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International Press Correspondence

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Mem-
The Federa

FIVE CENTS

GOV. SMITH PARDONS 4 POLITICAL PRISONERS

Says, "They Are Not Criminals. No Good Can Come from Further Punishment."

ALBANY, N. Y.—"They are not criminals," wrote Gov. Al Smith in pardoning four more of New York state's political prisoners, three of whom would have been released on parole before the end of the year.

The four are Palu Manko, Ignatz Mizher, Mrs. Minnie Kuhn and Mrs. Anna Leisner. The pardons bring the number of such acts by Gov. Smith in the case of political prisoners to five. The fifth was James Larkin, Irish labor leader, organizer of the Irish Transport Workers' union, who had served about half of a five-year sentence under the same law—the New York criminal anarchy law—which was twisted out of all resemblance to its intent to convict them all. In the case of Larkin, Gov. Smith asserted that Larkin was punished for stating his beliefs, and that his "crime" involved no moral turpitude.

"The evidence on which they (the four now pardoned) the governor sets forth in the memorandum accompanying the pardons, 'were convicted is much the same as that urged upon the trial of Larkin. . . . No good can come from their further punishment. . . . They are not criminals, and I can see no useful purpose that will be served by holding them in prison any longer.'"

It is understood that the department of labor at Washington has issued deportation warrants to be served upon three of the four persons now released. The American Civil Liberties union has prepared to contest such proceedings should they be brought.

MICHIGAN ATTORNEY WILL HELP WALSH FREE COMMUNISTS

Detective Openly Tells Supervisors Berrien Co. Will Be Reimbursed From Private Funds.

BENTON HARBOR, Mich.—Turning of public opinion in Michigan in favor of the labor men to be tried for criminal syndicalism was signaled last week by announcement that Humphrey S. Gray will assist Frank P. Walsh in the defense.

Gray is the principal banker and lawyer of Benton Harbor, St. Joseph's sister city. Wm. Z. Foster, C. E. Ruthenberg and 19 others are to stand trial in St. Joe March 5.

The private financing of the prosecution, the profit itch of the Burns detective agency and the violation of civil liberties are exposed by Gray in a letter to the local paper, The News-Palladium. The paper says Gray is "considered one of the city's most influential and wealthiest citizens," and headlines

the story in a six-column streamer, "Attorney Gray Comes to Aid of Reds."

"I feel fundamental principles of our constitutional liberty are threatened and endangered more in the law and in this prosecution," Gray writes, "than in all things ever done by or dreamed against it by the communists."

Referring to the Wm. J. Burns detective agency, Gray charges: "These prosecutions are largely the result of the efforts of a great detective agency, paid largely from private sources, endeavoring to make a favorable showing with their employers. . . . But these detectives also represent our government, the department of justice, where every man should be guarded

Knute Heldner Wins International Honor

Knute Heldner, Duluth's famous artist has won international honor.

At an exhibition of paintings held in Chicago the second week in February by the Swedish club of Chicago, he won the distinction of having painted one of the 28 pictures chosen by the association to send to Sweden to the Gotensburg celebration. One hundred and forty-five paintings by Swedish American artists were placed on exhibition, the culmination of the effort of the Swedish club to promote good feeling between the painters of the two nations. Mr. Heldner's painting was "The Cost of Labor," and was one of the few pictures purchased—for not all 28 were purchased—by the association.

"The Cost of Labor" was declared by a Chicago critic to be the outstanding picture of the exhibition and the subject is of particular interest to local people. Mr. Heldner took one of the open pit mines on the range for the setting for his picture which depicts the tragedy of a fatal accident, the toll of the mines. Although the scene is of death and in that sense is a realistic piece of art, the picture has nothing of sordidness of smallness about it; rather the artist through his genius has transcended the more common aspects of the scene and glorified it to unusual beauty. The painting is well named.

The first prize of the exhibition went to Neuterdaahl, famous for his navy paintings.

Mr. Heldner in connection with Rae Raethel McFadden is conducting the Duluth Academy of Art at 204 West Superior St.

in his right of a fair trial before a jury.

"One of these detectives, an admitted representative of the department of investigation, a part of the department of justice at Washington, goes openly before our board of supervisors and says in effect that Berrien county must pay the expense at first, but that later most of it will be paid back from some unrevealed source, not from congress, but from some private source. This has been restated to our supervisors."

Declaring that he does not agree with the communist position Gray concludes his letter with the assertion: "I am willing to stake my reputation and standing, whatever they may be, to resist the wrongs to which I have referred. We must not arrest for a mere belief, where there is no wrong act or words but meet that belief with argument. We must not permit private funds to initiate or direct criminal prosecution. I am intensely in earnest."

British Explorer Calls Operator Tyrannical

DAWSON MINERS ARE KILLED BY THE HUNDRED, UNDER HIS AUTOCRACY.

CLEVELAND.—W. G. Brennan, the man responsible for the operation of the Phelps-Dodge mines at Dawson, N. Mex., where 122 miners lost their lives Feb. 8 in the second terrible disaster there in recent years, is an autocrat with tyrannical power, declares Carveth Wells, British lecturer and explorer, who stopped in Cleveland on his way back from a western lecture tour.

Wells delivered a lecture at Dawson, and there met Brennan, general manager of the Phelps-Dodge corporation, which owns the town, the homes of the miners, and their jobs. "Brennan is an absolute autocrat," Wells said. "He dictates every business in Dawson. While I

Georgian's Bail Reduced

St. Joseph, Mich. — Judge White reduced the bail of Alexis Georgian, only one of the 22 defendants still in jail, from \$10,000 to \$5,000 and his attorneys announced that it would be obtained immediately. Georgian was arrested in Minneapolis last month and extradited to Michigan.

was at the hotel he ordered steam heat discontinued, and the manager complied. You can't hope to buy anything there if there is a chance that Brennan might want it. I suspect him of dictating the restaurant menus and the selling prices at the stores."

This mining superintendent has no check upon his powers. The workmen in the Phelps-Dodge mines are unorganized, and consist largely of Mexicans, Spaniards and Indians. "Americans are decidedly in the minority," says Wells. The explosion of 1914 killed 263.

FIFTY THREE WAR-OPINION PRISONERS NOW REMAIN

By Defense News Service.

CHICAGO.—Fifty-three war-opinion prisoners now remain in the federal penitentiaries at Leavenworth, Atlanta, and McNeil's Island. Forty-nine of these are members of the I. W. W. There is indication that the government intends to stem the steadily rising tide of agitation for amnesty for the political by releasing all of them.

Lately all the politicals in Leavenworth were summoned one by one to the warden's office, and each was asked: "If you are liberated, will you agree to obey the law in the future?" Seven refused to answer. The others said yes, according to information received here, but insisted that they had always been law-abiding in the past.

Harrison George, who completed a five-year term a few days ago, is in a precarious condition, inasmuch as the prison authorities at Leavenworth, knowing that his tonsils were seriously infected, permitted him to go for months without an essential operation. Meanwhile, the poison from the infection permeated his whole system.

Frederick Esmond, I. W. W. member and Oxford graduate, whose health was broken in jail while awaiting trial at Sacramento, has just been released from St. Elizabeth's hospital in Washington, D. C. on a presidential order. He will be taken now to a Chicago sanatorium in the hope that this will enable him to regain his strength.

Four other I. W. W. members were recently liberated from Leavenworth, subject to deportation in 60 days. They are A. V. Azuara, Charles Lambert, and Sam Scarlett, sentenced to 20 years; and Archie Sinclair, sentenced to 10 years. Azuara is a native of Spain; Lambert and Scarlett are Scotch; and Sinclair is a Canadian.

These four came immediately to Chicago. They found that the General Defense Committee here was in urgent need of money to care for their fellow workers who are coming out of prison, and they drafted an appeal for quick aid, which is being sent out to friends of the committee. They point out that some of the prisoners will leave the penitentiary in bad health, and will require medical attention at once. For instance, Edward Quigley and Caesar Tabib are in critical condition with tuberculosis, the Harding administration having ignored all appeals in their behalf. And those whose health has not broken down will face the difficulties of getting a foothold in the productive world again.

Dan Buckley, another I. W. W. member convicted here in 1918 and sentenced to serve 10 years, also has been liberated on a presidential order.

Bailin Reveals Who Framed the Workers

Burns & Thiel Agencies Employed Him to Write Threatening Letters.

By CARL HAESSLER
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—The dark hand of the Burns detective agency in stirring up fake violence and bogus red scares became more evident according to the testimony under cross examination by the Michigan prosecution of Albert Bailin, defense witness in deposition hearings for the 21 labor men involved in the Michigan red raids of Aug. 21, 1922.

The hand took on flesh and body when Allen O. Meyers, New York manager of the Burns agency, suddenly appeared at the hearing to confront Bailin and denounce the renegade stool pigeon as a liar. The dramatic meeting was spoiled because Meyers had timed his appearance too soon. He is to testify later.

Meyers refused to be interviewed, saying he would give all his evidence on the witness stand under examination by Frank P. Walsh, defense council. Meyers seems to be a man of about 40, stylishly, even flashily dressed, and giving the impression of a hardfaced man of business combined with that of a sporting man. He is believed to know more about the Michigan red raid, which he engineered, than he will care to tell.

Meyers figured in Bailin's testimony again when Bailin was cross examined on his connection with the Burns agency especially at the time of Bailin's arrest in the fall of 1920 for sending a threatening letter through the mails, at the direction, Bailin said, of the Burns agency with the object of getting the rich to contribute more money for the drive against "dangerous radicals."

Fifteen minutes after his arrest in New York Bailin declared, Meyers was down to see him promising to take care of him. "Tell the truth," Meyers advised Bailin in a loud voice, but then whispered quietly so that no one else could hear, "Keep your mouth shut and deny everything." Meyers also gave him \$5. Bailin testified. Efforts to get bail were declined by Bailin in spite of Meyers' alleged offer to fix it up direct with Atty. Gen. Palmer. Bail was reduced by the court and procured by Bailin's relatives after Asst. U. S. Dist. Atty. Matthews had told Judge Knox that the private detective agencies were interested in keeping the kettle boiling in the campaign against the reds.

In several clashes between Bailin and the Michigan cross examiners Bailin emerged victorious on issues of fact. Meyers had evidently brought important documents including original reports by Bailin to Burns from the Burns files for the use of the prosecution and Bailin cleverly used these to vindicate his memory against other documents produced against him.

In a statement to the press Bailin declares that he worked for the

department of justice while still an alien three years before he was naturalized in 1920. He denies that he was ever employed by any radical organization to spy on the detective agencies for which he worked. He further denies he ever gave out any information to radicals or others while he was employed by the Burns agency, the Thiel agency or by the government. He challenges Jake Spolansky, Chicago man of the department of justice, whom he accused of selling government reports to the Thiel agency, to a day in court. He admits that he mailed the threatening letters which led to his indictment but states that he did so under orders from the Burns and Thiel agencies, his employers at the time, and for no other reason. The government asked for a continuance when the case was set for trial over two years ago and the matter has been allowed to sleep.

"Burns is too seriously implicated to allow the case to get into open court," Bailin declares.

JUSTICE FOR POOR

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—Arobie Williams, a cripple, has been sentenced to one year in the penitentiary for the theft of 2 cents. He was indicted for first degree robbery, under which the sentence would have been much more severe, but Judge William L. Barnum permitted him to plead guilty to the lesser charge.

Don't get all puffed up if people usually remember you; there are some faces that just can't be forgotten.

Packers Get Alaska's Fish Resources In Secret Deal

WASHINGTON.—The Chicago packers are now engaged in excluding small fishermen from the reserves granted to them early last year by President Harding, in the heart of the Alaska fisheries. The last of Alaska's resources, heretofore providing an independent living for 15,000 Alaskans, have been turned over to the packers, according to Dan A. Sutherland, delegate in congress from the territory of Alaska.

Delegate Sutherland lays responsibility for this action at the door of President Harding, who created two fishing "reserves" early last year in the heart of the Alaska fisheries, and to Secretary of Commerce Hoover, who has backed up the bureau of fisheries in subsequently throwing the reserves open to private exploitation by the packing interests.

Salmon fishing is the chief industry of the Territory of Alaska and the people of the coast towns, according to Delegate Sutherland, will now become the tenant fishermen of the packers.

He filed a letter with the bureau of fisheries here this week from Indians in the territory, stating that women and children are starving and the bread-winners are without work because the packers have driven the people from President Harding's "reserves."

The two principal beneficiaries of the "grab" are Libby, McNeal & Libby, a subsidiary of Swift & Co., Chicago, and the Alaska Packers' Association, which work together in Alaska as the "Red Fish Trust."

The controversy over the fisheries centers about the mouth of the Karluk River, for its size the greatest salmon-producing stream in the world.

Delegate Sutherland has just received a telegram from two young Norwegians in Alaska, who served under the American flag during the late war, complaining that they have been excluded from these fishing grounds, where they pursued their calling last year. The

packers have forbidden them to drop their nets anywhere in the vicinity.

The great packing interests which are driving these ex-service men and their fellows from the sea, with the support of the United States bureau of fisheries, had an unsavory record during the late war, according to Delegate Sutherland.

"The record shows," he declares in a letter to the bureau, "that during the late war when the people of the United States generally were devoting their efforts, their money and their lives to winning the war, the principal beneficiaries of this fishery reservation system were canning and selling to the United States Army decomposed, putrid fish. This was done in cold-blooded greed to the extent of approximately 5,000,000 cans, enough to have sickened all the American forces under arms had not the bureau of chemistry discovered the condition."

Delegate Sutherland quotes from the report of the Graham committee, which investigated war frauds, and then concluded: "Especially we condemn those cannery men who were guilty of supplying poisonous food for the use of our soldiers as greater enemies to our country than the enemies against whom our soldiers were fighting."

In a letter to Assistant Secretary Houston of the Department of Commerce, Delegate Sutherland reviews the Alaska fisheries "grab" as follows:

"You and Secretary Hoover insist that your purpose is to preserve the salmon fisheries, and there is no discussion between us on that point. My contention is that by your methods of administration you are only preserving the red salmon of Alaska for the Fish Trust, or, in other words, your first consideration is the welfare of the Chicago-San Francisco packers, and the welfare of the fishing population of the Alaskan coast is a negligible matter. Property rights have first consideration with you and human rights are entirely disregarded."

"Why should not the rights of the humblest fisherman be a subject for your paternal care just as much as or even more than the dividend earning privileges of the Fish Trust?" asks Mr. Sutherland.

"What I am trying to have you and Secretary Hoover comprehend," he adds, "is that in your administration of Alaska fisheries you are taking away from the poorer classes their rights of fishery which were established by Magna Charta, and by our Constitution, as repeatedly expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States."

Delegate Sutherland points out that Great Britain and all European countries which have preserved their fisheries have regarded private fishing rights as sacred and have excluded "traps" and monopolies by stringent regulations.

Judge James Wickersham of Juneau, delegate from the territory for 12 years and one of the most distinguished residents of Alaska, has just written Delegate Sutherland:

"We are very much interested out here in the present effort of the Secretary of Commerce and the bureau of fisheries to put the worst features of the old Alexander bill into effect in the territory through the power of the President to make reservations."

"Congress persistently refused for several years to do this extraordinary thing, but it is now being done in spite of Congress under executive authority. It results in a complete monopoly of the fisheries of Alaska in the hands of a few corporations, to the great harm of Alaska and to the destruction of our settled fishing population. Still, Alaska is only a red-headed stepchild, and the older children want its estate, and they can only get it by stealing."

The executive order of President Harding, setting aside the Alaska fisheries for exploitation by the packers, was made in secret, like the Teapot Dome oil reserve lease to the Sinclair interests.

AN AMERICAN DREYFUS CASE

DAUGHERTY-BURNS CRAFTILY PERSECUTE ROSENBLUTH.

By HARRY GODFREY
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

NEW YORK.—Robert Rosenbluth, former army captain, cannot be extradited by the department of justice to face trial in Washington for the alleged murder of Maj. Alexander Cronkhite at Camp Lewis in October, 1918. Rosenbluth has been freed and his \$40,000 bail discharged here by United States Commissioner Hitchcock. The commissioner declared that the federal grand jury in Washington which indicted Rosenbluth had no jurisdiction, inasmuch as the death of Maj. Cronkhite occurred on property which was not then owned by the government.

This technicality is all that stood between Rosenbluth and a continuance of a persecution by the department of justice which has become so rank it promised to develop an American Dreyfus case. The history of the case, told by The Federated Press at various stages of the (Continued on page 3)

Aftermath of the Coal Strike

NOTE.—On a visit to the Fayette County, Pennsylvania, soft coal fields Tom Tippet found extreme discouragement and discontent with the miners' union among the heroic strikers. They had left their nonunion jobs almost a year ago and joined the national strike of the union. Their loyalty was a principal factor in the union victory last August. But they did not share in its fruits and are now suffering the privations of cold and hunger as evicted miners without a job. Tippet explains the situation.

By TOM TIPPETT
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

NEW SALEM, Pa.—Van A. Bittner, representing the international executive board, United Mine Workers of America, together with Wm. Feeney, international organizer, and Wm. Hynes, subdistrict board member, have put into effect the decision of the international board, calling off the coke region strike in Fayette county, Pennsylvania. This was done at a delegate meeting of the striking local unions here Jan. 19, 1923. The strike, which at first involved 45,000 coal diggers in this field, had been in effect since the national coal strike called April 1, 1922. The Fayette county field had been under the control of the international organization pending the reorganization of District No. 4, which collapsed with the strike of 1910.

The Executive board of District No. 2 decided, however, Jan. 26, to continue their strike in the nearby Somerset field, called at the same time as the one in Fayette county and maintained under similar conditions. There has arisen here among the Fayette miners and their sympathizers a resentment against the union, which, if not satisfactorily explained, will prevent organization of the coke mines for years to come.

The coal operators on their part are refusing reemployment to the strikers who apply to their mines for work. Hundreds of families are in dire need of food and clothing. Thousands of little children shiver in their tent or barrack homes, caught in the grip of the steel trust, and neglected by an uncomprehending labor movement in the world outside.

Their story deserves telling, which accounts for this article, put down as it was gathered in the strike zone among the sufferers.

The Surprise of the Strike.

The one surprise in the great 1922 coal strike was the response to the national call by the non-union coal diggers of the country who downed tools and joined the strike. Unorganized miners everywhere heeded the call, but nowhere with so much unanimity as in the Pennsylvania fields. For the first part these were employed in the mines owned or controlled by the steel trust or the Rockefeller interests, whose labor record is well known.

The strategic points in the Pennsylvania strike (bituminous field) crystallized in the Somerset field and in the coke region in Fayette county. The mines in the Somerset field are owned largely by the Consolidation Coal Co., a Rockefeller concern. The workers in these mines, who struck last April and joined the miners' union, came under the jurisdiction of District No. 2, headed by John Brophy, with offices in Cleveland.

The Fayette county mines in the coke region, 40 miles away, belong to the H. C. Frick Coal & Coke Co., and like all other steel interests it has kept its grip on the workers in its mines for the last 20 years. When the miners struck there was no district organization functioning to direct them. Wm. Feeney, an international organizer, in cooperation with the executives of District No. 5, in the Pittsburgh field, took charge of the strike, pending the reorganization of District No. 4 for the coke region.

Thousands Join Union
In the Somerset field 18,000 unorganized men struck and joined the union April 1. In Fayette county 45,000 did likewise. Before the strike the Pittsburgh district had a membership of 45,000; District No. 2 in the Somerset region had 43,000 members.

Working condition in Fayette county at the time of the strike were akin to those which obtain in nonunion mines in West Virginia. They worked until the coke ovens

were full, regardless of the length of the shifts. They were paid by the car, not by weight. The mine cars were supposed to hold three tons, and for this amount the digger was paid from 66 to 75 cents. This was the rate for machine work. The solid work rate was \$1.19 for three tons. All other nonunion conditions prevailed, including the company-owned stores and houses.

Company scrip was not used (the company boasts of this), but orders on the company store were given between paydays. The miners could spend their cash wages, left after the company check-off had been applied, where they pleased, with the tacit understanding that if they did not spend it at the company store they would be discharged from the company's employment.

In Somerset the conditions were nearly as bad. A typical example of the situation before April 1 in this field can be seen in an incident related to the writer by Power Hapgood, now in charge of a part of the Somerset strike. Hapgood applied for work at Vintondale, a camp that is now on strike, in March. When he alighted from the train a mounted policeman demanded his business and then directed him to the company offices with instructions to "come back here" after he had applied for work. He was about to be given a job when he asked what the rate for dead work was. For daring to ask whether or not that kind of work was paid for (every union mine has a scale for this work), he was summarily ordered out of the office and driven out of town by the officer on horseback.

All attempts in the past had failed to organize these men, but when the call came in April, with "every coal miner in the country" to back them up, they responded in droves. Thousands of them had to wait from one to three weeks to receive the union obligations from the overworked union organizers.

All the methods of opposition, commonly used by bosses in labor disputes, were employed against the new recruits to unionism. In the Fayette field 4000 families had their belongings thrown out of the company-owned houses. Women and children were grossly insulted by company thugs. Many were beaten and thrown into jail. There is no pity shown women and children by coal barons in this region. Five strikers have been murdered and their murderers allowed to go free by company-owned courts.

No Gainer Bunch Ever Lived.

There is no charge made here from any source against the strikers for violence. He part they played in winning the strike for the miners' union by told in their organizer, Wm. Feeney, in a printed statement in October, 1922 (after the signing of the Cleveland agreement). It says in part:

"When the history of the great coal strike of 1922 is fairly written there will be outstanding one of the greatest elements that contributed toward bringing together the warring factions, and that will be the tenacious struggle that has been going on in the Connellsville coke region.

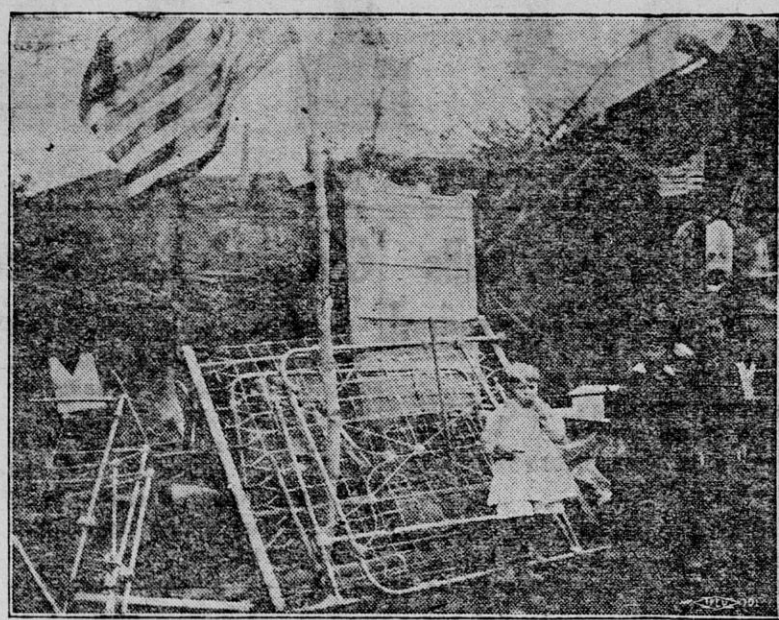
"No other factor aided so much in the victory of the miners as did the 50,000 nonunion miners who laid down their tools, joined the United Mine Workers of America and steadfastly refused to be coerced into accepting a few crumbs from the hands of those who for years had owned them body and soul."

At the same time (October), a subdistrict board member, Wm. Hynes, said also in a statement to the labor press:

"The sixth month of the great coal strike in the Connellsville coke region finds the miners standing solid, but fighting with their backs to the wall and with a spirit that can never be broken and must be seen to be appreciated.

"More than 30,000 of these miners marched in the Labor day parade, Sept. 4, in Uniontown, county seat of Fayette county, where for 30 years there was never a meeting of union miners previous to April 1, 1922.

"On April 1, 1922, the miners of the coke region, 45,000 strong, laid down their tools with their fellow miners and joined the U. M. W. A. About 4000 families have been evicted and these miners bought



Evicted from a company-owned house. With 4000 others this family is spending the Pennsylvania winter in tents and shacks.

their own tents. Men have been killed and jailed and mistreated.

"As I write this, their furniture is piled on the fields all over Fayette county. They are sleeping out tonight with their families with the sky for a roof in this rich coal field where they have worked for 30 years to make millionaires and produced the coal that made industrial civilization possible.

"No gamer or nobler bunch of men ever lived. Their strike saved this union beyond the shadows of a doubt. They have paid their debt."

What the Union Did For Them.

So much for the admitted contribution of these strikers to the national strike victory. What the union has done for them is being debated throughout the country.

The unorganized miners responded to the strike call sent out by the miners' union because they believed that a strike, national in scope, would entail a national settlement. This was not the position of the union. This article deals with the aftermath of the strike as it affects the Fayette county, Pennsylvania coal diggers who struck with the union miners, but who were not included in the strike settlement.

During the strike union representatives spoke to the effect that "no strike settlement will be made that does not take in the coke region." Union organizers usually promise more than they can produce to keep up the morale of the strikers.

The Pittsburgh Coal Co., reported to be the largest coal producer in the world, is the dominant operator group in District No. 5. This company was not a party to the Cleveland agreement made Aug. 15, and did not sign with the miners until after an unsuccessful attempt to operate one of its mines, known as Montour mine No. 4 at Laurence, 17 miles out of Pittsburgh.

An American flag was set up as part of the open shop plan by which the mine was to be operated. Machine guns and armed guards were established and a call sent out for miners. The coal diggers responded in droves from all over the state. They marched to the mine, saluted the flag and marched away, every man of them. Now pep came into the coke region but not for long.

The Pittsburgh operators signed a contract with District No. 5 Aug. 28. This agreement did not include the Fayette county miners and made it plain to them that they were not to be included in a general settlement. The Somerset county strike was still on, however, and the international union collected a \$4 assessment to be used, in part, for the benefit of the strikers. The assessment was collected in November and December. December was the ninth month of the Fayette county strike.

Fayette's Wounds Will Heal Slowly.
Discouragement turned into resentment when the strikers were notified Jan. 19 that their strike had been called off by the international executive board during the week of Jan. 8. Protest meetings were called. Truths and half-truths, coupled with rumors and falsehoods were hurled into the assembly of enraged men. I was present at one such meeting in New Salem Jan. 27. The dominant press did not overlook this opportunity to further alienate these men from the cause of unionism. Its stories in bold headlines pointed a "sell out" and said that the union had left the coke region strikers "holding the bag," etc. Hundreds of these papers were in evidence at the meeting which continued in session until night. It was explained that there was no dinner to be had, hence no adjournment was necessary.

Calling off the strike has made no difference in the status of the workers. They are still without jobs, still living in tents and barracks

and are still in great need of assistance. They decided at a delegate meeting to return to work, to press no demands but merely seek their old places in the mines. They were ordered out of the company office and told to "go to the union for work."

When the strike was called off they were told by international representatives that it was done because the union was unable to finance them any longer. They have received benefits since the strike was ended but a union that could not finance their strike will be unable to support the lookout.

There is no strike assessment in effect to finance these workers. The Pittsburgh Miners' relief, an organization created at a conference of trade unions, fraternal and working class political organizations, is still collecting funds for the coke region but with a strike publicly called off interest dies.

In the Somerset field, District No. 2 is maintaining the strike with a district assessment of \$1 per man per week. When the Somerset strike is called off it will be by referendum vote of the membership.

Some strikes must be lost. In industrial war, as in every kind of war, someone pays, but the wounds in Fayette county will heal slowly. The owners of the great steel mills that flare and roar in constant operation between the coke region and Pittsburgh have won again. The coal barges that have floated uninterruptedly down the Monongahela river from the steel trust mines to the mills in every other coal strike, are not likely to be stopped again for many years.

The Fayette county strikers believe that the 1922 coal strike settlement was a victory for the previously organized miners and that it was made so by reason of their own defeat. They are mistaken about that. The defeat in Fayette county is defeat for every coal digger in the union for, until unorganized miners in Pennsylvania and West Virginia are unionized the United Mine Workers of America is not secure.

Packages to Russia Sent Thru F. S. R.

NEW YORK.—Beginning Feb. 15, a package service to Russia will be started by the Friends of Soviet Russia, 201 W. 13th St., New York city, which will enable individuals and organizations to send food and clothing to the Workers' republic. Arrangements for the transmission of such packages have been completed by the International Workers' aid, of which the Friends of Soviet Russia is the American branch.

Safe and speedy delivery is assured by the Workers' Aid representatives in Moscow, who will supervise the work.

The plans now perfected were held up for several months, during which final guarantees of co-operation were obtained from the Russian government authorities.

A fee is to be charged for sending packages, but it is announced that the amount will be only enough to cover the actual costs of the service. Should a surplus accumulate at any time, it will be applied to Russian relief. Detailed financial statements showing the amounts received and expended in the package service will be published regularly.

Several limitations and restrictions will be enforced. The primary one is that food and clothing sent to Russia must be for private use and not for sale. Second, it must be from individuals to individuals, or from organizations to organizations.

France is urging Germany to say it with coal.—Boston Transcript.

COAL OWNERS MAKE FORTUNES; CONSUMERS PAY STRIKE COSTS

(LELAND OLDS—Federated Press)

Coal operators used the coal strike as a means to increasing their profits. During 1922 production of bituminous coal almost exactly equaled the production of 1921. But the coal producing corporations received 40% more for their product. In round numbers mine owners profited by the strike to the extent of \$400,000,000.

These statements are based on figures compiled by Coal Age, one of the authoritative journals of the industry. These figures show production and average mine price week by week. According to these figures the bituminous coal mines of the country produced 399,505,000 tons during the first 51 weeks of 1921. At the average mine price the owners received for this product approximately \$1,018,000,000. During the same period in 1922 the mines produced 397,634,000 tons which sold approximately \$1,429,000,000.

The figures for 1922, in condensed form, appear in the following table:

	Tons produced during weeks ending in mo.	Average mine price	Total mine receipts \$
January	34,180,000	\$2.25	\$76,900,000
February	40,710,000	2.20	89,600,000
March	43,934,000	2.12	93,200,000
April	25,710,000	2.27	58,400,000
May	17,967,000	3.22	57,900,000
June	20,128,000	3.32	66,800,000
July	20,671,000	4.58	94,700,000
August	20,264,000	6.14	124,400,000
September	47,456,000	5.02	238,300,000
October	40,907,000	4.37	178,800,000
November	43,128,000	4.12	177,700,000
December	42,579,000	4.04	172,000,000
Total	397,634,000		\$1,428,700,000

* Calculation to nearest \$100,000.
* First four weeks.

The drop in total mine receipts as a result of the strike was nowhere near as sharp as the drop in production. By July increase in price per ton had more than compensated for the decrease in production. Thus, although the tonnage produced in July and August was about half that produced in the months immediately preceding the strike, the mine receipts were considerably larger. Peak prices prevailed during the last weeks of July when the average mine price touched \$6.73.

The extra \$400,000,000, won by the mine owners as a result of the strike meant even more to the consumer's pocketbook. As a result of the regular practice by which dealers establish their prices on the basis of the total price, such an increase in mine price is pyramided. In this instance consumers probably paid an increase of not less than \$600,000,000 or at the rate of \$1.50 per ton.

If the strike had actually materially reduced the annual output, mine owners might have found some justification for this increase in mine prices on the basis of the necessity of spreading overhead costs over a smaller output. But the output during 1922 was so nearly identical with that of the previous year that the prices must appear as a plain instance of charging what the traffic would bear. Of course, it might be urged that this \$400,000,000 represents the cost of attempting to break the strike. In such case the public will certainly protest shouldering so great a burden in a case where the mine workers had the approval of public opinion. It is intolerable that employers actuated by a bitter animus against organized labor should forever be allowed to pass the cost of their gift on to the public.

A situation in which an industry which regularly operates on a part time basis can materially increase its profits by precipitating a strike is certainly contrary to public interest. Yet that is what mine owners appear to have done. They assumed an arbitrary attitude with the knowledge that they not only had nothing to lose but that they would actually gain.

It is worth noting, by the way, that on the basis of the average wage cost in Pennsylvania fields producing 25% of the total tonnage, the total wage cost of 1922 production could not have materially exceeded \$700,000,000, less than half the mine price of the product.

Judge Dowling Says, "This Is America, Not Czarist Russia"

PROVES IT BY SETTING I. W. W. FREE.

NEW ORLEANS.—Ruling that the lower judge could not get away with czarlike actions in America, Judge Richard A. Dowling of the Louisiana court of appeals set Nestor Calle, I. W. W. organizer free, Calle had been convicted of vagrancy, although he was in the regular paid employ of the I. W. W.

"Judge Leininger's action was czarism," declared Judge Dowling. "He cannot get away with that before me. This is America, not czarist Russia. A man has a right to say what he thinks and to belong to the I. W. W. if he wishes to. As long as I am on the bench I will see that he is protected in that right."

Another complaint against Judge Leininger is made by James McCallister, an I. W. W. organizer, who was arrested Feb. 5 on the Girod St. landing.

McCallister was charged with loitering. The case was tried before Leininger. McCallister was fined \$25 or 30 days.

The literature taken from McCallister was material admitted to the United States mails, his credentials as an I. W. W. organizer and his I. W. W. membership book, he claims.

BERLIN.—The idea of industrial unionism is having hard sledding among the building trades. For some months a project has been fostered by the largest of the groups, the Bauarbeiterverband (building workers' federation) for amalgamating in one organization all manual and brain workers engaged in the manufacture of building materials as well as with construction. The Bauarbeiterverband was itself an amalgamation of the masons and the construction workers.

The first group to be invited, the

architects, engineers, etc., declined. The carpenters also voted to stick to their own organization. In the tilters' union the general executive board favored amalgamation, but a referendum among the membership was hostile. Next the factory workers' federation started trouble when the proposal was advanced that the organized workers in the brick and cement factories be joined to the building trades federation. Jan. 1 was intended for the date of amalgamation. When the time came only two unions were ready to affiliate with the original two—the pottery and the glass workers.

HOWAT'S FRIENDS PAY \$500 FINE

GIRARD, Kan.—Though the sentence of Alexander Howat, former president, Dist. 14, U. M. W. A., was commuted by Gov. Davis, Judge Boss, an Allen man, who had Howat recommitted to jail on an unexpired sentence after he had been released in another county, refused to release Howat until a fine of \$500 was paid. The fine was promptly paid by Howat's friends and the former miners' chief walked victoriously from the jail, where he has resided for nearly a year for calling strikes in violation of the industrial court law.

It might be a good idea to change the name of Mer Rouge to Chaos—or, let us say, K-K-K-os.—Philadelphia Record.

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HAWAII--A REVOLUTION TO ORDER

Sugar Men Wanted to Get Control of Best Sugar-cane Soil in World.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the sixteenth 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 prevents using the complete chapter about Hawaii.)

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

During the years of my acquaintance with American life, I have seen the center of power move from Washington to Wall Street. When I first entered the Senate they talked of the "invisible empire of business." During the nineties that empire ceased to be invisible—it came out in the open, and through its representatives and attorneys on the floor of the Senate and the House it fought its battles for privilege and plunder—fought men and won them.

From 1870 the business interests of the United States were busy building railroads, opening mines and establishing factories. Even as late as the nineties there were only a few of the business groups that were looking outside the country for a chance to exploit and rob. Among these few were the sugar men.

SUGAR MEN EXPLOIT OUTSIDE U. S.

The United States has never provided its own sugar supply. The sugar business is a profitable one, however, and the American business men made up their minds that if profits were to be made in sugar they might as well have them.

The fight turned on Hawaii. The Hawaiian Islands have a climate well adapted to sugar-growing and the soil, a deep volcanic ash over-lying boulders, is the best sugar-cane soil in the world. In Hawaii they raise eight tons of sugar to the acre. Hawaii was owned by foreign capitalists among whom the Americans were the largest single holders.

I had an investigation made when I was in Hawaii of the books of the interior department, for their law required that every sugar corporation should file a report giving the names of the stockholders. All of the corporations did not comply with the law, but several did comply. I had their reports studied and from them it appeared that the holdings in sugar corporations, arranged by nationality, were: American, \$3,225,750; British, \$1,642,350; Hawaiian, \$792,000; German, \$458,700; and Portuguese, \$1,200, making a total of \$6,120,000. In short, more than half of the sugar plantation values were American owned.

The estimates of taxable property in the islands showed that the Hawaiians, who numbered together 29,504 individuals, owned taxable property to the amount of \$8,101,701, while the American, British and Germans, 6,768 in number, owned taxable property to the amount of \$26,701,908. The "foreigners," while numbering only one-seventh of the taxpayers, owned more than three-quarters of the taxable wealth in the islands.

SUGAR INTERESTS WANTED REVOLUTION.

Foreign economic interests on the islands were paramount, and it was these interests that fostered the Revolution of 1893. . . . The United States Minister, a resident at Honolulu, entered into a conspiracy with a few business men and their representatives for the purpose of overthrowing the native government, and deposing the reigning queen. As a part of this conspiracy, the United States Minister used American Marines to protect the conspirators while they organized a government, which was immediately recognized by the United States Minister. A treaty, based on this disgraceful incident, was sent to the Senate of the United States for ratification on the recommendation of President Harrison, and was reported favorably by the Committee on Foreign Relations.

There is no longer any dispute over the material facts of the Hawaiian Revolution.

What were the essential facts behind the revolution that led the United States to make its first annexation of non-continental territory. There is no longer any serious dispute concerning them.

George W. Merrill, who was our Minister to Hawaii, wrote Mr. Secretary Blaine, September 7, 1889, as follows:

"It is also noticeable that among the American residents here there are several who, from personal motives, contemplate with satisfaction periodical disquietude in this kingdom, hoping that frequent revolutionary epochs will force the United States Government to make this group a part of its territory and to absorb into its body politic this heterogeneous population of 80,000, consisting of Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, native Hawaiians, half castes, and only about 5,000 of those who may be properly denominated the white race.

LIES TOLD CAUSE TURMOIL.

"In order to keep affairs in as much turmoil as possible, baseless rumors are constantly put in circulation, many of which find publication in other countries."

LIONIZED CANADIAN FIGHTER LEARNS BITTER LESSONS

He Knows Now That Commercial Rivalries Cause War.—Admires Debs' Courage and Sincerity.

By C. A. MOSELEY
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

CHICAGO. — Private Peats is fighting again. But this time with his eyes open.

A clean-cut, snappy-eyed young fellow, in a lounging robe, greeted me in his room at the Congress hotel. It was Harold ("Private") Peats, the young Canadian fighter who was lionized by our jingoes during the war, when he was a recruiting agency par excellence. But it was a greatly changed Peats whom I met.

"I was sincere then, and I am sincere now," he said. "All I wrote about the war was true as to its facts. Since then I have traveled for five years and now I look below the surface of things."

"I was a youngster at the time of the war," he continued, "and with what we were taught in our text books and with all the propaganda that was put out, why, hell's bells, man, I would have fought anything or anybody."

Peats is now working to oppose future wars. While agreeing that the causes of war are economic, he looks to salvation through getting control of the minds of the young,

revising our text books to rid them of their glorification of combat, and creating a psychology in the next generation that shall prevent armed conflict.

"Teach them," he said, "that for every Victoria cross there are 10,000 wooden crosses on graves. Our text books create national egotisms, each people being taught that it can lick any other nation. I want 10,000 evangelists of peace, with a training school to educate them as we train men for the ministry. Then I would turn them loose all over the world."

His travels have taken him to many lands. "I spent three weeks in Russia," he said, "surely not a long time, but long enough to convince me that the men in charge of the government there are sincere."

Of the governmental experiments in Australia he spoke with admiration. "What impressed me most there," he said, "were the 'do-mains'—public commons in all cities where absolutely free speech prevailed."

When asked if he addressed labor organizations, he smiled and said frankly: "I am not sure that I would be welcome; they must know my past record. Besides, it would

This was from our minister who was superseded shortly afterward by Mr. Stevens. Mr. Stevens was appointed minister in October, 1889. Harrison had been elected President. One of the issues of the campaign was free sugar. The McKinley Act became a law August 27, 1890. On August 20, 1891, Mr. Stevens wrote to Mr. Blaine as follows:

MINISTER STEVENS ASKS FOR WARSHIP.

"The probabilities strongly favor the presumption that a United States warship will not be pressing necessary in the two or three immediate months. But as early as the first of December, without fail, the month preceding the election, and for some time thereafter, there should be a United States vessel here to render things secure. . . . There are increasing indications that the annexation sentiment is growing among the business men. The present political situation is feverish, and I see no prospect of its being permanently otherwise until these islands become a part of the American Union or a possession of Great Britain."

Here, then, is our minister, accredited to a friendly government, contemplating the destruction of that government and the annexation of its territory. Further on, in his next dispatch, he asked the State Department to keep secret his statement in regard to the overthrow of that government; and he says in the dispatch that it would be uncomfortable for him if the facts were known in Hawaii.

OVERTHROW GOVERNMENT.

The American Minister had been converted into an advocate of the overthrow of the friendly government to which he was sent; and what was done by these conspirators, few in number, having vast wealth—fortunes made absolutely out of the people of the United States in the profit upon sugar? The American Minister having been secured, the next step was to find an excuse for overthrowing the existing government.

On the 14th of January, 1893, being Saturday, the Queen took steps to promulgate a new constitution. Petitions had been received by her signed by two-thirds of all the voters of the island, protesting against the Constitution of 1887 and asking that a new one be promulgated. The Constitution of 1887 deprived a large per cent of her people of the right to vote for members of the Senate or any voice in the government. The Constitution left the control of the country in the hands of the foreign business men and the people resented it.

Immediately on the proposition being made to adopt a new Constitution, nine business men had a meeting.

After the meeting, Smith went to see the American Minister and arranged with him as to what should be done if Smith and his conspirators were arrested. He secured the required assurances and the call for troops was issued.

These conspirators then held a public meeting and Thurston made some lurid remarks—talked about freedom, etc., and about liberty and tyrannical government.

Troops were landed from the United States gunboat in the harbor, and distributed. . . .

Without a single armed man they proceeded to the government building and, in front of it, within seventy-five yards of the 150 marines landed from the United States vessel, they proceeded to read the proclamation declaring that they were the government.

The proclamation having been read at the government building, guarded by United States troops, the United States Minister proceeded at once to recognize the new government. They had not an armed man—they had proceeded to the government building where there were clerks and officers of the Hawaiian Government, with not even a policeman present. They stood up in front of that building within seventy-five yards of the Gatling guns of the marines from an American battleship, and read a paper declaring that they were the government. Three-quarters of a mile away the Queen had five hundred men under arms and, without waiting, the moment they read the proclamation our minister recognized these thirteen men as the government of Hawaii—without any armed forces whatever, knowing the precedents followed by all civilized nations, and he undertook to falsify the facts.

FALSIFIED THE FACTS.

He claimed that he recognized the government after the Queen had surrendered—after the old government had given up—after she had abdicated and said that she would submit her case to Washington. An investigation of the facts proved that this statement is false.

They put into the constitution a provision for a union, commercial or political, with the United States. Did that come from the people? They had no voice in it. The constitution was not endorsed by the people or submitted to the people. After this self-constituted convention had adopted its constitution, it declared the document the constitution of the Republic of Hawaii, and never submitted it to a vote at all. And yet it was from this gang of sugar-raising conspirators that we took the islands.

ANNEXATION BIG BUSINESS VICTORY.

The annexation of Hawaii was the first big victory won by the business interests in their campaign to plunder outside of the United States. It was the precedent that they needed—the precedent that made easy the annexation of Porto Rico, the Platt Amendment to the Cuban Treaty, the conquest of the Philippines and the other imperialistic infamies that have sullied the good name of the United States during the past twenty years.

be carrying coals to Newcastle, for they are already well committed to peace." Then he added with a grin: "Why, the other day, someone asked me if I would dare speak in Milwaukee."

As I was leaving him, I said: "Why don't you go to Terre Haute and see Debs?"

He thought a moment and replied: "I should really like to. During the war I used to think how ashamed the men who opposed war would be in later years. But what a change in public sentiment toward them! I admire Debs for his sincerity and courage."

The interview was interrupted by numerous telephone calls. "It is the women who are the ardent advocates of peace," he said, after talking with a woman over the phone, "and I speak before church gatherings. Yes, I even get applause from some chambers of commerce. There are rich men in these days who are beginning to see the evils of war, and I tell them frankly that wars are caused by commercial rivalries."

AN AMERICAN DREYFUS CASE

(Continued from page 1)

Daugherty-Burns persecution, is a record of persistent hounding, coercion and vengefulness seldom if ever paralleled in American army annals.

Maj. Cronkhite died from a revolver bullet inflicted while at target practice at Camp Lewis. Rosenbluth was arrested, charged with

having instigated the "murder," early in 1921. The arrest was based on a number of alleged confessions by a former sergeant, Roland F. Pothier. Later Pothier declared he was beaten by department of justice agents to force him to sign the "confessions."

Meantime an army investigating board found that Maj. Cronkhite died from a bullet wound inflicted, probably accidentally, by his own pistol. Still another army investigating board completely exonerated Rosenbluth, and the Seattle prosecutor, who made an investigation, declared a great injustice had been done Rosenbluth. Then the department of justice released Rosenbluth, on the ground that it had no jurisdiction.

But then Atty. Gen. Daugherty found himself facing charges of persecution. A United States senator and congressman had interested themselves in the case. Daugherty made a crafty move. He took the Cronkhite case again before a federal grand jury in Washington, ignored Rosenbluth's offer to go before the grand jury and to waive immunity, and secured his indictment on a charge of murder.

By this time Rosenbluth was convinced that Daugherty and his head-hunter, W. J. Burns, would stop at nothing to railroad him to the gallows, and he fought extradition. United States Commissioner Hitchcock, who has decided in favor of Rosenbluth, declared he was convinced of Rosenbluth's innocence and that the case should be thrown out.

Toward the close of the proceedings before the commission, he

the department of justice officials got so nervous lest it become generally known as another Dreyfus case that they took it locally out of the hands of the assistant district attorney who had been handling it and placed it in charge of two other assistants, at the same time taking pains to inform the newspapers that the newly-assigned prosecutors were Jewish!

Congressional Record Contains a Truthful Epitaph on Palmerism

HOUNDING OF ALIENS AND LABOR CALLED "UNMITIGATED OUTRAGE."

By PAUL HANNA
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Upon the political tombstone of A. Palmer Mitchell and the political liberties which that ex-attorney general slew while in office, a subcommittee of the senate has carved a truthful epitaph at last.

"An unmitigated outrage," is what the investigators report of Palmer's illegal hounding of alien and other friends of labor during the fabricated red terror of 1919 and 1920 in the United States.

Sen. Walsh, Montana, is chairman of the subcommittee which makes this finding. His views are concurred in by Borah, Norris and Ashurst. Their report contains tens of thousands of words and is printed in the Congressional Record of Feb. 5.

A few excerpts from this sober and exhaustive document, read as follows:

"The total number of 'red' arrests exceeded 10,000. . . . The essential lawlessness of the proceedings is beyond question. . . . Multitudes were arrested for whom no warrants were out. The instructions contemplated that they were to be so."

"Evidence shows that dozens of warrants were not even signed and were unworn."

"Anyone who challenged the proceedings, either from a legal or humanitarian standpoint, laid himself open to the suspicion of being to some extent a 'red.' As a matter of fact the great majority of those arrested, yea, even of those ordered deported, were perfectly harmless, deluded individuals, many of them unable to speak a word of English, with little or no comprehension of the principles or the purposes of the political party which . . . made them offenders against the law but not the spirit of the law."

"It has been said that . . . it was a time of high feeling . . . and general apprehension of the spread of bolshevism. . . . There is no extenuation in that condition."

"SHOOT PROFITEERS WHO UNFURL FLAG"

WASHINGTON.—Only because it is taken from the Congressional Record, will editors dare reprint the following remarks on the ship subsidy, delivered on the floor of the house by Representative Anthony F. Griffin, of New York:

"Mr. Speaker, it is a part of our history that whenever any special interest has knocked at the door of congress for special legislation it has invariably disguised its purpose by flaunting the American flag. We rightly suspect the man who unfurls the American flag to promote his own interests in times of peace. He may get away with it in war times, but in times of peace I would reverse the mandate of Gen. Dix and say: 'Any man who unfurls the American flag shoot him on the spot.' The American flag should not be made the camouflage of profiteers making a raid on the treasury."

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Hundreds of Amer. Students Suffer While Studying

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—Most of the 643 students who left the University of Michigan at the end of the first semester this year were forced to leave because they could not find jobs to enable them to pay expenses, according to the university secretary. This number exceeds the number who dropped out last year when financial conditions were said to be worse.

Hundreds of men and women students are able to attend the university only by doing domestic or manual labor, either for cash or for board and room. Not all the suffering of student life is in Russian novels. There have been students at the University of Michigan living in unheated garrets who have had to get between the blankets of their beds at night, wearing overcoats, hats and mittens, to do their studying.

Thinks Bomb-Dropping On Hindus Poor Sport

LONDON. — Bomb-dropping by British airmen on defenseless Indian villages during the Christmas season was denounced in strong terms at a conference in London of resident Hindus and sympathizers. George Lansbury deplored the silence of the press on the subject and added: "The leaders of religion are dumb dogs just now when your people are being massacred from the air, but they were loud in their protestations when people like me were being bombed in London during the war."

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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"

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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 industry without a struggle. In this struggle there must be a well disciplined working class and a clear visioned and firm leadership. The task is no Sunday-school play and no lazy man's job. It will mean sacrifice and hardship and much study and much training. The workers must prepare for this.

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



MICHIGAN TRIAL POSTPONED

The trial of the Communists which was to begin in St. Joseph, Michigan, February 26 has been postponed to March 5. The prosecution isn't ready to begin. Their plans have been considerably messed up by their stool pigeon Albert Bailin who told under oath about having been hired by the Burns and Thiel detective agencies to terrify employers and hysterical people by fake bomb plots, by forged threatening letters and by making false reports of labor activities.

Suave Allen Meyers, who was sent to deny the statements made by Bailin, did not get away with a mere denial, according to Federated Press reports. Attorney Frank P. Walsh cornered him and unwillingly but smilingly he admitted many things which add to the mess the prosecution is in. Before the first day's examination of the New York manager of Burns was over he had admitted:

1. That he worked as a private detective for Burns and a government employe for a dollar a year under Burns as head of the federal secret service.

2. That Burns had employed Wolf Lindenfeld, "Winde Linde," just before the Wall street explosion and reemployed him later, giving him \$3500, with which Lindenfeld went to Russia. Meyers later went to Russia himself but refused to say on what errand. Lindenfeld has been widely heralded as the key to the Wall street explosion, was brought back to New York from Poland and then deported again.

3. That Meyers often posed as a newspaperman in pursuing his investigations, mentioning the Cincinnati Enquirer which had formerly employed him.

4. That Burns keeps at least ten stool pigeons working under cover among radicals and that donations by these men help to swell the radical funds. Meyers said, however, that probably not all of the "donations" got to the radicals because the agents are hard to trust.

The more we read about the sordid affair the more we wonder if the prosecution will ever be ready for the trial. The stench from their dirt is too much even for the gullible public. It will be hard to get away with these frame-ups.

And still the prison doors are shut for the men who were sent to prison due to the hysteria such vultures produced. How President Harding can expect to run for a second term and still refuse to grant general amnesty is inconceivable. Even the most patriotic and most loyal supporters of capitalism pretend to be aroused at the gross injustice of the thing.

GOOD WORK

It is encouraging to us that the Second Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions has recognized the role the American Independent unions play in the development of a militant labor movement and will not insist upon the arbitrary dissolution of these unions.

The United Labor Council, as the center of independent union activity, has accepted the decisions and recommendations of the Red International Labor Union Congress and while continuing its efforts among the isolated unions and unorganized workers, will also strive to cooperate with all factors in the American movement practicing the "United Front" in the hope that such co-ordination of activity will ultimately lead to "organic unity," at least in the basic industries. The United Labor Council of America will no doubt soon make a declaration as to its attitude and position.

We think that this is a sane procedure. There is plenty of work for all militants whether they be in the A. F. L. or in the independent unions. Only one out of thirty workers is even a card member of any labor organization. The number of members who are active is very much smaller still. Let the good work proceed at once.

DON'T PRAY, EAT!

The poor preachers are having a hard time of it. They can't even pray to God frankly without bringing themselves condemnation from the owning class masters. J. R. Kader, who says the prayers for the lawmakers of the Colorado House of Representatives, got himself in wrong with the source of his meal ticket by telling God about the laboring man going to work with empty dinner pails and about starving farmers, while the middlemen were rich. He was officially reprimanded for his prayers.

The legislators doubtless fear that the hungry, knowing that God has been informed about the injustice they endure, may mix a little action with their own prayers.

Outspoken Chaplain Kader also told God that our boys and girls are going to the dogs but this in itself would not have annoyed the sensitive lawmakers. Preachers can get by with a description of any results such as sex filth, mental degeneration or physical abnormalities. God can be told about all of these but just let one little hint drop that the economic system is the cause and then there are reprimands.

But life is not entirely joyless for preachers. They can still get their feet in the red carpet in the Waldorf-

Astoria hotel and speculate whether one of their members is orthodox in regard to the immaculate conception. Dr. Manning, the Protestant Episcopal bishop of New York, and his friends met at the Waldorf recently and discussed this important question while they ate their dinner costing \$8.00 a plate. There were no official reprimands for this pleasant pastime.

THE MAJESTY OF THE LAW

The majesty of the law was all broken up when little nine-year-old Seymour Rechtseit reached New York from Poland. The immigration quota has been previously completed but Seymour wanted to come to his father who is a rabbi and cantor connected with the Hebrew Orphan Home and Day Nursery in New York city. And since he is a little genius, who has been singing to audiences all over Europe in Yiddish, in Russian, in Italian and in English, he was permitted to come. It didn't seem to hurt the Immigration Committee at Washington to break the law for him.

But another little Pole wasn't quite so lucky. It was born on the way over here on the steamer Rochambeau. The Immigration Committee at Washington is not charmed with its song, so the father and mother, Mr. and Mrs. Moser Epstein, who wish to go to Nebraska to relatives, are detained on Ellis Island. When the immigration authorities counted in Poland there were four in the Epstein family. This completed the quota for February. When they reach New York baby Epstein has arrived and cannot sing, neither can it enter the United States. Thus the majesty of the law is brought home to us again. As Anatole France says, "The law in its majestic equality forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg on the streets and to steal bread."

KOLLONTAY HONORED BY RUSSIANS

Alexandra Kollontay has been appointed by the Soviet government as Russian minister to Norway. This brilliant woman who speaks many languages fluently has a long record of revolutionary service. Under the czar she was in exile much of the time and lived in Berlin. Since the Soviets have been in control she has frequently denounced the Russian government for having retreated from revolutionary principles. At the Third International Congress Trotsky became impatient with her for refusing to recognize the tremendous odds against which the communists are battling in their lone life against the whole capitalist world. He said of her sarcastically, "She is afraid. She fears that if we sell some of our timber to foreign capitalists that we will turn into capitalists ourselves. Where does her fear start? At the port where the timber is loaded upon the foreign ships? Or on the railroad that carries it to the port, or in the woods where it is cut? Probably she got frightened in the woods."

But it seems that the communists are not afraid of Kollontay. They give her a responsible position in which to work. It has wonderful possibilities because Norway has 60,000 communists who will help Kollontay to make the ties between Russia and Norway closer. We rejoice that the communists in Russia have shown their confidence in her in spite of differences of opinion. We are inclined to think that the new responsibilities will teach even the brilliant Kollontay some things she does not seem to know now. We believe she will become less critical and still be just as revolutionary as ever.

FRANCE FRANK ABOUT NEEDING BABIES

The authorities of the Department of the Ardennes, in the north of France, have just done a wise, sensible, humane and altogether right thing, so recent dispatches say, in permitting unmarried mothers to conceal their identity. A woman may enter any hospital for her accouchement, convalesce and depart with her child, and "no questions asked." We wish we might say that the Department had done this thing just because it was right and humane; but alas! it was done because the wretched French birth rate is falling again, and France needs the children. Efforts are being made to extend this law throughout the Republic. . . . France needs population, and logically proposes to enfranchise the unmarried mother on that account. If England or the United States ever needed population, as France does, the public authorities and the press would never in the world discuss a measure of this kind frankly and straightforwardly with reference to the need of population, as the French do. Never. The authorities at Westminster or Washington, and the institutional voices of English or American society, would immediately proclaim some highly elevated moral formula—something like "making the world safe for democracy," y' understand—under which some right and reasonable enfranchisement of the unmarried mother might take place. Enfranchising the unmarried mother, however, simply because it is a right and reasonable thing to do—this, alas! is as impossible at Paris as it is at Westminster or Washington, for legislators are alike the world over in never doing the right thing just because it is right.—The Freeman.

"THE HAIRY APE"

B. N. Z.

Not the play nor the players, with their many words,
Did my "usy thoughts engage
As I watched the "hairy ape" in all his thoughtless pride
Move about the center of the stage.

This is what I visualized and dimly felt—
As out to the world the age-old pleading went—
Power they must attain, their call we must acclaim,
The call of the workers on justice bent.

For a fleeting tense moment after the play was done
Heart and mind with emotions keen were swept.
Desires long dead I found within, unfolding,
For behold, a masterpiece within my soul had crept.

As that mammoth house of steel moved swiftly on
I saw not the ship a sailing o'er the waters of the sea.
But a god-like power of human stuff
But dimly understanding,—longing, straining to be free.

CLASS STRUGGLE OBSCURED BY NATIONAL CONFLICT

LUDWELL DENNY

"When we strike for Germany it will be for a proletarian Germany, and, we hope, for a proletarian France. Meanwhile we shall stay on the job"—and (he did not add, though it was in his mind) sabotage.

That is the attitude of the Ruhr workers. They do not hate the French, even now. They are "internationalists," and better ones than I have met elsewhere. But for all their class consciousness, they show by an unconscious look or phrase that they are not immune to the war psychology. Probably few of them can see "the invaders shooting down our defenseless women and children" without responding reflexively to the fierce human and national passion of their countrymen, and being swept into a "capitalist" war. If the occupation continues, they will be put to this test.

But the Communists will not fight in Germany. They are calling for the overthrow of the Government. Their party organ, *Ruhr-Echo*, last week charged the German Government with responsibility for the French occupation—because it refused to give some of the capitalists' wealth as guaranty for reparations. Furthermore, the Government had deliberately evaded payment of just reparations, paying only what it extracted from the working population instead of conscripting the huge fortunes made out of the war and during the low-valuta period. The upshot of this article throws more light on the fact that bourgeois governments stand together on the fundamental class issue even while at "war" with each other than all the Red arguments. The paper was ordered to stop publication—by the German Government. And the French, significantly, agreed to this suppression of anti-German, pro-French propaganda!

COMMUNISTS CONTROL MORE AND MORE SHOP COUNCILS.

The Communists, however, are a minority. There are 580,000 "miners" (the term includes by-product workers) in the Ruhr; approximately 120,000 are in the Red Trade Union, and 150,000 in the Amsterdam (the rest are unorganized or in "Christian" unions). Among them are about 20,000 paying Communist Party members, and more than twice as many active Social-Democrats. The 200,000 steel workers (the number varies) are about 80 per cent organized; in this industry the Communists retain membership in the old unions and bore from within (though about 15,000 are in the Red union with the miners). Therefore the strength of the Communists among the steel workers is difficult to estimate; but it is not great, for the party has only 5,000 active members in the industry. Of the state railway employes—40,000—half are organized, mostly in "yellow" unions. Although these figures understate the extent of Communist influence in the Ruhr, obviously the Bolsheviks are not dominant. But at successive elections they control more and more of the shop councils.

HIGH COST OF LIVING AIDS REVOLUTIONARY AGITATION.

Perhaps economic conditions under the occupation will aid revolutionary agitation, though the reactionaries are already using the high cost of living as their most effective argument for nationalistic solidarity. In the last eight days the price of clothing has increased about 50 per cent; coal, 67 per cent—to which will be added 75 per cent more on February 1; food, 100 per cent. The rise continues hourly. Yesterday the miners' wage (the basis of all Ruhr wages) was increased 77 per cent, but only effective after February 1. Though there is yet no general food shortage, none but the rich can maintain a decent standard of living.

COMMUNISTS ABLE TO AFFECT SITUATION NEGATIVELY.

Nevertheless, apart from their official propaganda, the Red leaders admit that communism is too weak to affect the general situation, except negatively. At their conference in Essen on the eve of the occupation, Cachin stated that, although the chief responsibility rested with the French workers, they would not support him but Poincaré; the Danubian representatives reported that the proletariat of their counties were still nationalistic; and Newbolt said there was no chance of action from British labor. Even if a general strike had started in the Ruhr, it would have failed for lack of support from the rest of German labor.

Because of these varied obstacles, the Ruhr workers—whether Communist or Social-Democrat—are unable to use their economic weapons. As in previous international crises, despite the experience of 1914, the class struggle is obscured by national conflict, which leads in the end to a military decision. The French army is in the Ruhr to stay; the German nation is determined that it shall not stay. Only one result is possible. Unless the French people undergo a miraculous conversion, a future war of extermination is inevitable.

As I write, reports of riots are coming in from all over the Ruhr. Here in Essen I look out upon a menacing demonstration. There are 20,000 people in the street, and more. For protection the French have thrown a ring of bayonets around the hotel. The soldiers bring out a machine-gun. The crowd push forward; there is a mighty groan of anger; they threaten to attack with their bare hands, with the sheer force of thousands of human bodies. Unless the machine-gun is removed. It is. The French officers are afraid. A regiment could not hold this 20,000 in hand-to-hand fight. Slowly the mass is broken up by—German police! All night mobs have been drifting up one street, down another, singing the forbidden war songs, defying the machine-guns. The only way the French can defeat these mobs is to retreat. . . . This is the first big demonstration. Probably tomorrow the city outwardly will be calm again. Perhaps the French can remain for a year; longer. But will these Germans always be content only to sing of a victory over France?

—From the Nation.

"Liberty I am told is a divine thing. Liberty when it becomes the liberty to die by starvation is not so divine. That I have been called by all the newspapers 'a free man' will avail me little, if my pilgrimage has ended in death and wreck. Liberty requires new definitions."—Thomas Carlyle.

Dinner Pail Epics

by Bill Lloyd



Detective agencies is meat for them that likes to plan both feet in packers' trough or bankers' pile, and fill their pockets for a while. The private ones is what I mean, for in the papers I have seen how Burns and Thiel and that like ilk has tapped a stream of good rich milk, by scaring rich guys out of sleep and sticking of their fingers deep into their pockets and their purse, by saving them from the red curse.

For when they ain't no red in sight, they form a red gang over night. The Knights of the Red Star is one of the queer names by which they have done the bosses out of some rich dough, by laying the red menace low. The membership wuz made of names which Palmer got a-playing games in pinching every friendless fellow who had no coin and wuz not yellow. The forming of red gangs on paper wuz only one of their star caper. They joined the meetings of young folks to see if they could not provoke some deeds of awful violence, while they set calmly on the fence.

Their hired thugs joined anything that seemed to have a rad'cal ring. The more the bankers' money flowed, the more the great menace grewed. Day by day, in every way, they tapped the rich men for their pay.

We workers of this glorious nation should save the rich from exploitation, at hands of Thiel and William Burns, so they can keep the dough we earns. If we can't get the dough we make, it don't help us if grafters take it all away from our own bosses and put them to a lotta losses, while they put us upon the list of deep red gangs that don't exist. And since the bosses ain't the wits to keep from having frequent fits each time that Will Burns pulls the strings and the red menace loudly rings, we all should organize to save the bosses who are strong and brave.

If they should lose more sleep at night, they'll never put this world to right, and what could us guys ever do without that strong and brainy crew? And if Burns could not make a fuss, he might work and compete with us.

IMPORTANT EXTRACT FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

SWEAT THEMSELVES INTO STUPIDITY

"For a hundred years—when we could vote—we have stupidly followed the political crook to the ballot box, and then we have meekly teased for laws, whined for relief, and humbly coaxed the 'reformer' Gullibly, we swallow the trader's lies that paralyze our brains, bind our wrists, and lay us under the employer's lash. . . . There is a political earthquake coming which will swallow up the political prostitutes and the industrial parasites and Caesars of society—when our class open wide their eyes and see the great red crime not only on the battlefield, but around the factory, and before the miners cabin door. Not blindly but proudly and defiantly the workers will then—but not till then—DEFEND THEMSELVES. . . . Too long, too madly and sadly, too gullibly the flimflamed working class have broken their own hearts and wet the earth with their own blood and tears; too meekly and weakly the toilers sweat themselves into stupidity and then—like cheated children—gullibly hand over the choicest culture, clothing, bread, wine and shelter to the robbers and rulers who despise them and betray them."—Prof. Geo. R. Kirkpatrick.

WONDERFUL EFFICIENCY

I could take the rates from Portland, Me., to New Orleans, a distance of 1,686 miles, and show that the freight rate on first-class freight is \$2.51, while from Dallas, Tex., to New Orleans, a distance of 515 miles the rate is \$3.15.

The rate between Boston and San Francisco on fruits is just exactly the same as the rate upon the same class of freight between San Francisco and Kansas City, which is just half the distance.—Senator Caraway.

CAPITALIST "CIVILIZATION!"

"I've hunted for work all day. Nothing doing. Now I must go home to hungry wife and kids. It's wet and cold, and there's sure to be no fire. And the landlord threatens to evict us. . . . I've no money, nothing to sell, nothing to pawn, no means by which I can get food or fuel, and already I hear the youngsters asking their mother for something to eat. . . . Say, Mr. Bonar Law, what would you do if you were in my position? What would you tell the well-fed pompous gentlemen who mouthed about their sympathy—that sympathy which is a monstrous mockery of my misery?"—Unemployed Englishman.

According to authoritative statistics published in the *International Labour Review* a few months back, the eight-hour day had been established in the steel industries of Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Poland, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.

But in modern U. S. A. we still have the twelve-hour day in blast-furnaces. Does anyone know why?

"The human race will never be free so long as men work for wages."—Thomas Paine.