

THE MOTHER OF ALL SOCIAL WEALTH, OF ALL CULTURE, IS LABOR. WHATEVER WE ARE AND HAVE, WE ARE AND HAVE THROUGH LABOR. NOT OUR PERSONAL LABOR, AT LEAST ONLY TO A CONSIDERABLE DEGREE, BUT THE GENERAL SOCIAL LABOR—K. Liebknecht.

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.

THE TRUTH



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DULUTH, MINN., AUGUST 23, 1918

WHOLE NUMBER 62

EUGENE DEBS MAKES RINGING CALL TO ACTION THE I. W. W. ARE NOT GUILTY

Chicago.—Eugene V. Debs electrified the national conference of Socialist officials here on Sunday by his sudden appearance and the delivery of an inspiring message straight from his heart. He said in part:

"This is a very hearty reception, comrades, and I thank you all. I need not assure you that I am glad to be with you this morning. We are on the eve of a very important campaign. I feel that there is urgent need for the work before us, for each and all of us, and I hope we may enter upon the work that lies before us, unitedly, determined and full of enthusiasm.

"The party has been passing through what may be called a fiery ordeal during the past few weeks, subject, as perhaps never before to a test of the very fiber of its being; and during all this time the party has stood and withstood all of the attacks that have been made upon it; and, for myself, I am sure the party is today in a far more aggressive and determined position than ever before in all its history. It is true that there have been certain desertions, but the party has not been weakened on that account. We are indebted to the master class for at least one service, and that is for having rid us of those who do not properly belong here.

"Numbers do not always count. We are stronger today because of the desertion of certain misleaders. We are stronger because of the test to which we have been subjected, and, for myself, I believe the outlook for the party was never more encouraging and inspiring than it is today.

Purpose of Appearance.

"I have come here to do myself the pleasure of taking you by the hand and of assuring you once more that in this trying hour, I am with you, heart and hand. It does not matter what befalls us as individuals; we have but to maintain inviolate the integrity of the Socialist party. If that fails, all is gone. So long as we are true to ourselves, and true to the principles of international Socialism, we cannot go far astray—we cannot lose, to any great extent.

"Now is the time for every Comrade to prove himself. Now is the time for every Comrade to measure up and show to the world that he is worthy of a place in the Socialist movement.

Not to Outline Policy.

"It is not for me to outline what shall be the purpose or the policy of this conference. I am here simply to visit as a Comrade. I want to do what lies in my power to aid you in the work there is before us.

"The master class of our country have done everything in their power to destroy democracy. They have suppressed our papers. They have jailed our members. They have broken up our meetings. They have persecuted us in every conceivable way.

Spirit Not Crushed.

"We have had to submit, to a certain extent, but they have not crushed our spirit; they have not deflected us from our purposes. We stand today staunchly as never before upon the principles

of international Socialism, and we propose, in the face of all the opposition, all of the hatred, all of the persecution, to bear aloft our banner and to wage unceasingly the war for the emancipation of the workers of the world.

"In the correspondence I have had with the members throughout the country I have not had during the last three weeks one disheartening word. On the contrary, every message I received if fraught with the militant spirit of Socialism, and I am persuaded that when the campaign is properly opened and our speakers enter the field they will find our Comrades, and, indeed, not only our Comrades, but the workers generally, more receptive to our message than they have ever been before.

Now Is Time for Action.

"For some little time past I have had to take an enforced rest. The hardest thing imposed on a Socialist is the necessity of resting when the world is on fire. Now is the time for action. I feel as never before that all we have is needed in this hour, and I have come to you to make my little offering this morning, to grasp hands with you, to share in your spirit, to assure you that I am ready to do my little utmost now, and as the days go by in the interest of the only cause on this earth worth living, fighting and dying for.

"All my life I have never been so proud of being a Socialist as I am today. I have never been so proud of my Comrades as I am today.

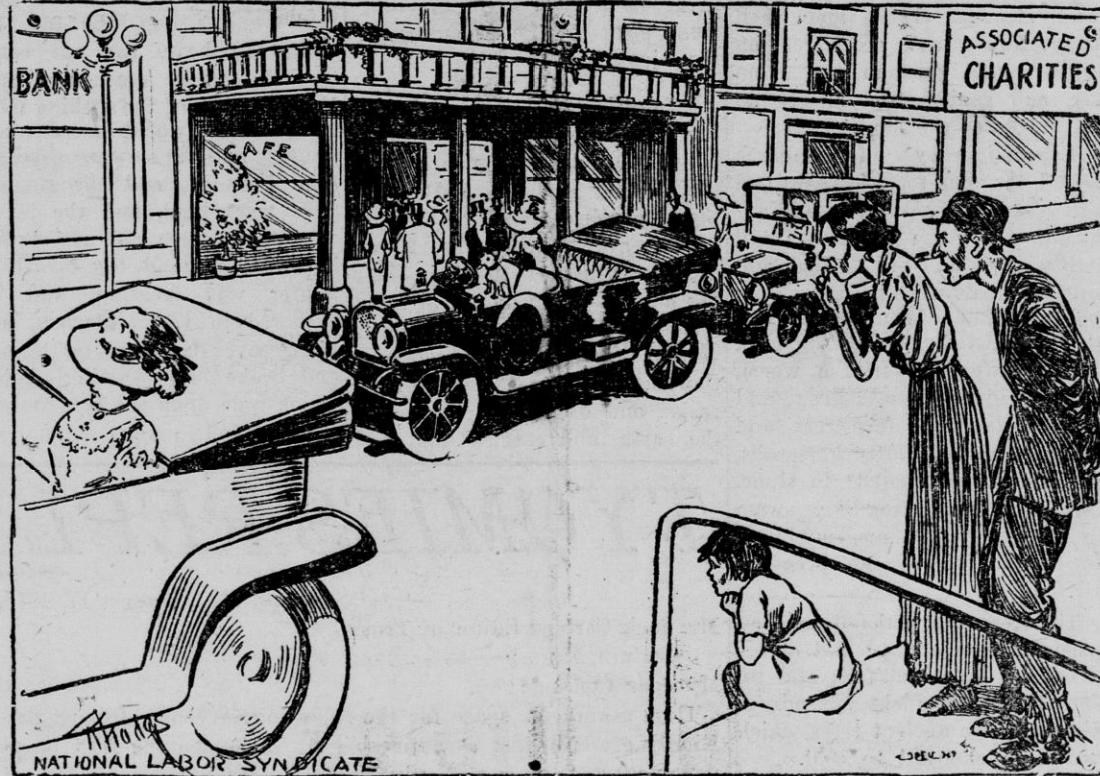
"In every hour of trial that has come they have stood staunch and true. With them I gladly share my life, and come good or ill, as it may, we will not weaken, we will not compromise, we will not retreat an inch, we will stand our ground, we will fight together unitedly all along the battle line for victory for the international Socialist movement."

FROM THE MESABA ORE.

No, we don't need any more lawyers in congress—not the smart kind that are sent there to protect the Big Business interests, at least. It has just come to light that there is a "joker" which fixes a maximum wage in the civil appropriation act, slipped in when no one was looking. Do you wonder, then, that there is continued "industrial unrest" in the nation when such underhanded things as that are pulled off by Big Business. Some day to come, maybe, the wage-earner will do his own thinking, especially at election time.

We trust that the meat packing robbers will not take offense because we neglect to print all of the good things they want us to say about them—furnishing the copy themselves, so's we won't make any mistakes. Our ideas seem to differ, materially.

The McGee coal dumping order was so rotten silly that even the Duluth Herald couldn't stand for it—and that's going some.



"WORK OR FIGHT"

TRUTH ABOUT THE I. W. W.

(Issued by National Civil Liberties Bureau.)

AS A LABOR MOVEMENT.

"The I. W. W. can be described with complete accuracy as the extension of the American labor strike into the zone of casual, migratory labor. All the superficial features, such as its syndicalistic philosophy, its sabotage, threats of burning and destruction, are the natural and normal accompaniments of an organized labor disturbance in this field.

"Their philosophy is, in its simple reduction, a stomach philosophy, and their politico-industrial revolt could be called without injustice a hunger riot."

—Carlton H. Parker.

"I have many times asked young men and women what first caught their interest. From the best of them it is invariably this: 'Nothing has yet been done for labor at the bottom. Where it is helpless, ignorant, without speech, it has been neglected and abused. It is pushed into every back alley and into all work that is hardest and most dangerous. Society forgets it. The trade unions that should befriend it forget it too. Now comes the I. W. W. with the first bold and brotherly cry which these ignored masses have ever heard.'"

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE I. W. W.

The I. W. W. is a symptom of a distressing industrial status. For the moment the relation of its activities to our war preparation has befogged its economic origins, but all purposeful thinking about even the I. W. W.'s attitude towards the war must begin with a full and careful consideration of these origins.

All the famous revolutionary movements of history gained their cause-for-being from some

intimate and unendurable oppression and their behavior-in-revolt reflected the degree of their suffering. The chartist and early trade union riots in England, the revolution of 1798 in France, the Nihilists' killings in Russia, the bitter attacks on the railroads by the Grangers of the Northwest, the extremes into which the Anti-Saloon League propaganda has evolved, are a small part of the long revolt-catalogue of which the I. W. W. is the last entry. Each one of these movements had its natural psycho-political antecedents and much of the new history is devoted to a careful describing and revaluation of them.

At some later and less hysterical date the I. W. W. phenomenon will be dispassionately dissected in somewhat the following way:

(1) There were in 1910 in the United States some 10,400,000 unskilled male workers. Of these some 3,500,000 moved, by discharge or quitting, so regularly from one work town to another that they could be called migratory labor. Because of this unstable migratory life this labor class lost the conventional relationship to women and child life, lost its voting franchise, lost its habit of common comfort or dignity, and gradually became consciously a social class with fewer legal or social rights than are conventionally ascribed to Americans. The cost of this experiment was aggravated by the ability and habitation of this migratory class to read about and appreciate the higher social and economic life enjoyed by the American middle class.

(2) The unskilled labor class itself experienced a life not markedly more satisfying than the migratories. One fourth of the adult fathers of their families earned less than \$400 a year, one-half earned less than \$600. The minimum cost of decent liv-

ing for a family was approximately \$800. Unemployment, destitution and unearned-for sickness was a monotonous familiarity to them.

(3) The to-be-expected revolt against this social condition was conditioned and colored by the disillusionment touching justice and industrial democracy and the personal and intimate indignities and sufferings experienced by the migratories. The revolt-organization of the migratories, called the I. W. W., failing most naturally to live up to the elevated legal and contract-respecting standards of the more comfortable union world, was visited by severe middle-class censure and legal persecution.

—Carlton H. Parker.

SABOTAGE AND VIOLENCE. What is Sabotage?

Speaking of a common form known in France as "open-mouth sabotage," Mr. Brooks says: "I have sometimes heard this delicate cruelty of exact truth telling recommended by the I. W. W. as one of the most perfected forms of sabotage for clerks and retail vendors generally. 'Get together, study the foods, spices, candies, and every adulterated product. Study the weights and measures, and all of you tell the exact truth to every customer.'"

"This is near akin to something far more widely practiced. For railway employees to submit an exact obedience to every rule under which they work, is to create instant havoc on that road. A train is not started on schedule tick while two or three old ladies are in the act of climbing onto the cars. There has always to be the 'margin of discretion' in applying rules. French and Italian Syndicalists brought utmost confusion to the railroads

(Continued on page 2)

'Bill' Haywood and Fellow-Workers Face 27 Years in Jail, \$10,000 Fine, Under Conspiracy Act

Motion made for New Trial

Members of Jury Deliberate an Hour after Brief Argument by Federal Counsel.

CHICAGO.—One hundred leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World were found "guilty as charged in the indictment" by the jury after one hour's deliberation at their trial for conspiracy to disrupt the nation's war program. Arguments for a new trial will be heard next week.

Face Heavy Penalties.

The defendants, including William D. ("Big Bill") Haywood, general secretary-treasurer of the I. W. W., highest position in the organization, face the maximum penalty of 27 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine each.

Federal Judge K. M. Landis in his charge to the jury, withdrew the fifth and last count of the order which charged conspiracy to violate the postal laws and particularly that section excluding from the mails enterprises in the nature of schemes to defraud.

The remaining four counts of the indictment specifically charge violation of the espionage act, the section of the criminal code prohibiting interference with the civil rights of citizens, the selective service act and the conspiracy statute.

Case Closes Suddenly.

The close of the case was sudden. Two minor witnesses testified at the morning session and following them Frank N. Nebeker, chief counsel for the government, began his closing argument, for which he was allowed two hours but consumed scarcely half of that time.

Then George F. Vanderveer, head of the defense legal staff, to the surprise of all in the courtroom, declared that he would submit the case to the jury without making a closing statement.

In his closing argument Attorney Nebeker said: "You have been engaged in one of the most epoch-making trials in the history of the country."

Wisdom of Laws.

"The wisdom of the laws of this country is not at issue. We obey the decisions of the highest court and that is the only way that a republic can live. Anything that strikes at that is a dangerous thing."

"The wisdom of the decisions of the courts of this country is not at issue. The industrial system is not on trial; this case is not against any interests of honest workingmen, nor against any patriotic labor organization. And no effort is being made by the government to justify mob violence, the Bisbee deportation, or other lawless acts."

"At its very start the I. W. W. struck at the foundations of our government."

After the instructions of Judge Landis the jury retired at 4:10 p. m., and just one hour later announced that its verdict was ready. The court was hastily assembled and the verdict was read at 5:25 p. m. There was no demonstration and the defendants were returned to their cells after Judge Landis had announced that he would hear arguments for a new trial next week, the exact date to be set later.

The court discussed in detail the charges contained in the four counts. The first count charges conspiracy to prevent and hinder the government from executing numerous statutes for the prosecution of the war. The second count charges conspiracy to interfere with the production and transportation of food, clothing and munitions essential to the carrying on of the war.

The third count charges conspiracy to interfere with the enforcement of the selective draft law. The fourth count charges conspiracy to violate the federal espionage law and to obstruct army and navy recruiting.

Judge Landis then discussed at length the law on conspiracy and the fundamental rules of evidence.

Defendants to Court.

Before the instructions to the jury were read Judge Landis ordered 83 of the 100 defendants who have been out on bail during the progress of the trial, taken into custody and searched to make certain that no weapons were brought into the courtroom. An extra police guard was on duty when court reconvened in the afternoon and every visitor was carefully scrutinized before being admitted. At 2 o'clock the courtroom was crowded and scores of policemen, detectives and agents of the department of justice circulated among the spectators.

The I. W. W. trial began April 1 and was one of the longest criminal cases in on record in this country. The record contains 30,000 typewritten pages or 7,500,000 words.

There is no claim on the part of the I. W. W. that they did not receive absolutely fair treatment in their trial. This was made clear yesterday by William D. ("Big Bill") Haywood himself. He expressed himself as satisfied Judge Landis had given every single one of the one hundred defendants a square deal, and said this was the opinion of all the convicted men, without one dissenting voice.

"I have no fault to find with Judge Landis, and none of the rest of us have," said Haywood at the county jail. "He was fair to us."

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 3)

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS—If the Number Opposite Your Name on the Address Slip is 62 or less, Your Subscription to The TRUTH Has Expired, and You Should Renew at Once—Office, 101 Stack Building

The Unfolding of the Universe

In the beginning was fire; even a vast cloud or nebula of fire, and it moved more swiftly than the mind can think.

Then out of this mass of fire there came globes, hot and white, spinning round and round, and they rolled in circles about the great sun.

One of these globes was the earth, white-hot and shining, and flinging its rays of light and heat on all sides as it spun.

The earth grew cooler, and became less bright and a soft mist formed round it, and the crust of melted stuff heaved up and down, for there was fire inside it; and the air was thick and steamy, and giant clouds passed to and fro, and the earth was all quake and thunder.

And still the earth moved round the sun.

A mass of the soft and hot crust burst away, and flew afar off, and spun round the earth, and took the shape of a globe as it spun; and still it spun for you and for me as the silver shining moon.

The molten crust became yet cooler, and harder, and darker; and the steamy clouds dropped water upon the solid earth, and the water shook in night waves and tempests howled, and at times the fire flared form the bowels of the earth.

Hard and cold was now much of the ocean rose twice each day like granite, and the loud billows of the ocean beat upon the rock and broke it, and battered it, and ground it to powder, and strewed it in thick beds as it were sand, and the beds of sand became dense and hard, and to-day men call them sandstone; or beds of mud, which to-day men call slate.

No man knows if life lived in the days of the molten globe; but in the days of the beating sea, and the sand, and the mud, life lived in tiny blobs of matter, too small to see, in the waste of waters.

Such a tiny blob of living stuff was the Anceba, soft, jelly-like, without heart, without nerves, ever pushing on little points this way and that, as it drew into itself the food from the water in which it floated. This was an animal.

Other tiny cells, of the color of purple, or yellow or brown, or blue-green, were plant cells, and we now name them Algae; and these also floated in the water; but green became the true plant color.

And still the earth moved round the sun, and as it moved on its way through space it spun upon its own centre, and half was in the sunlight of Day

and half was in the dark Night.

There were no hills in these days, and the land lay in low flats and islands, and the tide of the ocean rose twice each day and rolled upon the beach and ebbled each day; and there was no man to hear the roar of the waves.

Life unfolded. Plant cells grew in new forms, and green mosses softly covered the stones, and ferns spread their long leaves, while animal cells grew in new forms, and the sea was the home of sponges, and corals, and strange crabs, and shell fishes swam, and six-legged insects darted through the damp air, and snails crept slowly on the banks of the mud.

Every journey of the earth round the sun took a year, and the years passed, and millions again, and grass grew, and tall palms grew, and plants died, and other animals were born from the parents, and life unfolded, and there was always something new.

Life unfolded. In the warm, moist air dense forests grew, and the plants were fern-trees and giant mosses and lofty horsetails, and they were rooted in slime. New creatures, frog-like, swam in the water, and came out upon the muddy shores and breathed air.

The trees died and fell, and lay prone in the swamp; and others lived and died and fell; and to-day the busy picks of miners dig out these ancient trees which had been changed to coal.

The fiery heart of the globe was cooler, and as the crust of the globe cooled it shrunk and often broke, and parts were thrust in hills and mountains, and parts sank low as gorges and valleys, and waterfalls splashed over the rocks.

Tides flowed and ebbled and storms beat upon the hills; and still the earth moved round the sun, and the years passed, millions of years passed; and strong rocks were washed by sea and stream, and ground into mud and sand.

Life unfolded. Tall pine trees raised their dark green heads, and hung out their cones of spreading boughs. In the ocean and on the land appeared horrid reptiles, four-limbed and tailed, and with teeth, and they swam as tyrants of the waters, and caused fear on shore and in valleys and plains.

The globe was less hot, and

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE I. W. W.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

by their 'conspiracy' of literal obedience."

Its Purpose.

"The advantages which are supposed to follow a shrewd use of sabotage are that it enables the men to hold their job, even while half ruining it. The risk and waste of long strikes have been learned. Sabotage, 'if made an intellectual process,' may strike at the employer a swifter and more deadly blow and lessen the changes of scabbing."

—John Graham Brooks.

Some of our candidates for political office have no other stock-in-trade except the war, and it is the growing opinion that some of these loud-mouthed individuals would improve their argument materially if they took some little part in trying to make the world a safe place to live in.

Duluth newspapers have a new string to their harp. A policeman was recently killed in that city by a socialist, and these erudite publications are saying: "Ah-ha,—now just look what socialism leads to."

in some places the glittering frost whitened the trees, and ice hardened the rivers.

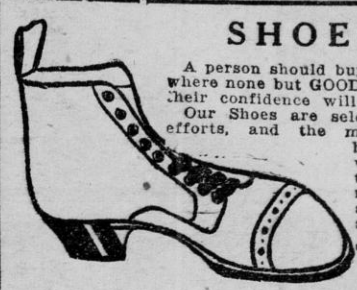
On the bed of the sea the hard parts of dead water animals lay in thick masses of lime and chalk, and more was added, and more was added; and as the years passed and the millions of years passed, the bed of the sea was lifted here and there, and the crust of the globe crumbled, and new hills were made; and today we behold the ancient bed of the sea in the chalk hills clad in green grass, and in the limestone peaks of the Apennines or the Alps of Europe.

Life unfolded. New beasts like the kangaroo had young ones which they bore in pouches on their hairy bellies, and while these pouched creatures leaped on the grassy plains, lo! flying reptiles with sharp teeth in their big mouths soared in the air, and seemed to tell of the race of birds yet to come. Great streams flowed, and wore away hard rocks, and dug deep canyons in the earth, and carried mud and

sand and lime to the sea; and at one spot the land would slowly sink and at another new lands would arise from the sea.

Life unfolded. Trees that bore flowers began to grow, and the rose and the apple came to be; and animals carried young ones in their wombs, nor did the young stay in pouches, but were born straightway from their mothers, as cubs and whelps and pups and the like; and the mothers gave suck to the wee beasties; and of such tribes of animals, called mammals, are the sloth, the whale, the seal, the pig, the elephant, the horse, the ass, the zebra, the camel, the bull, the sheep, the rat, the lion, the tiger, the cat, the dog, the fox, the wolf, the bear, the ant eater, the bat; and the pouched animals, they also are of the sucking tribe. And still the world moved round the sun, and the flowers of spring time bloomed, and the summer days were long, and the leaves of autumn were red and brown in their fall, and the breath of winter was freezing, and ice gathered in vast glaciers, and glided over the land to the sea, and broke into shining bergs, which rode upon the blue waters.

(Continued Next Week)



SHOES FOR ALL

A person should buy their shoes these days at a store where none but GOOD SHOES are sold—a store in which their confidence will not be abused.

Our Shoes are selected from the best makers' best efforts, and the man we shoe this year will come back next year. Once we serve you we are not afraid of losing you.

We know from past experience that once a customer always a customer. — We are Union men selling and repairing shoes

The Model Shoe Store
JENS JACOBSON, Prop.
Note the address. 1024 W. Sup. St.

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MEN'S, LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S SHOES.

12 21st Avenue West, Duluth, Minn.

MODERN REPAIRING DEPARTMENT.

TYOMIES REPLY TO SUGARMAN

Superior, Wis., August 17, 1918.

Editor of Työmies.

Mr. Jack Carney, Editor of Truth,
Duluth, Minn.

My dear Comrade:

I am asking for space for the following in your esteemed paper. Kindly grant it just as noticeable a position on the first page of your paper as you so willingly granted to Mr. Sugarmán's campaign boost in your issue for the 16th inst. The article by Sugarmán which we refer to contains, in addition to all the campaign boosting selected according to Sugarmán's particular taste, a gross charge against the Työmies and it is our duty as socialists to take the very keenest interest in it. No one in the organized socialist labor movement should cast about irresponsible charges of whatsoever nature—not even in the heat of a campaign.

Mr. Sugarmán in his article concerning the Työmies—which is a newspaper owned and controlled by the Finnish socialist locals—says, among other things, the following:

"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."

This paragraph contains the gross charge against our paper. Mr. Sugarmán contents that the Työmies advocated scabbery during the Mesaba strike.

Mr. Sugarmán, kindly introduce without further delay the competent proof that has entitled you to express in public such a charge! Do it in the coming issue of the Truth. Do it just as openly as you made the charge. Publicity is the most beneficial for a socialist labor paper in matters of this nature. We have faith in it. Therefore do not delay, Mr. Sugarmán.

Or if you do not present the proof, then rescind the charge immediately!

We do not desire to pay any attention to the other portions of Mr. Sugarmán's letter. We shall simply point out that the Työmies for its own part, has not said a word in reference to Mr. Sugarmán's heated campaign for his candidate for state secretary. Individual comrades, we admit, have written concerning it, but their articles have been accompanied by their own signatures. Com. Askeli, secretary of the Finnish Socialist Federation, also wrote. Sugarmán, therefore, should have used his staining brush against these comrades and not commence to paint upon the Työmies.

We have not, as we said, taken any part in that campaign, which appears to be such a sorry affair for Mr. Sugarmán. We have not had the time for it. We have had more important duties. We have not even known for very long that there was a certain Mr. Sugarmán. May Mr. Sugarmán excuse us for that. We have just learned during the past year that the socialist labor movement in Minnesota has been ennobled with the accompaniment of Mr. Sugarmán. It has given us pleasure and certainly nothing else. And then we have noted by the way that Mr. Sugarmán is apparently an enthusiastic young comrade in the party. Saying it frankly, we have much sympathy toward Mr. Sugarmán. We do not hesitate to admit it openly whenever the occasion arises. We have formed the opinion that Mr. Sugarmán may still be a socialist sometime in the future, when he matures and is schooled. But such young and promising material should not be spoiled—by placing it in the wrong place in the activities of the party.

When Mr. Sugarmán now takes up for honest consideration the charge that he has made—for one reason or another—and explains it as requested heretofore, he will show by that that he is a young man who possesses the capability to learn and understand, which, as already mentioned, gives much reason for hope.

Fraternally,
EEMELI PARRAS,

P. S.—I shall also take advantage of this opportunity to express a friendly request to the Editor of the Truth. You also, dear friend and Editor of the Truth, desist from the boyishness that is befitting only to a youngster, that special desire to peek which you have expressed toward the Työmies and which is also expressed in the remarkable willingness you have rendered in the noticeable publication of Mr. Sugarmán's article. For some reason—we do not know what—the Truth has written against the Työmies. And the Työmies has not given any reason for it. If our paper has contained polemic articles against the Truth which have been provided with the signatures of the writers, then, our dear friend, the Editor of the Truth, should not reply to the Työmies, but to the writers. An editor should by this time learn to comply with that most general custom in journalism. For, see here, we really have had no time to pay any interest to a "controversy" of that nature, which, on the part of the Editor of the Truth, arises from the incomplete assimilation of the doctrines and theories of scientific socialism. We realize the paroxysm arising from that and our sympathy generally is for a patient of that kind, but we regret that we have not the time to extend it our special attention. We console our friend, the Editor of the Truth, in the same manner as Mr. Sugarmán. The doctrines of socialism will certainly clarify themselves when you possess sufficient zeal for the endeavor

(We leave Comrade Sugarmán to supply the evidence that will sustain the charge that he made against Työmies. A perusal of the columns of Työmies will bring forth ample evidence to justify the assertion made by Sugarmán.

As far as our boyishness is concerned, we trust that we shall remain so for many years to come. We would most certainly dread being one of those wise old sage philosophers that hang to our movement, like barnacles to a ship. We have too many in our movement, whose only qualification for their job is their long membership. It is the youth of our movement, that acts as a spur to the wise old men, who want to keep us where our grandfathers stood during the Civil War. Youth has its faults, it is at times impetuous, but after all, youth with its mistakes advances further along the road to freedom, than the wise old men who are afraid to take a step.

Työmies has been criticised by us when criticism was needed, and not before, because we have more important work to do. Työmies attacked us and asked where did we come from? The reason why they ask such a question, was to cause a feeling of suspicion to be levelled against us and so make our lot all the harder. We may be young, but our membership in the Socialist movement dates back to 1905. We have nothing to be ashamed of during the many years we have been with the movement.

We further criticised Työmies because we were ridiculed, because we made the assertion that the workers do not pay taxes. If the workers pay taxes, why does the Steel Trust oppose the Tonnage Tax? Why are the profiteers opposing the war profits legislation that is being put forward by the present Administration?

We further criticised Työmies, when they allowed Feidias to scoff and jeer at Leo Laukki, when he was being prosecuted by the Government. We wonder how low a man can sink, when he will deliberately, with malice and forethought, scoff and jeer at a man who is being persecuted for the work he has done in behalf of the workers? Feidias wrote these scurrilous attacks upon comrade Laukki, and comrade Parras is responsible for their being printed. We may be boyish, but we have never been guilty of making sport out of a comrade who is in prison. Työmies some day will recognize the fact that the members of the I. W. W. are members of the working-class, and they will also understand that the basic principle of the Socialist Party is: AN INJURY TO ONE IS THE CONCERN OF ALL. Until they recognize the foregoing, let them forever hold their peace.—Ed. Truth.)

SOCIAL DANCE

— BY —
Central Committee of Socialist Party

Tower Hall Superior, Wis.
MONDAY EVENING, AUGUST 26th

MUSIC By JOHNSON'S FOUR-PIECE ORCHESTRA
Dancing from 9 P. M. to 1 A. M.
Admission: \$1.00 per couple. Extra lady 25 cents.

Entertainment

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SCANDINAVIAN LOCAL AT

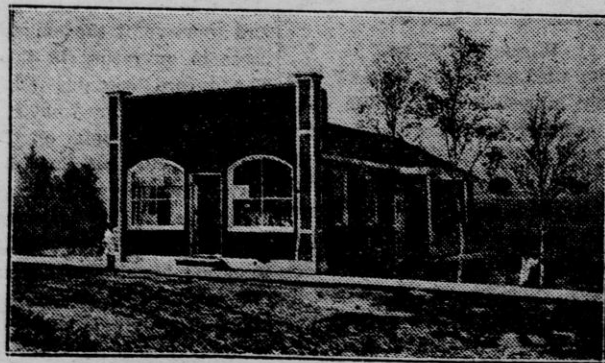
WOODMAN HALL
SUNDAY EVE., AUG. 25th

1918, AT 8 O'CLOCK.

Prof. ALFRED WESTRUP, Ph. D.
Professor of Economic Science

Will lecture on "The New Philosophy of Money".
Miss Maude Westrup will render musical selections.

There will also be a good program of music, singing and recitations.
REFRESHMENTS WILL BE SERVED.
Admission 35c. and 15c. EVERYBODY WELCOME!



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THE I. W. W. ARE NOT GUILTY

(Continued from Page 1)
absolutely square throughout the whole trial. His instructions were fair, I thought, and certainly he treated us excellently while the trial was in progress.

PHILOSOPHY OF A FOOL.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4
vantage of knowing the world in every hole and corner of it, and her acquaintance with mankind dates back to the forest primeval. When the people become imbued with the binding spirit of brotherhood, the Ruling Class may babble their prayers at the shrines of the gods they have worshipped.

Death will reach out sternly and destroy them as they kneel. Not that the People will kill. Not that they will invoke the Jail, the Gallows and the Firing Squad. The atrocities to which they have been subjected through the ages they will not in retaliation inflict.

As men, the Ruling Class will be permitted to exist, if only that they may purge themselves of their sins. But, as tyrants they will perish utterly from the face of the earth when the People of the Nations look at one another with eyes of understanding and feel their individual weakness vitalized with the amazing strength of unity.

O great New Power, come into your own! The world awaits you.

The wretched millions long for liberation. From sweating dens and slums they call to you for help. From fields of blood and torture-houses of servitude they call to you.

You alone can give mankind salvation—can save the slave and redeem the tyrant, and pull down the grim Bastilles, and out of the stones of iniquity build palaces of delight.

Yours is the task, O New Power of the People, to rejuvenate Labor, grown prematurely old; to transform religion, to uplift Science, to inspire Art.

Just now the skies are blacker than ever before. The guns roar like devouring beasts. The voices of reason, of love, of peace are drowned in such a pandemonium as Hell itself cannot match.

The nations are mad for slaughter. It seems that the Ruling Class have triumphed indeed—that no Power among men can save humanity.

And yet, I feel that the Moon spoke truly and that the Dawn has not lied to me. I feel that a New Power is coming to change all things.

I feel it even as I feel the Coming of Spring—to fructify the dead and break the tyranny of the shadows.

Praise for Landis.
"Everything possible that could be done for us during the trial was done. This is shown by Judge Landis letting about seventy of us out of jail on our own recognizances. I am glad that none of us violated the confidence he reposed in us, but that all were on hand for the final day.

"I think if the jury had followed the instructions there would have been a different story. I hope the next steps will be taken quickly. If our motion for a new trial is denied, we shall, of course, appeal.

"We are still good I. W. W., all of us. Every one is still loyal to the organization. We look upon our conviction as merely an incident in the history of the I. W. W. In reality we regard the organization as only born yesterday, and are sure it will flourish. We're not for Germany, as they said we were. For me, I'd like to see the kaiser kicked off the face of the globe."

GREAT CHANGES AFTER THE WAR

Lloyd George Foresees Big Social and Economic Disturbance.

London.—"There is a new land confronting us," said Premier Lloyd George in a recent speech. "What manner of country it will be," he continued, "will depend on how the war goes and on how things go after the war.

"I am more confident today than I ever have been, and for reasons it would not be relevant for me to enter into at the moment; but one of the latest reasons is the impression made on me by the American troops I saw in France. They are superb in material and in training, and in the way they have borne themselves in the trying conditions of battles they have fought. I found a great spirit of confidence which strengthens our conviction of victory.

"The war has upset everything and when it is over the falling back into normal conditions will be another disturbance. There will be great social and economic disturbance.

"There are two alternatives. One is that the war will have sobered the millions who have passed through the fires, whether in France or in the anxieties at home. Their vision will have been broadened, their sympathy deepened, their outlook and purpose made clearer, firmer and more exalted. There are millions who have been in daily contact with death, waiting hourly over its trapdoors. They have come into contact with very terrible realities. That is one view.

"The other is that there are millions who for these years have endured privations, discomfort, wretchedness, as well as pain and terror, and who have a good time for the rest of their lives when it is over. That is a very dangerous frame of mind for a nation to be in."

DISCUSSION ON INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

Continued by KARL DANNENBERG

The difference between Comrade Harrington and the writer may now be boiled down to the following:

Comrade Harrington deduces: "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."

The writer holds that: 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 practical control over political society, i.e.—over society itself. A contention which is also substantiated by the quotation from the Communist Manifesto at the head of this article.

The reader will note that the two distinct and radically different deductions both claim to be a product of applied Historical Materialism. We will now examine them with the aid of this Marxian-System of historical contemplation. Marx sums up his philosophy as follows: "In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which ALONE can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch. (Underlining ours.)

It is also a recognized Marxian tenet that society's march to civilization has been accomplished and is still continuing through a series of class struggles. The very nature of robbing and ruling presupposes the existence of economic classes, of a possessing and non-possessing class, and is, therefore, in its last analysis, an economic question born by a society of classes. The class struggle having been and still being the propelling and dynamic force in social development, it naturally follows that the interests that reared and actuated it were class interests, i.e.—economic interests. Ergo, the fundamental power of class rests, therefore, also in its economic status or position in society, and as this status or position gains in importance the class power and social significance also increase and vice versa. Let us illustrate this with a few facts of modern history. Take the body politic of a country like Germany. In the parliaments of this country the various economic classes give political expression to their economic interests. Here we note the capitalist class, feudalism, the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat battling to influence or control the state. A half a century ago the political influence of feudalism was still predominant, and the power of the bourgeoisie a negligible factor in this country; the proletariat was, viewed from a political angle, absolutely powerless. In industrial evolution has entirely changed this. Today the German capitalist class, the full-fledged imperialist layer in the land, is in absolute control of the country; Feudalism is rapidly disappearing from the political arena; the consumptive middle-class is on its last legs; but the strength of the proletariat is increasing with leaps and bounds. How will Comrade Harrington account for these changes in the political atmosphere of a country? We can clearly perceive here that as the economic significance of a class decreases its political importance, including its influence over the state and the military might, will also proportionately diminish. However, what institutes a class as a class is not a political or military decree, but the economic conditions and the particular economic interests flowing therefrom in society. Why is it that the class in control of the economic resources of a nation has always been able to ultimately gain control over the state? Was it the military might that won the victory for the capitalists over feudalism, or the superior economic resources and the influence exercised thereby, together with the absolute economic bankruptcy of feudalism, which attracted and marshalled the people to the banners of the bourgeois revolution? Comrade Harrington seeks

and asserts it is on par with 'the Irishman who had his neighbor arrested with the help of God and a couple of policemen.' With this very humorous example he seeks to infer that the superior and well-organized economic resources of a country are about as essential to its executive departments, particularly the military forces as God is to a couple of policemen. And still in these days of modern warfare the vitality, aggressiveness and power of a country and its army are primarily measured by its economic resources. Why did the industrial debacle of semi-feudalism in Russia, the breakdown and disorganized state of its economic resources, also spell the collapse of the Russian state and armies? What force is responsible for the so-called victories of brutal German Imperialism in the East? Is it not primarily to be ascribed to the utter economic inability of Russia to organize her defensive forces, and only secondarily to the efficiency of the German army? Why do the various "authorities and experts" of the nations in the war persistently emphasize that the battle between the Allies and Central Powers is a battle of wealth against wealth, i.e., the economic resources of one side against those of the other; that food will win the war; and the side with the best equipped industry and most abundant natural resources will ultimately come out victorious? If the military might does not draw its strength from the industrial potentialities of a nation, why then are the government officials, bankers and capitalists so tremendously concerned about the outcome of the miscellaneous war loans floated in quickly absorbed and oversubscribed by a nation? Is it not because this financial "victory" forms a basis for the various countries? Why do they grow jubilant, when a new loan is gauging the economic vitality or power of the propertied classes of a to ridicule the statement that Rome enslaved people solely by her "su-

perior and well-organized economic resources and disciplined armies," nation; and an oversubscribed war loan signifies an abundance of economic shew of war? From the foregoing we can readily glean that the source of military power is fundamentally economic, and, therefore, the class controlling the sinews of war—the wealth of a nation—also controls the military forces in the war.

According to the theoretical conception of Comrade Harrington concerning the social power of social elements, extensively supplemented with historical illustrations, military power was and is not vested in the Roman slave-owning class, the feudality and the present bourgeoisie, because they were or are slave-owners, feudal barons and capitalists, but because they were or are in control of the state. Consequently, the capitalist class of today is not in control of the government by virtue of their economic power and the social influence flowing therefrom; they are not militarists and imperialists, because they are capitalists; but they are capitalists because they are militarists; they rob and rule not by virtue of the economic supremacy of their class—which is a fruit of social development—, but by the strength of the mailed fist. When we consider that up to a very recent date the military might of the United States government was on par with that of the smallest Balkan state; and when we take into consideration the tremendous social influence wielded by American plutocracy throughout the world, years before the war, then the fallacy of considering military power vested in the state as the basic power is self-evident. Finally, taking the above matter as a criterion, the following deductions will be, we are certain, greatly conducive to establishing the soundness of the writer's position:

(To be continued.)

CRIME AND CRIMINALS

By CLARENCE S. DARROW.

I will guarantee to take from this jail, or any jail in the world, five hundred men who have been the worst criminals and law-breakers who ever got into jail, and I will go down to our lowest streets and take five hundred of the most abandoned prostitutes, and go out somewhere where there is plenty of land, and will give them a chance to make a living, and they will be as good people as the average in the community.

There is a remedy for the sort of condition we see here. The world never finds it out, or when it does find it out it does not enforce it. You may pass a law punishing every person with death for burglary, and it will make no difference. Men will commit it just the same. In England there was a time when one hundred different offences were punishable with death, and it made no difference. The English people strangely found out that so fast as they repealed the severe penalties and so fast as they did away with punishing men by death, crime decreased instead of increased; that the smaller the penalty the fewer the crimes.

Hanging men in our country jails does not prevent murder. It makes murderers.

And this has been the history of the world. It's easy to see how to do away with what we call crime. It is not so easy to do it. I will tell you how to do it. It can be done by giving the people a chance to live—by destroying special privileges. So long as big criminals can get the coal fields, so long as the big criminals have control of the

city council and get the public streets for street cars and gas rights, this is bound to send thousands of poor people to jail. So long as men are allowed to monopolize all the earth, and compel others to live on such terms as these men see fit to make, then you are bound to get into jail.

The only way in the world to abolish crime and criminals is to abolish the big ones and the little ones together. Make fair conditions of life. Give men chance to live. Abolish the right of private ownership of land, abolish monopoly, make the world partners in production, partners in the good things of life. Nobody would steal if he could get something of his own some easier way. Nobody will commit burglary when he has a house full. No girl will go out on streets when she has a comfortable place at home. The man who owns a sweatshop or a department store may not be to blame himself for the condition of his girls, but when he pays them five dollars, three dollars, and two dollars a week, I wonder where he thinks they will get the rest of their money to live. The only way to cure these conditions is by equality. There should be no jails. They do not accomplish what they pretend to accomplish. If you would wipe them out, there would be no more criminals than now. They terrorize nobody. They are a blot upon our civilization, and a jail is an evidence of the lack of charity of the people on the outside who make the jails and fill them with the victims of their greed.

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EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TRUTH

(EDITOR RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL UNSIGNED ARTICLES)

EDITOR & BUSINESS MANAGER JACK CARNEY

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THE I. W. W. TRIAL

The I. W. W. have been found guilty. Of course it was not to be expected that they would be found not guilty.

Al that was humanly possible was done to unearth evidence against the I. W. W. Yet no right-thinking man, which excludes the editors of the Herald and the News-Tribune, could honestly say that the Government had sustained the charges that were made against the I. W. W.

In the first place, what is the I. W. W.?

The I. W. W. is an organization of workmen and women, whose object is to raise the standard of living and ultimately introduce democracy into industry. There is no law in the statute books of these United States that prevents them from forming any such organization. Therefore to suggest that because they formed an organization that was legal in its scope, that they were guilty of conspiracy is to say the least of it, rank nonsense.

In the second place, they were charged with obstructing the carrying-on of the war. Now the basis of this charge lies in the fact that I. W. W. succeeded in organizing the workers in those industries that were essential to carrying on the war. By so organizing the workers, they were able to obtain for them an increase in wages. Now if that is obstructing the war, how much more are profiteers of this country guilty? The profiteers have reaped millions of dollars where members of I. W. W. only reaped nickels. The fault it appears to be, lies in the fact that the I. W. W. did not make their demands upon industries as large as those made by the profiteers. You cannot say the I. W. W. are guilty and allow the profiteers to go free. And you cannot say the profiteers are also guilty and allow them to be outside prison whilst the I. W. W. are inside. You must decide one way or the other.

The charges that the I. W. W. burned up crops, destroyed machines, etc., are foolish. In the first place, the men who work in the harvest fields, the factories, the mines and on the ships are, some of them, members of the I. W. W. Therefore to think that the I. W. W. would adopt means of warfare that would mean the death of their own members is to make one's self a fit candidate for the mad-house.

If men hold up nation's food, and people starve as a consequence, they are morally guilty of destroying human life. Therefore if these men who gamble with the peoples' food are not criminals, then where is the justification for the conviction of the I. W. W.?

The I. W. W. members who are lying in prison are not the riff-raff of the country as some would have you to believe. Amongst those 100 members there are some of the finest brains of America. Charles Ashleigh is a writer of no mean repute. His articles, poems, etc., have made him rank as one of the giants in the literary field of America. Ralph Chaplin, with his cartoons and poems plainly proves that he is no member of the riff-raff section of the community. George Hardy can tell you more about the science of biology in five minutes than the vast majority of your college professors. We can take you through the whole one hundred members and you will be more than surprised if you knew of their accomplishments. The much abused Bill Haywood has more humane feeling in his little finger than the whole bunch of capitalists possess in their whole being. Bill Haywood, big as he is, is not too big to sit down and make little children happy. Many a story can be told of the real love that this man has showered on many of the workers. When the capitalist class wanted to buy Bill Haywood, they found that it was impossible. Bill was not looking for the almighty dollar, he wanted to see his class arise and say we are men. He wanted to make all workers realize the strength they possessed, and for that reason he is hated. He stands today behind the prison bars. The reason why he is there, is because he is a danger to the interests of Big Business. They would rather ally themselves with the Kaiser, if necessary, than see Bill Haywood go free. So you will readily see that the future of the I. W. W. lies with you the workers.

Let us all go forward with a renewed endeavor to free the I. W. W. We cannot do this by passing resolutions. We cannot do this by merely subscribing dollars, although dollars come in mighty handy these days. We can set the I. W. W. free by endeavoring to organize the workers in such a way, that they can control industry. This can be done by organizing on an industrial unionist basis. So let us go forward and advocate the organization of the workers into one industrial organization.

Let us also see that these men in prison do not want for finance to carry on their fight. Fellow-workers, it is up to you. What are you going to do about it?

If Ananias lived today
Where fair Duluth stands,
Would he starve to death
Like many in civilized lands
Think you that he would die?
No, no, not much, I guess;
He'd get a job as
Editor of the capitalist press.

The only way you can ever hope to mend capitalism is to end it.

GOOD FROM THE SOCIALISTS.

Because New York wants to send hundred-per-cent Americans to congress if it can, Democrats and Republicans have united in four congressional districts in that city on candidates to oppose Socialists.

The Republican organization and Tammany will support the Republican candidates in the Fourteenth and Twentieth districts, while in the Twelfth and Thirteenth districts the Tammany candidates will have the support of both parties.

Thus good comes even out of the alien and seditious attitude of the party Socialists in this country. It has forced Democrats and Republicans, in these districts at least, to sink partisanship in Americanism. It has insured the election of loyal Americans in four districts where there had been grave doubt whether the victors would be friends of Uncle Sam or allies of the kaiser.

So here, at least, is occasion for gratitude even to the Socialist party in America, which has invariably proved, whether out in the open or masquerading as Townleyism or Haywoodism, to be far more useful to the kaiser than to America—Duluth Herald.

Do you remember the old objection to Socialism, "Men must be angels before we can have Socialism," "Socialism is a dream," etc. The poor capitalist class and their tools, Herald and News-Tribune editors, vainly wagged their heads and said, "The Socialists can never be strong enough. The people are wise to them." But today we read editorials like the above. It is an attempt on the part of the Herald to be pleased with itself and to say all it will.

THE HERALD TODAY SEES THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL.

When we talked of municipalizing street railways, milk supplies, etc., then the bourgeoisie worked with us, there was nothing to be afraid of. Sure, that was what they wanted, it would be a relief from private ownership. But we in time got wiser. Our movement becomes more and more a working-class movement and so we are formulating our demands in line with our ideas and experiences. We are not pleading for votes alone today, we are getting together in the factories and some day Labor will send out its two strong arms and take hold of the means of life. If the capitalists dare to stop them, then we can see the face of capitalism getting pushed in. There is nothing more pleasing than an aroused working-class. They can DO things and we know they will DO things.

No compromise with the capitalists today, that is why we are making Republicans and Democrats get together. They both belong to the same class, with the same economic interests and so their logical position is in the same political party. The more the Republicans and Democrats get together, the more the workers will get together. Go to it, Republicans and Democrats! We have got you anyway you turn. If you do not get together, we will win, and if you do get together, we get stronger. What are you going to do about it?

What fools these mortals be!

Today we are becoming what we originally set out to be. We are presenting a spectacle to the astonished world,—that of an organized, international, revolutionary movement. You may laugh and say, "Why did they not act when the war broke out?" You may think that the International is dead, because we did not act. That is what we thought. But now we know that the International lives. The house may not be built, but the materials are here and the foundation has been dug. When Tom Mooney was unjustly sentenced to death, who would have thought that in every civilized country the workers protested? Did you, Mr. Editor of the Herald, ever dream that some day the workers of Copenhagen, Rome, Naples, Paris, Marseilles, Japan, Australia, Ireland, Scotland, England, Wales, Sweden and Norway would protest against an American being railroaded? You betcha your life you did NOT! But it was done nevertheless. And you glorify in the fact that the Republicans and Democrats have joined hands. What will it avail the capitalist class that a few American politicians have come together? What can they do against the organized working-class? Do you know?

Now we have got you where we have tried to place you. Now let the work go on.

Masters we left you the world, yours was the planning to do,
We were the toilers humble and sad, we placed our faith in you.
Our children, with their teeming hopes, have roofed your sweatshop dens,
And our daughters fair you have fastened within your brothel pens.
Masters, oh masters, tremble at what you see,
For we come in the Right of a new-born Might to set the people free.

THE WORKER SPEAKS.

By ISAAC GOLDBERG.

This is the fairy-wand—this grimy hand
That builds a palace out of earthly chaos
And rears a poem out of sweat and sand.
This is Aladdin's lamp—this mangled limb
Without those brawn your vastest plans were naught.
I am the modern Atlas: on my back
Weighs all the world. Woe unto them that ride
If I but rise, a crazed Leviathan,
And fling my burden to the infinite
Whence first it came!

I say I will be free!

By this same fairy-wand—this grimy hand!
Speak, will you give, or shall I take. 'Tis one.
Speak, shall the arm that conjured up your ease
Build, too, its freedom from your ruined spoils?
Speak, or must I, perforce, who give you food,
Speak for you, too? Beware, then, what I say!

To achieve success we must more thoroughly organize, unite and federate our fellow-workers. We must establish more fully faith in ourselves and confidence in each other, stand shoulder to shoulder amidst stress and strife, make fraternity the principle of our every-day lives, and impress upon our fellow-workers the necessity of helping to bear each others' burdens.

At the present we are forced to resort to very plain living. We sincerely hope that sooner or later we will be compelled to resort to some very plain thinking.

We used to say, from Savagery to Barbarism and from Barbarism to Civilization. Well, we still say it yet.
Wonder what the wife of the poor negro, who was lynched last week, says?

Safety First—Join the Socialist Party.

How can you expect the capitalist class to respect you, when you have no respect for yourself?

The capitalist press tells you that they are opposed to theory of "No annexations". Then why do they continue to annex what the workers produce?

The watchdogs of Big Business are never caught asleep.

Political parties without economic power are like doughnuts without the ring.

A man on the job who acts, is worth a thousand in the local that talk.

Organization—that is the secret of the working-class strength.

The "Truth" and the Duluth Herald.

The Duluth Herald, like all other capitalist papers, in addition to its usual staff, carries a few writers known to the public as "An Observer", "Constant Reader", "Inquirer", etc. The idea of using these non-de-plumes is to camouflage the public into believing that some member of the community is indignant at something that is taking place.

The Duluth Herald attacks this paper through the Open Court and uses the non-de-plume of "An Observer". The reason why they use the correspondence column, is because their attack was so silly, that the editor was ashamed to print it as coming from himself.

What is the charge?

That we are Pro-German.

To be Pro-German is to be in favor of all what Germany stands for. It means in other words that if you are in favor of militarism, which includes navalism, as against democracy, then you are Pro-German.

What is democracy?

The democracy is the right of the people to express themselves as to how and in which way they, the country, shall be governed. Therefore the Duluth Herald, in asking for the suppression of Truth, is acting in an undemocratic manner. Therefore the DULUTH HERALD MUST BE PRO-GERMAN.

They endeavor to substantiate their charge of Pro-Germanism by citing the cause of our arrest. Because Victor L. Berger asked for an immediate peace, and we published the platform containing such a demand, therefore we are Pro-German. The antithesis of militarism is peace. So you see how illogical the Herald is when they accuse us of being Pro-German.

The reason why we are called Pro-German by the editor of the Herald, is because we have exposed the hypocritical pretense of his, that he is a radical. How the News-Tribune can accuse the editor of the Herald with being radical, we fail to understand. But say, editor of the Herald, do you remember the words of Abraham Lincoln, "You may fool all the people some of the time. You may fool some of the people all the time. But YOU cannot fool ALL the people ALL the time."

PHILOSOPHY OF A FOOL

By TOUCHSTONE.

The Coming Power.

"Those that are fools, let them use their talents." — Twelfth Night.

A new power is arising, and it is written in the Edicts of Destiny that it shall dominate the earth as the earth has never yet been dominated. How do I know this? I know it by bathing in the glory of the Dawn. I know it by letting the Moonbeams pierce my brain. There are truths that are not to be found in books. There is a wisdom that cannot be gleaned in the schools of erudition, nor in the laboratories of science.

If you would learn these truths and acquire this wisdom, you must let the silences of Nature sink into the very core of your being.

The Lady Moon, walking the jeweled floor of heaven with soundless feet, has much to say about the New Power that is coming. And every word she utters the Dawn confirms.

She has had a great experience, the Lady Moon, and her opportunities of observation have been unrivaled.

One night, when she was in a talkative humor, the news of the New Power was revealed to me.

"The world's in a dreadful mess," said the Lady Moon. "Men seem to have gone mad. Often in times past have I seen them slaughter one another, but never on such a scale of frightfulness as now. Nor have they ever before ill-used dear Mother Earth so vilely."

"Passing over Europe, I cannot bear to look down. Scenes that once I loved to flood with my light are now fit only for the darkness. The fields lie torn and mangled. The woods are foully mutilated. The hills on which the wild flowers grew reek horribly of poison fumes. And wherever my bright rays fall, the eyes of murdered men stare up at me."

"It cannot last much longer," said I. "And yet, I do not see how it can end. It is a dreadful riddle that must be solved on pain of death. And there is no one who can solve it."

"Oh, yes, there is," said the Lady Moon.

And then she told me all about the New Power that is arising—a Power so great, she said, that all the nations will pay homage to it, and all the future ages avow its sovereignty.

Of course it was the Power of the People she referred to. You will have guessed as much.

For even today it is a great Power, though not yet conscious of its own strength. When it has learned to know itself, and control and manage itself, nothing will be able to stand against it.

It will then be the paramount force among men.

Hitherto it has only made its existence felt in fierce, blind outbursts, chronicled in history as Revolutions and Insurrections—outbursts which for a time have threatened the reigning dynasties and established institutions, but finally have died down for want of settled purpose, or been quelled by superior cunning and more shrewdly directed violence.

For the most part, up to the present, the People have submitted to be governed. Tyrants many descriptions have oppressed them. Burdens innumerable have been heaped upon their backs.

And though sometimes they have muttered imprecations and grown restless under their sufferings, the ascendancy of the Ruling Class has never yet been

seriously endangered.

But howsoever ignorant and servile they appear, there is latent within the People such a Power as must one day make them masters of the world.

The Ruling Class are well aware of this. In the midst of their splendor they live in fear. Behind the pomp of their arrogance a spectre haunts them.

Today they are supreme; but tomorrow the People may trample on their perfumed bodies and their broken grandeur.

They laugh and dance. The feast is spread for them. The wine that is like white fire burns gloriously in their veins.

But they can never be sure that the waiters, standing obsequiously at the back of their chairs, have not secretly dropped poison in their cups.

In sumptuous carriages they ride—to the theatres, to the fashionable drapers and jewelers, to Court functions, to tennis and bridge parties. But they cannot trust their coachmen and their chauffeurs. One day they may take their seats—only to be driven to their doom.

"Jeames," they command, "do this! Jeames, do that!" And though Jeames in the past has always hastened to obey, though the relations between them have been as cordial as those of master and man can ever be, at the bottom of their hearts suspicion lies like a canker, and often in imagination they see the humble servant suddenly produce a weapon and strike them to the ground. I could be sorry for the Ruling Class—if their crimes were not so black and they flaunted the splendor of successful guilt less indolently in our faces.

The Power of the People has always existed. It is not really a NEW Power. It goes right back to the beginnings of the race. But it never knew what to do with itself, and want of knowledge paralyzed it, or incited it to spasms of impotent fury.

The Ruling Class had no reason to worry—then. The people were divided. They could easily be goaded into fighting one another. They could be made to quarrel over religion, over dynasties, over parties, over tariffs, over a hundred and one things that did not matter.

And society was constituted on the basis of a struggle for existence, so that in the very act of earning their daily bread they came to look upon one another as mortal enemies.

The Ruling Class are experienced in the art of governing. It does not require a high order of intelligence. As a matter of fact the best brains have never come from them, but from the People whom they have held in subjection.

Profoundly crafty and superficially clever—that is all the Ruling Class need be. That is all they are. The world owes them no gratitude. They have taken everything, and given naught.

The People, on the contrary, are a vast reservoir of genius. From them comes all that raises men from the mud and places them among the stars. Science, art and literature find their inspiration in that inexhaustible source.

Truth and justice are pearls to be fished from its depths.

"All that the People need to make them great and unconquerable is a sense of unity," said the Lady Moon.

"As Many, they are subject. As One, they are supreme."

And the Moon is right. She nearly always is, in her mundane judgments, for she has the ad-

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