

CAPITALISTS CO-OPERATE TO ROB THE WORKERS, BUT THE WORKERS HAVE NOT YET LEARNED TO CO-OPERATE AND PUT AN END TO THE ROBBERY

WE stand in the presence of a revolution—not a bloody revolution; America is not given to the spilling of blood—but a silent revolution, whereby America will insist upon recovering in practice those ideals which she has always professed, upon securing a government devoted to the general interests and not the special interests.—Woodrow Wilson in the New Freedom.

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"No Compromise—No Political Trading"

We strongly urge our readers not to be fooled by the fact that the Trades Assembly is going into politics.

The Trades Assembly, tired of the work of C. B. Miller as member for the 8th Congressional District, have decided to put a candidate against him at the next election. We have no quarrel with the Trades Assembly for doing so, that is their business. But we are surprised that comrades like Towne and Sermon, should lend their hand in assisting the sending of Labor candidates to Congress. It plainly shows that something is wrong. Liebknecht, writing to the Marxists at Epernay, August 10th, 1899, declares:

"On the ground of the class struggle we are invincible; if we leave it we are lost, because we are no longer Socialists. The strength and power of Socialism rests in the fact that we are leading a class struggle.

Liebknecht knew what he was writing about, because he had seen the folly of the German Socialists allying themselves with capitalist political parties.

We trust that comrades Towne and Sermon will see to it that their candidate states definitely where he stands. The mere fact that their candidate has styled himself a Progressive Democrat proves that he is not sound upon the social questions that affect the everyday life of the worker. The reason why the workers make such poor showing at election times is because of similar candidates being elected and these candidates failing to improve the lot of the worker.

How can they improve the lot of the worker? It is idle to expect the lone man in Congress to do anything in that direction. We shall fail in our duty to the workers, if we tell them that by merely voting they will free themselves. It is only by organizing industrially and reflecting that strength upon the political field, can the worker make any progress.

Of course we shall be criticised for writing the above, but it will be by the ex-members of our movement. Men who think that the Socialist movement is a pension outfit and not a movement for uplifting the worker. There are too many in our movement looking for fat jobs, hence the repeated silly excursions into politics. Why do we not recognize the truth of what Marx said, that "economic power precedes political power." None of the ex-comrades who are now talking about labor going into politics ever refuted that statement of Marx. Then why, if they have the interests of the workers at heart, do they not realize that all these political spasms are of no avail. The worker is suffering from a social disease called capitalism. You cannot get rid of that disease by applying plasters, you must clean out the whole social organism. Get rid of the growth upon the body politic, the capitalist class with all its lackeys and parasites. You can do that by organizing the workers in the economic field. Therefore let us organize them. If we are not able to do that, let us say so and scramble for jobs, that will mean more Labor candidates.

THE UNVANQUISHED.

They never fail who die

In a great cause; the block may soak their gore,
Their heads may sodden in the sun, their limbs
Be strung to city gates and castle walls.
But still their spirit walks abroad, though years
Elapse and others share as dark a doom,
They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts
Which overpower all others, and conduct
The world at last to freedom.

—Byron.

BUILDERS FORM NATIONAL UNION

News from Atlantic City is to the effect that the building trades contractors met in convention there this week and practically agreed to form a nation-wide organization. They will unite all of the building exchanges or employers' unions in this industry, in all the cities, and will also take in the thousands of contracting and building firms that are not members of the city exchanges. They hope in a short time to have a 100-per cent organization of these employers.

The building employers are wise to the signs of the times. Of course it is absolutely essential for them to all come together in one industry. The reason being that it eliminates a lot of unnecessary expenses and also promotes more efficiency in the building industry.

We shall still organize in our individual crafts. Our grandfathers found it good enough, so why should we object? What was good enough for my grandfather, is good enough for me.

Shure.

Under capitalism—a mule is an asset, when you are making your bankruptcy report. But your wife is a liability. —Sfunny!

LAYS BLAME ON SOCIALISM

Socialism and its teachings of selfishness rather than one's responsibility towards society at large, is the indirect cause of the murder of Patrolman John Callahan, according to Levi W. Tarbell, self-confessed slayer.

"Had I been thinking as much about Callahan, about his family, in fact, about anyone else, half as much as I was considering myself ever since I first became interested in socialism out on the coast, I would not be where I am today," said Tarbell to The Herald, in his cell Saturday. "My principles have all been wrong and distorted."—The Duluth Herald.

Levi Tarbell condemns Socialism.

Lays the responsibility for his crime to the fact that he studied Socialism.

Levi Tarbell, others will condemn you, we will not. We will do more than not condemn you, we will defend you.

What is that? The editor of Truth defends a murderer?

Yes, we are going to defend Levi Tarbell.

Before you get angry with us for defending Levi Tarbell, be sure that you know what you are doing. Remember, that we are not defending the crime that Levi Tarbell committed, we are defending the man, a member of our class.

WE HOLD THAT SOCIETY IS DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATH OF JOHN CALLAHAN.

You in Duluth, who cut down your appropriations for playgrounds, so as to give the police and the firemen a rise in wages, REMEMBER THAT IT IS YOU AND THE LIKES OF YOU WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MURDERERS WHO GO ABOUT TODAY. You whose minds are so full of gross materialism. You who cannot see anything but the \$\$\$\$\$\$ sign. It is you who should be in the dock, not Levi Tarbell.

Your children will go to the country, they have no need of a playground, but the children of the father who gets \$15 to \$20 per week, they cannot afford to go to the country and you would rob them of their playgrounds. Yet you will condemn Tarbell and say that he deserves to hang. Tarbell is but a type: a type of hundreds of thousands of the victims of our social system. We pervert our children when they are young and then when their lives have been ruined, we build prisons to keep them in. Then on Sunday we go to church and thank God we are not as other men.

Yes, sure you will condemn us for not condemning Levi Tarbell. But you forget that Tarbell was once a young child. You forget that Tarbell once was a laughing, dimple-cheeked boy, playing on the grass. You forget that once some fond mother had Tarbell's arms around her neck, and she prayed every night that her boy might grow up to be a good young man. But his mother did not live forever, and Tarbell was forced out into the world to obtain his own living.

We do not condemn Tarbell, although we hate the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 3)

SUGARMAN REPLIES TO TYOMIES

SAYS FINNISH MACHINE IS MENACE TO PARTY.

Urges election of Dirba as State Secretary.

(Note: The following article is submitted to us by Comrade Sugarman with the request that it be printed in full. Comrade Sugarman takes full responsibility for every statement therein.)

An alleged socialist newspaper called Työmies, a rag which gained considerable notoriety during the great Mesaba strike a few years ago, by advocating scabbery, in its issue of July twenty-third carried a story denouncing the state secretary of the Socialist Party, the Party itself, and devoted considerable space to urging the election of Anna Maley, one of the most reactionary socialists in the movement, to the position of state secretary.

The charges against myself were for the most part so silly that no thinking comrade would place the slightest credence in them. For instance, the item stated that I wanted to go to jail for three years so that I could write books therein. Such a stupid statement is really beneath notice! I suppose Bentall wants to go up for five years so that he can write a pamphlet on the farm question; I suppose Broms went so that he could complete his work on psychology; I suppose Kamman, Ungar Treseler and the others are engaged in writing works on the "Joys of Being a Conscientious Objector"; and I suppose Carney is extremely anxious to get at least ten years so that he can write a text book in journalism!

Then Askeli, the Finnish dictator, who nearly knocked down physically a group of Finnish comrades at the state convention, because they voted "wrong" on a question, raves on—to say that he never gets reports from the state office. Suffice it to say that all reports going out from the office were mailed to all translator secretaries. If they did not arrive, it is the fault of Uncle Sam; we are now getting mail at the state office dated February and March. And then Mr. Askeli said that I delayed the election of my successor as secretary, despite the fact that I have no more to do with the conduct of the election than Askeli himself. Such matters are handled by the state canvassing board of which I am not a member.

As to the use of funds for defense purposes, what would these people have me do? If Bentall is arrested for making a socialist speech under our auspices, should I have let him go to jail without a fair trial? If I was indicted because I went down to Henderson to organize a local, should I not be defended by the organization, in whose service I was employed? Shall all these comrades be allowed to go to prison cells for long terms without a fight?

As to the blanket statement, wild charges that the office is grossly mismanaged, the fact remains that the membership is now thirty-five hundred whereas when I took office in February of last year, it was less than two thousand.

The reason we have not lost considerably is the fact that we have taken an uncompromising stand as regards both the war and the non-partisan league. Neither the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 3)

Socialists, Attention!

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at their recent session passed the following resolutions:

"The Socialist Party repeats its Declaration of Support of all Economic organizations of the working class and declares the lynching, deportation, prosecution and persecution of the Industrial Workers of the World is an attack upon every toiler in America, and we now call attention to the fact that the charges of incendiarism, the burning of crops and forests, and of vicious destruction of property made by the public press against the I. W. W. have proven pure fabrications wherever put to legal test.

"The Socialist Party has always extended its aid, material and moral, to organized labor wherever and whenever it has been attacked by the capitalist class, and this without reference to form of organization or special policies; therefore we pledge our support to the Industrial Workers of the World now facing trial in Chicago and elsewhere and demand for them a fair unprejudiced trial and urge our members to use every effort to assist the Industrial Workers of the World by familiarizing the public with the real facts, to overcome the falsehoods and misinformation with which the capitalist press has poisoned and prejudiced the public mind and judgment against these workers, who are now singled out for destruction, just as other labor organizations and leaders have been singled out for destruction by the same capitalist forces in the past.

WHAT IF THE PEOPLE SPEAK?

But what if the People speak, my lords, what if the people speak?
Suppose they were weary of cuffs and blows and turning the other cheek?
What if the Atlas who bears your world refuses to carry that load?
Tiring at last of penury's grip and the sting of its ceaseless goad?

Oh, steadily upward prices go, and yours is the lion's share,
While the paupers build, with a sigh of woe, the multi-fold millionaire,
And the skies are brass, and our God is deaf, or haply his rest doth seek—
But what if the People speak, my lords, ay, what if the People speak?

Time was in Britain when your kind laughed at the cries of the "mob" accursed,
But a Cromwell rose and the price was paid—the head of a Charles the First.
Time was in France when the nobles danced while the peasants writhed in pain.
But the People spoke, and we pray the gods that never and ne'er again

Shall the streets run red with a crimson flood while fiends their orgies hold;
Yet out of that chaos a New Earth swung, displacing the shameless old.
Oh, the tale of life is the tale of strife 'twixt Greed and the poor and weak.
But they sometimes rise in their black despair—and what if the People speak?

From out of the gulf of voiceless depths there soundeth a muffled sigh,
The fleeting ghost of a woman's sob or wraith of a child's cry.
Palace and hovel, not far apart they stand in the murky gloam,
And one is the home of your pride, my lord, and one is your brother's home.

Your factory wheels go round and round, grinding your golden grist,
While Death, draws near to the toiling babes to enter them on his list;
And the wealth to add to a wealth unused for ever in greed you seek—
But what if the People speak, my lords, ay, what if the People speak?

—Selected.

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Discussion on Industrial Unionism

Karl Dannenberg, Editor of Radical Review, replies to J. Harrington, official representative of the Socialist Party of Canada.

II.

Modern industry has established the world-market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

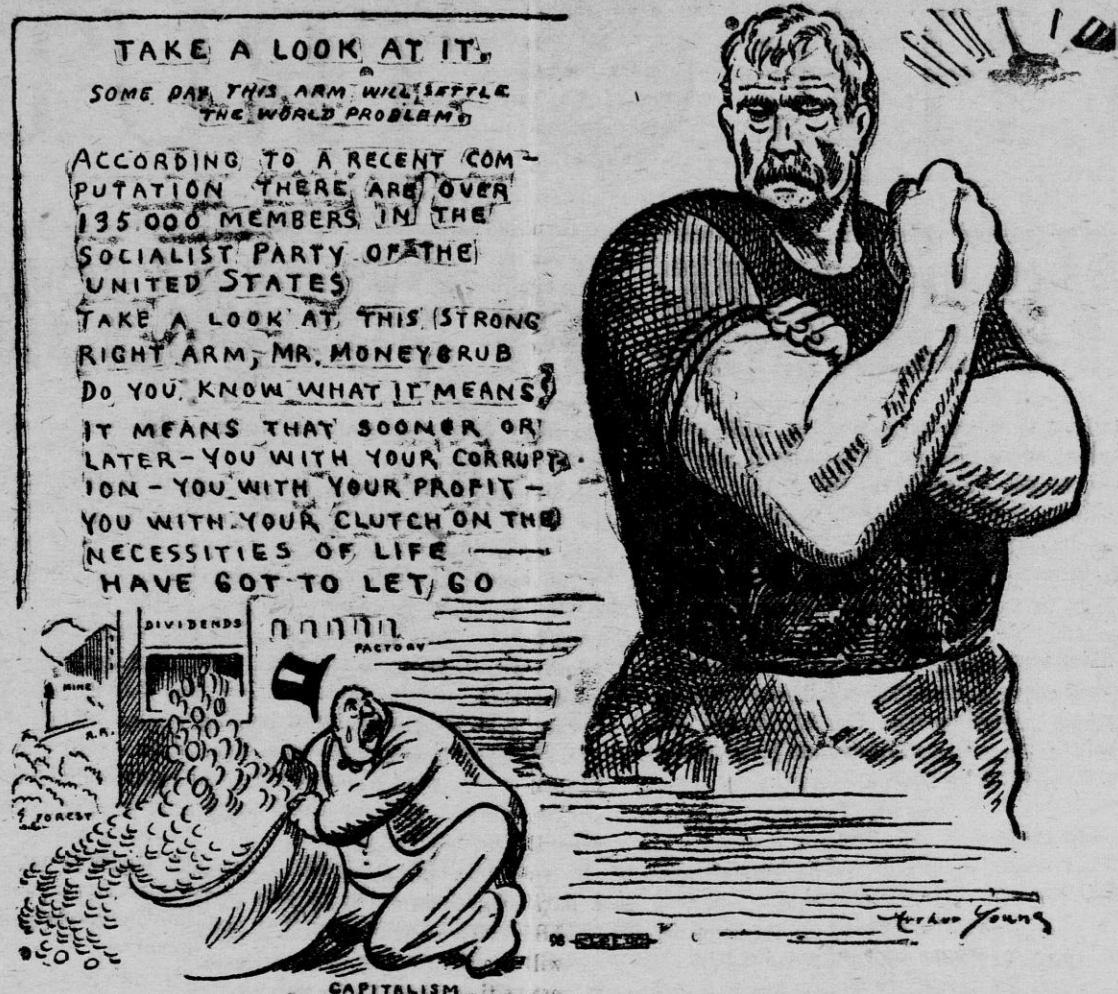
We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the mediaeval commune, here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), there taxable "third estate of the monarchy" (as in France), afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, corner stone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world-market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common

affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.—Communist Manifesto (p. 14-15, Kerr edition, underscoring our own).

As an introduction of our reply to the critical essay of Comrade Harrington, we also wish to express our keen appreciation and gratification over the dignified and truly scholarly tenor running through its pages. It is just this magnanimous spirit in a discussion that stimulates thought, arouses interest, eliminates the petty personal elements and produces tangible results.

We also take the liberty to reiterate most emphatically that in formulating our theories, making certain deductions or drawing conclusions we seek to act, as far as the unavoidable influence of the social atmosphere permits, solely in the capacity of an investigator. The function of our publication is to be an organ "devoted to the critical investigation of Scientific Socialism." This aim and the specific work interwoven therewith do not permit the establishment of an official editorial policy or the cultivation and advocacy of "certain ideas and theories peculiar to certain groups"; neither can the purpose of The Radical Review be swayed or influenced by personal relations, or the inexorable consequences resulting from a severance of connection "from those with whom we habitually associate." We wish to impress Comrade Harrington and the members of the party he has the honor to represent that The Radical Review's only policy is the one laid down in its announcement published in its initial number and appearing on the first page of every issue, namely: "to become a journal which reflects the attempts of a class-conscious element in the Socialist Movement to advance the interests of Socialist education as a Partisan effort to cement and improve the social position of the Working Class for the abolition of the Wage System and the inauguration of the Industrial Republic." We believe that



this is quite definite and sufficiently broad for all Socialists who feel the necessity of Socialist education to unite upon; also lucid and expressive enough to dispel once and for all the habitual and probably slumbering suspicion that the Radical Review is pledged to support through thick and thin "the beautiful theory" or program of a certain political or economic organization. Therefore, we can assure Comrade Harrington that we "have no compunction about slaughtering a beautiful theory." If we consider it erroneous; and neither do we fear about "severing connection from those with whom we habitually associate," if we should deem such a separation imperative to the theoretical or tactical clarity of the labor movement. Furthermore, we believe that the position, the isolated position, occupied by our magazine in the Socialist movement, will serve to convincingly illustrate these assertions. Therefore, we wish to impress upon Comrade Harrington that we did not shrink from the "monstrous duty" of slaughtering a "beautiful hypothesis," because such an act meant "expulsion from the group," but because we were not aware of having established any hypothesis and, consequently, could not have shirked or postponed their "slaughter." With these few preliminary statements as a reply to the somewhat veiled but much appreciated insinuations in the third paragraph, presumably the fruits of Applied Social Psychology, we will proceed to examine the subject matter proper.

The theoretical and tactical differences resulting from an interpretation and application of the Socialist philosophy and responsible for this discussion may be summarized as follows:

As quoted by Comrade Harrington, we contend that:

1. The survey of the economic, social and political position of the capitalist class reveals, that the basic power or influence of this class resides not, as is so often erroneously assumed, in its political domination or control of government, but in its economic rule over society. History teaches and profusely illustrates: that the class in control of the economic resources of society in a given period has also been the class to exercise control over political society itself. The practical application of these principles to bourgeois society would not, in the words of the Communist Manifesto quoted above, that: "Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class." Furthermore, that: "The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

2. History vindicates the contention that the economic life of society, the form of ownership and

method of production and exchange existing at a certain stage of social development, is the compelling factor, the preponderant form, which determines, influences and shapes all other ethical, moral, intellectual and political, in short—cultural phases of life.

Comrade Harrington fully agrees with the propositions formulated in the second quotation, but maintains that they have no relation or nothing in common with the theoretical deductions or generalization of the first statement. Comrade Harrington deduces:

"History vindicates the contention set down, but that vindication has nothing to do with the proposition contained in the preceding sentences. To conclude that two propositions, one demonstrable the other hypothetical, are similar, to assume mutual connections between them, and then to establish the truth of the theory upon the proof of the fact is a common logical error. Yet this is precisely what Comrade Dannenberg unconsciously does. The statement that Rome enslaved people solely by her 'superior and well-organized economic resources and disciplined armies' is on par with the Irishman who had his neighbor arrested with the help of God and a couple of policemen."

From the above we are compelled to conclude that:

3. Comrade Harrington agrees fully with our presentation of the abstract principles of Historical Materialism, but not with our application of them to historical phenomena and the deductions flowing from such an application.

This leads to the conclusion:

4. That the basic difference in this discussion does not rest in the question whether economic power rears political power or vice versa; whether the source of all power rests in the machinery of government (the state); or in the economic supremacy of a class over society; but it must be looked for in two distinct methods of applying the Materialist Conception of History. The different deductions just elucidated are, therefore, not the original source of the difference underlying this discussion, but merely the effects of a primal cause—the different methods employed in the application of Historical Materialism to historic conditions.

Going out from this premise we may sum up:

5. That a careful examination of the material submitted by Comrade Harrington and the writer by the light of the Materialist Conception of History will reveal whose method and deductions are and are not in accord with scientific investigation. With this summary as a basis, we will now commence a more detailed examination of Comrade Harrington's position.

As already stated, Comrade Har-

ington denies the propositions laid down in the first paragraph of the summary just concluded. He defines them as a hypothesis, not demonstrated or substantiated by the propositions laid down in section No. 2. Permit me to emphasize at the outset that I cannot accept this interpretation. The propositions formulated in section No. 1 are not to be treated as hypothetical abstractions, but concrete deductions flowing from concrete premises. The premises in this case are "the economic, social and political position of the capitalist class"; the method of examination employed in arriving at these deductions is stated in section No. 2. The question now in order is: whether these deductions have been refuted by Comrade Harrington. Let us see. Comrade Harrington entirely avoids to demonstrate the hypothetical nature of what the writer holds to be concrete deductions. His criticism is, consequently, more or less a negative one.

What might be inferred as an attempt of Comrade Harrington to present his views as differing from a series of historical events presented in the sixth paragraph of his essay. With these historical citations and the critical interpretations attached to them our worthy opponent attempts to illustrate the fallacy of the writer's deductions, and finally presents in the following what in his estimation is the source of power in society:

"We cannot do more here than point out that under Feudalism, ownership of land was not the source of power, any more than ownership of slaves in Rome was, but military might. When Clovis established some form of a political state, patterned upon the Roman Empire, to him and his associates fell the fruits of what civilization remained. When social development made the Mayors of the palace all powerful, it was military might which enabled them to depose the Merovingians and induce the Pope to bless and sanctify the act. The Pope required the military power of Pepin and an alliance was formed from which arose the Papal Hierarchy. The Political State of Gaul, raised by Charlemagne, was seized by the Capets just before a new barbarian wave submerged the budding civilization. The Northern Vikings again proclaim the world's dreaded arbiter—military might. All through history the right to rob and rule rests in the last analysis upon military might. In civilization that might is vested in the state. Comrade Dannenberg denies all this. He maintains that the right to rob and rule lies in ownership of the predominant producing factors, Chattel Slaves, Land, and Capital. Out of this postulate flow a number of premises, which, under the circumstances, we must pass over."

(To be continued.)

THOUGHTS OF A "GREAT" STATESMAN!

"We are not fighting this war primarily to make the world safe for democracy, although it will do that; nor to assure the freedom of small nations, although it will bring about that result; we are fighting this war to make America safe for Americans," declared Senator Irvine L. Lenroot of Superior in an address at the close of a banquet and reception given in his honor a couple of weeks ago by the local Commercial Club. It was reported that the occasion was attended by "one of the largest and most enthusiastic gatherings" ever assembled at the rooms of the club, and that "Hoover's restrictions were not too keenly felt at the banquet tables."

The Senator is also quoted as follows:

"You are fortunate in that, until recently, you have not had a shadow of labor troubles and the strife that has been in progress is being settled. Labor is entitled to a good living wage and in these days it must be a generous one. When an alien will not work, and, under existing treaties cannot be made to fight, then I think, such an alien and every such alien, should be deported from the United States. (Applause.)"

"The question of deportation has been brought up in congress but the objection always has been raised that we cannot spare the shipping. Two soldiers on the battle line, fighting against us cannot do nearly so much harm as one agitator in our midst."

"If capital is not willing to be satisfied with reasonable profits during this war, the government should either prevent it from making those profits or commandeer capital and use it for itself. No man who makes a fortune out of this war can call himself patriotic."

"There will be mourning in many homes when the war ends but people will demand that this be made a better country to live in. I believe that the reconstruction which is to follow the war, will bring the Head of the Lakes into its own and that every locality will receive the benefits to which natural location entitles it. It is likely to be discovered that ships can be built here more economically than on the coast."

The thoughtful reader will need

no comment on the above quotation from the aspiring statesman's speech, but a few remarks are not out of place for the thoughtless.

When the Senator states that "labor is entitled to a good living wage," he shows beyond all doubt that he is a "chip off the old block" and that he is true to the class that was banqueting in his honor. He is willing to admit that labor is "entitled" to a "living wage" but no more, and that is all that labor is getting under the present system. Lenroot insists that the capitalists are "entitled" to reap the fruits of the worker's toil. That is the viewpoint of all capitalists. It is the opposite of the class conscious socialist's viewpoint. A class conscious workingman knows that he is ENTITLED TO RECEIVE, NOT ONLY A LIVING WAGE, BUT THE FULL PRODUCT OF HIS LABOR. He also knows that the workingman are going to obtain the full product of their labor just as soon as the workers get wise to the manner in which they are being fleeced by the exploiters of labor.

The Senator also touches upon the bugbear about the deportation of "undesirable aliens." The aliens need not worry about that for they are still sorely needed here. A ship could be chartered tomorrow to carry away the number of aliens in the United States who will not work, but it is doubtful whether we could find ships enough to ship away the non-productive millionaires we have in this country, and it is reported that their number is increasing daily, partly as a result of alien labor.

The "reasonable profit" of the capitalists that the Senator refers to is a very uncertain quantity at all times, we regret to say, and should be done away with entirely.

The Senator finally sums up with the statement that "It is likely to be discovered that ships can be built here more economically than on the coast." The Senator might have expressed it in other words, had he so desired, and said that he hoped home-town capitalists would be able to purchase materials for less money, pay less for labor power, and thereby reap more profit from their enterprises. That is what he meant, but he knew the audience he was addressing and he knows that they understood him just the same, so what's the difference.

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O. J. LARSON AND THE MOB

O. J. Larson, the well-known Duluth lawyer, writing in the Finnish Sentinel, stated that the Socialists of Finland believed in "Proletarian dictatorship, the tyranny of the mob."

O. J. Larson never spoke a truer word in his life when he stated the above. Of course the Socialists of Finland and world over believe in a proletarian dictatorship. The workers are getting together and organizing themselves and when their organization is fully developed, they will show Larson and the whole bunch of those who are retarding their progress, what they mean by a proletarian dictatorship.

Could a proletarian dictatorship be worse than the capitalistic dictatorship? Under a capitalist dictatorship, we have the spectacle of a lawyer, our own friend Larson, receiving the sum of \$3,000 for speaking a few words in behalf of men who came out on strike. For that sum of money, the worker on the ore docks has to work over one year and a half. But some will say that the time of O. J. Larson is more valuable than that of the ore dock worker. How can we judge the value of a man's time? By the money he receives or by the work he performs?

If we can judge a man's worth by the money he receives, then Harry Thaw is of more value to the community than a hundred shipworkers. Let us take another example. Suppose that tomorrow a test was to be made as to who was most valuable man in the community. We would say to the lawyers, all of you stop work and let us find out how much the community will lose by the cessation of your work. How much would Duluth be in debt, if the lawyers all stopped work? Who would drive the street cars, deliver the milk, bake the bread, etc., if the lawyers stopped work? Why, everyone knows that if the lawyers all died to-morrow, the world would still keep on going, there would be no loss to the community. Supposing that the workers on the ore docks all quit? Would the community lose by it? Sure it would. If there were no workers on the ore docks, your steel mills would have to close down and many other industries also.

Because the ore dock worker is more essential to society than the lawyer and also because the worth of the ore dock worker in comparison to the worth of a lawyer has not been recognized, O. J. Larson fears a proletarian dictatorship.

The people have always been slaves to phrases. In elections, proof of this is never found wanting. The reason why they are phrase slaves, is because they are so servile. A man may put forward the best of arguments, and another man may use some silly phrase and kill the whole argument as far as the people are concerned. Larson is a lawyer, and knows that, that is why he uses phrases. There is no argument in his statement. All he states is 'proletarian dictatorship' and 'mob tyranny'.

What is this mob tyranny? It is the tyranny of the mob who revolted against the aristocrats of France. It is the tyranny of that mob that tore down the gates of the Bastille of France. It is the same tyranny of the mob, who revolted in England and compelled the capitalists of England to bring the children from out of the mines. Before the mob exercised its tyranny, children at seven years of age worked down in the coal mines. Children at six years of age were compelled to go into flues and sweep them clear of soot. This would be still the order of the day, but the mob exercised its tyranny and assumed its dictatorship and said it shall not be! The mob will rise again and exercise its tyranny, and our friend the lawyer knows

that. When the mob rises again, it will be organized and will exercise a proletarian dictatorship, in conjunction with the tyranny that Larson speaks of. What all lawyers fear, is the coming of that dictatorship, when all who are physically fit, will have to work. You can make the hair of any lawyer stand on end, if you tell him that a day is coming when he will have to do real work.

It is an established truism that society is a social organism. We know this to be true, because we know that every individual in society is dependent upon other individuals. The lawyer cannot study the law, until the lumberjack has felled the trees, so that we can get the pulp, to make the paper, to supply the books that will be used to print the legal studies on, so that our lawyer friend may study them and become a lawyer. When the lawyer gets his law books, he must also eat, because if he did not eat, he would die and after you are dead, it is no use studying law. So you see the lawyer again depends upon the man who tills the soil and the man who harvests the wheat and the man who grinds the wheat into flour and the man who turns the flour into bread. Then again our lawyer friend cannot go about like Adam, if he did the Law would arrest him and when you are in prison you cannot get any clients, so our lawyer friend must have clothes. So then he is dependent upon the man who looks after the sheep and also upon the sheep-shearer who takes the wool from off the back of the sheep and upon the tailor who makes the clothes. So we could go on and find out that the lawyer is dependent upon all the workers. So what do we find, that the lawyer as a part of society is dependent upon all the workers, BUT THE WORKERS DO NOT NEED A LAWYER. So you will see that the lawyer is a waste. In other words he is parasitic growth upon human society. He fills no task whatsoever, necessary to the existence of society.

Now the purpose of society is, or should be, to promote the greatest amount of happiness with the least amount of energy. In other words we must eliminate all unnecessary labor. For instance the lawyer. The lawyer is of no use to us. The only people who need lawyers are the crooks who wish to prove that what they have got and what they set their eyes on, they are legally entitled to. So you will see that the worker who has to work for his living, needs no lawyer to tell him as to whether he is entitled to his wages or not. The only people who need lawyers are those that work the workers. Therefore as lawyers are only required by parasites, then it stands to sense that the lawyers are part and parcel of the parasitic growths that has fastened itself upon human society. Therefore we must rid society of this parasitic growth. How can it be done? Well, in all organisms there exists a germ that destroys the organism and creates a new one. In the egg we see the germ that brings forward the chicken. The sacs, inside the yolk of the egg all come together and form the germ, that develops and forms the chicken. When the chicken is developed, the chicken gets revolutionary and breaks the shell and steps out. The sacs of human society are the workers, and when the workers organize themselves into one industrial organization they will form the germ of the new society and by developing that organization they will be able to destroy the present form of society and step into a new one, the industrial commonwealth.

But what about the lawyer, when all this is going to happen? Forget him, get busy and organize.

THE REVOLUTION OF THE SLAVE

Exactly how slavery originated it is impossible to know. It came into being so long before the age of inscribed records that not even a tradition of its origin exists.

But, while we are in the dark as to how it originated, why it did so we may very easily surmise by merely examining into the motives that would impel one individual to enslave others.

When we do this we immediately perceive that the one incentive to enslavement in the first place would be that the slave should provide or aid in providing for the wants of the master. This is, of course, subject to the condition that the labor of the slave should produce more than sufficient to feed, clothe and shelter the slave himself. For, so long as the labor of any individual did not produce any more than the keep of that individual, there would be nothing left for the master, and there would therefore be no material advantage in enslaving him.

It was also necessary that the master should be in a position to compel the slave to work for him, and to surrender into his hands the products of his toil.

Probably, in the more primitive stages enslavement was achieved by brute force, and the slaves prevented from escaping by means of armed guards, shackles, etc.

Later, as society became more closely knit and slavery had become a regular institution, law, custom, and religion were invoked in aid of the masters. The slave was taught to accept servitude as his lot, and an attempt to escape became not only a crime, punishable in this world, but sin involving sure and certain retribution in the next. Further, the ever widening monopolization of the earth and its resources by the masters made evermore difficult the avoidance of slavery by the masses, who were held in subjection by means of the powers of government resting always in the hands of the masters, and by them ruthlessly used to crush any revolt.

The next step in the evolution of the slave was from the state of chattel slavery to that of serfdom, when he, from being the private property of a direct owner, became indirectly, but no less actually, the property of a landowner by being attached to the land as a part and parcel of the domain.

Here the condition of his servitude was that he was allotted a parcel of land and to cultivate for his own use on condition that he cultivated also the adjoining parcel for the use of his lord. Escape in the majority of cases was out of the question, for there was no whither to escape.

This system of serfdom continued and flourished so long as agriculture remained the chief industry, though, towards the last, serious inroads upon its predominance were made by the growing activity of manufacture. It was given its death-blow by the application of steam-power, which opened the way to the factory system. Industry after industry, such as spinning and weaving, was transferred from the farm to the factory, the farm industry being incapable of surviving the competition of the more economical factory.

Despite the hostile legislation of the land owners, who yet held the reins of power, the laborers followed the industry, and finally the rule of the lords was broken and the serfs emancipated from the soil, in order that the ever-growing demand of the factories for labor might be met.

But this emancipation was one of form rather than of fact. The slave was released from his master, and was free—to go and find one. A master he must have or die. Into the hands of that master he must, as of yore, surrender the product of his toil. Escape for him was more impossible than ever. Ownership now, not only of the earth and its resources, but of all the means of produc-

SUGARMAN REPLIES TO TYOMIES

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

war gods nor Townley's fakers could crush us, and even Askeli's Finnish machine cannot do it!

As to the existence of a Finnish machine, Askeli's article itself urges the machine to get well oiled so that Maley can be slipped over on the membership as state secretary.

Maley is an out and out compromiser. When Dirba resigned as city campaign manager because a motion prohibiting fusion with the old guard was defeated in Minneapolis, Miss Maley accepted the job gladly. She is campaign manager, editress of the weekly paper, assistant secretary to the mayor, candidate for school board, and state secretary all at once. A truly remarkable woman! When Carl Thompson was running the campaign in the national office in 1916, Miss Maley was sent out as a speaker to tour the Pacific Coast at twelve fifty a day, with the provision that if there was no meeting, she should receive but ten dollars, which I should say was rather good salary from a working class organization.

Dirba is so far superior to Maley that there can be little comparison. By trade a bookkeeper and stenographer, he is easily able to handle the work of the office. His wide propaganda experience as secretary of the Hennepin County organization, makes him far the best fitted for the position. As to Miss Maley, she tried to control the movement in Washington but was driven out of the state. Comrade Wagenecht, state secretary in Ohio, writes us that "outside of being a crook, a cheat, and a general good-for-nothing, she (Miss Maley) may be all right."

Dirba is not an I. W. W., but he believes that socialism means socialism and nothing else. Both in matters of policy and efficiency, Dirba will make a secretary that will help the movement grow, whereas if Miss Maley is elected, it can be expected that our organization will lose its identity in a sea of non-partisanism.

Fraternally yours,

A. L. SUGARMAN.

Poverty is the most wicked thing in the world and most senseless.

N. K. Virginia:—We do not answer anonymous writers.

We are getting far too much law these days and less justice.

LAYS BLAME ON SOCIALISM

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

to murder people by selling them adulterated food. It is as wrong, as if you sent men to sea in ships which were unsound, so that you might get the insurance money. It is just as wrong, as when you refuse to supply safety devices in your mines and so men lose their lives. It is just as wrong as when you refuse to have safety devices on your railroads and thousands of railroad men as a consequence lose their lives.

There are more ways of killing people, than by shooting them.

Levi Tarbell is a victim of your system, the system that allows you to make fortunes out of the blood of little children and young girls. You know that Socialism will stop all your fortunes, that is why you are so sordid and rotten as to use poor Levi Tarbell, in order to stop the advance of Socialism. King Canute tried to stop the waves from rolling and he failed. You are just as powerless to stop Socialism as King Canute was to stop the waves of the ocean. We are coming, say the millions of hungry workmen. We are coming to take from you that which is ours. We are going to show you how to run society, so that men will not commit murder. We are going to show you how GOOD people can be, when the feeling of hunger is removed.

We shall go where wail the children. Where from your race-killing mills, Flows a bloody stream of profit, to your cursed insensitive tills; We shall tear them from your drivers, in our shamed and angered pride, With the fury and the fierceness of a fatherhood denied.

We shall set our sisters on you, those you trap into your hells, Where the mother instinct is stifled, and no earthly beauty dwells. We shall call them from their living death, the death in life you gave, To sing our class to triumph, o'er your cruel system's grave.

Jack Carney will lecture on "Who killed John Callahan?" at the Woodman Hall, Sunday, Aug. 18th, 3 p. m.

tion, is monopolised by the master class. For that class he must toil.

He is no longer sold bodily as a chattel, or with the land as an attachment to the soil. But he must now himself sell his labor power, his physical energy, for what it will fetch. To the product of his toil he has no more claim than his forbears. Like them he receives but his keep. Worse than that, he receives it only when he can find a master; they were moderately sure of it for life.

As of old the powers of government rest in the hands of his masters and are, as of old, ruthlessly used against him.

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(EDITOR RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL UNSIGNED ARTICLES)

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THE BOLSHEVIKS.

Today, every capitalist paper in the Allied countries is denouncing the Bolsheviks. Even our own military expert, Charles S. Mitchell, of the News-Tribune, lends his voice in such denunciations.

When the czar of Russia was overthrown, the world did not shed any tears of regret. We all heaved a sigh of satisfaction, at the riddance of such a monster and autocrat. Everybody welcomed the new government of Russia. Kerensky was a man. He was the strong man of the hour. He was a second Napoleon. But when the Bolsheviks overthrew the coalition of the Cadets and the Kerenski followers, the Bolsheviks, were pro-Germans. The Herald and the News-Tribune were sure, they had special information that Lenin and Trotzky were in the pay of the Germans. After throwing all the mud, it was possible to throw, they expected the Bolsheviks to turn round and go with the Allies.

The failure of the Bolsheviks to go with the Allies is the fault of the Allies themselves. The people in Russia are opposed to the aims and designs of Germany. They have suffered too long under the old regime, to take on another of similar character. That is why they gave their support to the Bolsheviks. The land, "mother earth," was to be given back to the peasants. It was the fulfillment of their dream. When you climb up a mountain and you take a good strong breath it feels good and it repays you for all the energy you displayed in climbing the mountain. The Russian peasants felt the same way. For years they had struggled and endured trials and oppressions occasioned by Czarism. In fact, many of the cells of Siberian prisons were filled with the bones of some of the Russian peasants who had died there. Then came along Lenin and Trotzky, as leaders of the Bolsheviks and gave back to the people the land they loved and had fought for. The Allies could have gone in with these Russian fighters and saved the Russian Republic. But no, they allowed the Germans to come in and destroy it.

Why, we ask, did the Allies ignore the appeals of Levin and Trotzky?

BECAUSE THEY FEARED BOLSHEVIKISM MORE THAN THEY FEARED PRUSSIAN MILITARISM.

All due respect to President Wilson. We believe that he is heart and soul with the Russian people. We believe that he, personally, would like to see the Bolsheviks triumph. But behind the President are men who would ally themselves with the Kaiser in the suppression of the Bolsheviks. A few of them are right here in Duluth. The tool that gives out their sentiments is Mitchell, the military expert, the man who never saw a Zeppelin and who would not be able to recognize the Kaiser if he saw him. It is such men as Mitchell who are directly responsible for the Russian people, that is if they do, going over to Germany. These men have not got brains to understand Bolshevism, but their masters have and so they use men like Mitchell to chloroform and hoodwink the people.

Bolshevism means in other words Socialism. It is the only logical solution to militarism. It is the only thing that will destroy militarism root and branch. Bolshevism means that the people shall own and control industry. In other words it means the abolition of capitalism. That is why the ruling classes of all countries have opposed the Bolsheviks.

Bolshevism may be put down and crushed. But not for long. The world will not have grown very much more, before she will see Bolshevism rise to power. After this war, things will never be the same. On all sides we hear the swan song of capitalism. As in Russia the capitalists came to their doom, so in all countries capitalists are fast going to theirs. Men will be sent to prison for expressing such sentiments, but that will not crush the movements that inspire such sentiments in the hearts of men and women. The Bolsheviks may be temporarily put back. The victory may be delayed. But as sure as the night follows the day, so sure will be the victory won. Today our mouths are sealed. Today men are afraid, and are quiet. Someday the workers are going to express their feelings and ideas in actions. Someday they will refuse to be quiet and in that day Bolshevism will triumph.

It behooves every Socialist to get busy and do his share in bringing about the Social Revolution. We shall have to do much organizing and educating. If we ourselves educate and organize the workers, then the future is ours. If we lie still and refuse to act, because we are afraid, then we will live to see the world under a greater despotism than it is ever known. So let us be up and doing and so make the world safe for industrial democracy.

In conclusion, we want you to read the words of a middle-class writer, who is in Russia and who knows the Bolsheviks, by being with them and seeing them in action.

"Remember all these things, if indeed you need, as I think you do not need, such selfish motives to prompt you to the support of men who, if they fail, will fail only from having hoped too much. Every true man is in some sort, until his youth dies and his eyes harden, the potential builder of a New Jerusalem. At some time or other, every one of us has dreamed of laying his brick in such a work. And even this thing that is being built here with tears and blood is not the golden city that we ourselves have dreamed, it is still a thing to the sympathetic understanding of which each one of us is bound by whatever he owes to his youth. And if each one of us, then, all the more each nation by what it owes

to those first daring days of its existence, when all the world looked askance upon its presumptuous birth. America was young once, and there were men in America who would have brought in foreign aid to re-establish their dominion over a revolted nation. Are those the men to whom America now looks back with gratitude and pride.

Well, writing at a speed to break my pen, and with the knowledge that in a few hours the man leaves Moscow who is going to carry this letter with him to America, I have failed to say much that I would have said. I write now with my messenger waiting for my manuscript and somehow or other, incoherent, incomplete as it is, must bring it to an end. I will end with a quotation from your own Emerson. "What is the scholar, what is the man for, but for hospitality to every new thought of his time? Have you leisure, power, property, friends? you shall be the asylum and patron of every new thought, every unproven opinion, every untried project, which proceeds out of good will and honest seeking. All the newspapers, all the tongues of today will of course at first defame what is noble; but you who hold not of today, not of the Times but of the Everlasting, are to stand for it; and the highest compliment man ever receives from heaven is the sending to him its disguised and discredited angels." No one contends that the Bolsheviks are angels. I ask only that men shall look through the fog of libel that surrounds them and see that the ideal for which they are struggling, in the only way in which they can struggle, is among those lights which every man of young and honest heart sees before him somewhere on the road, and not among those other lights from which he resolutely turn away. These men who have made the Soviet government in Russia, if they must fail, will fail with clean shields and clean hearts, having striven for an ideal which will live beyond them. Even if they fail, they will none the less have written a page of history more daring than any other which I can remember in the story of the human race. They are writing it amid showers of mud from all the meaner spirits in their country, in yours and in my own. But, when the thing is over, and their enemies have triumphed, the mud will vanish like black magic at noon, and that page will be as white as the snows of Russia, and the writing on it as bright as the gold domes that I used to see glittering in the sun when I looked from my windows in Petrograd.

And when in after years men read that page they will judge your own country and mine, your race and mine, by the help or hindrance they gave to the writing of it.

Arthur Ransome."

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

Suppose when walking down Superior Street, you met a man being attacked by a number of individuals. The gang who were attacking him had other men who were holding his arms, so that he was being rendered powerless to defend himself.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

If you were a man with red blood in your veins, you would assist the man who was being attacked. Of course you would. How foolish to state otherwise!

Let us give you a living illustration of the above. The I. W. W. are being attacked. They are defending themselves against the charges put forward by the Government. The Government has all the power that is possible for any organization to have. They have the best lawyers in the land. Millions of dollars to carry on their prosecution. Also hundreds of thousands of officials to assist them.

The I. W. W. have only their membership to rely upon. A group of workers. These workers are giving their last dollar so that their fellow-workers can receive a proper defense. The Government is holding up the money sent by these fellow-workers to assist those that are being tried. In other words the Government is holding the hands of the I. W. W. whilst they are being attacked. The officials of the Department of Justice are "sweating" and coercing witnesses for the I. W. W., besides holding up the mail of the I. W. W.

What will you do?

Box 1087,
Sacramento, Calif.
Aug. 3rd, 1918.

Jack Carney,
Fellow-worker:

Please send me a few copies of the Truth, late numbers. One copy of each issue will be enough. I see you had an article in the Labor Defender some time back. There are thirty-five members of the I. W. W. in the County Jail here. They have been incarcerated since Dec. 22nd last. They are charged with violating the Espionage Act. The whole trouble is that they are members of a revolutionary organization. These men have been abused in many ways. They are not allowed visitors. The thermometer registers 100 these days, so you can figure they are pretty warm cooped up in small cells. Sacramento water is vile and warm. The food is poor. The local press is howling all the time. Candidates for political honors in their speeches never fail to lambast us. A police court judge said here recently, that if he had his way, we would all be lined up against a machine gun. The local sheriff said we should all do long

terms in the penitentiary. What for, he did not say. Our Defense Hall in San Francisco has been raided several times. You will see by this that we have been having a warm time here in this state. You can put in a word for these boys, I am sure it would be heartily appreciated.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

JOHN GRAVE.

The above letter speaks for itself. We trust that comrades will write to the above address and forward literature, and if you can, an occasional dollar.

It is high time that some person had the Constitution read to the Sacramento authorities. Here are men cast into a vile prison, because they believe that the people are entitled to life, liberty and happiness.

We also trust that some of our good comrades who accuse us of being an I. W. W., will read this letter over, and over again. There must be something good said for these I. W. W. boys. They go through living hells and still they fight on. Some day we will take hats off to these game and noble fighters. Some day when the clouds of war have rolled away and the world breathes easier, the I. W. W. will receive credit for what they are doing. Strange how the capitalist press can hoodwink some people!

THE MACHINE AGE.

Invention has filled the world with machines—every one of them to increase the product of labor. If the workers benefited by these machines, everything would be alright. BUT THEY DO NOT.

A machine that was invented in the baking industry, can turn out ten thousand loaves, with the aid of five boys. It would take fifty men, working at the old time method, twice as long to bake the same amount of bread. Has the worker benefited by the invention of that baking machine?

No.

A man can go into shoe factory and be measured for a pair of shoes and the shoes will be ready in less than thirty minutes. Invention has revolutionized the shoe industry. Has the shoe worker benefited by such inventions?

No.

In the iron industry, a machine will turn out molds ten times quicker than the old time ironmolder can turn them out. Has the ironworker benefited?

No.

In the glass industry, a machine will turn out bottles hundred times quicker than the old time glass blower can turn them out. Has the glass blower benefited?

No.

Why have not these workers we have mentioned, been benefited by these new discoveries?

BECAUSE THE MACHINES THEY USE ARE OWNED BY THEIR MASTERS.

What must the workers do to own the machines and so gain the benefits to be gained by new discoveries?

Can they buy them from their masters?

No.

Why?

Because the workers only receive sufficient to live upon, therefore they have no money to buy the machines.

Well, if we cannot buy them, how can they obtain control of them?

By organizing in the factory, mine and field.

But would they not be robbing the boss if they took the machines away from them?

No.

Why?

Because the machines originally belong to the workers. In which way do they originally belong to the workers.

First before we can have a factory, we must have the raw materials to build the factory.

Who works and brings forth the raw materials from the earth?

The workers.

Who converts the raw materials into steel, etc.?

The workers.

Who builds the factories?

The workers.

Who builds the machines that go in the factories?

The workers.

Who run the machines that were made by the workers, in the factories erected by the workers?

The workers.

So you see that the workers are responsible for the manufacture of everything.

Therefore those who manufacture all these things are entitled to them.

But the boss does something, does he not?

Sure. He works the workers.

So you see if the workers organize in the shops, etc., and organize with the purpose of taking control, they can easily secure control of industry. So that when a new machine is invented that will do the work of ten men in ten hours, instead of as before, in one hundred hours, ten men will be able to reduce their hours of labor.

But suppose the boss orders out soldiers to shoot us down. What then?

As you organize industrially you will organize politically and so you will gain control of the police, the army and the navy.

So all you have got to do, is to organize as industrial unionists and reflect your industrial power on to the political field and everything is yours.

Simple, isn't it?

Old farmer (to soldier son just returned from the Front): "Well, Dick, what be these tanks like that there's so much talk about?" Son: "Why, they're just wobbling thing-amabobs, full of what-you-may-call-'ems, and they blaze always like billyho!" Old farmer: "Ay, I heard they was wonderful things, but I never could get any details afore." "Tit-Bits."

In the search after knowledge it has happened to me as to one who, after rising in the dark, impatiently awaits the dawn and then the rising sun, and yet is dazzled when it appears.—Goethe.

The reporter wrote "New York." The compositor set it "New Pork." As that is the home of the fattest trusts in the world, the compositor may not have been so far wrong.—Ex.

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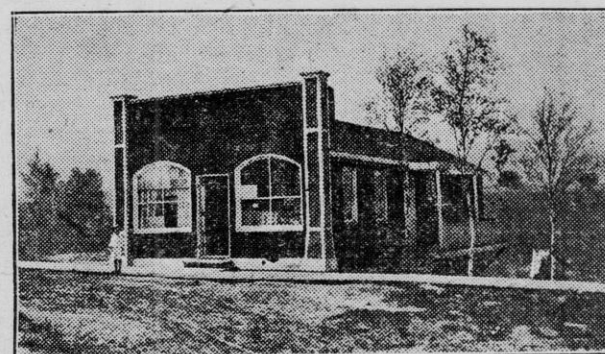
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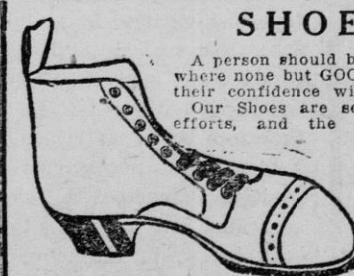
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