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CAPT. HIBBEN SAYS SOVIET RUSSIA IS ONLY HONEST GOVERNMENT EXISTING TODAY

(Federated Press.)

NEW YORK.—"A short time ago," said Capt. Paxton Hibben, speaking here on The New Russia, "I said in a public address that the soviet government of Russia is the only honest government in the world today. Certain newspaper editorial writers were duly indignant. Let us see how honest the Russian government is, and how little honest some of the other governments are.

"It is claimed that the Russian government has repudiated the debts of the previous, or czarist government. If so, then there is scarcely a country in the world which has not at some time been dishonest in the same way—and one-third of the states of these United States are tarred by the same brush.

"There has been a revolution in Russia. It is an accepted doctrine of international law that a revolution cancels the financial obligations of the previous regime; it has always been so, and it will always be so. The American republic certainly did not assume the financial obligations of its former rulers, the British government. Moreover, it did not even redeem its own paper at par.

"But the Russian government is not like this. It is more honest if there may be any grades in honesty. As far back as 1918 the Russian government did offer to pay all the debts to the United States which had been contracted by the previous regime. It was we who refused to touch this 'tainted money.' And it is scarcely decent for us to be so grasping now to get our hands on this 'tainted money.' Chicherin said at Genoa that the Russian government is now and has always been ready to reach a practical solution of the problem of its debts with those concerned—and it has so reached a solution with its creditors in this country, as several of them have been repeatedly informed.

"That is one side of the picture. Now for the other side:

"Let us see now just how honest our own government is. When I went into the army in 1917 I was detailed to duty for a while to help sell liberty bonds. I made speeches, as I was told to do and as I at that time believed, saying that our liberty bonds were as good as gold and that not a man who invested in them could lose a cent. I bought some myself. Then when I was demobilized in 1919, and out of a job, and hard up, I had to sell my bonds. I got about 72 for them. Today I can buy them back from the banker to whom I sold them at about par. I do not think that that was honest. I think I was sold a gold brick."

ATTORNEY SAYS PUBLIC BELIEVES WHITE'S ARREST WAS PLANNED TO ADVERTISE ALLEN

White Says a Hamburger Peddler Would Have Been Tried. Speech Not Free for Poor Devils

(Federated Press)

Topeka, Kan.—In the minds of many Kansas people there is strong suspicion that the arrest of William Allen White on the charge of violating the industrial court law by displaying a placard in his office window expressing sympathy with the striking shopmen, was "framed" in the hope of giving Gov. Henry Allen sufficient publicity to enable him to edge into the presidential race of 1924.

With the dismissal of charges against White, Allen fled the state and has since been flooding the public press with interviews. Allen's actions strengthen the belief that the White case was a deliberately framed affair. The state showed no inclination to try the White case in court; there were several continuances on motion by the state, and finally the attorney general moved dismissal pending charges against White and the case was never aired in court.

William Allen White, publisher of the Emporia Gazette, it will be recalled, was arrested at the direction of Gov. Allen on the specific charge that, by displaying placards in his window expressing partial sympathy with the striking shopmen, he was guilty of a conspiracy to interfere with the movement of Santa Fe trains. White immediately showed fight, declaring his intention to carry the case to the U. S. Supreme court.

Opposing dismissal of the case, Atty. R. M. Hamer, counsel for White, made the following statement in open court:

"The public now believes, and with some cause, that the governor and his defendant (White) entered into an unholy, dishonorable frame-up of this suit for the purpose of promoting the political welfare of the governor—to put him in running for a position on the national ticket in 1924. This suit pictures the governor as a great man, ready to put his best friend in jail because he committed a misdemeanor. When we recall Henry and Me, and that this book made Allen governor of Kansas, we cannot blame or criticize the public for laughing at this fizzle, nor for condemning the participants.

"Nor is this all so far as the defendant is concerned. He is left in the position of betraying organized labor and the public in order to put himself and his friend in the limelight—on the front pages of the papers. It is not right to prostitute a court. Mr. White is not guilty of this, but I may talk myself black in the face but will not clear him of this stain."

Judge W. C. Harris, presiding, replied in part:

"When rumors of this kind are so prevalent and persistent as to indicate public belief it is only fair and proper that a public trial should be had and a false impression removed."

It is stated on good authority that Gov. Allen was advised in the beginning by the attorney general that White violated no law by displaying the placard and that therefore an arrest would be unlawful. Judge Huggins, chairman of the industrial court, held that a warrant for Whites arrest was not justified. Judge McDermott of the industrial court lined up with Gov. Allen, insisting that a warrant be issued.

"The foes of free speech," White declared, "never dare to cause the arrest of men who are in a position to fight the case to a finish. They may try some hamburger peddler by some little railroad station who could not afford attorneys. If ever they jump on some poor devil outside of the controversy who cannot afford to carry this thing to the higher courts I shall be glad to do so for him."

There is a well-seated belief in Kansas that the final act of this drama will be enacted at the Republican national convention in 1924.

MICHIGAN TRIAL OF COMMUNISTS WILL BE EPOCH MAKING

Chicago.—"The results of the Michigan case will determine in large part whether the labor movement will be allowed to move forward comparatively free from the guerrilla warfare that is being waged on it by Burns-Daugherty anti-labor agency and its host of gun-men-manned detective agencies, or whether West Virginia and the steel corporation owned communities in Pennsylvania are to serve as a model upon which the rest of the United States will base their attitude toward political and industrial activity of labor," declares the Labor Defense Council in opening its Christmas campaign for funds with which to defend Wm. Z. Foster and the 19 other labor men in the trial under the Michigan criminal syndicalism law.

Armed Guards Incited Battle of Herrin, Witnesses Testify

WARNED UNION MEN TO STAY AWAY FROM STRIP OR BE SHOT.

Marion, Ill.—Fifteen witnesses were called to the stand by the defense Jan. 3. at the trial of five men charged with murder in connection with the Herrin riots to bear out its contention that the invasion of Williamson County by armed guards was responsible for the killing of 20 scabs.

Highway robbery, the terrorizing of the surrounding countryside and the holding up and searching of travelers along the public highway were some of the things charged against the guards by witnesses who described events from the coming of the guards early in June up to the start of the riots the afternoon of June 21, the day three union miners were killed.

Lucian Tucker, who said he had been a miner for 28 years and was a member of the union, said that he had gone to the Lester strip mine where the trouble started about the middle of June to collect a bill. He declared that an armed guard escorted him to C. K. McDowell, superintendent of the mine and one of the first men killed during the rioting.

"McDowell asked me if I was a spy and I told him I was not," he testified.

Mc Dowell Would Mine In Blood.

"He also asked me what the union men were saying about the reopening of the mine and I told him I did not know. Then he said he was going to work the mine, union or no union, if he had to work it in blood and told me to notify the union men to keep away if they did not want to get shot."

W. M. Burton, a powder salesman and former mine union official, testified that he had visited the mine and had been held up by an armed guard, who cursed him. He said he was taken to the mine office where he had a talk with McDowell and W. J. Lester, who then owned the property.

"Lester said the mine was operating under difficulties and I asked him whether he approved the attitude of the guards," the witness said.

"Lester said the guards were a 'bunch of roughnecks' but would get down to earth soon. I told him they had better, for the citizenry of the community would not tolerate them.

"I asked him what he was going to do with the guns and he said: 'It's best to prepare for war in times of peace,' and I replied that it looked as if he were inviting war and that I did not think he could get away with it.

Lester's Machine Gun In Good Trim

"Lester then showed me a gun and said it was a machine gun and would shoot 1,500 shots a minute. I said he could kill everyone in the county with a gun like that. Lester also said that he had been making preparations to operate the mine for more than a year."

In testifying regarding the actual shooting at the mine, Tucker testified that he was in Crenshaw Crossing, a short distance from the pit, the afternoon of June 21, and saw a man carry a "big gun" to the top of the mine dump, where it was hidden behind a bush. He said that a few moments later he heard the sound of shots from the direction of the hidden gun and saw Jord Henderson, the first of three union miners killed that afternoon, fall with a bullet through his neck.

"Was there any shooting from the outside of the mine up to that time" he was asked.

"I did not see any."

Under cross-examination he said that it was not until after the shooting started that he saw any crowd outside the mine, but that within half an hour there were from 500 to 600 persons, many of them armed.

Several other witnesses told of seeing the start of the shooting from the top of the tipple of a nearby mine, and all agreed that the first shots came from the gun hidden on top of the dump.

LUMBER WORKERS VOTE TO STRIKE

By Defense News Service.
International Falls, Minn. — Fourteen hundred men in 27 camps of the Backus and Brooks Logging Company are awaiting a signal to quit their jobs. Conditions in those camps having gone from bad to worse the workers have voted to strike, and arrangements for it are in the hands of a committee from the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Demands of the strikers will include these:—

1. That all class-war prisoners be released.
2. Eight-hour day from camp to camp, and a minimum wage of \$50 per month.
3. Payment twice a month, in the form of bank check or cash, according to state laws.
4. Immediate medical attention when accident or sickness occurs.
5. Sanitary camps, including bath house, wash house and drying room.
6. Plenty of sanitary food.

Seattle's Death Record High for Camps & Docks

Seattle.—Nearly 200,000 persons hurt and 3468 killed is the toll of industry in this state of Washington for the past 10 years. These figures, submitted to the governor in the labor department's annual report, show that 28 men are killed each month in camps, factories and on the docks. The state's loss in the world war was 877 killed with a total casualty list of 3070. The timber industry is the most hazardous. Thirty-seven men were killed by logs in motion in 1922 and 25 by falling trees. Coal mines demanded the lives of 18.

ACADEMY OF ART OPENED IN DULUTH

Official announcement has been made of the opening of The Duluth Academy of Art conducted by Knut Heldner and Rae Reathel McFadden. A complete academic course consisting of composition, color organization, and constructive drawing in life, still life, and landscape.

There are day and evening classes in which the students are offered the same advantage that they may secure in other leading art schools in America. Mrs. McFadden says the prices are within the reach of all. Especial rates are offered to

YOUNG TOILERS COMMEMORATE

DEATH OF ROSA LUXEMBURG AND KARL LIEBKNECHT MURDERED LEADERS.

To commemorate the death of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who were murdered in Germany in 1919 for advocating a revolutionary government following the deposition of the kaiser, nationwide demonstrations will be held on January 21 by the Young Workers League of America. At these demonstrations the struggles of Liebknecht, Luxemburg and other working class leaders who lost their lives for their revolutionary activities will be commemorated by speeches and in song. Throughout the world the young workers will hold similar demonstrations in memory of these valiant fighters.

Karl Liebknecht was one of the first to realize that if capitalism was to be overthrown the young workers must be drawn into the ranks of the organized workers. He devoted a great part of his time to this work and was active against militarism.

Rosa Luxemburg was another fearless fighter who fell in the German revolution. She constantly pointed out to the Social-Democratic party of Germany that they could not expect to gain their ends by petty reforms. Her agitation started the basis for a Communist movement in Germany.

—Y. W. L.

Washington.—Because she was such "a good Indian" for the administration all during her service in congress, "Aunt Alice" Robertson may be given the job of superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians in Oklahoma when she leaves Washington next March 4. In the past this \$5000 federal job has always been held by some male supporter of the party in power, and if the precedent is broken to accommodate Miss Robertson it will be in part because she is not only a "lame duck" of the recent election, but because she served for many years as a missionary to the Indians.

nigh school students who are otherwise occupied in the day time. Free scholarships will be awarded to a small number of pupils showing marked ability. For further information inquire at the school office, 2024 West Superior St., Room 8, before January 10. Those who are familiar with Knute Heldner's work and desire to expand their own artistic ability will hasten to take advantage of this opportunity. Mrs. McFadden is highly recommended by Mr. Heldner.

Brookhart's Bill Aims to Dignify Child Relief

Archaic Juvenile Court System Now Makes Children Slaves

By ROSA LADDON

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—An improved system for the care of dependent and delinquent children and assistance to mothers, involving sweeping changes in the law and juvenile court now operative in the District of Columbia, is contemplated in the bill introduced in the senate by Sen. Brookhart, Iowa, to be followed by an identical bill in the house by Representative Arthur M. Free, California.

The Brookhart bill, many of the provisions of which were suggested by an unofficial group of Washington citizens, defines the legal status of all children under the age of 18 years; creates a parental court to take the place of the present juvenile court, and provides a pension to mothers with dependent children.

There has been much criticism from civic organizations and individual citizens of the present method of dealing with child delinquency and dependence in the district. The juvenile court may commit a child to the board of children's guardians and then lose all jurisdiction; so that the child remains a ward of the board until age. "This archaic system," says Representative Free, "makes children virtual slaves." Just because a child is without shoes he may be committed to the board of children's guardians and placed in first one home and then another, shoved from pillar to post, until he attains his majority. This system in Washington is one of the worst imaginable. I have in my office records of more than 60 cases, most of them pitiable and heart-rending.

The Brookhart bill offers every protection to parents in the matter of appeals, petitions and continued hearings, the whole bent being to keep children in the home under control of parents and at school under normal conditions.

As relates to mothers' pensions Brookhart says of his pleasure: "We have but approached the mothers' pension idea from a more dignified angle. Instead of a sort of charity given the mother by some organized agency, we dignify the home and make an appeal to the child by stating that all children under certain conditions are entitled to a child relief allowance. It is a wonderful thing for a child to know that his government comes to his relief and that he has a right to assistance because of his condition, which adults have brought about. With the unit the child, then the mother is designated as the proper person to expend this allowance and to provide a home for her children."

Unemployment Increasing in Tokio; Electric Workers Asked to Quit Stay on Job

By GERTRUDE HAESSLER

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

TOKIO.—In spite of the rosy reports given out by the Japanese government relative to the decrease of unemployment in Tokio, matters are getting worse instead of better.

A trip to the slums any day will reveal thousands of men out of work, standing in the narrow alleys, cold and hungry, waiting for an opportunity to work. An offer to distribute handbills for movie houses for 25 cents a day is eagerly accepted. As one man says, it is just as easy to stand all day long giving out slips of paper as it is to stand all day long doing nothing.

The government departments are making drastic reductions in the number of their employees. Approximately 1000 men will be dismissed between Dec. 1 and March 1 by the finance department. The department of agriculture is also planning to dismiss a number of its employees, but on a smaller scale. The government railway department will dismiss 1000 men. Private concerns are also becoming economical. The Bank of Chosen dismissed several hundred employees during October and has decided to discharge an additional number shortly.

Business and industry are not improving. The harvest is over, and neither commerce nor agriculture can absorb these discharged men.

The department of home affairs, however, is finding sufficient funds to be able to send financiers, scholars and educators to preach thrift and saving throughout the country. The session of the cabinet ministers recently turned to its attention to an agreement whether an average person can understand the Einstein theory, and spent the day dealing with this question.

But labor is still fighting. The 165 employees of the Tokio electric bureau who were invited to quit in order to give younger men a chance, have refused to do so. The strikers at the Mitatsuchi Rubber Co. in Honjo refuse to return, while the company has hired all the halls in the vicinity to prevent protest meetings. The plant of the company is being guarded by the police.

A victory was won by the strikers at the Oshima Steel works. The company has promised to pay \$500 to the workers who were arrested by the police during the invasion of the company plant by the strikers. The cause for the strike was the dismissal of employees without discharge allowances. The company has agreed to pay the allowances demanded.

Disarmament has become so popular among the masses, and the army and navy so disliked, that in spite of present unemployment conditions, the Yokosuka navy yard is finding difficulty in obtaining the required number of recruits for this year. It is said that the Washington conference is responsible for the unpopularity of the navy service.

MASTERS NEED MORE WORK ANIMALS; WANT IMMIGRATION LAW CHANGED

(Federated Press)

Washington.—Who can draft an immigration law that will admit all the cheap labor desired by American employers, and still keep out all the discontent which comes and goes with cheap labor?

A great symposium on the subject is now proceeding in such journals of opinion as The Nation's Business, organ of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. The basis of all discussion is that the present immigration law must be changed; it is so nearly what the know-nothings of Woodrow Wilson's administration wanted that our reserve of unemployed workers has fallen far below the "level of safety."

In the current number of The Nation's Business one of these timely articles is contributed by W. W. Husband, commissioner of immigration in the department of labor. He proposes that America go to Europe or Asia for cheap labor in the same spirit that we formerly went to Africa to get it. In his own words the idea is voiced as follows:

"We might develop administrative machinery which would serve to invite those actually needed, whether for farming, for industry or for any other activity in the United States. We should determine not only the need but also who are the most desirable people to fill that need, and then permit them to come to the country."

In all innocence Husband would thus put an end to the old theory of America as a refuge for oppressed people, and disclose our ancient boast of freedom as no more than a rather shabby hypocrisy invented to cloak the economic needs of the country when it was still thinly populated and not afraid of "agitators."

Only one thought troubles him, and that he seeks to cover when he adds:

"This is not intended to suggest wiping out the theory of the contract labor law . . . but it must be remembered that even under that law skilled labor may be admitted under contract, provided labor of like kind, unemployed, cannot be found in the United States, and it is provided that the necessity for such importation may be determined prior to the coming of the people."

Simply expressed that means the commissioner of immigration would widen the joker placed in the act of 1917 until it was big enough to

admit all the raw cheap labor desired by American employers to "adjust" the wage level of American workers.

Husband finds that he is not alone in wishing to turn his back on the United States as it existed prior to Woodrow Wilson.

"For a considerable period the United States has been experimenting with so-called Americanization movements. The war increased them, but a sober survey of the results would seem to indicate that the efforts made very little headway. My observation has been that employers of labor, great and small, have as a rule assumed an entirely different attitude to the immigration since the war."

The difference, he makes clear, is that we now look squarely at the alien as a work animal, with no more nonsense about his human requirements and right of asylum in our midst.

Johanson, Stenberg and Ahlteen Exonerated

Dec. 22, 1922.

To whom it may concern: The General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World have made a thorough investigation of the misunderstanding about the cases of Ragnar Johanson, Sigfred Stenberg and Carl Ahlteen and find that at the time when these Fellow Workers agreed to accept commutation of sentence and immediate deportation—that it was with the consent of the organization and a majority of the fellow prisoners, who were in a position to be consulted.

We find that the misunderstanding arose over the change in policy of the organization which has been inaugurated since August 1921, together with the delay of the department of justice in acting on these cases.

Therefore, we give these Fellow Workers a clearance, and they are entitled to receive all rights and privileges due members in good standing in the Industrial Workers of the World.

With best wishes, we are,
Yours for Industrial Solidarity,
F. C. Smith, Arthur Boozee, John Johnson, Norman Weir, Harry G. Clark and Joe Miller, G. E. B. Members; E. W. Latchem, General Sec. Treas., pro tem.

Ind. Solidarity.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

In the Hands of the Judges the Constitution Becomes a Thing of Wax to Twist into Any Form They Please

(EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the ninth article in a series by R. F. Pettigrew who is a peculiar capitalist. After twelve years at Washington he exposes the rottenness of the governing machinery better than most I. W. W. or Communists and he keeps out of jail.)

(Copyright 1922 by R. F. Pettigrew. Reprinted by permission of The Federated Press from IMPERIAL WASHINGTON, published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.)

The Convention of 1787 that framed the Constitution of the United States was dominated by lawyers, money-lenders and land owners. It did its work behind closed doors, all members being sworn not to disclose any of the proceedings.

The Constitution thus framed did not create a government of the people; its whole purpose was to promote and protect the rights of property more than the rights of man. Two extracts from these proceedings illustrate this point; they are typical, and are as follows:

P. 78. Sherman of Connecticut said: "The people should have as little to do as may be about the Government. They want information and are constantly liable to be misled."

Gerry, of Massachusetts: "The evil we experience flows from the excess of democracy."

P. 115. Mr. Gerry: "Hence in Massachusetts the worst men get into the legislature. Several members of that body had lately been convicted of infamous crimes. Men of indigence, ignorance and baseness spare no pains, however dirty, to carry their point against men who are superior to the artifices practiced."

Jefferson was not a member of the convention. He was the author of the Declaration of Independence; he was not wanted, so he was sent to France.

There were 55 delegates in that convention. Let us see who they were: A majority were lawyers; most of them came from towns; not one farmer, mechanic or laborer; five-sixths had property interests. Of the 55 members, 40 owned Revolutionary scrip; 14 were land speculators; 24 were money-lenders; 11 were merchants; 15 were slave-holders. Washington was a slave-holder, a large land-owner, and a holder of much Revolutionary scrip.

THE TEN AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

Against the Constitution, as thus framed, seven of the thirteen states protested, but five of them were finally induced to ratify in reliance upon the "Bill of Rights" being promptly added by amendments. The first eight amendments were speedily formulated and soon the ninth and tenth were added, to be submitted by the first Congress to the States, and that was promptly done. It is certain that the Constitution could never have been adopted without these amendments for the protection of fundamental human rights.

Thomas Jefferson had returned from France.

AMENDMENT I.

The First Amendment is as follows:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

It is amazing that this great basic principle of civil and religious liberty should have been left out of the Constitution as framed by the convention. It could not have been overlooked or omitted by accident; it is obvious that it was done deliberately.

AMENDMENT II-VIII.

The next seven amendments protect the people against military rule in defiance of civil authority; against the search or seizure of their persons, homes, papers, etc., except by authority of a warrant duly issued under proper legal restrictions; against being put in jeopardy of trial and conviction; without the alleged charge being investigated and approved by a grand jury, or the taking of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; against trial and conviction except by an impartial jury where the alleged crime was committed, with information as to the cause and nature of the offense, faced by accusing witnesses, and the right of counsel for defense; against the courts overturning a jury's verdict; against excessive bail, or "cruel and unusual punishment."

Jefferson had returned and his tongue and pen were in action; the priceless Bill of Rights was thus saved and made a part of our organic law. But Jefferson, with foresighted wisdom, based on a deep knowledge of men and things, knew that it was necessary to protect liberty and all

human rights by clear and positive safeguards; therefore, the ninth and tenth amendments were added for this purpose. The Ninth Amendment was as follows:

AMENDMENT IX.

"To enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

A wonderfully wise provision; a recognition and declaration of the great fundamental fact that all rights and power are inherent in the people themselves, and are not derived as concessions from usurpers masquerading under the "Divine rights of Kings." But the enemies of human freedom in high places have often betrayed this trust and ignored and trampled under foot this great basic principle of the divine right of the people, as I will show below.

JEFFERSON FEARED USURPATION.

Jefferson also foresaw that the time would come when an ambitious Federal executive, a usurping Federal court, or a reckless Congress would take the position that the people and the States had no power or rights which were not subordinate to the Federal power and authority. He knew that when that time came our great representative Democracy, created by the amended Constitution, would be dead, and that on its grave there would rule, with a tyrant's hand, the worst autocracy of plutocracy that the world has even seen. To prevent such usurpation, the Tenth Amendment was submitted and adopted along with the other amendments. It is worded as follows:

AMENDMENT X.

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

This amendment, in such clear and concise language, was the greatest possible victory for presenting encroachments on the reserved rights and liberties of the people and the independence of the States necessary for State sovereignty. It made our Federal Government one of defined, expressed powers, limited definitely to the powers enumerated and granted. One of the great dangers which Jefferson feared, and which he was sure had been forever killed by this amendment, as shown by his later writings, was the usurpation by the Supreme Court of the power to supervise the Executive Department or to declare a law enacted by Congress unconstitutional, or to construe the Constitution so as to take from or add to the powers granted by the States and the people.

With the Constitution thus amended, Jefferson declared that the Bill of Rights, buttressed by the Tenth Amendment, were the "two sheet anchors of our Union." He felt sure that a government of, for, and by the people was assured for all time. He saw a great representative Democracy launched, with every delegated power necessary for national purposes, and the rights and liberties of the people enthroned and safe beyond successful attack or encroachment. But he soon had a rude awakening.

THE FIRST ACT OF JUDICIAL USURPATION.

Chief Justice Marshall, who was an Englishman, in the case of Marbury vs. Madison, usurped the power to interpret the Constitution and to instruct another co-equal and co-sovereign department of the Government as to its powers and duties.

Jefferson denounced that decision as a bald usurpation and a glaring unconstitutional encroachment on the powers and duties of another independent department of the Government. He lamented the failure of the House of Representatives to bring the Court to trial under impeachment proceedings.

No one ever has or ever can question the truth of this statement that "the Constitution has erected no such single tribunal" to supervise and to veto the acts of the other two "co-equal and co-sovereign departments of our government; therefore Congress inertly surrendered its co-equal and co-sovereign powers when it failed to impeach the Judicial Department of the Government for this contemptuous usurpation of powers, over which the people reserved to themselves elective control.

THE SECOND ACT OF USURPATION.

It was not long, however, before this same court overstepped its defined powers and, in defiance of every principle of law, equity and morals, rendered, the notorious Dartmouth College decision, in which it was held that property interests, past, present and future, had vested rights, under a special privilege granted in a private charter, which it was impossible for the people, through legislation, to change, no matter how injurious to the public interests the terms of the charter might be. It has been claimed, in excuse for the Court, that it was hypnotized by the overpowering but false reasoning of Daniel Webster; but, let that be as it may, it is gratifying that such an unsound doctrine, based on such a decision, has been repudiated by nearly every state in the Union, and by nearly every civilized country in the world.

there was a serious lack of clothing and food, and an orgy of speculation seemed to be going on.

On the evening of August 10 our train left Petrograd in a thunder-shower. There was one second-class coach containing six large compartments, four upholstered berths to each, opening of a corridor; two fourth-class coaches with wooden bunks; and about nineteen box cars. The families with young children occupied the second-class coach, the remaining families occupied the fourth-class coaches, and the single men slept in wooden bunks which they built in the box cars. There was a kitchen car, and meals were served at long stops, when we lined up on the tracks below and received our plates of food; our cups of soup, tea, or cocoa; knife, fork, and spoon. These were, either carried, poised precariously, into coaches, or we ate sitting on the not a pleasant environment to dine in.

On a hot day, the 25th of August, we arrived at Kemerovo. Seen from a distance it looked a pretty place, with the River Tom dividing the town and on the opposite side the log houses, with their green roofs, located on hills covered with birch and pine trees. Across the river runs an aerial tramway, carrying iron buckets of coal from the central shaft of the mines to the chemical plant on the other side.

Our reception at Kemerovo was even more devoid of enthusiasm than at Petrograd. S. J. Rutgers, a Dutch engineer, who is head of the Management Board, Mr. Pearson and his wife, who had come ahead of the group via Moscow, and Bill Haywood, a huge figure in loose, gray Russian blouse, were there to meet us. There seemed to be a feeling of resentment in the colony at our coming, since there were not enough houses for the three groups already here. Mrs. Pearson pointed out her home across the river, a handsome stone house standing on top of the cliff, and said that we were to share their two rooms with them and the three children. A Russian boy came up in an old work wagon and we piled our baggage and blanket and matters roll on the rough boards, then climbed up, and with our feet hanging over the sides bumped down the lane to the river's edge. Here the wagon was driven aboard a horse ferry—a boat propelled by four horses at a treadmill.

The "Mine Side" of the river, as distinguished from the "Chemical Side," is very hilly, with a deep ravine running through the village. There is a row of log barracks where the single men of the colony live, log cottages and picturesque dugouts where the Tartars dwell, their naked children playing about the doorways. The "Stone House" (or "Dom Priezich" (Guest House) is the best house in the village. It was built for the Russian superintendent of the mines by Austrian war prisoners in 1915. It has ten rooms, built all on one floor, wide halls, high ceilings, white wood-work and plastered walls attractively decorated by hand in color. There are electric lights, a telephone of a quaint Swedish make, and running water piped from a tank filled each day by a water wagon which carries water in barrels from the spring behind the house. Rutgers and the rest of the Management Board live here. When we arrived, all but three rooms, including the pantries and bathroom from which the tub had been removed, were occupied by innumerable Russian families. Since then they have moved into other quarters. Only one Russian family remains; the old woman of this family tells about the terrible days when Kolchak's forces overran this section and were quartered in the Stone House. Battles were fought across the river, the Whites on the Mine Side, the Reds on the opposite bank; engineers and technicians at the mines were maimed and killed.

For a month after our arrival here the chief engineer and his wife not only shared their two rooms with us, but also their bed. Their household goods did not come until the fifth group arrived, and as we had the only mattress in the family we put two three-quarter wooden beds (without springs) together and laid the double mattress lengthwise across and thus had a luxurious "community bed" for the four of us. Rutgers said we were the kind of communists one reads about in the American press! The houses, especially the log cottages and barracks, are infested with cockroaches and bedbugs, but these are being gradually eliminated. The Russian stores are built—of brick covered with clay and whitewashed—into the corners of each room, reaching almost to the ceiling, in most cases with the doors opening into the halls. They are kept well packed with coal and slowly the brick wall inside gets heated through.

There are two main community dining-rooms, one on either side of the river. The long tables are covered with dark oilcloth, and gray enamel dishes. Roaches have been much in evidence on the white-washed log walls, and likely to drop down on the food at any time. The food is plentiful and well cooked, though the diet is too starchy; you even grow to like the black bread, sour, soggy, and inclined to mold, and to remember without pang that sometimes in the dim past you tasted white bread. Once in a while delicious fresh butter comes on the table, but it soon disappears before the onslaught of hundreds of greedy knives. Fresh vegetables and meat, eggs, milk, and honey are fairly plentiful, but sugar, white flour, fruit, and soap cannot be obtained outside the imported colony supplies. Those who prefer to do their own cooking are given pyocks (rations) for ten days. Soap and tobacco are rationed monthly. All colony members except children and mothers of infants must do useful work. In return the workers receive food, shelter, and certain winter clothing such as fur caps and gloves and felt boots. A community laundry launders ten pieces weekly for each worker. A shoe shop repairs shoes. We get along very nicely without money in Kuzbas Colony.

Russians working for the colony are paid either with meals or pyocks, but on a much lower scale than the colony members. The Russian trades unions have established seventeen categories of labor with the humblest work such as scrubbing and driving teams in the lowest categories, graded in like fashion up to the engineers in the seventeenth. The living conditions of the mass of the Russians are wretched; underclothing is unknown to them and they face the bitter winter with only their old sheepskin coats, fur caps, and felt boots to cover their rags. Yet they are a happy, friendly people. An attempt on the part of the colony to increase the pyocks of the Russian workers was prevented by the Russian trades unions, who fear that we will "spoil" them.

On September 3 the first Kuzbas "White Feather" group departed for America. About twenty members severed their connection with the colony and waived all claim to the three hundred dollars paid into the organization by each colonist. They were given a month's supply of food and transportation to Petrograd. But advice received from time to time would indicate that misfortune has followed them. Without special dispensation traveling in Russia is extremely precarious. They were delayed for weeks in Novo Nikolovsk, a few hundred miles from here. Bill Haywood, returning to Moscow some time after their departure, found them on his hands when he arrived there. The latest news is that they may spend the winter in Petrograd. Some left Kuzbas because they were dissatisfied with living and working conditions; others had proved to be misfits and troublemakers; still others were just plain homesick.

The industrial life of Kuzbas Colony I touch upon with diffidence. Such disorganization prevails, there are so many conflicting factions, that it is impossible to give a clear, unbiased view of it. The Kemerovo industries consist of the mines, chemical plant, power plant, sawmills, and logging and brick kiln. The coal mines are the main industry, but have been only partially worked by the Russians with primitive methods and machinery, and are in a bad state of repair. The coal supply seems, however, inexhaustible, and the American chief engineer, Pearson, expects to increase the output 50 per cent next year if his program goes through. But without up-to-date machinery and modern methods the workers from America cannot hope to increase the Russian output or even reach it, as they are not accustomed to working under such great handicaps. The chemical plant has been sunning without equipment and supplies. Under proper conditions it would be second in importance to the mines by utilizing the by-products of the coal, which, being rich in coal tar, is particularly valuable for that purpose.

The American colony has been operating under the most difficult conditions. The Russian management was in full control up to the first of October, with the American management subordinate to it. The American general office (Amerikanski kontora) has two rooms in the large, stone office-building of the Russian administration. All transactions, requests for supplies, etc., had first to be translated by our interpreter and referred to the Russian office. The Amerikanski kontora is crowded all day with heads of the various departments and Russians applying for work or

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on other business. There is a hub-bub of voices speaking Russian, broken Russian, Finnish, and broken English. One seldom hears good English spoken, as only a small percentage of Kuzbas Colony are American born—about 10 per cent.

On the first of October the Americans began taking over the plants. As many of the Russian technicians are counter-revolutionary, not only did they manifest a natural jealousy of American engineers coming in to supplant them, but they very possibly committed sabotage further to hamper the efforts of the colony. Added to this we are faced with the fact that many of the people sent over have not the proper qualifications, and those who are industrially qualified have not the necessary modern tools and machinery with which to work.

The foremost blunder of the American Organization Committee was to send three groups of workers before it was able to send a mining engineer. The preliminary step should have been to send an engineer and staff to survey the industries and report the findings and recommendations. Then the workers should have been shipped as needed to fill specific places. Now with a colony of four hundred people, including 233 men, 80 women, and 80 children, on their hands to carry through the winter, the Management Board must begin at the beginning. A preliminary survey has already been made and a report written. This report, besides giving a survey of present conditions, makes detailed plans for a modern city to be built around the Kemerovo mines, with homes not only for the colony but for the 10,000 native Russians in this vicinity, who will supply all of the unskilled and some of the skilled labor for the plant. It also calls for a model farm of 6,000 acres to feed this population. The report includes detailed lists of machinery and supplies to be purchased in America and Germany totaling millions of dollars.

On October 5 Rutgers left for Moscow to submit this report to the Soviet Government. The fate of Kuzbas hangs on its decision. (The New York office of Kuzbas announces that the Soviet Government has approved the plans for the development of the colony at Kemerovo.) If the plans go through, Kuzbas Colony, in line with the new economic policy of the Soviet Government, will be a capitalist enterprise under state control. The workers will be paid according to the American wage scale and a similar standard of living will be furnished on a money basis. We will thus attain not quite what we left our homes in America to realize, but something of practical value to Russia, nevertheless. We will establish in a great, undeveloped country where the standards of living are very low a modern American city, which will support a native population of 10,000 people, and serve as a model for the rest of Russia. We will build up a modern mining industry which will raise production in Russia materially. Yet it is unlikely that a majority of the present personnel of the colony will remain to see the dream of a practical, bourgeois engineer materialize. The type of rebel that answered the call for pioneers to help the Workers' Republic will not be content with such a consummation or fit into this program.

Whatever the future of Kuzbas, the present concern is solely to provide food, clothing, and shelter for the colony through the winter. In any case the importation of workers from America, except certain specialists, will cease. The romantic period of Kuzbas colonization is a closed book.

—The Nation.

Washington.—Last year's average wage in the lime industry was \$18.20 a week, according to the census bureau. The number of wage earners averaged 10,325.

Officials of companies and salaried employees in this industry fared much better. The average wage for these employees was \$2,454 a year, or \$47.20 a week.

A Kuzbas Chronicle

By Ruth Epperson Kennell.

Kemerovo, Siberia, Nov. 1, 1922.

I have been trying to come to some settled conclusion about the Kuzbas experiment before writing an article on the subject. But I have been in Kemerovo for two months and my mind is still in a chaotic state concerning it.

Many of the colonists were much disillusioned upon their arrival here, but in most cases this happened because they came with misconceptions of the project, gained from inaccurate information. Others, however, have met with a more serious disillusionment than that brought about by physical conditions: they feel that the revolution is dead, and that they are wasting their efforts in attempting to build up industry in an infantile capitalist society. This is partly due to their ignorance of the progress of the Russian revolution and partly to the romantic impression created by American radical literature about Russia.

There have been five groups of colonists sent from America to date and all have undergone similar experiences. The fourth group, with which I came, was the largest and from an industrial viewpoint the best. Heading the party of one hundred and thirty-five persons, including eighty-five workers, their wives, and twenty-two children, was Alfred Pearson, Jr., an experienced mining engineer. The Holland America Line gave special attention to making third-class accommodations on the S. S. Rotterdam comfortable for the successive Kuzbas groups. At Rotterdam the groups transhipped to the S. S. Warszawa, a much smaller boat. Our last sunset on the ocean did not fade entirely away until eleven o'clock on the night of the fourth

of August. Early on the morning of the fifth we passed the fortress of Kronstadt, which guards the city of Petrograd, and moved slowly up the canal. Presently a golden dome rose before us and we got our first glimpse of Petrograd. Our vessel slipped past a church of Moorish architecture, with inlaid mosaic work and slender golden spires, and came into dock beside a wide street paved with wooden blocks through which the grass was growing.

Most of the group had come with sentimental illusions concerning our importance to Russia. We had sung revolutionary songs all the way over, waved our red flag at every port, started a riot at Danzig between the police and the ragged workers on the dock, and now as we neared the Promised Land we eagerly awaited the greetings of our Russian comrades. It so happened, however, that the boat came in two days before it was expected, our pilot had not yet arrived from Kemerovo, and there was no one to receive or look after us. A crowd of the curious gathered on the dock, and when we sang the International a handful of Communists answered in Russian, and that was all. So, from saviors of Russia, we found ourselves reduced to common immigrants. Our baggage was searched and we were all afternoon getting through tedious red tape. Finally, as evening came on, the captain of the Warszawa, anxious to sail that night, literally dumped us, bag and baggage, into the street. The immigration officer did the best he could for us under the circumstances: he turned his headquarters nearly over to the group for the night.

This was a house two hundred years old, which had been the mansion of a German baron. Falling into ruin, musty and dirty with

dirty of ages, there were only two rooms on the second floor fit for occupancy. One was a large front room looking out on the river, the other a smaller room with sky-blue walls, and fluted columns, and a skylight but no ventilation. Here the forty women and children spent the night as best they could. The men slept in the big room which at least had plenty of air. We were warned to boil all drinking water; a fire was started in an army stove in the dilapidated courtyard but the water did not boil until midnight. By eleven o'clock it was dark and the pioneers got out their blanket rolls and began to look for places to sleep. We spread our blankets on the stone balcony hanging over the sidewalk. Below us a Red Guard stood watch; the street swarmed with people; two motor boats loaded with Communists who had been out on a Sunday excursion came in and the sound of a hundred voices singing the International gave us the first thrill of revolutionary spirit we had felt since landing in Russia. Presently it began to rain, so we scurried in and found places on the floor which was already covered with sleeping men. Soon a chorus of snores rose from the fourscore people in the room.

The next day there was no food available except black bread—sour and soggy—and sausage. Some of us went into the open markets close at hand to buy food. We had some of our scant funds changed into rubles and at once became a party of millionaires. The blocks of little stalls displayed their meager supplies of fly-infested food, which the dirty-barefooted people bought in minute quantities, paying in return a vast amount of paper money. This was the poor quarter of the city, so of course we saw conditions at their worst.

Our heads were soon whirling with the attempt to count in millions and at the same time to translate these vast figures into American money. For three and one-half million rubles we bought eight apples, half a pound of black bread, a bunch of carrots, and two dried fish. The ruble is dropping fast. At that time it was three and one-half million to the dollar; the present rate of exchange is about nine million to the dollar.

That afternoon we were all transported by street car to the Soviet Hotel on Nevsky Prospect, a six-story stone building. We had to climb endless flights of stairs to our quarters on the sixth floor. It had been a comfortable hotel, but was now stripped of furnishings and conveniences. There were iron cots without springs or mattresses, electric fixtures without electricity, and nice, private bathrooms without any water. We put our ticks on the floor, went to bed by candlelight, and at certain hours of the day were able to get water from two or three faucets on the floor. The kitchen and dining-room were turned over to the group and food supplies were brought from our freight at the dock. From the moment we arrived in Russia every member of the Kuzbas group except children was assigned to some particular duty. Meantime, our pilot, Nikitin, had come; our men worked heroically transferring the vast quantity of baggage and supplies from the dock to the train which was prepared as soon as possible for our departure. In fact, those who were not ill were too busy during our four days in Petrograd to see any of its wonders. On the surface it would appear that great poverty prevails among the masses, creating an enormous number of professional beggars; there are no sanitary regulations, and disease, especially cholera, was prevalent;

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**Soviet Propaganda
Bears Fruit In India**

COMMUNISTS TO SUBMIT SCHEME
TO FORM REPUBLIC TO NA-
TIONAL CONGRESS.

London.—A full program for the separation of India from the British Empire and establishment of "the federated republic of India" will be submitted to the Indian national congress at the annual session of that organization at Gaya, British India, next week, according to information received in British official circles.

Great interest in the program is evinced in official quarters, where it is said to be the direct work of Bolshevism. The Indian national congress is the organization which Mohandas K. Gandhi headed until his arrest and imprisonment early in the last year.

Scheme of Communist.

The separation scheme, said to have originated with M. Roy, an Indian Communist, living in Berlin, employs the familiar Communist terminology. It declares the nationalist movement has reached the stage where adoption of a definite program as well as definite action, can no longer be deferred.

The ambiguous term "swaraj," it says, is open to many definitions; therefore, a militant program of action is indispensable in order to mobilize all available revolutionary forces. The theory of "equal partnership in the British commonwealth" is held to be but a "gilded version of imperialism," as only the upper classes, the document says, have benefited by it.

See No Hope of Change.

The program goes on to state that British imperialism will never be changed and that the Indian upper classes will never risk their comfortable present and promising future for real freedom. Therefore, the Indians' immediate task is to involve those elements whose welfare hangs upon realization of the nationalists' program.

The hope is expressed that the militant peasantry and working men will be organized into soviets and that the unions will accomplish the fulfillment of the program, which includes national independence, freedom from all foreign supervision, abolition of the landlord system, confiscation of the large estates, without compensation and nationalization of the public utilities, which would be owned and operated by the state under the control of workmen's committees.

Fugitive From California.

According to the British, Roy's real name is Narendra Nath Bhat-tacharji, and he has been a fugitive from California since 1917. They charge he was a conspirator with the Germans in Java, in 1915, and a Bolshevik propagandist in Mexico. Since 1920, they allege, he has been an agitator in Berlin, Moscow and Tashkent, depending for his livelihood upon work done for the Russian Communists. Winnipeg Free Press.

TAXATION

(With apologies to Denver Post)

Tax the people, tax with care,
To help the multi-millionaire.
Tax the farmer, tax his fowl.
Tax the dog and tax this howl.
Tax his hen, and tax her egg.
And let the bloomin' muddill beg;
Tax his pig, and tax his squeal.
Tax his boots, run down at heel;
Tax his horses, tax his lands,
Tax the blisters on his hands.
Tax his plow, and tax his clothes.
Tax the rag that wipes his nose;
Tax his house, and tax his bed,
Tax the bald spot on his head,
Tax the ox, and tax the ass,
Tax his 'Henry,' tax the gas;
Tax the road that he must pass;
And make him travel o'er the grass.
Tax his cow, and tax the calf,
Tax him if he dares to laugh,
He is but a common man, so
Tax the cuss, just all you can.
Tax the lab'er, but be discreet,
Tax him for walking on the street.
Tax his bread and tax his meat,
Tax the shoes clear off his feet.
Tax the payroll, tax the sale,
Tax all his hard-earned paper kale;
Tax his pipe, and tax his smoke,
Teach him gov'ment is no joke.
Tax their coffins, tax their shrouds,
Tax their souls beyond the clouds.
Tax all business, tax the shop;
Tax their incomes, tax their stock;
Tax the living, tax the dead,
Tax the unborn, before they're fed.
Tax the water, tax the air,
Tax the sunlight, if you dare.
Tax them all, and tax them well,
Tax them to the gates of hell.
But close your eyes, so you can't see
The coupon clipper go tax free.
—Don Lupton, Capper's Weekly.

Is Agriculture Being Sacrificed to Industry?

Leland Olds, in Federated Press.

Statistics which have been accumulating for the past decade show that the country is face to face with a transition as vital as that which precipitated the civil war. Farmers and industrial workers are vitally interested. But their minds are diverted by talk of farm credits, co-operative marketing, and the like. Consideration of these important methods must be made part of the consideration of the larger issues, whether this country is to be essentially an agricultural or an industrial nation.

Secretary of Agriculture Henry C. Wallace so stated the matter recently to the Chicago Association of Credit Men. Referring to the fact that England once stood at the same parting of the ways he said: "In that crisis England decided to sacrifice agriculture to industry, and history has proved the wisdom of the choice."

This undoubtedly voices the attitude of the present administration. It makes some of the Washington policies more easily appraised.

Results in England.

To some the wisdom of England's choice may seem questionable. It certainly involved embarking on a policy of economic imperialism and a series of wars not yet completed. It drove agricultural labor and the small farmer into the industrial proletariat creating an oversupply of labor which has tended steadily to depress the standard of living in industrial England.

But cheap food for industrial labor and low standards spell cheap industrial labor, an essential of competition for international markets. The secretary hinted at this as a part of the program in this country. He attributed the difficulties of the farmer to overproduction. He often pointed out that as a result more farmers are going to the cities than ever before. Consequently, he said, there will be a reduction in crops, city wages will be reduced, and the resultant price reductions will help the farmer.

So long as the economic policies of the country are dominated by commercial capital, this nation will be forced along the road traveled

by England during the 19th century, the squeezing of the farmer into the industrial proletariat with resulting increased supply of labor and diminished wages. This appears concretely in the census figures for occupations. Between 1911 and 1920 the percentage of population engaged in agriculture decreased from 33.2 per cent to 26.3 per cent. The proportion engaged in manufacture increased from 27.8 per cent to 30.8 per cent.

Subordinating Agriculture.

Agriculture is being subordinated to the program which aims at the export of manufactured products and the imports of food, other raw materials and luxuries. This appears from the fact that the secretary of agriculture is talking overproduction at a time when per capita consumption of wheat and meat has been below normal. The fact that food export tonnage is almost 200 per cent above the 1920-1914 average also throws light upon the secretary's statement.

But in 1913 agricultural products as a whole would exchange for 32.5 per cent of the products and services of mines, factories and land transportation. By 1921 the total products of the farmers would only secure them about 20.5 per cent of the products of industry. It is authoritatively estimated that the total purchasing power of 12 leading farm crops today is a little over two-thirds of the purchasing power of these same crops in 1913. This means that the farmer is today forced to exchange 50 per cent more of his produce than he would have given in 1913 for the same merchandise and service.

As a result the farms of the country are carrying an increasing burden of mortgage estimated by the joint commission of agricultural inquiry at approximately \$8,663,000,000 in 1920 as compared with \$3,593,823,000 in 1910. In 1920 farmers were burdened with rent on farms value at \$23,793,984,605 as compared with \$12,793,984,605 in 1910.

These figures mean that the country is sacrificing agriculture to industry. The transition seems to involve loss of property without compensation to the owners.

**Ignorant Savage
Rejects Civilization**

The poor, ignorant savage ventured to put a few questions to the pious missionary who wished to save him from his benighted condition, and to confer upon him the benefits of civilization.

"You say that, I should work?"
"Yes, certainly, my poor, good brother. Satan finds evil for idle hand to do!"
"Who is Satan?"
"He is the devil."
"Does he live in your country, then?"
"Alas, my sinful friend, he lives everywhere," said the good man.
"Well, he's never done me any harm," said the savage, "so I think I'd better stay as I am."
"No, no!" cried the old man. "Your life on idleness is wicked. Do all the people work in your country?" asked the savage.

"Yes."
"Work hard?"
"Um—most of them."
"And are all those who work hard quite happy?"
"Er—no," replied the missionary hesitatingly.
"Why is that?"
"Well, you see, there is a great deal of poverty," the good man explained.
"What! Among those who work hard?" asked the poor savage in surprise.
"Yes, it is indeed so," admitted the good man.
"Then I suppose those who do not work at all have an awfully bad time?"
"Well, as a matter of fact, they are so rich they need not work."
The savage mused in silence for a time.
"What do you mean by poverty?" he asked.
"Not having enough to eat nor good houses to live in the missionary explained.
"Why is that? Is there a scarcity of food in your land?"
"N—o," said the good man slowly, "there is plenty of food but don't you understand, they are poor, and have little money, so, of course, cannot buy much food nor afford nice houses."
"But I think you said they worked very hard," said the poor savage, with patience at the other's stupidity.
"Yes, that is so."
"Why do they work so hard?"
"To get money to buy food," replied the missionary with a touch

of impatience at the other's stupidity.

"Well, why don't they buy food?" said the savage. "Do they like being hungry?"

"Of course not, but they don't earn enough."
"And yet they work as hard as they can, I suppose?"

"Yes."
The savage pondered before he spoke again. "On this island," he said, "I do not have to work to any extent, and when I'm hungry I take my food from the trees or the sea. By the way, what do you call your country?"

"Civilization," replied the good man, blushing slightly.

"I don't think it would be good for me if your customs were introduced here," said the poor savage, thoughtfully. "You will pardon me, sir, if I say that I think your country is a hell of a place. Good afternoon. Mind the snake."—Tomoney's Monthly.

DINNER PAIL EPICS

By BILL LLOYD.

Sometimes I crack a great big smile that overalls is still in style. Most girls now carry mental loads a-keeping up with Paris modes. The skirts got short and shorter still, until their legs sure got a chill, while men got abess on the eye, a-watching of 'em going by. Girls' waists they travel up and back until the poor men find they lack the knowing where to put their arm when they go out to court and charm. Sometimes they're sleeves; sometimes they ain't, and low-down backs just make one faint. And sometimes all they wear of rags would go inside their shopping bags. Their skin ain't what it wuz of yore. It comes now from a swell drug store. Face Powder that is made of rice is sprinkled on to make 'em nice. Their color comes from a rouge pot, sometimes on straight and sometimes not, while eyebrows and their glowing lips stick out like rigging on the ships. These days they ain't a girl you hit that ain't a-lugging beauty kit. Some girls may be most awful fools, but they is handy with the tools, and if they make up long enough, they look almost like the real stuff. And men's modes too ain't far behind. To be well dressed is sure some grind. Why, last year's heavy overcoat looks like it came from lands remote, and last year's hat

will sure recall a place in some memorial hall.

The folks who go and change the style do sure make money by the pile. Their game it is to make us blow almost all we can of dough, for fear that we shall be a mile behind the leaders of the style. It's part of competition's game that styles shall never be the same for more than six months at a time, and so we're slaves to fashion's crime.

But high top boots and corduroys do surely give me lots of joys, for I can keep a smiling face, a-watching those in fashion's race. I never feel no envious twitches when I hitch up my working britches.

Who Owns Australia?

Sydney, New South Wales.—An analysis of the private wealth of the Australian people, based on the return made by all adult males and females, shows the following results:

359,724 persons possessed nothing.
925,461 persons averaged \$150 each.
314,614 persons averaged \$800 each.
374,108 persons aver. \$2,500 each.
203,125 persons aver. \$13,035 each.
13,713 persons aver. \$92,465 each.
997 persons aver. \$338,575 each.
466 persons aver. \$988,465 each.
Thus, 4% of the people possess 60% of the wealth, and 96% possess only 40%. Over 15% of the people have nothing at all save the weekly wages they earn.

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DULUTH, MINN.

TRUTH

Issued Weekly By The West End Labor Association.

*Entered as second-class matter November 12, 1920, at the post office at Duluth, Minnesota, under the Act of March 3, 1879.
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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 four square for the industrial form of organization on the economic field. It realizes that the workers must adopt such methods as will give them power to demand their rights, and demand them in an effective way. The workers must also be trained to take full charge of industry when the capitalist system has ceased to function.

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

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

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

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



WAR MAKERS TRICKY IN POLAND AND HERE

At the recent Moscow Disarmament Conference at which Russia discussed reduction of armaments with her neighbors bordering on the west, nothing was accomplished except that Russia again made it clear to the world that she does not wish to fight. She is willing to send 75 per cent of her soldiers into productive work if the other nations would give evidence of similar intentions.

The border states, however, refused to act and showed themselves still under allied influence. Poland was tricky. She acclaimed her willingness to reduce her army 25 per cent and then gave the number in the Polish army at present as 373,000 instead of 280,000 as her recent official figures state. When questioned in regard to these figures no explanation came and the bluff at reduction ended. The trick didn't work.

Not far removed from this Polish trick is an American trick that may be put over soon if Senator Borah's proposed amendment to the Naval Appropriation Bill passes. This amendment calls for another conference to limit armaments but the bill to which it is attached increases the appropriation for 1923 by \$1,250,000 over that of 1922.

It is a neat little trick of the American kind. It will probably work and land the extra million, two hundred fifty thousand where the war makers want it.

FREE TO BE DEPORTED

Eight I. W. W. members convicted for violation of the national espionage laws and serving various sentences in federal prisons were extended executive clemency by President Harding on New Year's eve. Those to be released and the sentences they are now serving follow: A. V. Azura, 20 years; G. J. Bourg, 10 years; Peter Green, 10 years; Charles L. Lambert, 20 years; Harry Lloyd, 5 years; Bert Lorton, 10 years; Sam Scarlett, 20 years; Archie Sinclair, 10 years.

Attorney General Daugherty in announcing the pardons said that all of these prisoners are subject to deportation. The president commuted the sentences of each one to the term already served, upon the condition that each submit to deportation and never return to the United States.

Daugherty and the President seem to be experts at making stipulations that are to last forever. Their *never*s are as silly as *me* and *Got* used by another autocrat whose name was not Harding.

They have the system though for making America over into a country suited for the *me-and-Gots* of all nationalities. Imprison all those who believe in the First Amendment to the Constitution. Then if they do not die in prison deport them forever and ever, world without end! If they were born here ship them out anyway. C. J. Bourg, who was serving a 10-year sentence, is an American citizen who can quickly be shipped to Illinois, his native state.

THE ARCHITECT QUESTION

The discussion of selecting the architects for the new school buildings which Duluth is to have gets funnier right along. Not being an architect, we sail right in to contribute to the fun. We are quite as intelligent on the subject as the superintendent of schools and the school board and others taking part in the discussion who are not architects.

Here is the situation. Duluth is to have a new senior high school in West Duluth and a new junior high school in the East End. Architects are needed. These buildings are to be modern, the equipment is to be the best that can be provided for the limited funds available. How go about it?

This is the way it seems to be done here. Everybody has an architect friend, everybody has a scheme, the superintendent, Mrs. Millionaire Barnes, the school board and the Duluth Builders' Exchange. But the selection is always to be made by laymen. None of these is an architect and how can a layman pass upon an architect's work. It is like letting a newsboy pass upon the value of a blueprint, or a farmer estimate the workmanship in a piece of Irish lace. There might be a thousand flaws but they would not be discovered because the farmer knows exactly as much about Irish lace as the school board does about an architect's job. Yet the school board has joy riders, not technicians, gazing at buildings in other cities in order to hunt for a specialist to do our work. The property owners pay for these joy rides and what will it bring them? Bungling. Plum-grabbers.

Here is our contribution to the fun. The school board represents the owning class; let them choose one architect whom they consider impartial. Let the organized workers in Duluth choose another architect whom they consider impartial. Let these two architects select a third and let these three be paid by the school board to go over plans presented by competing architects who wish to do the work. Let these three technicians pass upon the value of the plans that are presented and select the architects. There is no absolute proof that, even then, the job would not be made a plum for a friend instead of a task for the most capable applicant, but it would come nearer getting skill than any of the methods now employed.

Of course the architects would not pore over the plans for nothing, but the trips to the various cities also cost the school board something. And if gratters are selected instead of honest technicians there will be still more money wasted in the future. We like our plan. We don't think it is half as foolish as the plans of those who think they know something.

PATRIOTISM—"THE LAST REFUGE OF A SCOUNDREL"

Berrien County citizens held a public demonstration, under the auspices of the Federated Shop Crafts, in the local Opera House, Niles, Michigan, December 29th, to protest against the prosecution of Wm. J. Foster, and his codefendants. The trial of these men, arrested for alleged violation of the Michigan Criminal Syndicalism law is set for January 15 in the court house of St. Joseph.

The speakers at the mass meeting were Eugene J. Brock of Detroit, chairman of the Michigan Progressive Voters League and G. T. Fraenkel of Chicago, who substituted for Herbert F. Baker recent progressive candidate in Michigan candidate in Michigan for United States Senate.

The general keynote sounded in the speeches was struck by Mr. Baker's letter of regret, which follows in part: "I very much regret my inability to attend the protest meeting at Niles to say a word in favor of the first amendment to the constitution of the United States, guaranteeing to every soul beneath the flag for all time, freedom of thought; freedom of speech; freedom of assemblage; and freedom of the press."

Patriotism is said to be, "The last refuge of a scoundrel" and it should occasion no surprise that attempts quite frequently occurring in these days, to nullify the constitutional guarantees of freedom quoted above, should be camouflaged in the habiliments of superpatriotism and one-hundred proof of Americanism.

The voice of the people is the voice of god, and any policy or program that cannot stand free discussion and free criticism before the open forum of humanity must go.

In the matter of upholding the first amendment, our sympathies are with those who are in prison for opinions sake.

I hope your meeting will be a pronounced success.

Mr. Brock made a spirited attack upon the Department of Justice which illegally participated in the arrests of these men during the Bridgman raids last August. He recalled the "vagueness" of the Michigan criminal syndicalism law and its possibilities of "misuse" by reactionary politicians and "vested interests" against labor. He declared its unconstitutionality on civil liberty grounds and made a stirring plea for a popular movement, looking towards its repeal. The following are extracts from Mr. Brock's address:

"The arrest of the alleged communists at Bridgman is evidence of stupidity on the part of some of our law enforcing agencies who see in every group who do not subscribe 100% to the conventional social and economic theories a menace of a red revolution. The question of the belief or non-belief in current economic theories by the arrest of men is of the slight or no consequence."

"The question that is involved is the question of free speech and freedom of assemblage guaranteed to the citizens of our country, in the constitution drafted by our forefathers. When our forefathers guaranteed the right of free speech and assemblage, they made it clear that there shall at no time be any abridgement of that privilege. Because it stands to reason that if free speech means only the right to express opinions and theories that are in favor of the majority, then it does not mean anything. The test of free speech and freedom of assemblage is the right to hold meetings to express opinions that are opposed to the opinions held by the majority of the people."

"The one way in which the problem confronting our country can be solved is by free discussion and it is the duty of all citizens to guarantee that privilege. To permit men and women to express theories of government and of economy, no matter how distasteful they may be to the majority, is the keystone of freedom."

"The act under which these men were arrested is known as the Criminal Syndicalism Act passed by the legislature by this state in 1919. The act is a clear violation of the first amendment of the federal constitution. Its provisions are so vague and ambiguous that our courts or prosecutions may read any meaning into it. The men who have been arrested and charged with violation of this act according to the evidence submitted so far are not charged with the commission of any overt act but simply charged with holding opinions and this is extremely dangerous."

"I am not afraid of any group of men who hold opinions that may not be in accord with mine. I am not fearful for the safety of our country because a small group take it upon themselves to meet in the woods to talk about changes in our form of government and of industry. If the institutions of America are so weak that they can not stand the criticism of a small group of romantic idealists then there isn't much hope of saving it. I would recommend to the law-enforcing authorities a careful perusal of Abraham Lincoln's inaugural address in 1861 and some of the writing of Thomas Jefferson, two of the noblest figures in American history. I am quite sure that there are many passages in the writings of these two men which if spoken or written today would be a violation of the Criminal Syndicalism act of our State."

"The remedy for foolish or even vicious opinions is not suppression but free discussion and history of the twentieth century is evidence to that fact. By suppressing the opinions of those with whom we disagree we magnify them in importance out of all proportion and make martyrs out of them and enlist sympathy for them."

This situation should react on the defense fund being raised throughout the country to defend Foster and the others and the constitutional issues involved in the case. Contributions should be sent to the Labor Defense Council, National Office, 166 W. Washington St. Chicago or to local Labor Defense Councils which have been established in all the principal cities of the country.

PRISON BIRTHDAYS

MILWAUKEE.—Birthdays in January of political prisoners confined in American prisons announced by the Workers' National Prison Comfort club, 2923 Chestnut street, Milwaukee, as follows:

At Leavenworth, Kan., Box 7: Jan. 6, O. E. Gordon, Reg. No. 14805; Jan. 14, J. O. Bentall, 17289; Jan. 28, C. W. Davis, 13124.

At Repressa, Cal., Folsom Prison: Jan. 18, Richard Ford. Cora Meyer, national secretary, invites sympathizers to send birthday postcards and letters to these political prisoners. Money is most advisable for gifts. For list of articles which may be sent to prisoners, write the wardens.

"God give us men—a time like this demands strong hearts,
true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill,—men whom the
spoils of office can not buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will; men who have honor
—men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue and scorn his snaky
flattery without winking;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog in public
duty and in private thinking."

We organize so that we shall not in the end be compelled to leave our jobs, but through our organized strength take control of the jobs and operate the plants necessary to the jobs.

—T-BONE SLIM.

LUSITANIA CARGO

When Senator Robert La Follette told an immense audience in St. Paul in 1917 that the Lusitania carried munitions, hence the Germans were justified in sinking her, there was some hellibellu. He should be expelled from the senate and sent to Russia along with all other devils born in the minds of the holy war crowd. La Follette was the blackest of all living traitors, so said the flag-wrapped bunch. But he wasn't expelled. And the masses who heard him, those who move along the line of least resistance, plodded along as usual but they whispered to each other while plodding, "La Follette has the goods on the Washington bunch. That's why they don't oust him or imprison him."

And now it is admitted in the best circles (the most elite patriotic circles) that the Lusitania carried munitions. But now these patriots say that it was nevertheless barbarous for the Germans to sink it because it was legal, quite legal to carry power wrapped and packed as the particular power carried on the Lusitania was wrapped. Don't you know? Don't you understand? Killing experts in Taft's administration had ruled that it was legal.

Killing experts in the Ku Klux Klan administration of tomorrow may decide that it is legal to kill your brother if he is a Communist or a Catholic or a negro. Most atrocious measures can be legalized. The legality of an act does not justify it. The government officials must have sensed this else why did they refuse to give La Follette the official papers tabulating the cargo of the Lusitania as it was listed by the Collector of the Port of New York, Dudley Field Malone? If the fact that it was technically legal to carry the cargo on the Lusitania justified carrying it, why not tell the public what the cargo was. Why lie and hide the facts? Why not tell the world?

Whatever may be said about Malone's conclusion that the German's were not justified in sinking the Lusitania one must give him credit for publishing the facts. In a recent letter to the *Nation* he says in part:

"To prove his contention Senator La Follette demanded from the Treasury Department a copy of my report on the Lusitania. The Treasury Department replied that the report had been sent to the Department of State. And when he demanded the report from the Department of State he was told that the report had gone into the archives as a secret document and could not be divulged. To refuse a United States Senator access to an official document which would aid him in making his defense seemed such an outrageous proceeding that I gladly gave Senator La Follette's attorney a copy of the Lusitania report and offered to take the witness-stand to authenticate it. But I have never contended that Germany had any legal or moral right to sink the Lusitania without first exercising visit and search and without first giving an opportunity to all on board to seek safety in the life boats."

"At the time of the LaFollette investigation it was estimated that there were between ten and eleven tons of black powder in a particular consignment of forty-two hundred cases of Springfield cartridges listed among the small-arms ammunition on the Lusitania's manifest. Back in President Taft's Administration ordnance experts of the Government had ruled that such small-arms ammunition could not be exploded by fire or concussion and, therefore, could be carried safely on passenger ships. But a theory has been frequently advanced that the torpedo striking the Lusitania and making contact with this particular consignment of cartridges might have generated enough heat together with the shock simultaneously to explode all this black powder, even though the powder was protected by the metal coverings of the individual cartridges. As to the probable accuracy of this theory, I know nothing."

"Statements have been made that there was a second explosion on the Lusitania after the torpedo struck the ship. Whether this second explosion was due to bursting boilers or to the ignition of other explosives is mere speculation. Even if there had been a second explosion, this would not justify the action of the German submarine captain in launching the torpedo against the sides of the Lusitania without warning."

RALPH CHAPLIN REMEMBERS TRUTH

Ralph Chaplin sent TRUTH a beautiful volume of Modern Russian Poetry. We are pleased, of course. Ralph Chaplin is without doubt the most gifted creature ever born on Kansas soil. Now he is on Kansas soil again as a full grown man, but he is shut away from the most wonderful things that Kansas has—its sunsets and sunrises and starry heavens. His cell at Leavenworth shuts these out. But he is billed to stay for quite a while yet—twenty years was what the masters gave him, not as a punishment for any act of violence against person or property but for the expression of his views which happen to be working class views.

TRUTH has published many of Chaplin's beautiful gems in the past. One taken from his *Prison Poems* follows:

TO MY LITTLE SON

I cannot lose the thought of you
It haunts me like a little song,
It blends with all I see or do
Each day, the whole day long.

The train, the lights, the engine's throb,
And that one stinging memory:
Your brave smile broken with a sob,
Your face pressed close to me.

Lips trembling far too much to speak;
The arms that would not come undone;
The kiss so salty on your cheek;
The long, long trip begun.

I could not miss you more it seemed,
But now I don't know what to say.
It's harder than I ever dreamed
With you so far away.

(The complete collection of Chaplin's *Prison Poems* can be had for \$1.25. Proceeds go to support his wife and baby. Order from TRUTH.)

NEWBOLD'S MAIDEN SPEECH

The other significant speech was from the new member from Motherwell, the first Communist in the British Parliament. He began with annoying, elementary things. "I represent in this House an area in which there are 13,000 men at the (unemployment) bureau. . . . Eighty per cent of my constituents live in homes of not more than two rooms for a family. Great numbers of them live in not more than one room. I was accused at the election of a design to break up the family. . . . We found that in one room there was a family living, and a corpse was lying in one bed, while a man and two grown-up daughters were in an adjoining bed. That is not under communism. It is under capitalism. It is in the name of the men, women and children that live in Motherwell that I am here. I am demanding justice. I am going to get justice. If not at this Table, then—we will get it." Wasn't that a dainty dish to set before the King?

—The Freeman.

THE BLOCKADE

B. N. Z.

O, people-hunger-worn, weary of war and pain—
Arise and cry aloud to all the world,
Never again in all human history shall any human soul
Want for food—for the necessities of everyday life—
Be he suckling or youth, lover or parent, worker or fighter.
Rise and demand with tens of millions of tongues
That the weapon of the blockade—
A weapon so low-born that only man's greed could father it—
Shall never again be used by civilized man,
That children, nevermore, shall cry aloud in anguish
"Mother, I am hungry, give me to eat,"
That never again shall the cry ring down the ages—
"Bread, give us bread, lest we starve."

This is civilization!
Children breaking the mother's heart pleading for a morsel
of food,
Aged folk dying because of man's intolerable greed—
With few to give to suffering age or pleading youth,
Though we cry out at some slight hurt our hearts may feel
And pray to God for succor from trivial pain.

Is there a page or a picture or a poem that will tell
To men in the years to come this greed-begotten woe?
Or have we yet a little shame that would hide this hell-born
misery?

O people, all people weary of hunger and pain—
Arise and cry aloud to all the world
That never again this sin shall be!

WHY DO CIVILIZATIONS DIE?

People are questioning why do civilizations die? What was Rome like when her civilization was at its zenith? There is a new interest in ancient history. The workers are reading to try to get light. They question, "Where is our civilization headed?"

Any bright school girl or boy can tell what Rome was like in her most civilized days. It is quite safe to let the children read about the social revolution in Rome and what brought it on. That is far enough away. America is the land that teachers must handle with care when dealing with social sore spots. Besides the boys and girls are so young they really make little application of what they read. It does not make any real impression upon them, so they are permitted to read about Rome. It had well built cities, temples, theatres, amphitheatres, markets, great aqueducts, splendid high roads, abundant crops, wonderful products and all the work was done by grudging slaves who had bare necessities.

The rich, according to Gibbon in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, had "every refinement of convenience and elegance and of splendour, whatever could soothe their pride or gratify their sensuality," but the labor was done "by an industrious and ingenious people who did not even have a share of all the necessities." "Diligent mechanics and skilful artists had no share in the division of the earth."

H. G. Wells in his *Outline of History* says, while Rome was in her zenith, "Discussion was treason to the empire, social or economic inquiry threatened the rich. Rome never questioned her social health." She did not take a scientific attitude. A few men had libraries and literary treasures but little scientific reading was done. They were content to ransack the ancient world for luxuries to wear and delicacies to eat. They feasted and entertained themselves by watching gladiatorial shows and grew richer and richer without working while those who worked grew poorer and poorer. "There was little famine or fire or sword to afflict mankind but the rich ate the heart out of the workers. Life was laborious, tedious, lacking in interest and freedom." The masses took no interest in political events. It didn't seem to matter to them what happened. Hope was gone. They refused to bear children because no worker knew at what time he would be obliged to leave his wife. Debts were burdensome and the masters were ruthless. All sorts of religious cults sprang up. In trying to seek relief from their earth-hell it did not seem to occur to the slaves that they had the power to end their serfdom. They dreamed of gods and saviors to do it for them.

Then the German tribes came and the common people did not resist. They even joined them. To the slaves, no barbarian tribes could be worse than the tax-gatherers and masters who bred them, trained them and sold them like dogs. So what happened was really a social revolution masked by a superficial foreign conquest.

This is not a Communist story or a bolshevik story. It is a perfectly respectable story from perfectly respectable library histories.

Do any of the Roman conditions sound like the good old United States today? And are the workers now dreaming of gods to come and save them or are they going to save themselves?

A BOX-CAR RHYMATIC SPASM

By J. P. FERGUSON.

The worker and the shirker—
The difference is droll:
The shirker gets the doughnut
And the worker gets the hole.
Let's look around about us
And see the reason why. . . .

Who builds the railroads and the mill
And has to operate them still,
That parasites their purse may fill?
The Worker.

Who spends great sums to talk to Mars,
And starts up all these bloody wars;
Puts honest men behind the bars?
The Shirker.

Who is it hates to organize
And self discipline recognize,
Though his children starve before his eyes?
The Worker.

Who tells the preacher what to say,
So ignorance may have full sway
And tyranny may come and stay?
The Shirker.

Who is it loves the Master's voice,
Takes chains of bondage as his choice
And in his ignorance does rejoice?
The Worker.

Who could make this a world of peace;
Cause all this bloody strife to cease,
And honest men from jail release?
The Worker.

Baby carriages are the true barometer of times condition.—If the buggies are cheap, unemployment is rampant; if the buggies are "high," the army of unemployed is occupied. . . .

—T-BONE SLIM.