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TRUTH

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Defense of Accused Herrin Miners Bolstered by Alibi Witnesses and Guard's Letter

Twelve Dollars a Day for Holding a Winchester to Pop Miners with, Was Easy Money, According to Holman, a Mine Guard

(Federated Press.)

Marion, Ill.—The defense of the five miners, Otis Clark, Bert Grace, Leva Mann, Joe Carnaghi and Peter Hiller, accused of murder in the Herrin strip mine riot of last June, was further bolstered by the introduction of additional alibi witnesses in Judge Hartwell's court.

Men and women who had known the defendants for years, some of them from school days and infancy, testified that they saw the procession to the cemetery pass through the streets of Herrin but did not see any one of the five men in it. They were neither in the group of men conducting the six strikebreakers and mine guards to their fate, nor in the crowd that followed, according to these witnesses. Those testifying included miners, former miners and a miner's wife.

Testimony was fairly unanimous that the men in charge of the prisoners were strangers, the local men and women constituting the hangers-on and lining the side of the streets through which the procession filed.

Part of the evidence to show that the mine guards were out looking for trouble at the strip mine was contained in a letter written by one of the gunmen to his divorced wife several days before the riot. He tells of getting \$12 a day for sitting with a Winchester rifle across his knees, watching for miners to stick their heads "over the mountain." Some night he and his pal were going to fill up with moonshine, he writes, and select a girl. The letter follows:

"I have been here close by since June 9. No doubt you will be surprised to learn I am down here with a gang of moonshiners. 'Ha, ha.' But the moonshine is Winchester rifles and field guns. We are only waiting for them to start the band playing.

"We have two guns planted on the dam reservoir water dam, two on cook and sleeping cars, and six guns on top of the hills. They only shoot 600 shots apiece a minute—there is also 100 guards with Winchester rifles that shoots three miles. But as long as they stay three miles away they will be safe.

"But hell help them if they ever start in on mining company property. We shipped 20 cars of coal yesterday.

"Well, \$12 a day for sitting here with a Winchester on your lap looks good to me, that's \$360 for 30 days.

"We are all under 90 days' contract. That holds me here until Sept. 10. I'll be here couple weeks and joy riding after job is over. Can't tell when I will be in Carterville. Some night when machine is out joy riding. You may not be in Carterville now. If you are not I

Plenty of Time; It Wasn't His Arm

Mr. Davis of the Bindler & Davis firm has his arm in splints and carries it in a sling. He tells a good story of a tender-hearted auto driver, J. R. Barber by name, who lives at 617 N. 27th Ave. W. Davis says, as he was crossing the street at 18th Ave. W. and Superior St. on the evening of Dec. 20th, Barber ran into him with his auto but did not stop to investigate until his car had gone many rods past the crossing.

Then what did Barber do to relieve Davis with his injured arm? Take him to a doctor immediately? No. Give him the Coue "day by day, in every way your arm will get better and better?" What he did was almost as good. He took Mr. Davis to the police station at 2nd Ave. E. and the arm ached while Barber and the desk sergeant told him he ought to be arrested for crossing in the middle of the block.

have a way of finding where you live.

"We may open up Carterville mines about September. We haven't had much trouble here yet. But are prepared for all that comes. Are you still running—boarding house. Come over and have a square meal. We sure feed here. Everything free here.

"All I do is work on strike jobs were money is big and easy. Same as always. Give all my foes and friends my regards; tell them I am here on eight-hour shift watching for someone to stick their head over the mountain or out of the woods.

"So as to give us a little practice to shoot it.

"I have a pal. He wants to know if there is any young chickens there. Some night when we get a gallon of real moonshine we will take a drive over. But there is no life like a single one, go as you please. Sleep with the ones that looks best and have no boss, or some jame always having you in trouble and in hell.

"Well, I will close. I am only 2½ miles from No. 9 Madison mine.

"Answer if you wish. Yours respectfully,

"Sherman Holman, Box 32, Marion, Ill."

Baltic States Make Farce of Disarmament Congress, Moscow

By ANISE

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

Moscow.—The Baltic states and especially Poland, made a farce of the disarmament congress called by Russia. Invitations to this congress were sent out by Russia immediately after Genoa, with the statement that although Genoa failed to consider the question of disarmament, this need not prevent neighboring states from mutually reducing arms and saving themselves the cost and burden.

Several months of sidestepping and excuses on the part of the Baltic states ended at last in the holding of the congress. Russia at once, in the fashion once started by Secretary Hughes in Washington, began to talk definite figures.

"We will reduce by any proportion the rest of you will. We will even disband our army altogether if the rest of you will," was the statement made by Litvinov in the opening session.

Poland, Latvia, Estonia and Finland were all represented at the congress, and Poland was also authorized to speak for Rumania, but refused to attend officially unless Russia recognized in advance her right to Bessarabia, which she took from Russia through the treaty of Versailles without Russia's consent. These states intimated that they preferred not to talk in exact numbers, but wanted a general pact of nonaggression, which they called "moral disarmament."

Russia replied that moral disarmament was rather senseless unless based on actual material disarmament, but agreed to sign such a pact if the others would also discuss the concrete proposal to really cut down arms. Thus the proposition came down to actual arithmetic.

"We will reduce one-fourth of our army the first years," said Poland, "cutting down from 375,000 to 280,000." But the Russians inconsiderately pointed out the fact that in her recent statement to the league of nations, Poland claims to have even now only 294,000 in her armed forces.

Latvia followed with the offer to reduce to 19,000 men, but was found an investigation, to have only 19,500 at present. Little Estonia was most amusing of all, offering to "reduce" to 16,000, whereas she has only 13,000 now. Finland was the best and frankest mathematician; she stated

FRENCH INVADE ESSEN, OCCUPY RHUR; LEADING FRENCH COMMUNISTS IMPRISONED

War Threatens; American Troops Ordered Home; Italy Hesitates as German Workers Are to Be Cut Off From Basic Sources of Raw Materials and Manufactured Products.

Mexican Farmers Tired of Landlords

(Federated Press.)

Guadalajara, Mexico.—"So long as the land is not restored to those who labor and live upon it the revolution is yet to be." This might be taken as the keynote of the first convention of the organized land workers of the state of Jalisco, in this city.

A petition was addressed to the Mexican government reciting the wrongs suffered by the campesinos (land workers) at the hands of the landlords, and a demand made for immediate restoration of the land. This was the promise of Madero, of Carranza, and is the policy of the present government, but the months are lengthening into years and still the campesinos of Jalisco toil at wages which leave them and their families hungry and almost naked.

In other states in Mexico the workers have been given their lands. Why the delay in Jalisco?

From every part of the state these men and women had come. Some had walked four or five days, since they were too poor to buy railroad tickets. Most slept on the brick floor of the meeting hall wrapped only in their blankets. Some 40 or more were provided with three meals a day by the central office of the league. Practically all were clad in the flimsy cotton garments of the poor with bare sandalled feet, enormous brimmed straw sombrero and the inevitable blanket. The marks of poverty, malnutrition and hard work were stamped on their faces.

These 160 delegates represented 50,000 organized land workers. The wages of most of them ranged from 20 to 50 centavos per day with some corn where the smaller wage is paid (2 centavos equal 1 cent).

It is the policy of the government to encourage the organization of workers in every possible way. Buildings are furnish free as headquarters and meeting places. In this city the convention was held in one part of what was a convent 60 years ago, but has been used for many years as an industrial school for orphan boys. The business manager of the school is the secretary of the state organization of campesinos.

And yet the military arm of the government in a state may be entirely out of sympathy if not actually hostile to such a policy.

The general may be influential with the local landlords and the governments finds it necessary to keep him in position for fear his removal would result in his taking the field against the authorities.

Similar congresses of campesinos will be held in the state of Durango and Guanajuato in January.

Beats Daugherty; Imprisons 28 Children for Conspiracy

Budapest.—Under Admiral Horthy's dictatorship in Hungary, 34 children, accused of combining to upset the government by force of arms, have been tried. They seem to have met in one another's homes and read socialist poetry. The oldest of these conspirators was 15. Six were acquitted; the rest were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from three to 18 months.

bluntly that she had 28,000 men now and did not intend to reduce at all.

After this arithmetic game they all came out with the statement that exact figures should no longer be discussed, but that a pact of arbitration should be signed, and three months later the military experts should consult together, and meantime the question of border

New York.—On Thursday the French troops occupied Essen, the heart of the German industrial section. 50,000 troops will "act as a guard of the Ruhr coal," according to French official statements. Italian hesitation has caused the French some concern, but Italian engineers are with the French and Belgians. M. Poincare in his official note to Germany took pains to mention this. The French are watching Britain. The British cabinet is meeting to consider the position of the British troops on the Rhine.

French Communists Imprisoned

Leading Communists, headed by Deputy Marcel Cachin, who went to Essen in an attempt to organize a general strike in the Ruhr, have been charged by the government with a plot against the safety of the state, and six of them already are in jail; four are being sought, and parliament has been asked to cancel M. Cachin's parliamentary immunity so that he, as the leader, may be prosecuted.

German War Spirit Revives

Warlike patriotism flamed up among the Germans. Crowds surged through the streets, singing "Deutschland Uber Alles."

There have been no outbreaks despite the appearance here of French officers and the requisition of buildings for French barracks, but the people are in a sullen, resentful frame of mind and are determined to do what they can to hinder occupation.

Mine Syndicate Dissolved

Dissolution of the great Rhine-land coal syndicate is a severe blow to French plans for economic exploitation of the Ruhr. The syndicate controlled more than 100 of the most important mines in the district, including those owned by Hugo Stinnes.

It now will be necessary for the French to deal with the mine owners individually for purposes of appraising output, number of men at work, pay rolls and the like. The books and record were removed from Essen Thursday. They were shipped to Hamburg.

Coal Strike Threatens

Germans declared that as soon as the first French troops enter the Ruhr delivery of reparations coal would cease. Under past conditions a 6,000-ton coal train left the Ruhr every half hour for allied delivery.

Relations of various nationalities in the Rhineland are mixed. French and Belgians are most cordial. The English are cool but courteous.

Officials of the Krupp works, at Essen, formerly the chief source of German war supplies, announced they would attempt to continue work undisturbed. The statement added: "This decision is taken not for the sake of the French, but because 50,000 German workers depend upon the Krupps for their daily bread."

Workers Face Untold Suffering

Experts agree that Germany cannot survive this second loss of its basic industrial supplies. The German mark will become so worthless that it will no longer be accepted as a medium of exchange. The workers unable to buy will be obliged to take. Untold suffering, destruction and disorder will result. This will extend beyond the borders of Germany. Thus the masters of capitalism are starting another conflagration which may destroy them as well as the working class.

der zones should be handled by each nation separately.

Russia has already reduced from several million to 800,000 men, which is slightly more than the two states of Poland and Rumania

Hardings Official Family Disintegrates

(Federated Press)

Washington.—Pounding on the rocks for two months past, the Harding cabinet is now breaking up under the waves of public discontent.

Fall has quit to take effect March 4. Daugherty is fumbling with his resignation. Hoover may be kicked upstairs into membership on a capitalists' committee of receivers for bankrupt Europe.

The show windows of the Republican party have got to be redressed, its engine overhauled, tires changed—or any figure of speech you may choose to illustrate the business of getting ready for 1924.

Attorney General Daugherty is making a game fight to stay with the cabinet, but he calls himself a real friend of Warren G. Harding, and knows that he is a millstone tied to the president's chance to be reelected. Speaking to Philadelphia friends, Daugherty says:

"Public servants called by the mandate of the whole people are being viciously attacked by those who would tear down constitutional government—the greatest government ever established by the hand and brain of men."

Well, Daugherty has no mandate from the people to hold any office, and his hand and brain were not among those that established the greatest government, etc. On the contrary, his handling of President Harding's mandate is an outstanding reason why the voters in November cancelled the 7,000,000 majority they had given to Harding two years before.

Daugherty knows this. Just as soon as his retirement will embarrass the president less than his presence in the cabinet does—say between now and April, the attorney general is expected to discover, like Fall, that private affairs demand his entire attention.

Who will take Fall's place in the cabinet is not known. Progressive elements have no hope that a liberal will be named to head the interior department. Kellogg, New and other ousted reactionaries are mentioned. They need berths, but they are badly waterlogged, politically, and would do Harding no good.

The current guess here is that Sen. Capper and Secy. Wallace may give their O. K. to some pseudo-progressive who will be given the post as a decoy to the drifting farmer vote.

Widow of Murdered Magon Destitute in Los Angeles

By Defense News Service

Los Angeles, Cal.—Mrs. Ricardo Flores Magon, widow of the Mexican political prisoner who was "permitted by the Harding administration to die in Leavenworth prison, is destitute here. Her only daughter, Lucile, is lying ill in the county hospital. Appeals for financial assistance for Mrs. Magon have been sent out by Raul Palma, an old friend of the Magon family. He may be addressed at 2132 Fargo street.

Enrique Magon, brother of the dead revolutionists, will shortly be deported to Mexico because of his efforts to effect Ricardo's release when it was evident that the latter was dying.

have in their alliance. Whether Russia will feel herself able to reduce any farther is a question. In view of her vast and troubled frontiers towards Japan, Mongolia, Turkey, Persia, as well as the western nations, and with bandit bands still operating in her mountains.

Hen Houses for Mine Workers; \$376,944 Jewel for Berwind, Owner of Pa. Mines

(Federated Press)

New York.—Mrs. E. J. Berwind, wife of the head of the Berwind White Coal Co., died here not long ago. Among other trifles, her will disposed of diamonds and pearls and other jewels which the tax appraiser has valued at \$376,944. These she bequeathed to her husband, the will setting forth that she left him no money because "he does not need it."

Some of the reasons Berwind does not need money now are disclosed in the report of a committee appointed by the mayor and representing New York city, which recently made an investigation of the conditions under which the mines of the Berwind-White concern in Somerset and Cambria counties, Pennsylvania, are worked. The report is one of the most blistering arraignments of coal mining employers ever put into print. It concludes with a demand that the government take over the coal mines and operate them for the benefit of the people.

"The committee," says the document, "heard harrowing tales of suffering and deprivation, and saw in tents, henhouses, stables and other improvised homes women and children whose feet were bare and bleeding and whose bodies were thinly clad."

"It did not take long to learn," the report continues, "that the Berwind-White company officials treated their employees purely as beasts of burden and sacrificed the lives and limbs of thousands of women and children to build for themselves an industrial autocracy. No Egyptian Pharaoh rearing for his glory a towering monument ever drove his slaves harder than these miners are driven."

"Sad as it is, the charges of un-

derpaying, short weighing and overcharging for food and clothing against the Berwind-White company by its striking employers are only too true. The dejected condition of the miners, the wasted bodies of their wives and the sad faces of their under-sized children testified in the strongest terms to their helpless and poverty-stricken condition."

Survey Shows U. S. Mineral Resources

Washington.—Work of the geological survey during the last year in examining government lands has resulted in leaving now classified and reserved 65,000,000 acres of coal lands; 6,500,000 acres of petroleum lands; 4,100,000 acres of oil shale; and 2,700,000 acres containing phosphates suitable for fertilizer manufacture.

Dealing with the mineral resources contained in the government's own land holdings is but one branch of the scientific investigation work performed by the survey, and its engineers and calculators also have turned out topographic maps covering 13,544 square miles of the country's surface, showing exact contours of the land, and stream flow investigations which entailed 11,000 measurements in rivers in 31 states.

It likewise completed studies of the radium bearing ore deposits in Utah, and measured underground water flows in Nevada sufficiently to designate 332,000 acres of land as suitable for utilization in reclamation enterprises.

Unthinking Prejudice Parades as Patriotism

Advertiser Thinks Briggs Has a Good Indian Name; Would Save Him from Russia

(By F. S. R. Press Service)

What's in a name? This is what—The business manager of the Soviet Russia Pictorial, a graphic monthly review of Russian affairs, is named Cyril R. Briggs. It is a good mouthsome American label. Well, in his official capacity he sent a sober circulator letter over his signature to a long list of advertising agencies.

The said circular fell into the hands of G. Allen Reeder, the president of an advertising firm in New York. The words Soviet Russia have approximately the same effect on certain folks as a red rag has on a bull. Mr. Reeder sent a long, indignant reply wherein he asserts that he "was extremely surprised to see a form letter come into this office with the signature of a good name like Cyril Briggs." The following excerpt show the purport of the rest of the epistle:

"Please be advised that I will in no way help any organization, person, or persons, in sympathy with the Soviet Government in Russia, and that all my principals are American to the last ditch, and extremely anti to anything which might have an injuring effect upon this glorious country, and the principals upon which it is founded.

"As to you, Mr. Briggs, I am indeed surprised to see a man with a name like yours associated with the organization printed on the letter-head above your name. If it is money that forces you to hold a position with anything connected with Soviet Russia, I would be pleased to have you call upon me, and I am sure I can arrange something far more remunerative and less humiliating to the good American soul that I am sure you have."

Whereupon Briggs, being an ungrateful wretch, refused the offer, indicating, moreover, the following letter:

"Dear Mr. Reeder: Permit me to express the appreciation of our entire office force for your letter of January 2nd, wherein you offer to save such a good name as Cyril R. Briggs from the humiliation of helping Soviet Russia. It is the most amusing epistle that has reached us in some time, and we are always appreciative of amusement.

"It is not, of course, the first time that we have seen sheer unthinking prejudice parade as patriotism. If you had taken the trouble to study the truth of the epochmaking events transpiring in Russia, instead of receiving your opinions second-hand from kept newspapers, you might find that Soviet Russia is not opposed to genuine American 'principals', to quote your spelling.

"Incidentally, you will need to expand your organization vastly if you will be consistent in your policy of providing remunerative jobs to American names affiliated with the Friends of Soviet Russia. To begin with, you would be obliged to get less humiliating jobs for our entire Advisory Committee which consists of the following: Elmer T. Allison, Dennis Batt, J. O. Bentall, Ella Reeve Bloor, Jay G. Brown, Jack Carney, Prof. H. W. L. Dana, William F. Dunn, Max Eastman, J. Louis Engdahl, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Wm. Z. Foster, E. Hayes, Capt. Paxton Hibben, Alice Riggs Hunt, Ludwig Lore, Robert Minor, Edgar Owens, Rose Pastor Stokes, Mary Heaton Vorse, Hulet M. Wells, Albert Rhys Williams.

"Also, I might suggest that you offer jobs likewise to such good American names as the following, all of whom have been actively engaged in helping Soviet Russia: Senator William Borah, Frank P. Walsh, Dudley Field Malone, Senator France, Senator LaFollette, Senator Pettigrew, etc. Furthermore, we have on our list of contributors some 30,000 other American names. Have you jobs for them all?"

Capitalism Incapable of Ruling and the Working Class is Not Yet Competent

(Excerpts From Trotsky's Report at World Congress.)

When the so-called State capitalism undergoes a progressive development, it is not in the form of a true capitalism but in the form of a trend towards socialism. The better the so-called State capitalism thrives, the more closely does it grow akin to socialism. This does not involve any danger for us; what threatens us, is the development of private capitalism, to which free play has been given. This real capitalism will compete with our State economic system, and with our State manufactures. The question arises, what means are at the disposal of private capitalism? It cannot dispose of the powers of the State, nor is the State power sympathetic towards it. Indeed, the State power will do its best to prevent the young plant of private capitalism from thriving too abundantly. The Workers' State will always possess a pruning knife to deal with too luxuriant a growth. Taxation, for instance, is the first defensive weapon in the hands of the Workers' State. Furthermore, the State has control over the leased industrial enterprises.

Best equipped enterprises under State control.

It is especially in connection with the matter of the leased enterprises that we are supposed to have a capitulation. That matter, therefore, demands careful consideration. Never mind the transport system (which employs in all 956,952 persons), since this is wholly in the hands of the State. Let us consider the industrial undertakings that are carried on as trusts. In these, despite the poor development of our industrial system, the State now employs one million workers. On the other hand, in factories that have been leased to private capitalists 80,000 workers are employed. But there is another point of decisive importance besides the relative numbers of the workers in State enterprise and private enterprise—I mean the level of technical development in the respective enterprises. You will have a basis for comparison when I tell you that in the leased enterprises the average number of workers per enterprise is 18, whereas in the State enterprises the average number is 250. Thus the most important enterprises, those which are best equipped from the technical point of view, are in the hands of the State. Isaid that one million workers were employed in State undertakings, and that 80,000 were employed in leased enterprises. But even these 80,000 are not all in private enterprises, for half of the leased enterprises are run by distributive cooperative societies or by commissariats which have leased the enterprises from the State and run them on their own account. It follows that in the enterprises leased by the State to private capitalists only 40,000 to 45,000 workers are employed, as against the million employed in State enterprises. The whole affair of these leased undertakings is of recent growth. Pending the day when capitalism in Russia bulks as largely as State capitalism, there will be plenty of time to think things over, and it need be to make changes. My own opinion is that even if the revolution in the West should not occur within the next few years, it will be a long while before the development of private capitalism in Russia will reach an extent that can even remotely be compared with that of State capitalism.

70 % of commerce under State management.

In the domain of commerce, private capitalism is already playing a more extensive role, but to give precise figures is by no means easy. Our experts (who are not always so expert as they claim to be,—not so much from lack of good will, but simply for objective reasons) declare that private trading capital comprises about 30 per cent of all trading capital in the country, the remaining 70 per cent belonging to State institutions or to the distributive cooperative societies that are subsidized by the State and are really under State management.

These two processes thus run their opposed courses concurrently. Nevertheless, they reinforce one another. Private capitalism groups itself around our State trusts, competes with, and yet is nourished by them. Conversely, our State enterprises would not be able to continue at work in default of the supplies with which they are furnished by certain comparatively small private enterprises. Our state enterprises are now passing through the period of primitive socialist accumulation. If we do not secure any loans, we shall have to develop our

economic system as an isolated national State inasmuch as we shall accumulate in a socialist and not in a capitalist fashion. On the other hand, there is also in progress among us a revival of primitive capitalist accumulation, and we must leave the future to decide which of these two processes will proceed more rapidly. The Workers' State holds the trump cards. Of course it may lose them. But when we analyze the existing situation, we see that all the advantages are on our side, all at least, with one exception. Private capitalism, which in Russia is now for the second time passing through the phase of primitive accumulation, is backed up by world capitalism. We are still encircled by capitalism. The question therefore arises whether our incipient socialism, which still has to work by capitalist methods, may not in the end be bought up by real capital.

Will incipient socialism give way?

There are always two parties to a transaction of that kind, the buyer and the seller. Power in Russia is in the hands of the Workers' State. The chief industries and foreign trade are State monopolies, this matter of monopoly is of fundamental importance to us. It is our safeguard against the attempts of capitalism to buy up our incipient socialism. As far as the concessions are concerned, Comrade Lenin has remarked, "Much cry and little wool."

Economic balance upset in this age.

It is often contended that world capitalism, is in an extremely critical condition, and has need of Soviet Russia—that Britain urgently requires the Russian market for her manufactures, that Germany wants grain, and so on. Abstractly considered, this seems quite true, if the world be contemplated from the pacifist standpoint, from the outlook of the healthy human understanding which is of course always pacifist. One would think then, the British capitalists would hasten to begin the economic invasion of Russia, and that the Germans would limp along the Britishers rear. But we see nothing of the sort. Why not? Because we live in a critical epoch when the economic balance has been upset, and because capital is not in a position to form and to realize great economic designs. Unquestionably Russia represents for Britain a gigantic reservoir for trade. But it is not a reservoir that can be tapped, to-day or tomorrow. A day will come when the Russian market will be competent to provide work for Britain's army of unemployed numbering now a million or more. Perhaps this will be possible in three, five or ten years. In the latter event, calculations would have to be based upon a ten years perspective, but this is impracticable, for everything is now so uncertain in our shattered world.

Capitalist governments unable to look ahead.

Because of the uncertainty of the future, the economic policy of the capitalist governments can look no further than one day ahead. This fact dominates the world situation. Inasmuch as the capitalist powers are aware that Russia cannot bring them salvation tomorrow, they are perpetually postponing the promised concessions, etc. There is absolutely no reason to suppose that these concessions could bring ruin to Russia. You will have noted that the central organ of our party is now publishing a series of lengthy articles upon one of the most important of these concessions, the Urquhart concession. The articles contain (amid, I must admit, a number of errors of calculation) a dispassionate consideration of the pros and cons. Now what is the noteworthy point here? It is this, that the matter is in the hands of the Workers' State, which is deliberating whether to make or withhold this and other concessions.

In one word, the danger that real capitalism, whose development is inevitable if a free market is conceded, will grow too strong for the Workers' State, is much less imminent than the possibility that the working class in Central and Western Europe will conquer the power of the State. Russian policy must be one of patient endurance until the working class of Europe and the world conquers the State power.

There remains, however, one important problem which I have not yet considered. I refer to the problem of productivity, the field of labor.

Advantage of socialism must be proved by increased production. Socialism is one kind of economic system, capitalism is another. The advantages of socialism are not

to be proved by talking about them, but by the increased field of labor. Just as the capitalist economic system had the advantage over the feudal system of making human labor more efficient, socialism possesses the corresponding advantage over capitalism. We are now exceedingly poor; that is a positive fact, and it attention be concentrated upon it, our enemies can find plenty of arguments against us. Both agricultural and industrial production in Russia are considerably less now than they were before the war. The agricultural produce of the last year was about 1/4 of the yield of an average pre-war year; industrial products last year totalled about 1/4 of the yield of the pre-war period. At the first glance this suggests that our position is a dangerous one. Manufacturing industry must be our main support, seeing that agriculture provides the basis for the accumulation of private capital. Now we must not forget that the peasant carries on production mainly for himself, produces mainly for his own needs. Since the peasants this year produced a harvest equal to only 1/4 of a pre-war harvest, the best they could do, after paying the tax in kind, of 314,000,000 puds, was to supply about 100,000,000 puds for the market. Both for private capital, and for such trading capital as is in the hands of the State, we are concerned only with that amount of agricultural produce which comes upon the market. The amount is comparatively small, and is not likely to expand more quickly than industrial development advances.

Economic Transformation Costly.

Still, we have not yet proved by facts that socialism is a better economic method than capitalism, for Russia is poorer than before the war and even than before the revolution. This is a fact. It is explicable by another fact, namely, that revolution as a method of economic transformation, is a costly affair. All revolutions have taught this. Consider for instance, the Great French Revolution. At the Genoa Conference the French expert Collat (now French Minister of Justice) said to comrade Litvinoff or to comrade Tchitcherin: "You really have no right to say a word about economic affairs. Just compare the condition of your country with the condition of ours." Now the condition of modern France, on a capitalist basis is the outcome of the Great French Revolution. France, as we see her to-day, with her wealth, her civilization, and her corruption, would be unthinkable were it not for the Great French Revolution. At the 14th of July celebrations, Collat of course, speaks of the Great French Revolution as the mother of modern democracy. In this connection I have been looking up a few historical works, such as Taine's writings and Jaures, History of Socialism, and have ascertained the following facts. The impoverishment of France began to become serious after the ninth of Thermidor, i.e. after the beginning of the counter revolutionary era. Ten years after the opening of the revolution, when Bonaparte was First Consul, Paris received a daily supply of flour ranging from 300 to 500 sacks, whereas the minimum normal requirement of the city was 1500 sacks. Thus Paris, having at that time a population of 1 1/2 million, was able in the tenth year of the bourgeois revolution to secure only from one-third to two-fifths of the most important of the necessities of life.

There is another example. At the same epoch, in the ninth and tenth years of the French revolution, there was a decline in population in 37 out of the 38 departments, the decline being due to famine, epidemic disease, etc.

In ten years please note. We are just at the beginning of the sixth year. Russia's position at the present time is not wholly enviable, but it is far more favorable than was the position of France ten years after the beginning of the bourgeois democratic revolution. We have to realize, that history pursuing her aim of intensifying the capacity of human labor, sometimes works with the method of devastation. Such disharmonies are the fault of history; we are not responsible for them. Quite recently I read a speech to which I should like to direct the attention of the French comrades in particular. It was delivered by the French chemist Berthelot (the son of the more celebrated Berthelot) speaking as a delegate of the Academie des Sciences. I translate it from the "Temps":

"In all epochs of history, alike in the domain of science, in that of politics, and in that of social phenomena, it has been the splendid and terrible privilege of armed conflicts to speed with blood and iron the birth of new times."

Ten Years Will Bring Proof.

Of course Berthelot was thinking mainly of war. He was right; for wars, and especially such wars as defend a new historical principle, convey great impulsive energy. But he was also referring to armed conflicts in general. The revolutionary conflict that entail devastation, simultaneously entail the birth of new epochs. From these considerations we can infer that the costs of revolution are not fruitless expenditure. We have to ask our friends (and they grant it) to give us another five years. Then in the tenth year of the revolution, we shall be in a position to prove the superiority of socialism to capitalism in the economic field, not by speculations merely, but by hard facts.

If however, the capitalist world is going to endure for several decades, then this would signify a death sentence for Soviet Russia. But in this respect there is no need to distrust or to modify the views, demonstrations, and these of our Third Congress. Lord Curzon, British Minister for Foreign Affairs, speaking on November 9th, the birthday of the German republic, gave an excellent summary of the world situation. Many of you may not have noticed it so I propose to read you a few sentences. Curzon said:

"All the Powers have emerged from the war with weakened and broken energies. We ourselves are suffering from a heavy burden of taxation which weighs upon the industry of our country. We have a great number of unemployed in all branches of work. As regards France, her indebtedness is immense, and she is not able to secure the payment of the war indemnities. Germany is in a condition of political instability, and her economic life is paralyzed by an appalling currency crisis. Russia still remains outside the family of European nations. It is still under the communist flag." — The noble lord differs, apparently from Otto Bauer—"and continues to carry on constant propaganda all over the world"—of course this is untrue:—"Italy has traversed a number of shocks and governmental crises"—has traversed! I should say, is still traversing—"The Near East is in a condition of absolute chaos. The situation is a terrible one."

Even the Russian communists would be hard put to it to conduct better propaganda upon a world wide scale. One of the best known representatives of the strongest realm in Europe assures us on the fifth anniversary of the Soviet Republic that "the situation is a terrible one."

Capitalism Incapable of Working Class—Also.

An Italian newspaper correspondent recently asked me for my estimate of the present world situation. In somewhat hazy phraseology I replied: "Capitalism has become incapable of ruling, and the working class is not yet competent to rule. These are the characteristics of our epoch." You note that Lord Curzon quite confirms the first part of my summary. Three or four days ago a friend sent me from Berlin a cutting from a recent issue of the "Freiheit." The heading is "Kautsky's Victory over Trotsky." Herein I read that the "Rote Fahne" is loath to make too much of my capitulation to Kautsky—although the "Rote Fahne" has not usually been backward in attacking me, even when I was right. Still, that story belongs to the Third Congress, not to the Fourth.

I had said: "Capitalism has become incapable of ruling and the working class is not yet competent to rule. These are the characteristics of our epoch." The worthy "Freiheit" comments: "What Trotsky advances as his view is the opinion earlier expressed by Kautsky." In fact, "Freiheit" accuses me of plagiarism! You know, of course, that being interviewed is no joke, and that here in Russia we are never interviewed of our own free will but always upon the orders of friend Tchitcherin. A good deal is still centralized in Russia, and the interviews are arranged by the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. When one has to put up with an interview, one naturally trots out one's choicest stock of commonplaces! I never supposed the assertion that capitalism had become incompetent, to be an original discovery of my own. Now I learn that Kautsky was the spiritual father of the formula.

But I have sincerely tried to discover wherein I have "capitulated." The reason why the proletariat is not yet competent to rule is to be found precisely in this, that the traditions and influences of Kautskyism have still so strong a hold on the workers. That is why the working class is not ready to seize power, and I passed on the idea to the Italian interviewer without troubling to mention Kautsky, since it was but an obvious platitude.

Casual Crisis Not the Historical Crisis.

Capitalism is in a historical crisis. The working class is not yet ready to end this crisis by seizing political power. Let me remind you that at the Third Congress we endeavored, both in our speeches and in our theses, to draw a sharp distinction between the historical crisis of capitalism and a casual crisis. You will remember the discussions on this topic, some in the commissions and some in the plenum. There are strong practical reasons why we ought to confirm the theses on this particular point. It would seem that a good many of the comrades, when this idea of the historical crisis, of capitalism was invoked, represented it to themselves as meaning that the crisis, automatically undergoing intensification would revolutionize the proletariat by rendering its methods of attack more vigorous and by inciting it to make a direct onslaught. We insisted that cyclical waves, casual oscillations, inevitably occur within the limits of the historical crisis of capitalism. We said that the acute casual crisis which began in the year 1920, though it made the situation of capitalism worse for the time being, would certainly be followed by a partial recovery, by more or less improvement from the capitalist point of view. Some of the comrades seemed to think that when we said this we were leaning towards opportunism, that we were attempting to find excuses for postponing the revolution.

Decomposition Present in Casual Improvement.

Let us try to realize where we would be to-day had we accepted this mechanical theory, the theory of a crisis growing continually worse—when to-day we have to face the fact that in the most important capitalist lands the crisis has given place to improvement, or to stability which is tantamount to improvement when compared to the crisis. In the U. S. A., the most powerful of all capitalist countries, there is prosperity. How long it will last, and whether it has the roots that will ensure its continuance, is another question. The state of Europe admits the general decomposition of the world system. These are facts, and they testify to the existence of the great historical crisis. Nevertheless, the casual improvement is likewise a fact. We have to-day to modify, to revise, our conception as to the revolutionary character of our epoch. We have to subject that matter to a theoretical re-examination. We should have made a great mistake had we been guided by those comrades who want us to recognize the principle that a crisis is always a more revolutionary factor than prosperity; who wanted us to admit in our theses that there was no reason for anticipating the possibility of an improvement in the economic position of capitalism. We were right, and we stand armed against our opponents of the Second and Two and a Half Internationals. When we adjusted the epoch to be revolutionary, it was not because a casual crisis in 1920 had swept away the fallacious property of the year 1919, but because our general view of the world situation led us to our outlook. It seems to me that many of our comrades will have to take note of these facts. I think we have strong reasons for confirming the Theses of the Third Congress.

Take No Premature Steps.

In so far as in our theses and speeches we proclaimed the opening of a new epoch, I think we were right, although some of the comrades thought that we were taking too long views. I remember that Comrade Lenin, in one of his speeches at the Third Congress, or perhaps in one of the commissions said: "Of course it is of the greatest importance to us that the pace of the revolution should be quickened, but even if the world revolution should not come in one year or in two, in Russia we shall know how to wait and how to endure. The last thing we want is to urge you to take any premature steps." A good many of Lenin's hearers looked around dolefully, thinking: Two years! It was a terrible thought to some of them. Fifteen months have passed since then. We are nearer the revolution, but not yet close to it. Nevertheless, Russia can say to-day with much more confidence than fifteen months ago: "Should the coming of the world revolution be delayed for a year or for two, when it does come, it will find Soviet Russia even more firmly established than to-day."

Inter. Press Correspondence.

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SUPREME COURT DRUNK WITH USURPED POWER; FLAGRANTLY VIOLATES CONSTITUTION

Found Opinions Not On Logic Or Reason But On Emotion and Hysteria.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the tenth 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.)

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In short, the Supreme Court, having become drunk with unrestrained power, has boldly entered the field of legislation, and now does not hesitate to alter, amend, or repeal an act of Congress. The court could not find any grounds on which to declare the Anti-Trust law unconstitutional, so it proceeded to amend the law. The act makes unlawful "a conspiracy in restraint of trade"; but the court amended it by inserting the word "unreasonable," so restraint of trade is no longer unlawful unless it is "unreasonable"—restraint. Highway robbery is no longer a crime unless it is "unreasonable" robbery.

Notorious Steel Trust Case.

The cases of such judicial juggling with legislation are too numerous to mention; but I will cite one other case which caps the climax of flagrant usurpation—the notorious Steel Trust case. The Steel Trust was indicted and tried for violation of the Anti-Trust law. The evidence of guilt was overwhelming and conclusive. The court admitted it was clear that the Steel Trust had been violating the law in a wholesale manner; yet it held that it was not committing any new acts of lawlessness just at that time, and, therefore, that no good purpose would seem to be served by now punishing the trust for the past gross violations of law.

I quote the following from the decision of the court in that case: "A holding corporation which by its formation united under one control competing companies in the steel industry, but which did not achieve monopoly, and only attempted to fix prices through occasional appeals to and confederation with competitors, whatever there was of wrongful intent not having been executed, and whatever there was of evil effect having been discontinued before suit was brought, should not be dissolved nor be separated from some of its subsidiaries at the suit of the Government, asserting violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act—especially where the court cannot see that the public interest will be served by yielding to the Government's demand, and does see in so yielding a risk of injury to the public interest, including a material disturbance of, and, perhaps, serious detriment to, the foreign trade."

"In conclusion, we are unable to see that the public interest will be served by yielding to the contention of the Government respecting the dissolution of the company or the separation from it of some of its subsidiaries; and we do see in a contrary conclusion a risk of injury to the public interest, including a material disturbance of, and, it may be serious detriment to, the foreign trade. And, in submission to the policy of the law, and its fortifying prohibitions, the public interest is of paramount regard."

But ~~you~~ must remember the judges are lawyers, and a lawyer is the only person who can legally take a bribe—he calls it a fee.

Robbers Go Scot-Free With Ill-Gotten Gains.

So the public has been robbed in a wholesale manner, but, inasmuch as the robbers are not just now doing any stealing, and they promise to use some of their stolen money for charity, it is not deemed to be in the public interests to punish them; they are allowed to go scot-free with their ill-gotten gains, and not even put under bond not to violate the law again.

Of course, a court that will render such a line of decisions could be depended on to declare unconstitutional the law passed by Congress making "profiteering" illegal during the war, which thing the court has just done; and now all the profiteers, big and little, who have been indicted for most treasonable profiteering on the Government, contributing to the suffering and death of thousands of soldiers, whose lives otherwise would have been saved, are discharged with honor and are permitted to go scot-free with their blood-money fortunes.

Jefferson is dead; and Congress is composed of lawyers.

How All The Ten Amendments Are Being Destroyed.

These cases illustrate how the Federal courts have usurped powers in order to shield and confer special privileges on big property interests, in flagrant violation of the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution. But the courts have gone further, and have attempted to destroy all the ten amendments, which were put into the Constitution to safeguard and protect human rights.

Abrams Case a Monstrous Decision.

In the Abrams case, recently decided by the Supreme Court, it was held that Mollie Steiner and Abrams and two others were guilty of violating the Espionage Act because they circulated in New York a pamphlet urging the raising of the blockade against Russia. The lower court had sentenced Mollie Steiner to prison for fifteen years—a mere slip of a girl, a little over twenty years of age—and the three men, who had also circulated this petition protesting against the blockade, for twenty years each to the Federal penitentiary. This monstrous decision, which is clearly in violation of the First Amendment—guaranteeing freedom of speech and of the press—and which is also squarely in defiance of the Eighth Amendment, which provided that cruel and unusual punishments shall not be inflicted, was affirmed by a majority of the Supreme Court of the United States. I quote from the dissenting opinion of the court rendered by Justice Holmes and concurred in by Justice Brandeis:

"To hold such publications can be suppressed as false reports, subjects to new perils the constitutional liberty of the press, already seriously curtailed in practice under powers assumed to have been conferred upon the postal authorities. Nor will this grave danger end with the passing of the war. The constitutional right of free speech has been declared to be the same in peace and in war. In peace, too, men may differ as to what loyalty to our country demands, and an intolerant majority, swayed by passion or by fear, may be prone in the future, as it has often been in the past, to stamp as disloyal opinions with which it disagrees. Convictions such as these, besides abridging freedom of speech, threaten freedom of thought and of belief. . . . In this case, sentences of twenty years' imprisonment have been imposed for the publishing of two leaflets that I believe the defendants had as much right to publish as the Government has to publish the Constitution of the United States now vainly invoked by them."

Such an infamous and inhuman decision requires no further comment from me.

Similar cases are so numerous in the recent decisions of the Supreme Court that it is astonishing that Congress has not acted to call the offending members of the court to accountability for such flagrant usurpations, in violation of the basic rights of a free people guaranteed by the first and other amendments to the Constitution. The President of the United States should have removed these offending judges for want of "good behavior," which is the constitutional qualification for a Federal judge. A judge should not be permitted to remain on the bench until he commits offenses so great as to make him guilty of the grave crimes named by the Constitution for impeachment. But the offenses here cited amount to "high crimes and misdemeanors," and also to "treason" against free government, and therefore call loudly to Congress to apply

the impeachment remedy of the Constitution, since the President has failed to remove for want of "good behavior."

Gilbert Case in Minnesota.

I will mention one more case: In the Gilbert case from Minnesota, the Supreme Court held outright that the expression of opinion is a crime. In that case, the speaker had simply stated that the people had no voice, really, in the selection of any of their officers, but that they were selected for them; that voting was no particular remedy for any of the evils of which we complain, because the candidates and the platform were prepared in advance by big business interests; and that people could vote or not vote, just as they chose, it making no difference in the result.

The indictment in that case charged that Gilbert in time of war used the following language in a public speech in the State of Minnesota:

"We are going over to Europe to make the world safe for democracy, but I tell you we had better make America safe for democracy first. You say, 'What is the matter with our democracy?' I tell you what is the matter with it: Have you had anything to say as to who should be President? Have you had anything to say as to who should be Governor of this state? Have you had anything to say as to whether we would go into this war? You know you have not. If this is such a good democracy, for Heaven's sake why should we not vote on conscription of men? We were stampeded into this war by newspaper rot to pull England's chestnuts out of the fire for her. I tell you if they conscripted wealth like they have conscripted men, this war would not last over forty-eight hours. . . ."

It was for expressing these opinions that he was sent to jail for three years and fined five hundred dollars.

What has become of the Bill of Rights guaranteeing "freedom of speech"?

Let us read again the First Amendment to the Constitution:

FIRST AMENDMENT.

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the 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."

When the court convicted Gilbert for the expression of such an opinion, it repealed, by judicial fiat, this amendment to the Constitution.

Hear Judge McKenna roar, and hear the other little judges join in the chorus:

"... The war . . . was not declared in aggression, but in defense, in defense of our national honor, in vindication of the most sacred rights of our nation and our people." (Words of President Wilson in his War Message to Congress, April 2, 1917.)

"This was known to Gilbert, for he was informed in affairs and the operation of the Government, and every word that he uttered in denunciation of the war was false, was deliberate misrepresentation of the motives which impelled it, and the objects for which it was prosecuted. He could have had no purpose other than that of which he was charged. It would be a tragedy on the constitutional privilege he invokes to assign him its protection."

This language of the court needs no comment, because it shows on its face utter want of judicial reasoning; it is not expressive of any legal principle; it is an assertion of naked power, avowedly guided by emotion. Here is a court—the Supreme Court—the court of last resort, depriving an American citizen of his liberty, and founding their opinion on emotion and hysteria; in instant without logic, without sense or reason, overturning the Constitution and violating their oath of office, while Congress fails to act because it is composed of lawyers.

Decreasing Real Wages And Monopoly Control Of Land Play Havoc With Housing

By LELAND OLDS
(Federated Press Industrial Editor)

WAGES AND HOUSING

The metropolitan press, at the turn of the year, is full of stories of record breaking building activity. The year 1922 is hailed as exceeding any other in the last decade. Residential construction is treated as the backbone of this building revival.

The unusual demand for homes is supposed to have been met and lessened activity along this line is predicted. Greater activity in building for business and industrial purposes is expected. But examination of the figures available shows that if the unusual demand for homes does not continue it will be because wages are not sufficient to create a demand for adequate housing. Steadily during the last 10 years the wage earner's housing has become less satisfactory.

The actual course of building activity since 1915 is shown in the following table. For each year the actual square feet of floor space contracted for are shown as a percent of the 1919 average. In the last column is shown the percent of normal housing requirements met during the year. This is based on the report of the senate committee on construction and reconstruction.

Square feet of floor space contracted for:
—1919 equals 100%—

Year	Total Bldgs.	Business Bldgs.	Indust. Bldgs.	Res. Bldgs.	Percent of Requirements
1915	34	42	94	55	
1916	53	63	90	53	
1917	63	71	62	36	
1918	65	118	43	25	
1919	100	100	100	58	
1920	72	74	83	57	37
1921	69	59	23	85	44
1922	104	88	44	129	73

It appears that although the square feet of floor space contracted for in 1922 exceeded the previous high mark in 1919 by 29%, still it failed to meet more than 73% of the normal requirements of our population. During the year building contracts were awarded for the construction of 312,000,000 square feet of residential floor space. This is equivalent to 2,600,000 rooms measuring 10 by 12 feet. Assuming an average need of a room per person of the population this would allow for the renewal of each person's room every 40 years. No corporation would allow for depreciation charges on such a basis.

The residential construction contracted for during the year averaged approximately 26,000,000 square feet a month. The average value of this monthly construction amounted to \$111,510,000. In other words, in 1922 the average cost per square foot was \$4.29. This would provide five rooms measuring 10 by 12 feet at a cost of \$2574. If it were not for the monopoly control of land such a house or flat could rent for less than \$20 per month and pay 6% return on the investment.

Of course all of this floor space was not divided equitably. Much of it was absorbed by the spacious houses of the rich and well-to-do. This is shown as the result of government investigation. Thus John M. Gries, chief, division of building and housings, department of commerce, reports that 1923 will see "less feverish activity in some of the larger cities to supply the demand for costly houses."

The change to buildings of a more humble sort is reflected in the figures for the last two months of the year. Increased floor space was contracted for, but the total value of the contracts was less. This is ex-

plained by the department of commerce as follows: "This decrease in the total cost of buildings contracted for, in spite of increase in square feet, indicates a cheaper type of construction."

Costs were actually rising. In November the cost of constructing a 6-room residence was 93% above the pre-war level. Material costs for a frame house were 96% above those of 1913, while for a brick house such costs were 101% above the level of that year.

In his book, What Happened to Europe, Frank A. Vanderlip, former president of the National City Bank of New York, now chairman of the board of the American International Corp., pointed out that failure of British wages to keep pace with the cost of living had resulted in a critical housing shortage which that country would be forced to make good. The figures shown above reveal a similar situation in the United States. Nor has this situation come about as a result of the war. Before the war the building of homes was 40% short of meeting requirements.

Decreasing real wages plus the steady increase in rents demanded by land monopolists are accomplishing the same results in every great industrial country of the world. It should not be too much to ask that Mr. Vanderlip, as representative of American finance, should first remove the beam from his own eye before pointing out the mote in his brother's eye.

Jim Reed Asks Pertinent Questions; Wants Russ Gov't Recognized

(By The Federated Press)
Washington.—There is no danger of war to the United States, there is no threat of bolshevism in America, and the administration should immediately recognize the government of Russia and the Obregon government of Mexico—these blasts

Former Army Major Ousted; Calls Army Smelly Mess, Injustice

New York.—"There is such a smelly mess of injustice in the American army that it needs someone to lift the lid," said Malcolm Wheeler-Nicholson, former army major who was ousted from the army a few days ago for trying to call the attention of President Harding and the country to the Prussianism which he has been charging for years dominates the army. He made the statement in commenting on a suit he has brought against Brig. Gen. Fred Sladen, superintendent, West Point military academy, for \$100,000, charging libel and slander in connection with the attempt to get him out of the army.

of sane doctrine were blown through the senate on Dec. 23 by Jim Reed, of Missouri.

Sen. Reed got a "bad press" on his speech. The reporters' gallery had its mind on other things. The gentleman from Missouri said in part:

"Why is that Mexico, with only the Rio Grande dividing her from us, is largely cut off from American trade? What kind of stupidity is it that does not open that door? How long does a government have to exist before it can be recognized? What kind of civil service examination and certificate of character will satisfy the state department and the president?"

"You say you do not like the Russian government. Well, did you like the government of the Sioux Indian when we traded with him? Did you like the government of the czar of Russia when he ruled by his cossacks and his bayonets? Did you like the government set up by Belgium in the Congo? Yet we traded with Belgium."

DINNER PAIL EPICS

By BILL LLOYD
I see the reparations meet has ambled off on its sore feet. The job of making Deutschnland pay has dragged along from day to day, while men in silk hats and black frocks just squeeze blood from the rocks. The war which crept on us by stealth destroyed an awful lot of wealth, and now each nation wants its due from out the other busted crew.

The guy who shouts, "the Dutch

should pay," should not permit his mind to stray off of the fact that common folk is bound to bear the staggering yoke.

The government of France was lax in slapping on an income tax, what time the big French profiteers were shedding oceans of salt tears, for fear that Paris would be took before they had a chance to hook most all the francs they wuz in sight, while Paris revelled with delight.

And German common folks wuz sent to aid the capitalistic bent, to cop off French and English trade and help their masters make a raid, an fight because they first wuz showed the beauties of the Bagdad road.

Dutch workers had as much to say about the war and who should pay as us folks had a voice and vote when Wilson used to shout by rote, democracy would get a boost and kings and kaisers go to roost, if we would ship our boys to France and do our step in old Mars' dance.

We have learned now that all war's chores are cooked behind some bolted doors. The common people in all lands ain't much at being fighting fans.

I move that those who filled their tills step up and settle for the bills, that workers should not toil to pay war's debt until their dying day. It ain't the workers of the nations who squabble over reparations. It is the bankers and their crew who fight and make a how-d-do, and knocks each other round the lot to settle who shall get the pot. The workers, who ain't worth a pin, must work like hell to ante in.

Form One Big Union

London.—Half a million unskilled and semi-skilled workers in England have voted to amalgamate their three existing national organizations into one. The unions to be merged are the National Union of General Workers, the Municipal Employees Assn. and the National Amalgamated Union of Labor. Dues are fixed at sixpence (12 cents) a week, women and boys at half price. The usual death, unemployment and sick benefits are provided for. The general council will consist of two representatives from each district.

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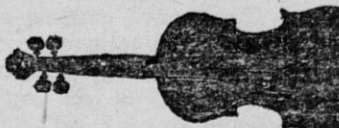
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TRUTH

Issued Weekly By The West End Labor Association.

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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, hard work 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!



PAYING THE PRICE OF OUR STUPIDITY

People who pay taxes ought to be interested in knowing where their money goes. President Harding's budget, recently submitted, will show. It distributes the tax money under eight general heads as follows:

Group I—Primary government functions (legislative, executive, and judicial)	\$168,136,249	6.2
Group II—Research, education, and development work	55,530,250	2.0
Group III—Public works	162,852,000	6.0

Total civil expenditures (net)	386,522,219	14.2
Group IV—Army and navy	57,948,374	20.2
Group V—Pensions and care of soldiers	702,133,116	25.9
Group VI—Special activities pertaining to recent war	10,534,057	0.4
Group VII—Interest	721,286,130	26.6
Group VIII—Retirement of public debt	345,097,000	12.7

Total expenditures to pay for wars of the past and prepare for future wars	2,327,002,007	85.8
Grand total net expenditures	2,713,571,886	100.0

This shows what you pay for. And you cannot question the accuracy of the figures because they are prepared by the bureau of efficiency of the United States government.

Out of every dollar paid 85.8 cents goes to pay for past and future killings. Only 2 cents of each dollar goes for education. The appropriation for wars is increasing. A comparison of the budget figures for the next fiscal year with comparative figures for the present fiscal year, shows that President Harding and Congress have boosted the percentage for war by 7 per cent for next year.

Last year 17 cents out of every tax dollar went for maintaining the army and navy in preparation for future wars. Next year 20.2 cents of every dollar will go for the same purpose.

The total cost of all civil activities of the federal government next year, including running Congress, the courts, the non-military departments, building roads and public buildings, and all other non-military expenditures will take 14.2 out of every tax dollar. In other words, the army and navy alone will eat up nearly 50 per cent more in taxes than all the civil expenditures combined.

The workers in the final analysis pay all. It is their unpaid labor power that goes for taxes. They produce the wherewithal to pay the 85.8 needed to finance the killing game; they also are the active participants when ditch work and bombing and poison gas are in order. Still the profit system which is the war producing system continues. Out of 110 million population only 3½ million workers have even gotten as far as a trade union. Perhaps it is too optimistic to say that about one out of every hundred of those organized have any definite understanding of the fact that war is a natural result of a system based on profits; that commercial rivalry, imperialism and mass murder are the holy trinity of the profit system. Unless the workers wake up soon and act the outcome will be disastrous for the whole human race. With the scientific development of war processes continuing at the present rate the profit system will end of necessity for the human race will be wiped out. They will not pay with taxes then, but with life.

Opposed to this possibility is another, a world family carrying on productive work and sharing the products to the satisfaction of human wants. But this requires intelligence, scientific organization and self imposed discipline and temporary sacrifice. Will it be done or will we go out, wiped out by a destroying economic system we might change?

TRANSPORT WORKERS AT HAMBURG

The Transport Workers and Seamen occupy a very strategic position in the worker's struggle against international capitalism. This is true because transport by land and sea is one of the most important occupations in our economic life.

Therefore it is with unusual interest that we read of the revolutionary transport workers meeting in conference at Hamburg. At that meeting, delegates were present from the German Seamen's Union (15,000), the Dutch Transport Workers' Union (5,000), the All Russian Transport Workers' Federation (1,500,000) and the French Railway Workers' Union (68,000), and several smaller bodies.

The International Transport Federation which contains by far the greater part of the organized Transport Workers is affiliated with the Amsterdam international and its reformist policies.

The revolutionary element of the transport workers gathered at Hamburg for the purpose of discussing the best methods of combatting these reformist tactics and to transform the International Transport Federation into a real international of the transport proletariat.

But the Netherlands Federation and the Allied Russian Transport Workers' Federation and the Bulgarian Transport Workers' Union are not in the International Transport Federation. These groups are too revolutionary for the orthodox Amsterdamers. They expelled the Netherlands Federation because its representatives had taken part in the Transport Workers Conference at Moscow and the Russian Transport Workers and the German Seamen were denied admission because they were too revolutionary. If the leaders of the International Transport Federation keep these three groups out definitely, the revolutionary elements say they will be forced to form a separate new international to carry on an uncompromising struggle against capitalism.

A PROMISING EXPERIMENT

Prof. R. Harvey of the University of Minnesota is going those who lengthen daylight by turning the clock ahead an hour, one better. He lengthens the day by artificial light until there is no night. In unheated basement rooms, he has been experimenting with wheat, rye, barley, flax, clover, potatoes, lettuce, beans, peas and radishes to see if increasing daylight would not accelerate growth. It does. He planted spring wheat and in ninety days it had produced ripe seeds.

At this rate three crops could be grown in a year and still give farmers time to harvest and plow again for the next crop.

In performing the experiment the temperature for the cereals was kept at 14 degrees Centigrade. The lamps used were tungsten filament bulbs filled with nitrogen. They were kept burning day and night.

Scientists tell us this is the first recorded instance in which the whole life-cycle of a plant has been completed without sunlight.

Now all that is needed is a modern lightning-rod to intensify star-light and moon-beams and the trick is done while the farmer sleeps. Why not? After radio and engineless planes one must be a sceptic indeed who will doubt anything. Science is still in its infancy.

If the human family will weed out the destructive elements in society, the rotten economic system, and replace it by a life preserving system of cooperation, there will be no limit to our progress. What science will do for the human race will then surpass the wildest imaginations of the most romantic dreamers.

REBELS AT 40, 50 AND 70

The Young Workers League has published a pamphlet, *In Memoriam* of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Jogihes and Franz Mehring which we read from cover to cover with pleasure. We liked it because it helped to make human beings of these revolutionary saints.

Where did you study? What do you study? How get your bread and butter? Who are your friends, your enemies? These are the questions that spring involuntarily to the minds of most people when they listen to words of wisdom. One seems to crave a glimpse of the struggles and joys and sufferings of others. One gets several such glimpses in *"In Memoriam."*

Some choice bits stand out prominently. One is so prone to say, "fat and 40" is possible but not "revolutionary and 40."

Yes. Mehring was 72 years old when they ended his revolutionary activities. Rosa Luxemburg lacked only 5 minutes of being 50. Carl Liebknecht was less than 2 years away from 50. Jogihes was the kid. He was 42.

And education, so satisfactorily gotten in a day by most young proletarian rebels—and how these immortals did spend their time studying! Getting education through travel, through contact with other thinkers and from schools; every one with a sheepskin from some university and some with two, and still studying when life ended at 72 or 50.

We heartily approve of putting just such information into the hands of all youths, between the ages of 15 and 50 who think they are budding or full grown Liebknechts. It may tend to make them less satisfied with the ten-cents worth of Karl Marx they are peddling out with as much aplomb as the street-healer peddles "Jesus saves" and with a back-ground just as unstable.

With "fat and 40" one also hands out as an indisputable fact "rich and counter-revolutionary."

Yes. Here's another choice bit.

Leo Jogihes was born from a wealthy family; Mehring was rich; Rosa Luxemburg came from a comfortable intellectual family; Carl Liebknecht was not wealthy but he always had material comforts and intellectual wealth in abundance.

So, go easy on labelling the other fellow yellow. He may be rich, he may be 70, he may have gone to those terrible bourgeois schools and still be on the spot with the goods when he is needed. *Are you sure you will be there and with what preparation?* This is between the lines of the pamphlet. Read it and see. Order from The Young Workers' League, 2517 Fullerton Ave., Chicago, Ill.

REVAMPING TO FORM ONE BIG UNION

"Good progress is being made by the National Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union which has been in session in London revamping the organization constitution to permit more readily of amalgamation. After the committee has finished its work, which may take another fortnight, the path will be made clearer for one big union of all engineering and metal trades workers. . . . Just now the slogan of all trade unionists is "Concentrate on Amalgamation." When this aspiration is achieved, it is believed that it will be but a short step to Workers' Control of Industry."

—V. Brodsky, *British Labor Herald*.

IN THE DEPTHS

By B. N. Z.

Black, dismal, dark hole, down in the valley deep under the earth—
Cold, black, horrible hole!

I feel still the blasting chill of the air, as down, down went the lift into the depths.

Hundreds of feet below humans labor

Eight hours—eight hard hours of grinding toil.

And all for a pittance called a "living wage," go they to this hell—

Aye, oft to their death.

The mules on the rack a hundred feet under the ground live dumbly;

They are mules.

But under that hundred feet walk the men

To the place where by skill and brawn, they make our days

Live here on earth.

Then eight hours of laborious toil and ever-present danger—

Lo! heaps of coal to show.

They eat in that black hell beneath our feet,

They live in that damned spot.

Oh! that we should have it so.

If these men of mind and soul thought of themselves as men,

Would they slave thus for another gain?

Would they not rather build with higher aim?

Would they live so, in darkness tomb—

Or where the sunshine makes the roses bloom?

It's like black, cold, still, chilly, dismal night

In that coal-hole below,

Men slave, they loose the chunks of coal

But they cleave to the job, Oh! that we leave it so.

Man is the only animal able to adjust himself to anything. He survives where the hog perishes, he laughs where the gods would go mad.—Ben Hecht.

IRISH TRANSPORT UNION

By "JIM" LARKIN.

The redeemers, so-called, have advised on all occasions respect for constituted authority. Leader after leader has used the work-weary, degraded bodies of his class as a ladder whereby he might ascend to and become one with the oppressing, dominant class of Overmen. The self-styled intellectuals have used our moans, miseries and movements as subject matter for their mental gymnastics and to their own social and economic aggrandizement. I don't care to be unfair, but it is too true that all down the ages the redeemers and intellectuals, under the guise of altruism, ethics, brotherhood, but in reality for egotistical reasons and with malice aforethought have deliberately obscured the vision of the Underman with their word-spinning, phrase-mongering, laws of logic, political economy, and heaven-when-you-die philosophies.

Collective Uplift by Undermen Terrified Would-be Saviors.

Many of these would-be saviors of mankind warned us in terrifying tones that the realization of our hopes of material and social betterment would destroy our character, our love of home, respect for our betters, "Ioranorder," the constitution and unfit us for our "station in life." The immutable laws had decreed our place in the cosmic scheme and will- ingness to serve, prayer, abstinence (and plenty of it) was our portion, our sole concern—individual salvation. They told us to take and pause; that our idea for a class movement, for a collective uplift, was subversive of authority and tended to disrupt society. They hesitated not to insult our intelligence by telling us that we were designed to be a necessary evil, but a useful class, our duty to slave and breed, breed and slave, to the end that a useless and unnecessary class should live in idleness and luxury on our labor.

Compromises With Overman Makes Shackles Firmer.

Our leaders, with few exceptions, appointed or elected to articulate our grievances, desires and demands, have abused our confidence and their tendency to compromise with the Overman has assisted in, consciously or unconsciously, welding more firmly the shackles that sear our limbs. Right down the ages this cursed game of compromise has been to our detriment. In this day we have our leaders advocating state control of labor, arbitration boards, wages boards, conciliation schemes, health and unemployment insurance, to scientifically explain the cause of industrial unrest and why the many are poor. It is enough to make Marx and his predecessors turn over in their graves.

Obsterate Capitalist System; Control Distribution and Production.

The workers in the industrial and economic field should get the full social value of the product of their labor and such a result can only be brought about by the obliteration of the present capitalist system and the taking over by the workers of the machinery of production and means of distribution. Thus control of the job would carry with it control of all the forces in the social organism. Such a simple solution is characterized as blasphemy, heresy, revolution.

Intellectual Undermen Mind's Are Controlled by Subsidies.

Then we have the spectacle of the intellectuals rushing to the rescue of the leaders. These mental prostitutes, owing to their position in society, are the most dangerous of all the Undermen. Their viewpoint of the problems of life is determined, like all other sections and classes in society, by their economic status. They have always in the past, are now in the present, and, if allowed, will be in the future, the most subtle foe to the advance of the Undermen. Well might the Overmen, the Rockefellerers, Morgans, Gays, take control of the thought-forming sources of the community through subsidized foundations. Full well they know that the control of those who are privileged in training the minds of the people means an extended lease of power for them (the exploiters) over the slave class.

Waste No Time in Battling Individuals; Industrial Organization is Fundamental.

We cannot afford to halt to join battle with the intellectuals in their own sphere. When we assume complete control of the economic basis of society we will in that hour free all classes, and the educated intellect of the future will be free and in return for services rendered to them they will give of their best to the advancement of humanity. Our duty, therefore, is to be true and loyal to our own class, waste no time on these respectable busybodies who are always deploring and condemning our insistence on class conflict. Be not led astray by praise or prayer, press or party. The fundamental line of advance is in industrial organization. All other activities are of secondary importance, and you have to remember that the Underman is the main factor in the problem. Without his labor the work of the world comes to a stop.

Previous to 1907 Ireland's Unskilled Trade Union Scabs.

And now may I, as one of the Undermen, recount briefly what has been accomplished by what Wolfe Tone, one of the leaders in the Irish revolutionary movement of the eighteenth century, termed "That large but respectable body of citizens—the men of no property." Within the last seven years in Ireland, not by political effort or under the guidance of redeemers, leaders or by the instruction and teaching of the intellectuals, but of themselves and by themselves. I do so because I believe their achievements will be of service in guiding and stimulating the great uprising of the Underman, particularly that section which is termed in derision the unskilled worker, which I venture to predict will take place throughout this continent within the year.

Previous to the year 1907 in Ireland the unskilled workers of that country had time and again risen in revolt, but all their efforts proved in vain because of their method of organization. They, like the unskilled workers of this country, had been bossed by leaders who used them as a means to gain political power for themselves.

Each section, of course, docker, teamster, factory worker, builder's laborer, shipyard laborer, railway workers, etc., was enrolled in separate unions. When one section went out on strike the other section scabbed on them. They had high initiation fees, some unions charging as high as five dollars, or one pound in English money. Their officials as a rule when not advocating political action were always advising their members not to strike, but to petition or submit their claims to arbitration or conciliation and were ever active in telling their dupes of the "dignity of labor" and the identity of interest between the master class and the wage slave! One of these so-called unions set forth in the preamble to its constitution the following noble sentiments: "The General Laborers' Union is organized for the glory of God, the support of the king by divine right and his heirs and the royal family; loyalty to the constitution and to establish a brotherly understanding between our employers and the members of said union, etc., etc."

Their motto: "Organized to defend, not to attack."

It reads like a report of some of the sectional unions of this "Home of the free and land of the brave."

Vulgar Persons Ended Trade Scabbery; Formed Industrial Union.

The founders of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, vulgar persons, determined within themselves

that that kind of organized scabbery should cease, and so we started an Industrial Union for all workers, not interfering, of course, with the aristocrat of labor—the skilled worker. We knew from our experience in the struggle that when we had the unskilled workers properly organized, especially the men who matter, the transport workers, we could make the skilled workers fall in the line. That opinion has been verified.

Within seven short years these few common, vulgar coal-porters, dockers, teamsters, factory hands taught the Federated Employers of Ireland who controlled industry. And it is to be remembered that we did not allow our organization to be exploited by any and every philosophical freak who wanted a platform to air his or her views about "killing God," limitation of families, eugenics, sex license or twilight sleep. Obliterating the scab, limiting the power of the boss to rob US at the point of production, insisting upon decent homes, good grub, good clothing, a chance to live, absorbed our energies. Wherever a woman or child of our class was degraded or oppressed we rallied to their assistance. Our motto was and will be to the end of time: "An injury to one is the concern of all."

BIG JIM'S CHILDHOOD

The Larkin Defense Committee is making a desperate effort to arouse public sentiment and to raise funds to affect the release of James Larkin, convict 50945. That is why Peter Larkin is touring America and speaking to the organized workers. This is also the reason for publishing an interesting pamphlet called "Convict 50945" which contains a few words by Frederick Harris, James Connolly, Jack Carney, and Peter Larkin. The intimate view given in it by W. P. Ryan, associate editor of the London Daily Herald, of Larkin's childhood is worth twice the price of the pamphlet which is only 15 cents. Larkin's own contribution in regard to the Irish Transport Union we publish in full on this page. His forceful words to stir the world's Undermen to do their own uplifting should repose in every breast pocket until they have been burned into men's brains and hearts and resulted in action. A few glimpses given by Ryan of the boy, Jim, follow:

At six years of age James Larkin was delivering milk in the mornings and evenings before and after school. On Saturdays he worked in a butcher's shop. He was given immediate insight into the resourceful ways of capitalism, as part of the time his business was to chop up fat, value 2d, a pound to mix among the suet sold at 8d, a pound. The little lad of less than seven worked forty hours a week for which he received 2s. 6d. plus a penny currant bun and a glass of milk on the Saturday night. "These early experiences are responsible for what some of the respectable trade union leaders call Larkin's want of tact," said George Dallas, Secretary Glasgow I. L. P. Federation, writing of Jim's early fortunes and misfortunes. He attended school between the milk deliveries so life had a relieving side; but at the age of nine he had enough of the fat-chopping and the rest of it.

Already a big boy, he was able to start as a full-timer with a jobbing painter and paper-hanger, receiving 3s. a week wages as an apprentice. It was his fate to work hard and to learn more of the ways of masters. The new master was a heavy drinker, and in consequence a good deal of extra work was thrown on his latest apprentice whose wages, however, he substantially increased. Amongst other things it became young Jim's business on occasion to make up the wages list; he thereby made the interesting discovery that his employer had been charging the standard rate of 8½d. an hour for him. He took the first favorable opportunity of letting that worthy know that there was another side to the matter. He claimed half the wages charged, with 6d. an hour for overtime. The boss felt that he was not in a position to refuse the demand.

Later as a result of a quarrel there were six weeks of unemployment and tramping, sleeping in haystacks, gnawed by hunger. He was not yet eleven years old.

Another time when he refused to work at night after working all day at coals he was seized by three men and ironed to a stanchion and left with only a tin of water. Hundreds of rats came and ate all his finger-nails and toe-nails. This was one of the schools in which Larkin learned to think in terms of release for the Underman.

You can afford to possess the whole story. Write to Minnie Carney, 2620 Seminary Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, \$12.50 per hundred or 15 cents per copy.

MOST REACTIONARY U. S.

In the United States a handful of nondescript capitalist politicians sit in Congress as Labor's representatives. Compare this with the large block of Labor members of Parliament in Britain. There Labor has 141 actual representatives, elected by a Labor Party, recognized as the second Party of the country. Or compare it with the political power of Labor in Germany, where even the despised Communists have more actual power than has the entire Labor movement of America. The German labor movement has more Communists in the Government than America has "progressives," as is shown by the following list of the former representatives:

Members of the Reichstag, 14 besides the 12 who left the Party with Levi; State representatives, 76; Provincial representatives, 69; Town Councillors, 12,015; City Councillors, 1,507; District Councillors, 281.

But the American labor officials are content to go along in our condition of impotence, opposing the formation of a Labor Party in the same fashion as they oppose amalgamation of the craft unions into industrial unions. This officialdom blocks progress in every direction. It is up to the League, as in the matter of amalgamation, to carry the message of the need of a Labor Party throughout the labor movement and, by stirring up the rank and file to action, bring it to pass.—*Labor Herald*.

A LAUGH

The Devilish Turk and the Demon Rum—That section of the American clergy which demanded that President Harding hurl an army against Mustapha Kemal have supplied an otherwise tragic situation with an element of humor.

They are the same idealists who led the United States into the paths of Prohibition, and who are laboring valiantly to make the world unsafe for Alcohol.

What will they say when they learn that Kemal's first act upon usurping power in Constantinople was to dry up the town? And, surprising as it may seem, when it came to toasting the Mudania Armistice the presence of a Turkish prohibitionist, Ismet Pasha, made it necessary for even the Allied generals to drink ginger beer.—*Current Opinion*.

Not hunger of the belly kind that is banished with bacon and beans. No, that is the least. While it is bad enough to miss a few meals, yet, it is the other hunger that destroys manhood and womanhood.

—Boomer, *Indus. Worker*.