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DULUTH BOURGEOISIE GETS CRUMBS OF COMFORT FROM ATTACK ON RUSSIA

By GORDON CASCADEN.

Editor's Note: The writer of this article who spent four months in Russia, is opposed to the Red Trade Union International and is not a Communist, therefore his criticism of Madame Ponafidine's lecture is of special interest.)

"OUTLAWRY, VICE, RULE IN RUSSIA, REFUGEE CLAIMS."

So reads a Duluth daily newspaper headline over a report of an address by Madame Pierre Ponafidine in Pilgrim Congregational church, Duluth, last Friday night. Morning and afternoon Duluth newspapers feature interviews with Madame Ponafidine while they print extensive reports of her address. A Duluth newspaper also prints a letter from a Duluth citizen quoting a Duluth doctor as authority for remarks about certain alleged chaotic conditions existing in Russia.

It is a red letter week for those who wish the downfall of the present Russian regime in order that reaction once more may administer the affairs of that great outpost in the workers' struggle for control. But while they feast it is well to examine the reason.

Small crumbs of comfort give courage to defenders of a bankrupt system of society.

It is ever thus. Readers of the press of this country and of Canada, and, for that matter, readers of the press of the world, long ago got accustomed to attacks on Russia. Methods of attack to-day may differ from methods of attack four and five years ago. But the forces on either side are the same, and the capitalist class merely adjusts itself to changed methods in using poisoned gas to set back working class organization.

Since the Russian revolution—and particularly the second or working-class revolution—the world has looked for criticism of Russia. For several months Lenin, Trotsky and other Russian officials enjoyed reading New York and other capitalist newspaper reports of their deaths and alleged differences of a violent nature.

Now, however, comes a change in the reptile press attack on Russia. No longer do capitalist nations fight Russia with force of arms. Their lie factories, however, continue the work of poisoning the workers of the world against the Russian revolution.

Madame Ponafidine, for example, has escaped from Russia. A Duluth doctor has returned from that country—where he was the principal medical representative of the American Relief Administration.

Both have facts. But both are prejudiced. The writer was in Russia. He has facts. He, too, is prejudiced. Madame Ponafidine and the Duluth doctor are prejudiced in favor of the existing capitalist system. The writer is prejudiced in favor of the ownership of the means of wealth production by the producers.

Moses Oppenheimer—and I use his name because he is one of the most frequent of a number of critics of the present regime who accept the Kerensky view of "co-operation" between capital and labor—would like to see labor control but fears the consequences that would result from its efforts.

Madame Ponafidine, the Duluth man, Moses Oppenheimer—the ele-

ments they represent—stand on one side of the world-wide class war. Those who believe in working-class efforts to control whenever the opportunity presents itself stand in the other army. These two groups see the Russian revolution and working class revolt everywhere through different spectacles.

Why does the wife of this Russian landowner criticize Russia? Why does this Duluth doctor criticize Russia?

The Russian revolution is a part of the world-wide struggle between the working class and the employing class. These two classes have nothing in common.

Madame Ponafidine takes the side of the capitalist class. Born in Persia of American parents she married a Russian landowner and lived with him on his estate. Her sons were officers in the Czarist army. They refused to accept the change. We can respect the sincerity of Madame Ponafidine though we differ from her absolutely.

The Duluth doctor also favors rule of the employing class. He may feel, like Moses Oppenheimer, that nowhere in the world are the workers able to successfully carry on the everyday duties of life without a hitch or he may have the everyday viewpoint of the masses.

But neither of them takes into account the fact that the whole capitalist world—though it split in a world war into two factions—was prepared to unite against the Russian revolution. Neither, in criticism of Russia, tells about the terrible outside attacks on Russia on many fronts with bitter inside attacks by the best trained section of the Russian population. Neither tells that much of the confusion in Russia, much of the lack of necessities for rebuilding that country, much of the disease resulting from lack of medicines and food for children, is due to the deliberate attempt by the capitalist class to destroy the idea of working class control that got a hold in the brains of exploited workers everywhere when Russian revolutionists overthrew Kerensky and his compromisers.

Yes, they can criticize Russia for Russia is far from perfect. But to me the Russian experiment is the greatest experiment in the history of the working-class of the world, and my visit to Russia and my observations in other countries before and since that visit strengthen this view.

Madame Ponafidine, for example, tells her Pilgrim Congregational church audience that the peasants really are like children. Her class would have them continue so in much the same way as certain characters in some of Turgenev's books opposed the freeing of the Serfs.

Russia's revolution at least gave the peasants knowledge that they count in the affairs of that great section of the world. Maxim Gorky, a critic who has reserved the right to criticize the Russian revolution though he supports it, recognizes this great fact in a recent book describing the development of the peasants during the revolution.

The peasants' development is one great feature of the revolution.

Russian "whites" would keep the peasants in ignorance. They did little to educate them. Since the overthrow real efforts have been made to teach the soldiers and others to read and write. That in it-

TIME FOR SPRING HOUSECLEANING IN THE WHITE HOUSE



FIVE HERRIN MINERS NOT GUILTY; ACQUITTED ON SEPARATE VERDICTS

(Federated Press.)

MARION, Ill.—All the five union miners tried for the murder of Howard Hoffman are innocent, according to the jury of 12 farmers, some of them former miners, who have listened to the evidence since early last November. The jurors deliberated 26 hours. The defense had been successful in establishing alibis for the men and discrediting the state witnesses.

Separate verdicts were rendered for each defendant. Leva Mann, Joe Carnaghi, Peter Hiller, Bert Grace and Otis Clark were acquitted in order. The courtroom was in perfect order and the quiet that prevailed throughout the long trial continued as the verdicts were received.

The men are being held in custody because they are named in other indictments. It is believed the state will continue to object to bail for them. The Williamson county grand jury named 77 men, all union miners or their associates, in indictments for the Herrin riots of June 21 and 22, 1922, when Hoffman and 20 other mine guards and strike breakers were killed or fatally wounded, following the death of three unarmed union miners. One of the indicted men has since died. Many of those named were indicted more than once and on several counts.

The principal witnesses for the prosecution were a doctor who had testified over a hundred times on the operators' side in court cases and survivors among the mine guards. A farmer whose own relatives declared they would not believe his word was another key witness on whom the prosecution relied.

Failure of the grand jury to indict Wm. J. Lester, owner of the strip mine at the time guards were imported, and contribution by the Illinois Chamber of Commerce of \$50,000 as a subsidy to the state prosecutor against the union miners were elements in the case that tended to give it an aspect of persecution of union labor by the big employing interests in the state.

The next trial in the Herrin affair is to be for the murder of John Shoemaker, assistant to Supt. C. K. McDowell.

self is another great argument in favor of the change.

"Outlawry and vice rule in Russia," Madame Ponafidine "claims," according to the headline.

Better by far for apologists of the capitalist system to pass over that part of the discussion of the effects of the Russian revolution.

If the second revolution did not accomplish more than this one point it would be worth all the suffering, all the deaths, that have resulted from bitter civil war.

H. G. Wells, by no means a favorable critic of the Russian government, points out, in his book on Russia, that the second Russian revolution did away with outlawry existing during the Kerensky compromise. During the reign of that "yellow" Socialist hold-up men over-ran Russia's cities just as prostitution was an honored institution during the reign of the czar.

Who does not know of the shame of Petersburg and other Russian cities in the days of Czar Nicholas when thousands and thousands of women carried the "yellow ticket" as they sold themselves during their nightly marches down Nevsky Prospect? Who made an outcry against this situation? Do apologists for the old regime tell of this condition—a condition that the capitalist system breeds?

The second Russian revolution did away with this condition. When I was in Russia holdups were few and prostitution far less common in Moscow than it is in Duluth—

though Moscow has thirty times the population of this city where the smug, uncultured, respectable nouveau riche shrug their shoulders when Madame Ponafidine tells about woman's position in Russia to-day.

If the Russian revolution does not accomplish anything more it gave to woman a freedom she has received nowhere else in all the history of the world. Madame Kolontai and her able assistants accomplished much in helping women to understand that they had equal privileges with men though these privileges gave women equal responsibilities.

Russia today goes through many unpleasant experiences. Compromises are common. Many of us oppose certain of them just as do many of the people of Russia. But what movement outside Russia is not compromising? What movement can point the finger at Russia?

This brings the important question: Must the workers of other lands wait for another flare up of the oppressed of another great section of the world before again taking the view that the workers of the world must organize to take over and run the means of wealth production?

Capitalism may last several generations. But never can capitalism recover. Capitalism is crippled and cannot be cured. Europe's condition today shows it.

Suppose, if you will, that tomorrow's papers tell of a real rising in

LOYAL TO MINERS



A. T. Pace is a union coal miner and traveling auditor for the United Mine Workers. He has been mayor of Herrin for two years. In the tense days after the riot of June 22 he gave his guarantee of protection for the injured men in the hospital and forestalled the invasion of state troops into Williamson county. Pace is a short man with a constant smile. A. T. stands for Always Talking, he says.

Germany, union of the forces of Germany and Russia, and annihilation of Poland—the buffer state set up by France. With one organization controlling from Hamburg to Vladivostok the workers of the world will take new hope. With German mechanicians and Russian raw products the capitalist class receives a new job, and the world's workers fresh hope to continue their job of learning to boss themselves.

Such a union of forces stops retreat in Russia.

Certain men and women in official positions in Russia may not be true to their duties. But they are in a marked minority. You find such people everywhere. Certain officials of the working class movements everywhere do that. I know too many Russian officials—both men and women—who are wearing themselves out in behalf of their class to turn against them at this stage of the war. Now is the time for all of us to back Russia.

Let us not neglect the working class movements of every land. But let us not glory in every lecture, every interview, every news dispatch, telling about the compromises and the mistakes of Russia.

The Russian revolution means much to the workers of the world. From its mistakes they must learn. From its inspiration they have received courage to carry on their struggle for world-wide freedom—a freedom that can come only when the exploited of all parts of the earth unite to do away with the capitalist system.

CHARLES NAGEL URGES RELEASE OF REMAINING WAR PRISONERS

Cowardice, Hatred, Fear and Revenge Have Held Sway Too Long—Now Is the Time for Discretion, Justice, Wisdom and Magnanimity.

(By Defense News Service)

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Failure by President Harding to set free the 28 I. W. W. war-opinion prisoners convicted at Chicago, and now confined at Leavenworth, is an inscrutable mystery to Charles Nagel, who was Secretary of Commerce and Labor under President Taft. After an examination of the main factors involved in the Chicago trial, "the complete court record comprises seven million words," Mr. Nagel has issued this formal statement:

"I have dismissed the last doubt about the justice or wisdom of the appeal for the release of 28 war prisoners convicted at Chicago. It is clear that these men were convicted under the law as a war necessity. The sentences should cease with the satisfaction of that necessity.

"It will not be denied that whatever the right or wrong of the cases at the time, these men would probably be acquitted if tried under present conditions, and if convicted their sentences would certainly not exceed the terms already served. That in itself clearly suggests how executive discretion should now be exercised.

"While I have not examined the records in detail, there is no substantial doubt from a reading of the opinions of the court of appeals that while sentences and fines were separately imposed upon the several counts, the very severe sentences were based, in large part, upon the charges in the indictments that were dismissed by the court of appeals. 'In no other way can the extreme sentences upon the fourth count be accounted for. By that test the prisoners have now served longer terms than the charges held valid would support.

"It is obvious that these men were tried under conditions of un-

reasoning excitement that could not obtain in times of peace, and that practically precluded unbiased judgement and fairness in the trials.

"I am at a loss to know why we should be less magnanimous than England, why fear or revenge should hold sway here longer than there.

"The very condition which now appears to stand in the way of pardons, presents the strongest possible reason for prompt release of these prisoners. They have been offered freedom, provided they recant. They have refused to buy their releases by making dishonest promises. They have earned the title of 'conscientious objectors.' Rather than lie their way out they are determined, if life lasts, to serve their sentences; to become the 'old timers,' as they see set free forgers, murderers and spies who have no doubt found more ready speech to meet the exacted condition. Let no one believe that the moral of this drama is lost upon the public.

What would Lincoln have done? Read his pardon record during the Civil War. Who can doubt that he would have said: 'Those men have given the highest proof of conscience and courage. These are virtues so precious I shall save them where I can.'

"Some of our great men have said quite as extreme things as these prisoners are charged with. Shall the circumstances under which these utterances were made alone account for the extravagance of praise in the one, and the depth of degradation in the other?

"What prompts men and women to hesitate? Is it indifference, or cowardice, or hate, or all combined to spell our ruin?"

Mr. Nagel is a leading member of the St. Louis bar.

Harvard University Using Jim Crow Methods

NEW YORK.—Harvard University, only a few months ago in the limelight for anti-Jewish discrimination, has adopted Jim Crow methods against students of Negro blood by barring from its freshmen's dormitory the son of Roscoe Conkling Bruce, a Negro alumnus. Other freshmen are compelled by college regulations to live in the dormitory. The action barring young Bruce from the dormitory was made known in a letter from President Lowell to the father of the freshman.

Several Negroes roomed in the freshmen's dormitory during the war, but a year ago two Negroes were said to have been excluded. The exclusion resulted in a petition last summer which was sent to President Lowell, signed by graduates, asking that Negro students be received and treated in the same manner as white students. The petition declared that Harvard, which has many graduates who are champions of equal rights for Negroes and white men, is adopting a Jim Crow policy to please students from southern states.

WOB OFFICE IN DARK CENTRALIA

Sentiment is much changed in the town of Centralia. The war is over, at least for a considerable number of the population. The I. W. W. has been conducting an educational campaign in this town which has the blood of Wesley Everest on its conscience, and the results are good. Thousands of the "Was It Murder?" pamphlets, the story of the Centralia conspiracy and massacre were distributed to citizens of the town and vicinity. Other thousands of a special leaflet, entitled "Can Centralia Redeem Herself?" were mailed out to a prepared list of names. This last contained a notice that the I. W. W.

RALPH CHAPLIN



Ralph Chaplin, known to all progressives and radicals as the poet-author of Bars and Shadows, is among the American born political prisoners at Leavenworth whom President Harding refuses to release. Chaplin was convicted in the Chicago I. W. W. case. No acts of violence or incitements to violence were proved against him.

(The complete collection of Chaplin's Prison Poems can be had now for only \$1.00. Proceeds go to support his wife and baby. Order from Truth.)

was organizing in Centralia, and was thus a direct challenge to the forces that raided the I. W. W. halls in 1918 and 1919.

The Centralia branch of Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 129 of the I. W. W. has now decided to elect a stationary delegate to reside in the town, and keep an office open. A voluntary traveling delegate has been making Centralia his headquarters for some time now, and has had good results. There is absolutely no hostility to the organization in the woods. At the camp of the Lincoln Creek Lumber Co., 85 per cent of the workers are now lined up in the I. W. W., whereas before Christmas not one man was a member of it. —Industrial Worker.

JAMES LARKIN PARDONED; WILL RETURN TO IRELAND

ALBANY, N. Y.—Pardon of James Larkin, Irish labor organizer, was announced at the state capitol. It was one of the first important acts of Gov. Al Smith after taking office this month. Larkin with several other political prisoners was convicted under the old criminal anarchy law of New York state, passed after the assassination of President McKinley at Buffalo in 1901. Though no acts of violence of any kind were charged against Larkin and his associates convictions were obtained in the post-war hysteria, on the ground that violent statements in a manifesto had been authorized by them. The sentences were from five to ten years in the penitentiary, of which Larkin had served two years. He intends, it is reported, to return to Ireland to resume labor organization.

R. T. U. I. ADVISES INDEPENDENT GROUPS TO GET INTO A. F. of L.

Social Revolution Impossible Without the Masses in Trade Unions

By ANISE.
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

MOSCOW (by delayed mail).—American labor unions, not affiliated with the A. F. of L., but represented at the congress here of the Red International of Labor Unions, were instructed to seek reunion with Gompers' organization. The congress told them to attempt to return not as individuals but organized groups.

United Front of Labor: Stay in the Old Trade Unions; Preserve Their Unity Against the Common Enemy. These were the slogans heard most often at the sessions of the Red International.

They were no empty words. Most of the two weeks of the congress were devoted to detailed planning, country by country, of ways to avoid splitting the labor movement, now going on all over the world under the onslaughts of the employers.

There are two large international organizations of labor unions. One is the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, composed of the old line trade unions of Europe, which although considered by Gompers as too socialistic to join, have lined up with their governments in supporting the league of nations, and in advocating gradual reforms in the capitalist system. It has the larger number of the big European federations united with it.

Within each of these federations are minorities affiliated with the Red International which has, in addition, 19 national federations and representation from Asia, Africa, Australia and the two Americas. Forty-one countries were represented at this Moscow congress.

The first big surprise to the American delegates was to learn that throughout Europe the progressive groups, instead of splitting off, as so many American unions have done, are actually having to fight for their right to remain. The conservative officials, fearing the growth of the radical wing of their

movement, are throwing out the reds by hundreds of thousands, even by whole organizations.

In Germany and Czechoslovakia such expulsions have reached a place where the expelled unions have formed a council of action, to fight for reaffiliation with their old unions. The policy of the Red International is given in no uncertain terms:

"It is your duty to remain in the old unions, where every day drives the masses farther in your direction. You must keep in contact with them and be ready to lead them."

"It is your duty to help in every struggle of the workers, even for temporary aims like wages, and hours and conditions. Thus you will help weld the labor movement into a single fighting mass, while always pointing out the partial nature of such remedies."

The advocates of independent unions from America, who held that the A. F. of L. was too conservative for their activity, got cold comfort from the program outlined by Loozovsky, president of the Red International.

"If this is indeed true," he said in his report, "it merely indicates that you must give up for the time the hope of social revolution, since without the masses, organized in trade unions, the social revolution is impossible."

These groups were told not to dissolve and re-enter the American federation as individuals, but to negotiate for reentrance in groups, thus protecting their members.

The only question at issue was whether the independent unions should first form a joint council of action, covering all such unions, or whether they should work for amalgamation by industries. The amalgamation method was the one favored by the congress, which appointed William Z. Foster as American member on the executive, with Jack Johnstone of the painters' union as alternate.

IS REVOLUTION INEVITABLE?

We have many of us been brought up on the comforting theory that the concentration of workers in manufacturing centres, the instability of capitalism and the increasing misery of the workers, will one day cause revolution to burst over this country like a long pent up flood, and sweeping all opposition away leave the field clear for the dictatorship of the proletariat. If the more thoughtful Marxians would add their qualifications, the majority of lusty rank and file Communists certainly hold views of this sort.

Historical and Geographical Factors

There was a certain boy who once worked out a mathematical problem with inaccurate results and then found that he had "neglected the weight of the elephant." I have no wish to dispute the accurate estimation of the economic factors in the coming crisis of capitalist society. But there are others which we are apt to overlook. Firstly there are the external as opposed to the internal conditions of revolution and then there is a further series of internal forces, the psychological, running parallel to the economic. With regard to the external factors it is not my job at the moment to do more than mention them. They are the Historical and Geographical. A good example of the former was the preoccupation of capitalist Europe with the world war which left Russia much freer than she would otherwise have been to establish the rule of the workers. Of the latter the isolation of Russia owing to huge distances (imagine how easily a revolution in Belgium would be crushed and remember the fate of Hungary) and her ability to become a self-sufficient economic unit, compare Russia with a country utterly dependent on foreign imports.

But of equal importance are those mental conditions in the workers, which have so far received but slight attention from anyone. Revolutionary Sentiment in 1848.

In 1848, the year of continental upheavals, Marx was greatly impressed with two facts. 1. The revolutionary sentiment of the workers; 2. The exploitation of this by the bourgeoisie to secure their enfranchisement but not the workers' emancipation. As we are all aware, in England, France, Germany, Italy, and elsewhere the middle classes including the manufacturers rose against the old aristocracy and demanded control of the Government

machine, Europe was seething with revolt, despotism tottered; and in every case the effective instrument in securing political reform was the working class mob, who were deputed into imagining that this democratic advance would bring with it their deliverance from economic slavery. Of course it never did. As soon as these reforms were secured, the Liberals turned on their working class supporters and disarmed and suppressed them. Marx saw at once that the mistake had been to trust the Liberal revolutionaries, in future therefore every revolution must be pressed on by the workers far past the trifling objectives of the bourgeoisie to the complete assumption of political power by themselves. This is the thesis of the address to the Communist League. Unfortunately, no disciple of Marx had a chance of putting his precepts into practice from 1850 to 1917. Then the chance came and with extraordinary fidelity to the predictions and instructions of Marx, the Bolsheviks did overwhelm the Liberal revolution with the uprising of the whole proletariat to seize absolute power for itself.

In consequence our British Marxians have begun to anticipate a similar possibility here.

But there is a vital difference. In 1848 the factory system was new. Only a few years previously the factory workers had been free men, not happy and prosperous artisans in most cases, but certainly not wage slaves. Even the poverty stricken agricultural laborers who were flocking into the towns had never experienced the slavery of the factory.

The Hammonds point out that the riots of these early days were by no means only due to unemployment owing to the introduction of machinery but were spontaneous revolts against the galling conditions of factory life to those unaccustomed to it.

Factory Misery and Discipline Makes Good Slaves Not Revolutionaries.

Now this was the proletariat which poured out into the streets in revolt in 1848. It was an unspoiled proletariat, as enraged at their captivity as lions from the forest. And note that the Russian proletariat was of similar character, it was of recent enslavement, thousands of the workers had begun life as peasants and still worked for part of the year in the village

Finance Baby Output Or Quit Business Is Expert's Ultimatum

(By The Federated Press)

WASHINGTON. — Child-bearing must be properly financed or else abolished, in the view of speakers before the women's industrial conference now in session under auspices of the department of labor.

This demand was put forward as a matter of strict business by Dr. R. A. Speath, John Hopkins university. He declared it was impractical for women in industry to be given six weeks before and as long afterward, with pay, when their babies were born, as proposed by some. His alternatives were:

Payment to men of wages high enough to make it unnecessary and undesirable to wives to enter industry.

Or, education in practical birth control by physicians and nurses employed to instruct women wage earners.

Speaking from the floor, Julia Lathrop, former chief of the children's bureau, gave warm approval to Speath's doctrine. This will probably bring against her fresh "red" charges from those who say the conference is anti-American.

Those who oppose birth control education, say it advocates, must either keep silent or else join the campaign to raise men's wages to a level at which few women will be left in the fields of arduous wage-earning.

By those who know the American employer it is held that he will much sooner consent to birth control education than to paying wages that will permit one man to support a wife and several children in what the war labor board used to call health and reasonable comfort.

Congresswoman Springs Old Wheeze.

Alice Robertson repeated the vaudeville accusation that women were in industry chiefly to get money for silk stockings and other finery. To that old charge Merica Hoagland, Indianapolis, replied that her work as employment manager in that city showed that from 65 to 95% of women workers there are supporting dependents with their wages.

Sophonisha P. Breckinridge, University of California, gave endorsement to the Speath demand that men be paid wages large enough to support a reasonable number of dependents without exploitation of women.

A spirited demand that colored women share in all benefits created by law or otherwise to protect women workers was voiced by four spokesmen for the colored race Jan. 12. These champions of race equality in industry were Nannie Burroughs, Pennsylvania Federation of Colored Women's Clubs; Mrs. M. C. Lawton, president, New York State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs; Mrs. Ira Brown Stokes of Richmond, and president, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, and Mrs. Margaret Peck Hill, president, Maryland W. C. T. U., No. 2.

One demand always emphasized by speakers at this conference is that wages shall be based upon occupation and not upon sex, and this demand is perhaps approved by the National Woman's party, which refused to participate in the gathering because its orators were denied a place on the agenda to advocate the omnibus equality for which the party stands.

where the old traditions of the commune were still alive and vigorous and freedom, though poverty stricken, still lived.

But now compare the proletariat of Europe in 1848 and Russia in 1917 with that of Britain in 1922. For three generations we have known no freedom, we were born to the cry of the factory siren and it is our last post. We are recruited to factory discipline, used to the stunts; taught to read only that we might be doped by the press, and provided with footballs and cinemas only that we might be distracted from our real misery. We have neither the independence, nor the virility of our fathers and the vision of the British workers behind the barricades can never be more than the dream of the arm-chair revolutionists until the psychology of the proletariat has been radically altered. As a matter of fact misery and factory discipline does not make revolutionaries, it makes hopeless slaves, and the longer it goes on the less and not the more likely is a working class revolution. The question all revolutionaries have got to ask is "How to overcome the paralyzing effect of our industrial system on the psychology of the workers?"

—John Lewis, The Plebs.

European Balance of Population Will Shift

Tendency in United States is in Opposite Direction

By LELAND OLDS
(Federated Press Industrial Editor)

Eastern Europe produced less wheat in 1922 than it did in 1921. Before the war the countries of the Danube basin had a large exportable surplus. This year the exportable surplus has all but vanished. According to L. G. Michael, foreign economist for the department of agriculture, even when conditions in those countries return to normal their grain will not be a serious competitor with the wheat shipped by American farmers.

Michael points out that before the war the peasant in these countries was undernourished and was deprived of food he required because it was used to pay taxes and heavy rents. He continues:

"Today that is changed, the peasant is beginning to eat bread. After centuries of submerged individuality he is taking his place among his own people as a man, despite the obstructions of the great lords and the opposition of the cities. The fact that the peasant is eating bread is causing a revolution throughout southeastern Europe that extends even into middle Europe. The peasant demanded enough land on which to produce a decent living. His demand was a threat and he got the land. He has begun to feed his children not only bread, but also meat—a former Sunday luxury."

Formerly, says Michael, "the big estates organized their operations about wheat production as a center, the wheat to be sold for cash and the cash to be expended in the great, luxury centers of Paris, Venice, Berlin. Then the great change came. The peasant who had formerly slaved to produce the export grain, excesses, began to work for himself and in the interest of his family. The great excess acreage seeded to wheat was cut down to more nearly that required to meet his local needs, and the peasant and his family began to eat wheat."

The latest report of the bureau of foreign and domestic commerce contains the following from a report of its special representative in Vienna: "European farmers as a class are relatively well off. The course of the war tended to divert the stream of wealth from the cities to the country in the case of France and Denmark, and farmers in those countries are relatively prosperous. In general, the commodity purchasing power of the European farmer, in terms of his own products, is higher than in the United States. A bushel of wheat will purchase more clothing and household utensils and pay more rent and labor costs than it does in the United States."

Both reports indicate a conflict of interest between city and country. Agriculture was organized to support hundreds of thousands who lived in the cities of Europe merely to carry out the political and commercial ambitions and to cater to the desires of those who possessed wealth. National bankruptcy meant, to all intents, a breakdown in the control of this centralized ownership. Claims to rent, interest, profits for the support of the overgrown cities became mere paper, they could not be enforced. Through a difficult process of readjustment the balance of population will again shift in favor of the country.

These changes in eastern Europe are suggestive because the tendency in the United States seems to be still in the opposite directions. Financial power continues to centralize and to increase. Cities continue to grow. Each year the burden on the agricultural community continues to increase.

The fact that this country is reckoned among the financially sound means that the \$75,000,000,000 to \$80,000,000,000 in paper, representing ownership of mineral resources, machinery and means of transportation, can still require its full per cent of farm products and that agriculture will be increasingly organized to meet the wishes of those who receive rents, royalties, interest and dividends. It means that a portion of the farmers' product goes as rent and interest on the \$30,000,000,000 worth of farm property that is mortgaged or farmed by tenants. It means that a share of his bushels and head of cattle must be diverted to the use of those who hold the \$23,000,000,000 of government bonds. The farmers' share of these enormous national fixed charges means a portion of his product that brings him nothing in exchange.

This overhead has doubled since 1914. The report of new financing for 1922 indicates that the total is growing.

That is why the farmer finds that

his products are buying less and less. None of the legislative remedies proposed shows how this tendency can be reversed.

U.S. Military Spies Used Army of Occupation to Keep Tab on Europe

By PAUL HANNA
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

The wise but somewhat comical withdrawal of our remaining 1200 soldiers from the Rhine would have happened earlier and with more dignity were it not for the ways of the general staff. The general staff always circulated tales, when withdrawal was agitated, about the good influence exerted by our troops over there, the eagerness of the Germans to have them stay, etc.

As a matter of fact our garrison on the Rhine was a blockhouse in the enemies' country—a lookout box from which the general staff could keep its eye on many things which interest the fighting man. By mingling there as friendly associates our military spies could learn no end of useful things about the military plans of Britain, France and Italy in parts of the world far removed from the Rhine bank.

It required a threat of actual war and a senate resolution thrown in the face of the war department to break up that blockhouse in the center of Europe, full of peepholes for the general staff.

—From Washington Gossip.

THE most delicious cake, Orange, Fig, and Devil's food for only 15 cts.

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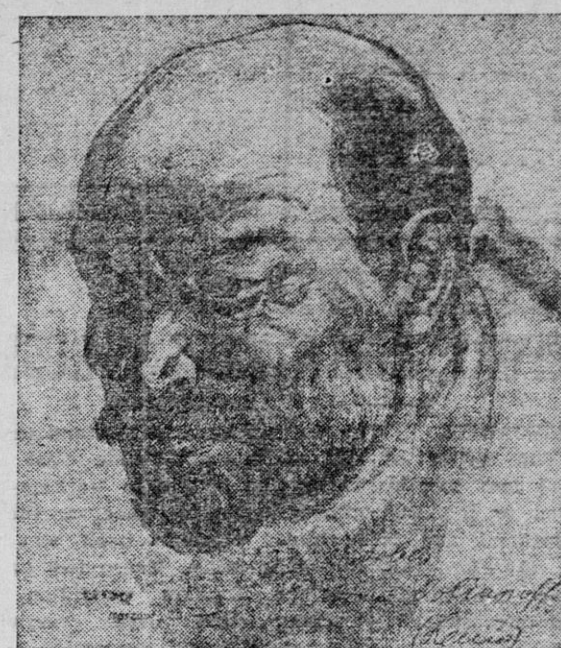
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The organized workers' corporation, known as the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, is participating with the Supreme Council of National Economy, in the running of

—Cesare in N. Y. Times.
Lenin, Premier of the Soviet Republic, has bought two shares in this Industrial Corporation founded by American Organized Labor.

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NO REAL DISTINCTION EXISTS BETWEEN THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES

Once Democrats Favored Black Chattel Slaves and Republicans Wanted Wage Slaves; Now Both Agree on Wage Slavery.

Historically They Represent Varying Points of View As To the Best Method of Robbing the Workers.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the twelfth article in a series by R. F. Pettigrew who was a senator at Washington for twelve years. His exposure of the activities of those at Washington shows that government is the instrument used by the owning class to further their own economic interests at the expense of the working class. Space prevented using the complete chapter.)

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

In these descriptions of the relations between business and Government in the United States, I have not tried to draw any sharp distinctions between the Republican and the Democratic parties. Indeed, such an effort would be quite futile, since no real distinction between them exists. Historically, the two parties represent varying points of view as to the best method of robbing the workers. The Democrats favored slavery as a method. The Republicans preferred the wage system. But those differences were ironed out during the Civil War. During more than half a century both parties have accepted the system of wage labor as the most practical and remunerative system of exploitation. Today Republicans and Democrats are alike the spokesmen of big business. This assertion I can make without the slightest fear of contradiction, as I have known the leaders of both parties for fifty years and have worked in the inner circles of both party machines.

BOTH PARTIES CAREFUL NOT TO INTERFERE WITH BIG BUSINESS

I was elected to the United States Senate as a Republican when the state of South Dakota was admitted to the Union. I was re-elected in 1894, also as a republican. I listened to the debates in 1890 on the Anti-Trust Law which was presented by Senator Sherman of Ohio. The trusts were at that time beginning to show great strength and both parties had declared against them in their platforms. The Sherman law was a Republican measure, but I observed to my great surprise that the leaders of the Republican party were very careful not to include anything in the bill that would interfere with big business. Indeed, the anti-trust legislation was so framed as to encourage rather than discourage combinations in restraint of trade; I also observed that those amendments which were offered to the Sherman Anti-Trust Law in order to make it effective by preventing combinations in restraint of trade, were promptly defeated by a solid Republican vote. This opened my eyes, and I began to wonder if I was really a Republican. Out on the prairies of Dakota there was a strong protest against the exploitation of the people by eastern bankers and railroad operators, and I had never for one moment supposed that the Republican party which always claimed to be the opponent of slavery and the champion of freedom was presenting a united front to any measure looking to a diminution of this exploitation.

AGAINST BLACK SLAVES BUT FOR TRUST WAGE SLAVES.

In 1896 I was elected as a delegate to the Republican National Convention which assembled at St. Louis for the purpose of adopting a plat-

form and of nominating a presidential candidate. After the St. Louis platform had been adopted, twenty-two of the delegates, I among the number, left the convention and the Republican party. Our reasons for leaving were, first, that the party, in its platform, declared for a very high protective tariff and made no pronouncement against trusts and combinations in restraint of trade, but left out the plank on that subject which it had included in every National Convention for at least eight years previously. The tariff wall for which the platform provided was so high as to make the trusts absolutely secure against foreign competition, which was the only competition they had to fear. The convention also declared for the gold standard and at every opportunity announced that it was in favor of the great industrial combinations, whose attorneys not only dominated the convention, but made up two-thirds of both Houses of Congress. In other words, the grand old party that had come into existence as a protest against human slavery had, after forty years, decided to abandon its great record as the champion of black slaves and become the champion of the trusts and industrial combinations which were enslaving men. Seeing this change as clearly as I did, there was only one course for me to pursue—I left the party. Still I was a Republican at heart. I never voted but for one Democrat.

MILLIONS SPENT TO GET CORRUPT VOTES.

After the St. Louis Convention I attended the Democratic Convention at Chicago, and was on the platform when Bryan made the great speech which resulted in his nomination. He was endorsed by the so-called Silver Republican Convention, which was composed of those who bolted the St. Louis Convention of the Republican party and their adherents. In the campaign of 1896 I supported Bryan and made a great many speeches advocating his election. Partly as a result of my activity he carried the State of South Dakota. He was beaten throughout the nation by the industrial combinations which had backed the nomination of McKinley and had adopted the St. Louis platform. These interests put up many millions to purchase and corrupt the voters of the country to defeat Bryan, so that they could go along with their work of concentrating in the hands of a few the result of the toil of the American people.

PRETENDED TO BE FOR FREE HOMESTEADS.

After the campaign of 1896 a debate took place in the Senate with regard to free homes on the public domain. In this debate I was contending that the Republican party boasted during the campaign of 1896 that it was the author of the Homestead Law; and that in the convention at St. Louis the party had declared in favor of the Homestead Law. As an advocate of the restoration of the Homestead Law, I told the Republicans that they had put the free homestead plank in their platform at St. Louis and now they were refusing to live up to it. By quoting the plank in the Republican platform and comparing it with the bill that the Republicans were trying to enact, I showed conclusively that they abandoned it. During this debate, the whole question of party relations and affiliations came to the surface, and above all, the spokesmen of business, who were leading the fight against the bill in the Senate, said plainly and emphatically that they were not there to do the will of the people or to represent them, but that they were rather serving their real masters who paid the party bills.

I quote the Congressional Record:
Mr. PETTIGREW: "That is the measure which the St. Louis Convention specifically and in terms endorsed and said they were in favor of. The Senator from Connecticut (Mr. Platt) says to me they did not do any such thing. Let us see whether or not they did. This bill was reported to the Senate on the 16th of May, 1896, and on the 18th of June, 1896, the St. Louis platform was adopted. Now, let us see what the platform says:

Several organized groups of American business men have already told congress that Oregon is a good scout with a strong government under him, and they declare they will make Harding recognize Oregon or learn the reason why he doesn't.

So the rumored commission picked in Wall St. may be intended to serve as a prop to the state department, an excuse for further delay and a muzzle to the honest business men who say Oregon is all right and ought to be recognized immediately.

Harding Favors Sale of New Guns, Not Old.

"The president," says his semi-official newspaper here, "holds that to sell surplus government armaments to nations or individuals would be to encourage conflict, and Mr. Harding is determined that so long as he is president there shall be no sale of discarded arms or munitions to any nation or individual."

That is an appeal to the moral sense of the voters which may help out on election day. But let us read on: "The president, however, fully realizes that it is quite within the law for nations or individuals to buy arms and munitions from manufacturers."

Thus are morals and business done up in separate packages which have nothing to do, one with the other.

FOR MOTHERS ONLY

By R. R. HORNBECK.

Can you imagine a fat man sitting at a desk? His feet rest on a cuspidor as he scans the market page with excited satisfaction. A group of excited women, aged, unkempt, appear through the clouds of smoke which encircle his bald head in ghostly halos.

Out of the chattering and gesticulating he gets one word: War. He understands, for he employs these mother's sons. Smiles compassionately.

"There, there, who has been spreading these alarming tales? How preposterous! Don't you remember that the war that was fought to save the world for democracy was also a war to end all wars forevermore? And did we not kill every radical editor who smiled when we said it?"

Chorus of mothers, hopefully: "Yes, yes."
"And did we not tell you your sons would never again be called to make the supreme sacrifice—that

they would be killed once and once only?"

Mothers, in tearful unison: "So you did, yes, yes."

One mother in rear, very meekly: "But we thought you might be an idealist. Oh, dear me!"

Bald fat man jumps up, glares, paces floor angrily. "Idealists, huh? Rats! The radicals are that! Did they not want a peace without victory? Do they not still preach brotherly love? Poof!"

Shrill voice outside open window: "Wuxtra! Wuxtra! All about the great war in Europe! Wuxtra!"

Baldy jumps to window, sticks out head. Sees crowds gathering at bulletin board below. Waves his arms to group of youth. "What, ho! War, you say? Hurrah for profits! To hell with somebody, anybody, everybody! Run up Old Glory! Who will go to the front for me! Bleed 'em white, boys; shoot 'em to hell!"

Mothers file out slowly.

120 MEN STILL IN PRISON IN FREE SPEECH CASES

(Federated Press.)

NEW YORK.—"Despite the fact that the reactionary forces restricting civil liberties have somewhat loosened their grip since the election in November, and despite an increasing degree of freedom to speak and meet in most parts of the country, the new year begins with a large assortment of prosecutions and injunctions on hand, and about 120 men actually in prison in free speech cases," says a summary prepared by the American Civil Liberties union, setting forth the cases scheduled to come before the courts this year.

There are 54 prisoners in federal penitentiaries still serving sentences under the espionage act for suppression of opinion, the summary says. Only seven of these sentences expire this year. All but four of the prisoners are members of the Industrial Workers of the World who were convicted in three conspiracy cases.

There still are in the courts a number of espionage act cases which have not yet been finally decided, and a considerable number of indictments under the espionage act (about 40) have not yet been tried. These, the union believes, probably will be dismissed.

Conspicuous among the cases still in the courts is that of 13 Socialists at Cincinnati, who were

"We believe in an immediate return to the free homestead policy of the Republican party and urge the passage by Congress of a satisfactory free-homestead measure, such as has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate."

Mr. PLATT, of Connecticut: "Did they endorse the bill which passed the House?"

Mr. PETTIGREW: "And is now pending in the Senate? What bill was pending in the Senate? The bill reported by the Committee on Indian Affairs, the bill I have read here in terms and words."

Mr. PLATT: "What did they endorse? Did they endorse the bill which passed the House or the bill that was pending in the Senate?"

Mr. PETTIGREW: "Both; the bill 'such as has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.'"

Mr. PLATT: "Does the Senator think they knew what was pending in the Senate?"

Mr. PETTIGREW: "I think they did."

Mr. PLATT: "Or that this bill was any different from the bill pending in the Senate?"

Mr. PETTIGREW: "They knew all about it. There is no question about it. Here is the difference between the two bills. The House bill provided for free homesteaders in Oklahoma, every bit of which had been bought from Indians, and the Senate bill provided that the same provisions should extend to the other states of the West. Now, the Republicans went into the campaign in South Dakota and on every stump they told these people that they should have free homes if the Republican party won and that they could not get them if they did not, and you pointed to the record of the Republican party as being the party in favor of free homesteads, and you showed them that the Democratic party had voted against it 'way back in 1860. You gained thousands of votes by that pretense and by that plank in your platform, and now you go back on it."

"It is not the only plank you have gone back on. You have gone back on your whole record as a party. You have left the side of the people of this country. You have abandoned the principles that made your party great and respectable and have become the champions of everything that is corrupt and bad in American politics."

DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS BOTH GET FUNDS FROM EXPLOITERS.

That was the statement to the Senate twenty-five years ago, and during those years, every contact that I have had with the Republican party organization has strengthened my conviction that I understated the case at that time. It did not need the revelations of the 1920 campaign to convince the American people of these facts. Those revelations simply emphasized knowledge that was already common.

But do not let it be supposed for an instant that the Democratic party has been less eager to play handy-man to big business. It has been the opportunity and not the will that was lacking. And even at that, it is a matter of common knowledge that the Wilson Campaign millions in 1912 and again in 1916 were greater than the funds at the disposal of the Republicans, and the bulk of them did not come from either workmen or farmers. On the contrary, the Democrats, like the Republicans got their funds from the only source that yields them in large amounts—the exploiters of the American people.

Bryan was the last of the Democratic leaders to make a stand against the vested interests and while his intentions were of the best, his knowledge of economics was woefully limited. Furthermore, he was far from being the master of Democratic party policy.

sentenced for distributing literature in 917 against conscription. An appeals court is expected to render an opinion in this case this month.

With respect to state cases under criminal syndicalism laws, two such cases have been appealed to the United States supreme court, where they will be argued sometime this year. One is that of Benjamin Gitlow of New York, former state assemblyman, and the other is that of Charlotte Adita Whitney in California. Cases involving the validity of criminal syndicalism statutes also are on their way to the state supreme courts of Idaho, Nebraska, and Pennsylvania (the latter under a state sedition law).

The injunctions secured by the federal government, the summary continues, against the striking railroad shopmen—about 80 in number—are most of them still in effect. Thirty cases brought under these injunctions are pending in the courts, chief among them being charges against Jacob Cohen, editor, Memphis Labor Review, and C. V. Saunders, editor, Memphis Press, for editorials in their papers criticizing the injunction and the court; and against Edwin R. Cornish, Saginaw, Mich., editor of the Workers' Voice, for criticizing the injunction.

Injunctions issued by state courts under which cases still are pending include numbers involving the right of free speech and freedom of assembly, notably injunctions against the Amalgamated Textile Workers in Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

Haggard Unemployed Marching; Medals Buy No Food Or Clothes

(Federated Press.)

LONDON.—Although parliament is prorogued, the nation and the government are not to be allowed to forget the existence of nearly 2,000,000 unemployed men and women. Detachments of marchers from all parts of the country continue to arrive in London for demonstrations which will be repeated in industrial centers all over the country.

There is much indignation in capitalist newspapers about the "misguided" tactics of the unemployed in coming up to London to add to the numbers of those who are already crowding into the workhouses or applying for relief. But the indignation is really founded upon the dislike of the comfort-

able classes to be reminded of this blot upon the body politic; and it is impossible to forget it so long as, day by day, weary processions of haggard looking men, most of them wearing war medals, are to be encountered in the west end of London.

When a group of them were removed by force from the offices of the ministry of health, no one was surprised; for this treatment seemed part of the general policy of the government to discourage the hunger marchers and drive them back to the provinces.

The case of the unemployed women is even more hopeless. In an appeal to them to support the demonstrations, which are being organized by the general council of the Trades Union congress, Margaret Bondfield points out that in none of the schemes yet advanced by the government are women provided for at all. Behind this policy of ignoring the women there is no doubt the old feeling of the possessors of class that no unemployed woman, however skilled industrially or unskilled domestically, should be helped by the state so long as mistresses still desire servants.

The women themselves have longer memories, and they do not forget how, during the war, they were begged to become trained in skilled trades in order to replace the men. They loyally gave up their places when the men came back, only to be thrown on the scrap heap and told they were fit for nothing but domestic service at starvation wages.

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TRUTH

Issued Weekly By The West End Labor Association.

Entered as second-class matter November 12, 1920, at the post office at Duluth, Minnesota, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Subscription: 1 year \$2.00. — 6 months \$1.00.

TRUTH openly declares for the overthrow of the present capitalist system. It does not believe in patching it up. If you think the existing 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 vision and firm leadership. The task is no Sunday-school play and no lazy man's job. It will mean sacrifice and hardship and much study and much training. The workers must prepare for the struggle.

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!



FREEDOM FOR LARKIN

Governor Smith of New York has put himself on the map. He pardoned Jim Larkin, the Irish labor leader, who was serving a five-year sentence for alleged "criminal anarchy." The Governor said:

"Stripped of its legalistic aspects, this (the Larkin case) is to my mind a political case, where a man has been punished for the statement of his beliefs. . . . There is no evidence that Larkin ever endeavored to incite any specific act of violence or lawlessness. I believe that the safety of the state is affirmatively impaired by the imposition of such a sentence for such a cause."

In spite of the fact that war hysteria has subsided considerably since frenzied patriots decided it was dangerous to have Larkin at large, it was a courageous act on the new Governor's part to pardon Larkin. The president who should lead in ending the shameful record of persecution of political has not yet acted. Governor Small of Illinois acted in his state but the smirch of a political scandal hanging to him made it less easy to win glory by imitating Small than if he had been an unsullied patriot. But Governor Smith acted anyway, and the credit is his. It is a fine beginning but let us hope that it is not the end of the Governor's display of sanity. The New York prisons still hold political prisoners; the New York criminal anarchy law still is in existence; it must be wiped out. That will establish a good precedent for other states where similar laws must be relegated to ancient history of war-time monstrosities. Governor Smith has a wonderful opportunity to make himself famous. Acts that indicate social sanity and a conscientious striving for justice are rare from governors as well as from Washington. Even a few belated efforts at justice show up magnificently in this poverty stricken age with high handed looters in official governmental positions.

Jim Larkin will return to Ireland where he is even more beloved and honored by the workers than in America. The Irish workers have never forgotten that Larkin had the Orangemen and the Catholics marching together in their class war upon the masters. This was in 1913. Ireland needs that lesson again in 1923. The workers in all countries need to learn that petty religious differences must be cast aside as unimportant in the class war. But it is doubtful if the masters in Ireland or England will rejoice to have Larkin return. "Larkinism means revolution," said Lord Northcliffe then when he shut his eyes to the economic conditions that were working for revolution. Prisons, oppression, injustice, drudgery, and hunger, these did not mean revolution to Northcliffe but the powerful voice of one good rebel scared him. It would mean revolution. The world's injustices have grown since Larkin was imprisoned. And the world's revolution is nearer because of these injustices. The workers in all countries need many Jim Larkins to help in the struggle that is to come.

STRIPPING THE GERMANS

In 1918 fifty-five thousand German workers, efficient and highly organized, were beaten in a killing match; the armistice was signed.

The Allies took their milk cows and thousands of infants lives.

They took their locomotives (5,000) and railway cars (150,000).

The French took the Saar with 650,000 German inhabitants and nine per cent of the German coal supply.

Poland took the richest portion of the Silesian coal fields. The victors parcelled out the German colonies and merchant-marine.

Commissions and the army of occupation moved in and lived sumptuously while the German workers toiled and starved.

The victors demanded twenty-five million tons of coal a year; wood in large quantities; 200,000 tons of shipping a year for five years; cash indemnities and tariff exemptions.

Then the Ruhr.

Next the skins.

And will fifty-five thousand German workers, efficient and highly organized, decide that if the skins must go they will lose them stripping the master robbers, German and French?

We hope so.

FRAME-UPS THAT DIDN'T FRAME

The jury in the first Herrin riot trial said, "Not guilty" of the five men who have been on trial for murder. In spite of the fact that the jury was the result of careful sifting so that all who gave the least evidence of sympathy for labor were excluded, the overwhelming alibi testimony of the defense convinced them that these five men were not murderers.

The jury consisted principally of farmers, not make-believe farmers who sit in banks while the work is being done and who drive out to the farm in the evening for a pleasure jaunt. These were farmers whose muscles had hardened through making the soil yield them a livelihood. The mere fact that a man will plod away at such drudgery as farming shows that there is a hardihood about him that will enable him to resist the influence of wealth much easier than a soft-job hunter would. These farmers could not be bought. They plugged away at their jury job as conscientiously as they had been plugging away at corn and hog growing. The mere fact that some well dressed mine owners

and Chamber of Commerce men were interested in sentencing five miners did not overawe them so that they did not listen to the evidence. Their rugged strength of character sifted out the truth as conscientiously and as carefully as they ordinarily sifted wheat to get seed for next year's crop. And so the five miners were freed in the first trial.

Three of the men, Otis Clark, Bert Grace and Peter Hiller, will be tried again with six other men on February 12 for the murder of Antonio Molkovich, Erie, Pa., who was one of the mine guards imported into Williamson county by Wm. J. Lester last June when he expected to clear \$7,000 a day for himself by mining coal during the strike. No one can say what the result of this trial will be. That the masters will do their best to convict is shown by the furor that the acquittal of the five made. The Chicago Journal of Commerce and the Chicago Tribune were full of venom about "the shadow that Herrin casts across the future of American society." But the workers and the farmers seem to be aware whose shadow is on America's social and economic life. That is why they are organized to get rid of the real shadow makers.

MAX NORDAU DIES

The famous Magyar author, Max Nordau, died at Paris recently. During the world war he was sentenced as a political prisoner to be interned during the war. The French government, not as intolerant towards political liberals as America, however released him shortly after he was taken into custody. He was granted a parole of honor and went to Spain.

In addition to practicing medicine he studied art, literature and economic conditions. His notable works include "Degeneration," "Conventional Lies of Mankind," and "Paris Under the Third Republic." In his "Conventional Lies of Mankind" he showed that he considered the poor struggling technical men and teachers and artists and other white collar slaves good revolutionary material. They have expected much from life and have a most miserable existence in comparison with what they expected, hence the rebellion in their souls. We quote the following from *Conventional Lies* again although we have used it in TRUTH upon another occasion; it is well worth thinking about again. Most white collared slaves appear so self-satisfied that it is hard for the working class to realize that they too rebel against the system. Nordau says:

The portrait of the economic organization of society would not be complete without describing a class of beings who play nearly as melancholy a role as the industrial slaves of the great city. These are the cultivated men who have to support themselves by intellectual labor. In this branch of labor the supply exceeds the demand to a frightful degree. Those unfortunates, whose efforts secure a public or private situation in teaching, in arts, literature, medicine, civil engineering, etc., are capable of appreciating their wretchedness in a greater degree, due to their intellectual development. Their intercourse with the more prosperous keeps the picture of wealth constantly before them. Social prejudice require them to get a living in a way which lays far greater burdens on their shoulders than those borne by the day laborer. The unsuccessful among them are despised by the wealthy who call them failures. But these failures are the intrepid vanguard of the army that is besieging the proud fortress of society, and that sooner or later will raze it to the ground.

NOT SINCERE—ONLY BLUFFING

If that portion of the general staff at Washington that holds the fate of the political prisoners in its hands were sincere it would release J. O. Bentall. It would release all of them. The reasonable period of time that was required according to these Washington overlords to go over the cases separately has more than elapsed. Their request that the politicals apply for clemency was complied with in Bentall's case. He asked clemency. Still there is no action. His intellectual honesty and moral stamina which made him speak against a capitalist war when hysteria prevailed, are rare virtues. Such men make good citizens and should not be treated as criminals.

Even the reactionary press for months has been demanding the release of our politicals. The Chicago American, The New York Journal, The Boston American, The Detroit Times, The Washington Times, The Wisconsin News, Atlantic Georgian and others including The Duluth Herald have asked that war hates and hysteria be things of the past and that the politicals be freed.

Two governors have had the moral courage to do officially what all desire except a few bitter labor haters in the employing class. Small of Illinois and Smith of New York have recorded their names in history. When will the president have the manhood to release all and thus make some small amends for the grave injustice done these imprisoned men?

ROBERT FARMER ACQUITTED

Belmont county, Ohio, had a similar situation to Williamson county, Illinois. The mine owners placed guards at the stripping mines, they obstructed the highways and interfered with miners going to and from their houses. These guards had been sent to protect the men who were working the strip mine during the strike. Trouble occurred which resulted in the death of one of the strip mine workers, John I. Major. Robert Farmer, vice-president of Sub District No. 5 of the United Mine Workers was accused of the murder. The trial began January 10th and January 15th the jury acquitted him after thirty minutes deliberation.

The jury in this case had not a single man from the farming section. It consisted of three insurance agents, two painters, a contractor, a banker, a molder, a butcher, a mill worker, a real estate man and a grocer. Strange things do happen some times. Labor has cause to rejoice. These two isolated instances of labor winning in the courts (the Herrin case and this one) must not deceive the workers into believing that our courts are not controlled by the owning class. It pays the owning class to let a few escape their clutches once in a while in order to keep up the sham of justice through our court system. They are clever opponents in the class struggle. They are not through with labor yet; just wait and see what they will do next.

MOB RULE

A union man's life is no longer safe. At any moment a mob may appear and hang him to the nearest pole. Harrison, Arkansas, is in the limelight now.

Two hundred shop men on strike at the Missouri and Northern Arkansas Railway were driven out of Harrison by a mob. E. C. Gregor, the leader of the strikers, was hung. Thirty union men and some wives were whipped and then left to drag their bruised bodies to refuge.

Merchants who refused to put up the sign, "We Are For the Open Shop," were burned out. They fled for safety to the mountains. And the end is not yet. Terror reigns.

Verily, the United States has become the old Czarist Russia. Even weak trade unions are driven underground.

"THE CALL TO THE 'HOLY' WAR."

B. N. Z.

Do you hear the war-lords calling for another war,
Do you hear the same old mockery we had eight years before?
Mark the self-same slogans doing duty still,
The same masters of destruction, iron bound to kill.

Hark! the sabre-rattling monsters are stalking o'er the earth
And the masked paraders ride abroad, stirring the horrid mirth.

Lash the men-folk to it that they may not fail the job,
While all around, women weep and sob.

Grind fast the war-machine, speed it up again,
What cares Mammon for the protesting voice of men
Who talk good-will and peace, and the worth of human stuff,
Speed is what we want—speed it up! speed it up!

Time, time, beat time, and grind, grind, grind,
One—two—three—four—for battle's in the wind,
Speed up the war-machine, we must take a sweeping stride
And in the name of glory to battle we must ride.

Then feed the war-machine, you men of toil and strife,
As they grind the bally organ that is calling for your life;
We must speed the lagging hour and the undertaking bless
That their past need of vic'try shall lead to more "success."

So, hunt, hunt, for men the job must needs be done,
Lash, lash, the men—to slaughter they must run;
For the country "calls" the army—the toll is not our care—
Ours be the "glory"—(the profits they will share).

Speed up the whole establishment—no pacifist sob-stuff—
Enough of all this cringing, we want men, that's quite enough—
Send him the prison, the man who hates to kill,
And pillory the brave ones whose voices will not still.

Snatch away the workers from families and from friends;
What matter all the protest if we but gain our ends?
The time is not for quibbling; "honor" is at stake.
(But keep in the background those who're "on the make.")

March! march on to battle; urge on the thoughtless mob,
Hang him to a lamp-post if he dares refuse the job.
We want the souls and bodies of men to die again
For the kingdom and the glory of Profit's golden name.
January 16th, 1923.

R. I. L. U. HAS SUPPORTERS IN 32 COUNTRIES

According to statistics published at the time of the Second Congress of Red International of Labor Unions, there are thirty-two countries in which the R. I. L. U. has supporters. In Bulgaria, Egypt, Dutch Indies, Uruguay and Chile the chief trade union or the majority of the chief trade union organizations adhere to the R. I. L. U. In other countries the members of the R. I. L. U. are mainly groups in opposition to the central organization and are not affiliated with the central organization.

The statistics which give a total of 12,274,000 are:

Argentina	30,000	Estonia	16,000
Australia	60,000	Finland	48,000
Austria	90,000	France	300,000
Belgium	?	Germany	1,250,000
Canada	30,000	Holland	20,000
Chile	90,000	India	?
China	150,000	Italy	350,000
	(metal workers)	Japan	7,500
	who are negotiating with the R.I.L.U.)	Luxembourg	2,000
Bulgaria	34,000	Mexico	25,000
Czecho-Slovakia	367,000	Norway	100,000
Dutch Indies	27,000	Poland	200,000
Egypt	100,000	Rumania	2,500
England	300,000	Russia	7,914,000
		Spain	200,000
		Sweden	75,000
		Switzerland	50,000
		Turkey	15,000
		Uruguay	?
		U. S. of America	422,000

The figures for Italy cannot be taken as very reliable because the chaotic conditions prevailing there at present make it impossible to secure accurate figures for labor organizations. Since Russia's membership in unions has gone on the voluntary basis, the statistics issued by the last Trade Union Congress showed the membership reduced to 5,100,000.

CLEVER ADVERTISING FOR AMERICAN KRUPPS

"America Halts Sale of Arms" say the headlines in the daily press. And "Harding Refuses to Sell Arms to European Countries." What a virtuous president and what a virtuous government! Like a bootlegger who piously refuses to sell his private stock but refers the customer to his bootlegger employer. Wonderful halting sale of arms, wonderful righteous country! Even their own reports reveal that this virtuous abstinence from selling arms is only for the war department. It does not affect the sale of arms by munition makers. There is no law in the United States prohibiting the sale of munitions by private firms, according to their own reports.

It appears to us like clever advertising for the munition firms. Less cleverly done it would look like this:

European countries! Notice! Arms for sale in the United States. Private munition firms may sell unmolested. There is no law that prevents selling by private firms. The United States War Department has a supply on hand of the same make which it will keep. See the private firms at once. All orders will be promptly filled.

HERESIES QUOTED BY DART-MOUTH PROFESSOR

"It is strange that in Pennsylvania a Sunday baseball game is illegal but that there is no prohibition of the seven-day week in the steel mill"; and (Judge Thompson of Pittsburgh on illegal raids and arrests of aliens): "The methods of the Department of Justice have created more anarchy than all the political parties put together, and conditions in this district are worse than they were in Russia. I did not suppose that this could happen in a country where they have a constitution."

—From "The Russian Emigrant" by Jerome Davis.

Thirteen per cent of the world's shipping tonnage is idle. No wonder that thirty-six per cent of the ship building workers of Great Britain are still unemployed. No wonder that the employed workers in Britain are forced to work for wages sixty-one per cent below pre-war level.

BIRTHDAYS OF POLITICALS.

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

At Leavenworth, Kansas, Box 7: Feb. 4, Charles Bennett, Reg. No. 13117; Feb. 14, G. J. Bourg, 13118; Vincent Santelli, 13580; Feb. 17, F. J. Gallagher, 14802; Peter Green, 13127; Feb. 22, Chas. H. MacKinnon, 13165; Feb. 27, John Graves, 13570.

At Walla Walla, Wash., Box 520: Feb. 2, Eugene Barnett, No. 9414; Feb. 24, Frank Nash, 9516 8-A4.

At San Quentin penitentiary, San Quentin, Cal.: Feb. 5, Howard Welton, No. 35668; Frank Sherman, 35768.

Cora Meyer, national secretary, invites sympathizers to send birthday postcards and letters to these political prisoners. Money is the most advisable gift. For list of articles allowed the prisoners write the wardens.

Among prisoners remembered by those "outside" in previous months J. M. Hangel writes: "Please express my gratitude to the press which announced my birthday, and to the comrades from 15 different states, whose kindly thoughts brightened my cell with greetings to my 62nd birthday. In return I send my best thanks, hoping in a world of happiness you all live longer than I, sentenced for industrial activities to serve from five to 99 years, of which nine have been served."

Ed. Quigley wrote: "Forgotten for being active in the I. W. W.? I should say not. This has been some Christmas. We received more gifts this year than all four Christmases put together. Packages were delivered with and without names. Kindly express our gratitude to those we are unable to write to."

THEY CALL HIM "RED"

By WALT DRUMMOND.

They call him "red," and hiss the name they call
The working man in cap and overall,
Who delves in mine to bring the world its coal
And guides the train through dangers to its goal;
Who toils at lathe and forge and tends the track
And carries a world's burdens on his back.
And should he dare to overlord complain,
Demand a decent wage for brawn and brain,
They call him "red." Who calls him "red" you ask.
The men who'd set a worker at his task
And coin his blood into their illogot gain;
Who'd starve his children, rob him of his health,
That greed may loll in luxury and wealth.
They've hired the press to call him "red" as well—
This band of parasites, this brood of hell,
And as the rabble reads, starts shouting, too,
A voice I hear, "They know not what they do,"
My mind reverts to nineteen centuries ago—
They call him "red" who came to save a world from woe.
—Miners' Defender.

TEACHERS PROPAGANDA AGENTS FOR CAPITALISM

"How many conscientious objectors will there be when the next war comes?" Scott Nearing asked of a group of Chicago teachers.

Speaking on The Plight of the American Teacher, Nearing declared that the educational world is being used as a propaganda agency to maintain the present social order and that the teacher, the outpost of civilization and of thought, has a rare opportunity to develop in the minds of the young people of the United States first, an understanding of the situation, and, second, a willingness to face the music.

"I never advise anyone to get out of teaching voluntarily," he said, "unless family responsibilities make it impossible for him to say what he thinks. Then it is better that he go into a collar factory, where he can be an honest workman, or some other branch of industry. Stay as long as you can stay and be honest."

"But if we stay in the field—the teachers of the social sciences in particular—we owe it to our students, to our communities and to ourselves to take such a stand as Sociates took on similar issues 2300 years ago."

—Scott Nearing.

HOW'S THAT?

James Couzens, millionaire United States senator from Michigan (Newberry's successor) says, "I would rather take the judgment of 40,000 average workmen than the judgment of 40,000 of the biggest business men in the United States."

If he means it he must have a poor opinion of his own class. If he is just kidding he must be one of the vote getters so prominent at Washington these days.

PIE SUPPER COMING

February sixth is *Comrade Meeting*. It will be a typical good time meeting. All grouches, all troubles and all the burdens of life will be checked with the coats and hats. Jokes, smiles and pies are the order of entertainment. Watch for the ad in TRUTH announcing the *Pie Supper*.

Nothing is more simple than greatness; indeed, to be simple is to be great.—Emerson.

BE FEARLESS—Others will confide no less when you are confident of your success: the only obstacle is indecision.—Faust.

"The results of science, in the form of mechanism, poison gas and the yellow press, bids fair to lead to the total downfall of our civilization."—Bertrand Russell.

Real victories can be won only for the right. The triumph of justice is the only peace. Such is the nature of things. He who enslaves another cannot be free. He who attacks the right assaults himself.—Robt. G. Ingersoll.

Says the Duluth News Tribune: "France is entitled to the full sympathy and understanding of America in her present crisis."

Yes, the coal-hoggers here will sympathize fully. They'd have the army, too, if it were necessary, but they get along nicely without.

We deplore the outrages which accompany revolutions. But the more violent the outrages, the more assured we feel that a revolution was necessary. The violence of those outrages will always be proportioned to the ferocity and ignorance of the people; and the ferocity and ignorance of the people will be proportioned to the oppression and degradation under which they have been accustomed to live.
—Thomas Babington Macaulay.