riot and machine guns and tanks."

The capitals are inserted by the editor of "Labor":

"I learn as well that a complete set of military orders and instructions have been prepared for telegraphic delivery to nine corps area commanders, and that these orders contain instructions that if 'the situation warrants, the troops are to shoot FIRST AND SHOOT TO KILL,' that there is to be NO QUARTER where a riot threatens to spread from, say, for instance, a ROUNDHOUSE OR STATION to the town itself."

"The employment of big guns is rendered impracticable, the purpose not being DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY as much as suppression."

"The War Department is not going to embark upon a campaign of reckless destruction. There is no limit to the number of workmen who may be killed, but property must not be injured."

What is more important to citizens generally, and labor men particularly, than the writings of Reporter Vanderbilt is the statement by Senator Borah, one of the most powerful men in the country, when the army appropriation bill was up in the Senate:

"The real danger of big military establishment is that capital hopes and expects to use it against union labor."

To that statement the senator added:

"Recent developments certainly seem to justify the view I took of a large army then and which I still hold now. One reason certain big interests supported the presidential aspiration of Gen. Leonard Wood in 1920 was that they were confident if he were elected to the White House he would place a battalion of soldiers at the doorway of union labor wherever and whenever those interests deemed the use of armed force necessary to crush union labor."

A NEW CONTRIBUTOR TO 'TRUTH'

In the issue of August 25, we published an article contributed by Henry Sara, the forceful Englishman, who crossed the United States speaking for the "Friends of Soviet Russia." Through the influence of Sara, we shall also be able to give our readers some articles by R. M. Fox, who is the author of "Factory Echoes" and other sketches. The first article by Fox appears in this issue. Don't miss any of them.

MOSCOW AND REVAL: A STUDY IN CONTRAST

R. M. FOX.

The contrast between Moscow and Reval—the Estonian port, which is the centre of the little buffer state set up by the capitalist powers on the fringe of Russia—is very glaring. In Moscow the people lack material comforts. They are forced to live lives of Spartan-like simplicity. Eating is no longer a pleasurable art: it has become just a sheer necessity. There is nothing attractive in the coarse and scanty rations which are received. Yet it appears as if lacking material things, they get an additional satisfaction out of striving to realize their ideals. Plain living and high thinking are combined here. I met men who lacked almost everything which seemed necessary to make life comfortable, or even tolerable, and yet the stoutness of their belief, the warmth of their enthusiasm could be felt like a flame. It was the big adventure for humanity which drew them on and made them think that it was all worth while. And they would not change places with anyone in the world.

In Reval I found the other extreme. It appeared as though the filth of commercialism had been swept clean out of Russia with an iron broom and lay rotting in heaps on the border. Such a heap is Reval. It is full of greasy profiteers who believe in nothing except making money. Commercial Jews and Gentiles crowd the hotels. Evil scrapings of all countries are there, living on furs, jewels, etc., which are smuggled out of Russia, juggling with rates of exchange, or fishing in the troubled commercial waters of Europe. The Estonian people themselves—who mainly work on land—are kindly and hospitable. These gentry who have battered on their little state like leeches, constitute a burning political problem which is hotly debated in their Press.

There is a hectic feverishness about the city as if everyone wants to get what they can out of life before the crash comes. Everywhere cinema shows abound, the indecency of which is not even veiled in the crude flaring posters. The cabarets, the "Cafe Russe," the "Black Cat" etc. swarm with unclean life. The decadent White Russians gather in the first named: eating and drinking themselves into a state of stupefaction every night while a gentleman clad like a Paris Apache—velvet suit, cap on one side, and a muffler loosely knotted about his neck—roars out in succession the announcements of songs and dances. All the time the patrons go on eating and drinking until they seem not far off bursting point. Some of the songs and dances were pretty and artistic enough, others were just suited to a low degenerate taste. Even the theatres give reproductions of drunken cabaret scenes among their most popular turns.

In the place where I was staying, I went to sleep every night to the accompaniment of the fiddles below and from all over the city rose sounds of gaiety until the last drunken roysterer had staggered home in the early morning air. Yet in Reval they did not seem happy. They gorged and wallowed in their coarse pursuits, but none of them seemed satisfied. The nearest they got to that was a drunken stupor. There was something evanescent and pitiful about it all. The high satisfaction, the sense of grandeur and nobility of life which I found in Moscow was entirely absent. It seemed to me that I was watching a decaying social order fall to pieces with every sign of putrefaction. And of such is the kingdom of Capitalism.

Bands and orchestras were playing in the open in Moscow, the music was free to all. Ballet dancing of a graceful artistic character was going on. The only cinema show I saw was a film showing the children in their summer colonies at work and play. Posters there were in plenty, but they were of an educational and artistic character, designed for these purposes and not exploiting degradation for profit as in Reval.

In Russia I saw a growing order. Hesitating a little, maybe, pitiful enough in parts, but with elements in it that are sane, wholesome and healthy, proceeding onward through mistakes and conflicts, animated by a shining elemental truth which hunger cannot kill, as it moves forward to build a new co-operative order for humanity.

THE GERMAN CRISIS

(From an article by Ernst Meyer (Berlin) in Inter. Press.)

When the delegates of the Communist International at the Berlin Conference, February 1922, demanded the revision of the Treaty of Versailles, ex-minister Mr. Vandervelde opposed the motion in the name of the Second International, on the ground that a revision would benefit Mr. Stinnes. It is then Mr. Vandervelde's opinion that the policy of the Entente imposes a lighter burden upon the German workers than upon the German industrial barons. In the meanwhile the policy favored by Vandervelde is bearing its fruits. The economic and political influence of Stinnes is growing, and the German proletariat sinks deeper into misery. The worker must bear all the burdens which the Entente forces upon Germany, while the capitalists have been able to coin profits even out of the payments to the Entente. The announcement of new repressive measures against Germany by France also turns to an immediate blow against the working class. To the speculator, the fall of the mark means new gains; the manufacturer meets the depreciation by raising the price of his goods, and increasing his exports; but the depreciation of the mark and the resultant increased cost of living brings the workers into a most difficult economic and political situation. The reprisals of France feed Germany's growing nationalistic hatred, and prevents the workers from concentrating their efforts upon the class struggle.

The rising cost of living menaces the very existence of the workers; the depreciation of the money is equivalent to a lowering of his wages. One has little idea in foreign countries of the misery of the German proletariat. When his wages equal but a few cents per hour, the German worker can exist only by frequent and long hours of overtime, and with the aid of his wife who also goes to the factory. Undernourishment is a very frequent occurrence, and all the diseases of malnutrition, including scurvy, rage in the country. Home work is more and more coming into existence. It sometimes exceeds twenty hours, and young children, under six years of age, often take part in it. The new increases in prices place the worker in an even more desperate situation; desperate acts by the starving population, such as looting of stores and markets are to be expected.

The Social Democratic workers' organizations which support fully the policy of the government, do not undertake the least action to prepare the fight of the proletariat against the new dangers which menace it. They are satisfied with pitiful appeals to a government in which they are represented, appeals, which of course bring no betterment of the situation. They are afraid to force any serious measures of relief, such as the seizure of gold and property, which might alienate their bourgeois allies. And they denounce the more loudly the Communists, the only section of the proletariat ready and willing to begin the fight. True, their denunciations find hardly an echo in the masses; in many places the united front effected by the Rathenau episode was not fully destroyed. But the sabotage of the leadership of the Social Democratic parties and the trade unions greatly hampers any effective fight out of the present situation. The Communist Party, therefore, has increased its propaganda in the factories and in the unions. It intensifies the work of its fractions in shop and union, and takes advantage of every opportunity to organize the masses in the struggle against the increasing oppression and misery.

The incapacity of the bourgeoisie to overcome the after-effects of the war; the politico-economic conflicts which arise every time the Entente tries to enforce the Versailles Treaty; the increased misery of the masses in all capitalist countries of Europe, especially in Germany,—all this is undermining the very foundations of the capitalist system. The Communist Party of Germany possesses the will and the power to organize the rising discontent, and lead the working masses against the present anarchy.

BOBBY

(April 19, 1910—August 28, 1922)

(By ROBERT BUCK—New Majority.)

Dear little rebel lad,
We've lost you.
Gipsy-free boy who whistled with the soft twitter of a waxwing;
Runaway to whom meal-time meant nothing;
We've lost you.
On the dunes you ran naked
And all your twelve years bristled within you
At the thought that there could be folks
Who would say the nude body is wicked.
Brave little fighter,
We've lost you.
I never knew how poignantly dear the dirt on a little soiled hand could be
Until your hand, inert, grimy as it always was,
Grew colder and colder
After you were struck down at your play—
After your proud-to-fight little body had battled in vain and,
breathing slower and slower you had gently drifted out—
No whimper; not deigning to struggle.
Dear little rebel lad,
We've lost you.
And we cannot afford to lose
Rebels.
The Koo Koo's are the chamber of commerce on night shift.

The wage worker who does not see that his interests are identical with the interests of his class, and opposed to the interests of any other class, is blind. Get the literature of industrial unionism into his hands.

We organize to prepare ourselves for the supreme task of operating the means and opportunities of employment according to our ideas.—T-bone Slim.

CHILD OF THE ROMANS

By CARL SANDBURG.

The dago shovelman sits by the railroad track
Eating a noon meal of bread and bologna,
A train whirls by, and men and women at tables
Alive with red roses and yellow jonquils,
Eat steak running with brown gravy,
Strawberries and cream, eclairs and coffee.
The dago shovelman finishes the dry bread and bologna,
Washes it down with a dipper from the water-boy,
And goes back to the second half of a ten-hour day's work
Keeping the road-bed so the roses and jonquils
Shake hardly at all in the cut glass cases
Standing slender on the tables in the dining cars.