

IF THERE be a country where knowledge cannot be diffused without perils of mob law and statute law; where speech is not free; where the postoffice is violated, mail bags opened and letters tampered with; — — — where liberty is attacked in the primary institution of social life; where the laborer is not secured in the earnings of his own hands; where suffrage is not free and equal—that country is, in all these respects, not civil but barbarous, and no advantage of soil, coast or climate can resist these suicidal mischiefs. — Ralph Waldo Emerson.

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 SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THE TRUTH

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DULUTH, MINN., AUGUST 30 1918

WHOLE NUMBER 63

IS THE SOCIALIST PARTY PRO-GERMAN?

THE SOCIALIST PARTY REPLIES TO THE NA- TIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE.

Our Record of Opposition to Kaiserism is Consistent, Continuous and Uniform Before and During War.

CHICAGO.—“Our record of opposition to the German Kaiser was consistent, continuous and uniform before the war. It has been more pronounced and insistent during the war. It will continue until the Kaiser is dethroned. We shall attack the institutions of Kaiserism no matter where they appear until they are banished from the face of the earth.”

With this declaration the Socialist Party, through its national executive committee here has thrown down the gauntlet to the imperialists and exploiters of America and their press, who have carried on a continuous campaign against the Socialist Party in an effort to create prejudice against it, charging it with “pro-Germanism” and with being a willing tool of Kaiserism, un-American and disloyal.

The declaration has been issued in the form of a letter to the National Security League, which addressed a letter to the National Conference of Socialist Officials and the National Executive Committee here, declaring the League was not opposed to the Socialist Party any more than it is opposed to the Democrats and Republicans. The letter giving the reply of the Socialist Party is in part as follows:

THE SOCIALIST POSITION.

“The Socialist Party assumes to speak for that class, whose contribution to this war, must of necessity consist of all they have. The propertyless make the supreme sacrifice; whereas the service rendered by your members to the Government in winning the war, consists in constructing honest criticism of the war managers as treason, and reasonable suggestions regarding it as sedition.

“The real lawbreakers and the real traitors, are those who are reaping millions of profit as a result of the war; who, not by harmless words, but by predatory acts and conscienceless deeds, have embarrassed the government to the extent, that the direction of industry is being taken from them. They have resisted every proposition to disgorge even a portion of the vast profits they have wrung from the nation's distress, are even now, by powerful lobbies in the National Capital, seeking to evade their just share of the public burden.

“The opposition of the Socialists of America to the German imperialism and the Kaiser is historic. It dates from the first opportunity we ever had to expressing our abhorrence of a government whose power was derived from hereditary succession. The members of your league, and many of those who support it, have entertained most extravagantly and lavishly, and with every indication of approval, and commendation, the personal representative of the Hohenzollerns, Prince Henry. Another member of your league, Theodore Roosevelt, was entertained by Emperor Wilhelm in Berlin, and accepted as a present from him a life-sized autographed painting of the Kaiser, which was later burned by indignant citizens of Oyster Bay. During and before this time, Germany under the old emperor and Bismarck, was persecuting Bebel and the elder Liebknecht, and many other Socialists because they stood

for human liberty and democracy. These persecutions were always approved and lauded as perfectly proper by certain members of your league, and the great papers which were owned and supported by them. All this time the Socialists of this country and of other countries have consistently and unremittently fought the Kaiser and the kings, princes and dukes upon whose petty political hereditary power his usurped right of rulership is based.

“Another member of your league, Mr. Nicholas Murray Butler, received a Prussian decoration from the Kaiser as a token of his personal affection. Yet in spite of this, your organization attempts a censorship over the views of only genuine, anti-autocratic party in the United States, the Socialist Party.

Destitute of Democracy.

“We assert that your league is destitute of any genuine democracy or it would not admit to membership any man who received favors from the Kaiser or other autocrats. They may burn the Prussian decorations and gifts they gladly accepted, but they cannot burn the record which reveals their views.

“When Prince Henry of Prussia in 1902 visited this country and was acclaimed a Prince of Peace and Amity, dined and feted by those who are your league, the voice of the Socialists alone was raised in protest. The protest of the Socialist members of the Massachusetts legislature are of record and may be read by any of your members who care to consult the journal of that body.

“The burden rests with the National security League to explain the connections of some League members with the ruling class of Germany. A constant profession of loyalty does not wipe out these connections.

First to Oppose Kaiserism.

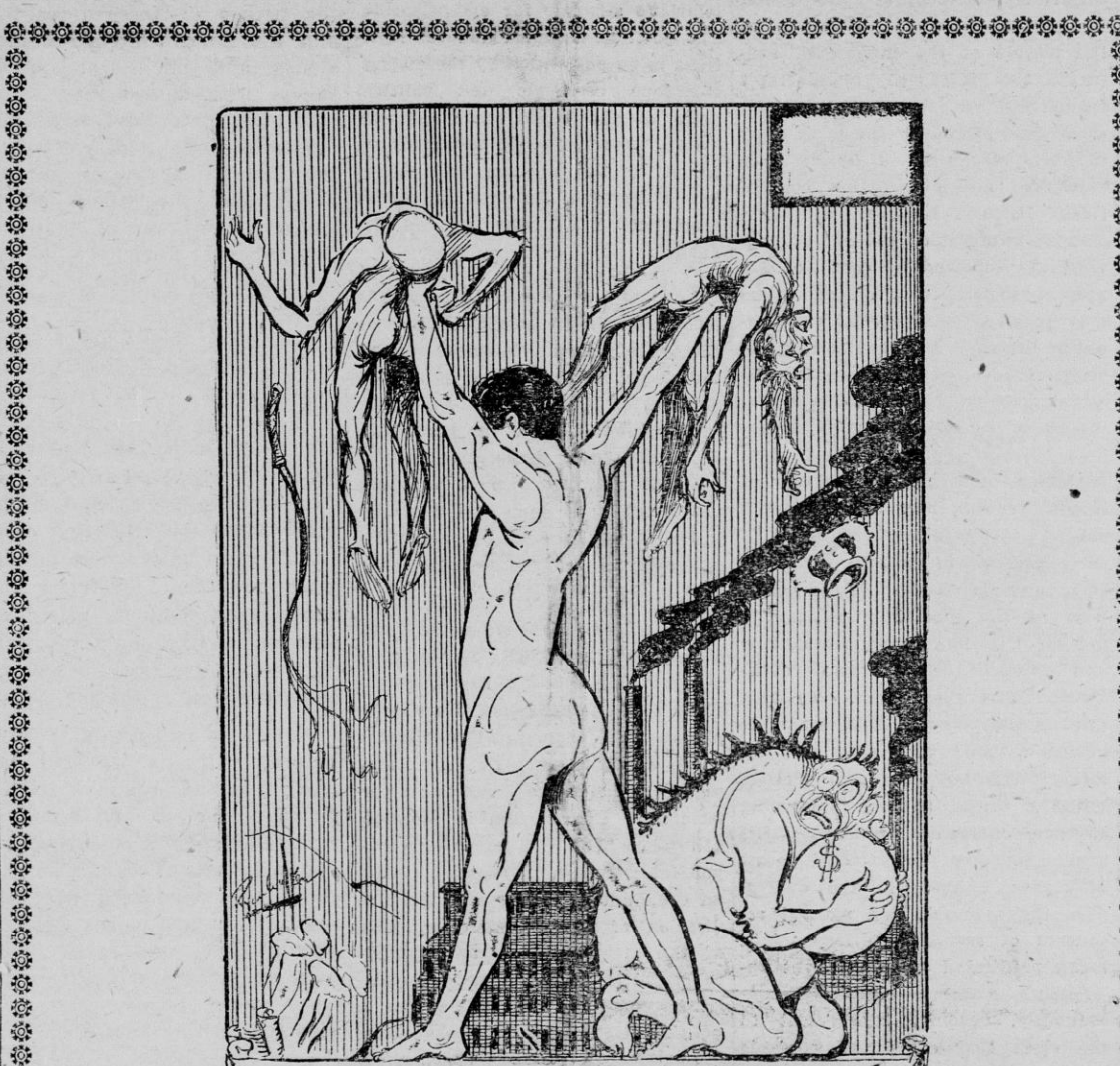
“The Socialist Party was the first political organization in the United States that adopted a program in conflict with German Imperialism. By May, 1915, German armies had crushed Serbia and Belgium and conquered a large portion of France. In that month, the Socialist Party of the United States issued a proclamation that has challenged the attention of the world. While German imperialism was boasting of its conquests, we declared for “no forcible annexations, no punitive indemnities and free determination for all people.”

“The principles were later proclaimed by Free Russia, then by the Inter-Alled Socialists and favorably received by President Wilson. Thus our party was the first since the beginning of the war to declare the death knell of German Imperial ambitions.

“The National Security League and similar organizations have not accepted, and will not accept this program. Your attitude would lead to the conclusion that you would do the American people what the German imperialists have done to the German people.

Cognizant of Outrages.

“We are cognizant of the frightful outrages upon Belgium, and the ruthless and merciless war upon the free government of Russia, which, starved, beaten, overwhelmed and prostrate, was forced to conclude a shameful and humiliating peace; the overthrow of the Finnish Labor Republic, the execution in that country of over seven thousand workingmen in cold blood, the imprisonment of seventy-five thousand others, and the announced intention of imposing the German prince on Finland.



LABOR DAY 1918

Workers, rise in ev'ry land,
Clearly think and firmly stand,
Snap wage slav'ry's galling band,
Cease to bow the knee.

In yourselves the power lies,
In your manhood's pride, arise!
Strike, by every, hope ye prize!
Would ye not be free?

Long ye've borne toil and pain
For king and master; worn their chain,
Deeming ev'ry hope was vain
For a nobler fate.

'Tis to you we call to-day,
“Fling those galling chains away.
If ye only will ye may,
Will ye longer wait?”

Naught there is your power to stay,
The world is yours where'er ye say,
Even should it be to-day—
Make the world your own.

As a class you must unite,
Workers, power is workers' right.
Workers' hope is workers' might.
That, and that alone.

By your parents' arduous lives,
By your toiling, careworn wives,
By each soul which bravely strives,
Rise! Be men! Be free!

Sure the hope within your view,
For your babes, for your wives and you—
To yourselves and class be true.
Rise for Liberty!

W. Gribble.

“Our record of opposition to the German Kaiser was consistent, continuous and uniform before the war. It has been more pronounced and insistent during the war. It will continue until the Kaiser is dethroned. We shall attack the institutions of Kaiserism no matter where they appear until they are banished from the face of the earth.

“The Socialist Party is interested in a general democratic peace, and in securing the return of our boys and the boys of other political faiths to peaceful pursuits. While they go into service abroad, we owe it to them to oppose the plans of any group of persons who would transform these sacrifices into an intolerable autocracy at home.”

The National executive committee was united upon this declaration. It is the only statement supplemental to the St. Louis proclamation that will be issued at this time. The 1918 congressional program which will be ready soon, is exclusively a program of peace and reconstruction.

ACCUSE GUNMAN OF LITTLE LYNCHING.

CHICAGO.—Judge Landis has issued a warrant for the arrest of Oates, a notorious Butte gunman, who is alleged to have had a hand in the murder of Frank Little, the I. W. W. leader lynched last fall in Butte. The warrant was issued on the basis of testimony given by witnesses for the defense in the I.

W. W. trial in Chicago. Oates is a one-armed man who uses a hook for his other arm. The testimony showed that a hole was found in Little's neck after his death which seemed to have been made by such a hook. Many other barbarities were also alleged against this notorious gunman, especially the wounding of a woman in the breast with his hook during a street disturbance.

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Tickets 50c. Ladies 15c.
EVERYBODY WELCOME.

21st Avenue West and First Street at eight o'clock.

A CALL FOR ACTION

Eugene V. Debs, four times candidate for President on the Socialist ticket, has issued a statement which he asks to be printed just as he has written it. Debs has been misquoted so many times that he wishes his position to be placed before the public so that all will know just where he stands, whether all agree with his position or not.

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

Since my recent arrest in Cleveland on a secret indictment I have been asked many times by sympathizing friends and comrades what they can do to help me. For me personally they can do nothing and I wish nothing done. If I have violated the espionage law it is because it first violated me, and for this I stand ready to take the consequences. I have nothing to apologize for, nothing to take back, and nothing to defend. I simply exercised my constitutional right of free speech and spoke the truth. That is all there is to my case. If the espionage law stands, the Constitution is void and liberty is dead. But the espionage law will not stand. It will serve its purpose of silencing objectionable voices, suppressing undesirable publications and outlawing the Socialist movement until the war is over and then it will be wiped away as if it had never been.

But while I am asking my friends and comrades nothing for myself, I am asking everything for the cause. If they would help me, they can do it in but one way, and that is to stand by the party and support the cause.

Would you really help me to keep out of the penitentiary and win this fight for liberty? Then stand by the party and help us to poll five million votes this fall.

That will be the sure way to wipe out oppressive laws, restore free speech and a free press, and open the prison doors for our convicted comrades.

To poll five million votes we need a campaign fund of one million dollars. We can both raise the fund and poll the vote without a doubt.

The simple question is, Will you help?

And if you will, then get to work at once and work as an individual, through your local, and in every other way you can think of until the MILLION DOLLAR FUND is in the national treasury.

So if you want to contribute to the defense fund of Kate Richards O'Hare, Rose Pastor Stokes, Scott Nearing, Max Eastman, our national officers, and myself and other indicted comrades, help to raise the MILLION DOLLAR CAMPAIGN FUND.

We must get our case as individuals and our cause as a class before the people. To do this, we need speakers, organizers and literature, and to provide these on a national scale we must have a campaign fund of a million dollars.

Now, then let every comrade and every friend, every man, woman and child who is with us, get to work, and at once. It is a huge task, but it can be done, and it has got to be done, if we are to win the huge stake that is at issue.

Win or lose? Which? What do you say?

I say win, and there are a hundred thousand of us who say the same in the name of the Socialist Party; and this means victory for the cause, the greatest cause on earth, and victory for us all.

The matter of legal defense in the coming trial will be managed entirely by the national office. Upon this point I wish to say a word concerning myself. I am not to be pitied for a moment. I am, rather, to be envied.

Blessed be the man who can make the looters of the nation and the robbers of the people revile him and howl for his blood!

Thousands of others have gone to jail for the cause. Why should not I?

As long as the jail is the gateway to liberty, I want to go to jail along with the rest.

When I think of others who have gone to prison to give me liberty I am ashamed to be at large. I prefer to go to jail that others may be free.

But the real victims are never those, who, like myself, have prominence and, therefore, friends and sympathizers. We do not suffer, and no one need worry a bit on our account. It is the brave, unknown souls who are locked up in filthy cells for weeks and months, with no one to provide bail for their release, no one to give them a cheering word or send them a flower, and who suffer neglect, cruelty and every species of inhumanity for having been true to the best there was in them—it is these of the rank and file for whose defense I plead, whose story I would have the world know and whose example I would hold up to emulation, for they and not the leaders whose praises are sung and whose names are revered are the true heroes of the labor movement and the real martyrs to the cause of humanity.

Hundreds of our comrades are under indictment or in prison or both. It is a necessary part of our education. The master class render us a distinct service in clapping us into jail for exercising our lawful rights. The more they persecute us as individuals, the more they strengthen our party and solidify us as individuals.

(Continued on page 2)

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS—If the Number Opposite Your Name on the Address Slip is 63 or less, Your Subscription to The TRUTH Has Expired, and You Should Renew at Once—Office, 101 Stack Building

PHILOSOPHY OF A FOOL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

safer shelter," said I; "for where there are houses there are cats."

"And where there are cats there are men," said the Tallest Ti-tree. "And where there are men there are thoughts. And where there are thoughts there is change. And where there is change the Will of Nature is being realized."

"Surely," said I, "the seasons bring change enough."

"I believed so once," said the Tallest Ti-tree. "I know now that the seasons change nothing, but repeat everything. Man is Nature's chief transformer, and under his influence the seasons themselves are changing."

"What your wisecracks call evolution is thought in action. It is an inward spirit expressing itself in outward form. The whole physical structure of the world is deeply affected by the thought of Man, operating through the centuries, and whatever Nature's purpose is the thought of Man is essential to its accomplishment."

"Then you, too, are in favor of 'improving the district,'" said I bitterly. "You, too, will call it 'progress' to put down asphalt where the green grass grew, and blast out the rocks that the ferns loved, and carry off in a municipal drain the water that fed the moss and bred the frogs."

As I uttered these words there came a chorus of groans from the little Frog Pool, and a number of swallows flew agitatedly round and round, and the rest of the Ti-trees shuddered and sobbed, but the Tallest of Them All kept perfectly calm and said:

"The Will of Nature must be done."

....

"Before long," said I, provoked to savageness by his im-

perturbability, "it will be YOUR turn. Man's thought, which you rate so highly, will assume the form of an axe, and hit you in a vital spot. Perhaps when you're lying prostrate on the ground, and your limbs are being hacked off, you won't consider that the district is being 'improved.'"

The Tallest Ti-tree shuddered slightly, but he answered in a firm voice:

"When Nature has no further use for me, I shall not complain."

He was TOO philosophical altogether. I left in a pet, and reached home in the vilest humor I had known for months.

....

And now, here I sit at my window, which is like a private box at the theatre, and gaze at the pantomime that is being enacted in my garden.

The butterfly Harlequin and Columbine are wheeling about each other in an ecstasy of love. The ballet girl flowers are dancing daintily. Pantaloon is stammering incoherently; and there still on the top of the telegraph pole, with the cloud of glittering spangles behind him, the starling who plays the part of Clown is chuckling and looking around him with an impudent leer.

And it's a lovely day.

But over there on the Sandhill a crime is being perpetrated, and I'm very, very sad.



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DISCUSSION ON INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

(Continued by Karl Dannenberg.)

History furnishes irrefutable evidence, convincingly supported by conditions in present society, that classes in the ascending or descending process of development can possess and do possess a proportionate quantity of economic power commensurate with their economic significance and consciousness, without controlling directly or indirectly any governmental agency or possessing any military power. The social significance of the rising bourgeoisie from the fifteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century; the influence of decrepit feudalism; and the economic and social role played by the proletariat in the present world drama conclusively substantiate this contention. History, however, also furnishes irrefutable evidence, convincingly supported by conditions in present society, that no class has ever possessed military might without at the same time controlling the economic resources of which this might was but a child. The dictatorship of a Sulla, Cromwell, Napoleon, Villa or Woodrow Wilson does not affect or refute the accuracy of this contention, because in the last analysis it was always employed in the interest of certain economic class movements—even if the greatness of the dictator's personality did for the time being overshadow and obscure the economic background of the situation. To sum up: A class may possess economic power without possessing military might; but no class can possess military might without possessing supreme economic power. This proves that the fundamental power of class-rule rests in the control over the economic and natural resources of society; military might being predicated and dependent upon these economic resources, consequently, becomes subservient to the class that owns and controls them—and therefore, is a product or reflex of economic power. Probation est.

We will first examine the function played by politics in the class struggle. It is now generally recognized that the existence of a political struggle presupposes the existence of an economic struggle: i. e., that political differences and antagonisms have their origin in economic differences, etc. Therefore, every political struggle is fundamentally an economic struggle; and the eradication of the industrial struggle of the classes spell, consequently, the eradication of politics. The existence of political parties and a political life in general is based upon the existence of classes, which again have their roots in the peculiar property prerogatives inherent in the economic system of a particular historical period. With the disappearance of economic classes social and political classes will also disappear. Therefore, as stated before, the abolition of all property prerogatives in economic life by the Socialist workers also implies the abolition of all political differences and the automatic ceasing of the political struggle. The political as carried on by the class-conscious workers and pursuing but one objective, can, therefore, be utilized and exploited by the proletariat for only one purpose, namely to abolish Capitalism. By using the political arm in this manner, the political victory of the workers will naturally be synonymous with the abolition of politics—the abolition of classes. Thus the political struggle is engaged in by the workers to carry on revolutionary Socialist propaganda.

(To be continued.)

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....

We believe that we have sufficiently shown the theoretical fallacy in Comrade Harrington's conception of the source of class power or might. Having, in our humble opinion, established the unsoundness of his fundamental premises, it would be also quite in order with scientific discussion to dismiss the subsequent more or less tactical deductions and criticisms of his essay as a whole as faulty. However, for the purpose on concrete illustration and the additional clarity flowing therefrom, we will examine some of the tactical criticisms and propositions presented by Comrade Harrington.

In attempting to refute our position that the economic power of the proletariat rests in the "consciousness of the proletariat's indispensability as a productive agent, in the consciousness of being the working class," Comrade Harrington states: "The worker becomes class-conscious, not by recognizing his indispensability to production, a fact of which no worker is ignorant, but in the knowledge of his enslavement as a class." Now what does "the knowledge of his enslavement as a class" furnish to the worker; what are the elements of this knowledge? Does not this knowledge consist of the Marxian conception of an analysis of capitalist production, and does it not make the workers conscious of their indispensability as producers to capitalist society, also of their status in this society—as the working class? What is the difference between "the knowledge of his enslavement as a class" and the consciousness of being the working class?; i. e., can a worker be class-conscious without being aware of possessing the knowledge of his enslavement?; moreover, can he recognize his indispensability, his economic function in the capitalist process of production, without becoming conscious of the significance of his class—without becoming class-conscious? The fact that Comrade Harrington "heartily agrees" in the next paragraph with our statement

that "class-conscious Socialist action can only be the product of a scientific conception of capitalist production" clearly shows what we deem to be essential to establishing class-consciousness in the worker.

And now we come to the quintessence of our difference as to tactics. The Radical Review has always held that both the political and economic wings of the labor movement are necessary in the proletariat's struggle for emancipation. The position occupied and the functions to be performed by these class-conscious economic and political arms of the labor movement, we stated, were not to be chosen or rejected by the workers, but determined by and inherent in social conditions. Summing up we deduced:

1. "As an introduction to this phase of Constructive Socialism we desire to affirm the necessity of utilizing both wings, of practicing political as well as industrial action in the conduct of the class war. Admitting the imperativeness of both, it now remains to establish the function of each and their relative importance in preparing for and carrying out the act of emancipation."

Life unfolded. In the forests leaped the furry lemurs, four-handed, and they suckled their young. Grinning monkeys, with twisting tails, screamed among the branches. Fierce apes, tail-less, made nests and shelters in the leafy trees, raised above the prowling tiger or the cunning-eyed bear. The tree-climbing apes were hairy, and they bent their backs, and they were strong in their four hands, and the two front hands had thumbs to grasp. Ice and snow, summer and flowers, starlight and sunlight, tides rising and falling, fishes swimming, snakes coiling, birds flying, quadrupeds walking, lions roaring after their prey, strange apes chattering and howling in wild speech, and forest-music, life unfolding.

Yes, life unfolded still. Animals like unto apes, yet not apes, now dwelt among the trees, or lurked in caves, wild-eyed, hairy, shaggy, answering one-another's calls

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UNFOLDING OF UNIVERSE

laughs, and shed tears, and loved the babes that bleated Ma! and Pa! and they had sore pains, and had dreams, and slept, and died, and left the young offspring to go on with the fight, and the eating and drinking and the loving, and the mating, and the meetings.

Perhaps this was a million years ago, when these poor creatures chewed berries, and fled from the lion, and howled at the moon, and had dreams, and loved their little hairy babies.

Life unfolded. Less hairy grew the bodies of these forest-folk, and the males clutched hold of stones and sticks, and saved things with sharp-edged stones, and built rude huts, and killed fish and birds and beasts, and they and their mates ate raw flesh; and the voices of the mothers were soft as they held the babes at their breasts, and welcomed the hunters back from the chase.

The wild folk nodded, shook heads, stamped, bowed, rubbed noses, shook hands, fought and

The ice at times clothed huge spaces of land that today are much warmer; and the ice glaciers bit into rocks, and slipped slowly over the hills, and crooked out giant holes where now the lakes are, and scratched long marks upon boulders below, and may see many smooth stones that they who have eyes to see with bears the sign of the Ice Ages.

Now here was a mighty world indeed, with its ice and hoar frost, rain and hail, mist and fog, fishes of the sea and brook, insects and spiders, snakes of the den and fowls of the air, herds of cattle that wandered over pastures; and some places were dismal swamps, and other places were as gardens, and shrubs and trees were shady, and lilies bloomed on the quiet pool.

Life unfolded. In the forests leaped the furry lemurs, four-handed, and they suckled their young. Grinning monkeys, with twisting tails, screamed among the branches. Fierce apes, tail-less, made nests and shelters in the leafy trees, raised above the prowling tiger or the cunning-eyed bear. The tree-climbing apes were hairy, and they bent their backs, and they were strong in their four hands, and the two front hands had thumbs to grasp. Ice and snow, summer and flowers, starlight and sunlight, tides rising and falling, fishes swimming, snakes coiling, birds flying, quadrupeds walking, lions roaring after their prey, strange apes chattering and howling in wild speech, and forest-music, life unfolding.

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Read Lincoln's Advice

Note what Abraham Lincoln said in an address before the Washington Society of Springfield, Ill., February 22, 1842:

"If you would win a man to your cause, first convince him that you are his true friend. Therein is a drop of honey that catches his heart, which, say what he will, is the greatest high-road to his reason, and which when once gained, you will find but little trouble in convincing his judgment of the justice of your cause, if, indeed, that cause be really a just one. On the contrary, assume to dictate to his judgment, or to command his action, or to mark him as one to be shunned or despised, and he will retreat within himself, close at the avenues to his head and heart; and though your cause be naked truth itself, transformed to the heaviest lance, harder than steel and sharper than steel can be made, and though you throw it with more than herculean force and precision, you shall be no more able to pierce him than to penetrate the hard shell of a tortoise with a rye straw. Such is man and so must he be understood by those who would lead him, even to his own interests."

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SAUCE FOR GOOSE AND GANDER

"Why should organized labor oppose the 'work or fight' provision of the new draft bill? Why should it persist in retaining the right to strike; not as to employers, but as to the government? The provision has the indorsement of President Wilson through Secretary Baker.

Does labor fear the President will use this power unfairly and for the benefit of employers? Labor believes in the conscription of capital, has favored it; has urged it and it is here. Industry has been conscripted right and left. It has not a shred of independence left. Every factory in the land and every business is under complete government control.

Capital in the form of money, investments and profits is under federal control. The uses of capital are restricted to fit war financing. Profits are taken in taxes. The excess over normal, pays up to 60 per cent to the government; war profits are to be surrendered to the amount of 80 per cent.

Capital in the form of industry cannot strike. If it did it would promptly be taken over by the government. There is no question as to this. The railroads, and the telegraph lines are proof. If the steel interests, the packing houses, the coal mines do not obey orders, they will be taken over; they have had their warning.

Industry still under nominal private ownership, no longer fixes wages, hours of work nor labor conditions. All of this being true why should labor seek to retain freedom of action with the right to strike? Why should labor loyalty be kept on the wholly voluntary basis as sufficient, when capital long ago lost this? Why presuppose that one class is more completely loyal than the other and more wholly unselfish?

The British workman long ago agreed to a much strified and more inclusive law than that proposed by this "work or fight" clause. Is the British workman less loyal because of his assent to this, or only less sensitive?"—News Tribune.

The above editorial was not written by Charlie Chaplin, oh no! It was written by Charlie Mitchell, Knight of the Mob Law gang and editor of the News Tribune.

"Capital in the form of industry cannot strike," says Chawles. Why should capital strike (and to make matters more explainable, we wish to state that "capital" refers to the capitalists), when they are making such high profits? If a worker was receiving four hundred per cent more wages, why should he be so damphoolish as to strike?

Read the following figures, and then read the above editorial.

Senator Borah, whose speech we reported a few weeks ago, called upon the government to substantiate the statement of the President, that profiteering was rampant throughout the country. The Treasury Department has made a partial reply. In the report filed by the department, the following startling percentages of profits are shown:

One food dealer—the report does not say whether he was a wholesale or retail dealer—showed an excess profit of 2,183 per cent. A liquor dealer with capital of \$5,000, showed an excess profits of 1,220 per cent. In the meat packing business the excess profits ranged

from nothing to 204 per cent.

One small miller made 236 per cent profit with a capital of \$9,000.

Dairy interests made from nothing to 180 per cent. Banks cleared 80 per cent.

Contractors cleared 596 per cent.

Clothing trades 91 per cent, chemical manufacturers 58 per cent, electrical manufacturers 91 per cent, machine tool makers 788 per cent, coal dealers 504 per cent, garment manufacturers 246 per cent, and department stores 331 per cent.

HOLD YOUR BREATH, CHAWLES!

Look at this table of pre-war and later profits:

	1916	1913
American Smelting and Refining	\$23,252,248	\$9,756,540
American Locomotive Co.	10,769,429	6,185,306
Armour & Co.	20,100,000	6,028,197
Bethlehem Steel Corporation ...	43,593,968	5,122,703
Central Leather Co.	15,489,201	4,386,345
Crucible Steel Co.	13,223,655	4,905,880
Cuban-American Sugar Co.	8,235,113	356,887
E.I. duPont de Nemours Powder Co.	82,107,693	4,582,075
General Chemical Co.	12,286,826	2,809,442
Hercules Powder Co.	16,658,873	1,017,212
International Nickel	11,748,279	5,009,120
Lackawanna Steel Co.	12,218,234	2,755,883
Phelps Dodge Corporation	21,974,263	7,907,710
Republic Iron & Steel Co.	14,789,163	3,101,300
Swift & Company	20,465,000	9,250,000
Texas (Oil) Co.	13,898,861	6,663,123
U. S. Steel Corporation	271,531,730	81,216,985
United Fruit Co.	11,943,151	5,315,631
U. S. Smelt., Ref. and Mng. Co. .	8,898,464	3,585,588
Westinghouse Air Brake Co.	9,396,103	5,255,258
Westinghouse El. & Mfg. Co. ...	9,666,789	3,164,032

Comparing the earnings of twenty-four of the principal companies listed in 1914 and in 1916, we find in these two years an increase of 500 per cent in profits!

Now let us see how much labor has had a hand in the pie.

According to the Review of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, wages in 1916 were increased 9 per cent. Now let us suppose that wages were increased a hundred per cent more in 1917 than they were in 1916, we would then have wages increased by 18 per cent. Now what does a worker want with wages anyhow? Well, he has to eat, so let us see what the price of food is.

According to Dun, an American authority, important food products and necessities have risen from 46 per cent to 105 per cent in just two years. The *Annalist*, an organ of Wall Street, mark you, states that the food budget of the average American family has increased 74 per cent in the last two years. The Old Dutch Market, Inc., of Washington, D. C., which operates a large string of meat and grocery stores, has published a comparison of prices of 1916 and 1917, of sixty table necessities; the average increase in price is 85.32 per cent.

Now if food, etc., has gone up over 50 per cent and the wages have only risen 18 per cent, then where is the profit that labor is making? The above figures conclusively prove that the workers have NOT received an advance in wages. But profits are profits. If you

make a profit, it is what you have left over after you have paid all your debts, wear and tear of machinery, etc. It is all yours. But when you draw an increase of 18 per cent in wages and you have to pay 50 per cent more for your necessities, you have received a decrease.

The above figures prove, beyond the shadow of a doubt that labor has not benefited by any increase of production. The only people who have benefited are the capitalists.

"Conscription of capital," says Mitchell. Where it is? What Mitchell calls conscription of capital we call handing the capitalists a gift. There is no conscription about it. The government says to the capitalists, you take a walk, we will look after your factory, all you have to do is to collect the profits.

The workers are in favor of the conscription of capital. We want to see everybody engaged in useful work and all who work share in the proceeds of their toil. No man to draw huge profits, whilst others stint themselves.

We want Judge Gary, Charlie Schwab, James Farrell and the Square Deal Committee included to get on the job and help to produce some of the profits that are being made today.

"Why presuppose that one class is more completely loyal than the other and more wholly unselfish," says Mitchell.

What is loyalty? We mean LOYALTY, not simply the recital of a few phrases. Because you buy \$1000 worth of Liberty Bonds, after you have made \$10,000 in war babies, that is NOT loyalty. Loyalty is seen in man's actions. Loyalty is service for service.

What is the most essential product in the war? Steel. How is steel made?

The answer to this question will show who is loyal and who is not.

Travel to the mines of the Iron Range, and you will see huge steam shovels throwing ore on to cars. Who works the steam shovel, Judge Gary? No, it is a worker. Who drives the engine that pulls the cars to the ore docks? A worker. Who looks after the pockets and sees that the ore is dumped into the boats? Workers. Who mans the boats that transport the ore across the lakes and then to the steel plants? The workers. When it arrives at the plants, who sees that it is taken to the blast furnaces and made into molten iron? The workers. Who sees that the molten iron is carried to the converter and turned into steel? The workers.

Throughout the whole process of the manufacture of steel, it is the workers who perform and superintend all operations. The capitalist is conspicuous by his absence.

Who draws down the big salaries, dividends, etc.? The capitalists.

So you will see that those who work receive decreased wages and those who do not work receive increased profits.

"Why presuppose that one class is more completely loyal than the other and more wholly unselfish?"

Chawles, stick to question of closing Oliver, you are like a ship in an open sea, without a rudder, when you deal with the problems that confront the worker —

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THEN VISIT

Arthur B. Anchel

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The Herald and Your Boy

In one of its recent issues, the Duluth Herald was informing the young boy how to succeed in life. It painted a glowing picture of how many men had risen from the ranks and today they were men of great wealth.

Fancy anyone in these days telling a boy he can rise up in the world, by hard work and diligent study. It reminds us of the Irish young lad who came to America, strongly advised by his parents, that if he followed out the advice offered by the editor of the Herald, he would some day climb the ladder of fame. The lad was in America three months, when he wrote home and told his parents that he had climbed the ladder alright. He forgot to tell them that he was window cleaning.

The days of individualism are over, they lie in the buried past. You can no more rise as an individual, as you can fly to the moon. Today the individual in any industrial community does not count as an individual. It is only when he groups himself with other individuals working in intelligent harmony that he can do anything. Try if you can to compete with the Standard Oil Company or the Ford Automobile concern or the National Biscuit Company, and you will then realize how hard it is to rise as an individual. Today we live in the days of machine production. Gone are the days when men made commodities by their own individual labor. Where are the men who used to fan and cut out the leather and make pairs of shoes? They have given way to the large machines that make shoes a thousand times faster than they ever dreamed of. Where are the men who used to carry their tools on their backs, from town to town? They too have had to give way to the machine. Yesterday, man made, wielded and owned the tools. Today—what do you find? Machinery has displaced the hand labor of yesterday. Never will you hear a boss tell a worker to pack up his tools and go. Fancy a worker packing up the big planing machine, the electric crane, and going on his way to another job. The idea is ridiculous. Yet we have men in our midst, like the editor of the Herald, who are so foolish as to believe it is possible for a boy to rise by hard work.

Today the mighty machine works and man must work with it. The machine must be obeyed. It was made by man and owing to man's foolishness and ignorance, the machine today enslaves him. Man must be guided by the machine. We mourn the lack of the fine things that were made by hand. We deplore the fact that the laquerware, made famous by the Japanese, is fast disappearing. We also miss the hand-made shoes and the hand-made lace. The machine is here and hand-made work is too expensive, so we have had to forego buying it.

The only way your boy can rise, is when he rises with his class. He cannot rise from the ranks, only when he is prepared to cheat, bribe and be bribed. If he can learn all the arts of cunning, fraud and deceit, so ably practiced by some of "leading citizens" and politicians, then he MAY rise from the ranks. But if he is to study and study diligently, he will find that he must rise WITH the ranks and NOT FROM the ranks.

The organization of his class must be told to your boy whilst he is young. Show him the lawyers, doctors, manufacturers have proved the value of—ORGANIZATION. Tell him that if he ever becomes an electrician, carpenter, plumber or whatever occupation he may enter, that the only hope of success lies in the organization of his class. By the strength of his organization he will win. But do not be so foolish as to read Herald editorials to him, for some day you will have cause to regret it.

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LABOR DAY.

It is the bounden duty of a radical editor to interpret every event that takes place, which bears a direct connection with the lives of the workers.

September Second is Labor Day.

Labor Day was given to the workers, they did not rise up and take it, like the workers rose up and made May Day, International Labor Day. Labor Day was given with a view to perpetuating the illusion that the interests of the workers and their masters are identical. Labor Day is the day upon which the worker glorifies in the fact that he is a worker, selling his labor power like his masters sell merchandise.

Therefore we take it to be our duty to greet the worker upon this coming Labor Day, and to greet him in such a way, that he will take cognizance of the facts of every day life, and plan his fight for better conditions in such a way that he will eventually rise from his present slavery and become a free man.

On Monday, every labor leader (?) in the country will talk of the progress that labor has made and consequently much rhetoric will be indulged in. **No matter how we speechify, no matter how our masters compliment us we have not made progress.**

Last Sunday we saw a grasshopper climbing a tree with a wounded companion on his back, and we thought about the members of the Industrial Workers of the World lying in prison. We talk about the ethics of the jungle and we prate about how much we have advanced above the animals. Yet if we admit the truth about ourselves, we have not advanced above the level of the animals of the forest. With all our boasted science, we never see the young dying in the forest. We never see animals dying for the want of food because other animals are hoarding it. We never see the young ill-treated, and their parents stand idly by and watch them being ill-treated. Of course not, but they are uncivilized and we are NOT.

Greetings to Labor on this coming Labor Day. What shall we greet them with? With empty phrases or shall we tell them the truth?

WE SHALL TELL THEM THE TRUTH.

The Typographical Union is one of the biggest unions in the country and on looking over their Journal for August we find the President, Marsden G. Scott, complaining about members of the union wanting to come out in a sympathetic strike. Scott states that the Constitution of the union forbids such action. Then we talk of the advancement of Labor. When the capitalists are starving us to death, because we fight strikes single-handed and because men want to band themselves in as efficient form of organization as their masters, the labor leader states that it is unconstitutional. For the sake of being eternally Constitutional, thousands of men, women and children are starved into submission. Yet Labor has advanced!

The National Civic Federation, composed of the manufacturers of these United States, passes a vote of confidence in Samuel Gompers. Sure Labor has advanced! It has advanced, but every time it advances one step it slips back two.

So long as labor leaders are allowed to fool the rank and file with the foolish ideas that were relegated to the scrap heap years ago, so long will it be hypocrisy to talk of the advancement of Labor. **EVERY LABOR LEADER WHO PRATES ABOUT THE ADVANCEMENT OF LABOR ON LABOR DAY, IS EITHER A FOOL OR A CHARLATAN, AND NO MATTER WHICH HE IS, HE HAS NO PLACE IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT.**

Go into any capitalist firm and endeavor to carry out the business ideas that were in use ten years ago and see where you will land! But men come into the labor movement and with their minds clogged up with old ideas they stick, and as a result the workers are stuck. Whilst the world is moving, Labor is standing still, with the result that it gets left behind and all that it receives is the kicks of the capitalists for being so stupid.

Once the craft unions were alright. That was in the day when man made, wielded and owned the tools with which he worked. In the days when the carpenter gazed at the result of his handiwork and with a feeling of pride said to himself, "I made that." In those days he was master of his tools. But today the individual tools have given way to the machine. The machine is not owned by the worker. The worker is a slave to the machine. Gone are the days when the skill of the individual worker was absolutely essential. Today it is levers here and levers there. Pull a lever and the steam shovel will fill the car full of ore. Pull a lever and the engine will draw it to the docks. Pull a lever and the pockets will open and shoot the ore into the shops. "Levers to the left, levers to the right, levers at the back and levers to the front, on road the machine."

Machine today is the monster that enslaves man. If man had been educated, he could have had his freedom through the machine. But "sane" labor leaders and capitalist apologists fooled him and today he groans under the weight of oppression that comes from the machine. Look at your old time unions and then look at the machine. Look at your old time unions that told you that you could organize and control your job. You could get higher wages. That was in the days, when the baker made the bread all by his own hands. When the shoemaker made a pair of shoes all by his own hand. When the molder made all the molds by his own hand.

BUT WHAT OF TODAY?

The United States Bureau of Labor will tell you a story that will sound like a romance. A story that years ago would have had a man sent to a mad-house, if he expressed belief in the same. Twelve-pound packages of pins can be made in 90 minutes by a man working with a machine. By hand the same job would take 140 hours and 55 minutes. The machine will do the job ninety times quicker. Furthermore we are informed that "the machine made pin is more durable than the hand-made one." A hundred pairs of men's medium grade calf, welt, lace shoes, single soles, soft box toes, by machine work take 234 hours and by hand the same would take 1831 hours. The labor cost on the machine is \$69.55; and by hand \$457.92. Five hundred yards of gingham checks are made by machine labor in 73 hours; the same if made by hand would take 5,844 hours. One hundred pounds of sewing cotton can be made by a machine in 39 hours; by hand labor it would take 2,895 hours. A good farm worker can reap an acre per day, with a scythe; a poor reaper and a binder can do the same work in 18 minutes. Six men with flails can thresh 60 liters of wheat in half an hour; an American thrasher can do 740 liters, over twelve times as much, in the same time.

What good is a craft union against the machine? The more men you displace, the more there are unemployed. The more there are unemployed, the less secure is your job. The less secure your job is, the lower your wages will go.

Against the machine, there is no hope for the worker so long as he is a craft unionist. The machine brings together all the firms in an industry and gives you the great industrial corporations we have today. Your masters used the machine to their advantage. They foresaw the wonderful possibilities in the machine you did not. Because you did not see the possibilities that are in the machine, you have become machine slaves instead of free men.

So on this coming Labor Day we want you to throw off your old ideas. We want you to gird your loins anew with the armor of industrial unionism. If you will do that, then you will bend the machine to your will and desires. You will emancipate yourselves, if you organize around the machine. Organize as a class and you shall be free. So we greet you as fellow-workers. We greet you with sharp criticism, not because we bear a grudge, but because we want you to rise and stand like men. We want to see the red blood flow in your veins. Upon your work and labors, the whole world rests. When you stop working, the world must stop. You are the ONLY power that makes all things. We want you to look around you and see your own children starving, your own sisters prostituting themselves, your own aged parents dying in poverty and want. Men, how long must these things go on? Now is the time, tomorrow never comes. Let the mistakes of the past guide you in the future. The past lies dead, let us start anew and with a renewed hope in ourselves, as organized members of our class we shall be free.

Let the next Labor Day prove to all that you have advanced. Let the next Labor Day see you marching all together in one class conscious organization of the workers.

EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH.

There shall be no king above us, there shall be no slave below,

There, in Labor's grand Republic, only freedom we shall know!

We are gathering, we are coming, far and wide the world around,

Truth, the North Star of our legions, all the earth our battle ground!

Arming, coming in love—anger, marching forward by its light,

Coming, coming hungry-hearted for the long expected fight!

Coming, coming from our thralldom, coming victors over all!

We have heard the World Will speaking, we have heard the Race-Soul call!

CRIMES AND CRIMINALS.

CAPITALISM MANUFACTURES MURDERERS.

"Over 90 per cent of the many murders that I have investigated were committed by child slaves! They were forced to enter the soul-stunting environment of shop and factory before they were 15 years old!"—Dr. Sleyter, scientist, criminologist, and superintendent of an American State Hospital.

"The prospective criminals once born, what does society do to prevent his becoming a criminal? Practically nothing What is the remedy at present in vogue? Society punishes the vicious child after the criminal act has been committed and sends the diseased child to the hospital to be supported by the public, after he has become helpless. We have millions for foreign missions, but few dollars for the redemption of children of vicious propensities or corrupting opportunities who are the product of our own vicious social system."—Dr. Lysston in "The Diseases of Society."

"There are few who understand that there is anything else for us to do, to protect ourselves from crime, except to inflict punishments that are often only crimes, and that are almost always the source of new crimes."—Lombroso, Italian criminologist.

Dr. Sleyter points the accusing finger at society and asks:

WHOSE IS THE RESPONSIBILITY, THE MAN OR THE COMMUNITY?

In charging society with its guilt, he plainly shows why society is responsible. He shows that we bring our children into being, in the slum. Then when they are able to walk they are compelled to go into the factory and become slaves to the machine. In the early life of these children, all that is good is stifled and no change is given to the child to develop a good character.

Dr. Sleyter investigated 269 cases of murder and in the majority of cases investigated, he found that the murderers had not received a decent education and that more than one-half were at work before they reached the age of twelve; that over 90 per cent were at work at 15.

These figures disclose the tragedy that life holds for the child-slaves, and plainly shows how society manufactures criminals, by placing them in a sordid environment, which stunts their intellect and perverts and degenerates their desires.

"Murder, theft, arson, etc., are crimes that can be avoided under a sane system of society, but under capitalism they are unavoidable. We say unavoidable, because the poor are not educated and neither do they receive a decent existence, hence they resort to crime.

When a man has worked hard all day and comes home dead tired; when the pains of hunger are gnawing at his stomach and the cheeks of his children grow whiter, it is mighty hard to keep that man from stealing.

When a girl is out of work and starving; when she walks past a high-class restaurant and catches a smell of some fine dinner; it is mighty hard for a girl to resist the temptation of selling her body, so that she might live.

When a man has worked hard all day and comes home dead tired; when he has to come to the same poor home day after day; it is mighty hard for him to resist the temptation of the saloon, with its cozy fireplace and its pleasant surroundings.

For every murder and the thousands of lesser crimes that are committed, society is responsible.

Of course our Christian (?) friends will say that we are defending crime. That is the hypocritical way they evade the question. **We are not defending crime, we are defending the criminals.**

It is no use talking about brotherly love and a home in the skies, when your stomach is empty. A starved stomach cannot be filled with moral and legal niceties promulgated by that section of the community or its satellites which knows only plenty and nought of want.

It is out of necessity that crime springs. Therefore if we are to abolish crime, we must abolish necessity. In a world rich enough to feed all, it is lasting disgrace and a seathing indictment of our boasted civilization, that we have crime in our midst.

Fancy five boys can bake ten thousand loaves, with the aid of one machine, yet we have men arrested for stealing a loaf!

The basis of crime is economic. Make man free, in other words economically emancipate him and you go a long way to preventing crime. Make his living secure, so that he has no fear of the morrow and you will eliminate the main cause for crime.

The world is rich enough to provide the necessities and luxuries of life. But because the production of the things of life is based upon the sole idea of making profit and not for use, because capitalism robs the workers of what they produce, the many have to want while the few riot in luxury.

Give every man, woman and child sufficient to satisfy every reasonable need—and no one requires more than enough—remove the uncertainty of want and suffering, particularly to his loved ones if a man dies, and crimes will fade away as curiosities of a dark past.

The remedy is Socialism.

The way to apply the remedy is to organize the workers industrially and make them feel and know why they are organizing.

Industrial democracy, control of industry by the workers is the cure for crime. Study it, and then act upon your studies.

Organization is the secret of the working class success.

W. H. C., Superior:—Regret that it is not within the scope of Truth to write in behalf of your ideas.

If an automobile goes wrong, we pull up the cover and examine its mechanism, but to do this successfully involves knowledge of what an automobile is, what it is for, how it is made, and how it works. We must know the mechanics of the automobile if we are to mend it. The same applies to Society. If Society goes wrong, we must examine its works, and to do that successfully, we must have some knowledge as to what Society is, what it is for, how it was made and how it works.

Do not sit watching the fight for working-class freedom, but get into it.

The fear of your boss is the biggest link of your chains of slavery.

Let us stand up!—Max Stirner.

PHILOSOPHY OF A FOOL

By TOUCHSTONE.

"Those that are Fools, let them use their Talents."—Twelfth Night.

THE WILL OF NATURE.

It's a lovely day; one of those days on which I am usually in high spirits and laughter comes easier than speech.

Looking out of the window of my room, I can see that the garden beneath is in a merry mood. The dahlias are enjoying themselves immensely. The cosmos are dancing the very latest tango in the wind. The cassia is a golden ripple of delight.

Two butterflies flutter and flirt and piroquette about each other like Harlequin and Columbine. The blue and silver sky is a more exquisite transformation scene than ever came from a painter's brain. The swaying, swinging flowers, I now perceive, are ballet girls, of charms superior to powder and paint.

An impudent starling, perched upon the tipmost top of a telegraph pole, his clumsy form outlined against a cloud of glittering spangles, is a chuckling, comical Clown. His stuttering mate beside him is Pantaloon, for sure.

I am sitting in a private box at the theatre, it would seem, and the jolliest and most fairy-like of pantomimes is being enacted for my entertainment.

And yet I am not happy! I am sad. My face, that should beam with my heart. I do not applaud the actors. To be perfectly candid, brother, I am on the verge of tears.

I am thinking of something very different from this gay spectacle; that I see still, despite the brilliant distraction before my eyes.

It was noon, and I stood upon the Sandhill. I had not visited that particular spot for weeks, and in the meantime a terrible change has taken place.

The trees and bushes had been cut down, and a quarry formed where before had been a rocky dell, carpeted with moss and decorated with ferns. Through the grass and wild flowers a devastating fire had run amuck, and the ground at my feet, that once had bloomed with the many hues of life, was now a blackened corpse.

"Good God!" said I to a man who was digging a hole that to me appeared to be a grave. "What horrible atrocity has been committed here?"

He looked up, surprised at the vehemence of my language and the agitation I betrayed.

"There's improvements going on," said he, in measured tones, heavy with reproach.

"Improvements!" I echoed feebly.

"Yes," said he, pleased at the effect he had produced. "The land's bin sold, an' 'ouses are to go up quick. Stone is being taken out over there for the foundations an' the Council's formin' a road and making a drain. This is goin' to be a go-ahead district, this is!"

"I liked it better as it was," said I. "I liked the wild wattle, and the ferns, and the heath, and the bottle-brush trees."

"Well," said he slowly, "it takes all sorts o' people to make a world, and men has different tastes. I couldn't see nothin' to admire in them old bottle-brushes myself."

"Their limbs are beautifully distorted," said I, "and they provided lodgings for the birds."

The man spat on his hands. "Boardin' 'ouses for sparrels ain't no good to this district," said he, and went on enlarging the interrupted hole.

I could not stay in that part of the Sandhill. It was cruelly mutilated. My heart wept to see it.

I remembered its former loveliness, and the vision of a beauty that was gone brought no joy with it, but was indeed a sight of sorrow.

So I hurried from the desecrated scene and made towards the little Frog Pool and the Ti-tree Grove.

Never before had I beheld them so gladly. Here at least there was no change, save such delightful variations as the seasons cause.

The Pool shone like the mirror of an enchantress, wherein she reads the fate of the mortals. The Ti-trees were whispering to one another as usual, and the Tallest of Them All hailed my approach with his accustomed cordiality.

"Good day to you, Fool!" said he.

"'Tis an evil day," said I. "There has been murder done!"

And I told him all about it. To my surprise he listened with a stoical indifference.

"It's old news," he explained. "The birds that lived up there have moved along here. I heard the story just before the wattle went out of bloom."

"It's too terrible to be got over in a week or two," said I reproachfully.

The tallest Ti-tree sighed.

"I haven't got over it so easily as you think," said he. "But it's the Will of Nature, and whenever She issues a decree, however harsh it may seem, the world's the better for it."

"Nature!" I protested. "What has Nature to do with this foul business? Nature is not responsible for the greed of jerry-builders, and the stupidity of aldermanic muddlers."

"Nature uses queer tools," said the Tallest Ti-tree, "and often her ways are hard to understand. But She's always RIGHT."

He uttered the last word so emphatically that for a moment I was shaken.

"Can it possibly be right to cut down Ti-trees?" I inquired. To cut them and make a bonfire of them?"

This was a home thrust, and he winced. But his faith withstood the shock.

"I used to flatter myself," said he, "that Ti-trees were the most important things on earth. Nature is obviously of a different opinion. There are places in which she gives precedence to chimney pots. And, pondering on the matter since the New Moon rose, I fancy I begin to discern her reason."

"Tell me what it is," said I.

"Well," said the Tallest Ti-tree, "Man is not a destroyer only; he's a creator too. And Nature has chosen him as an instrument for the carrying out of her plans. I'm sorry she didn't pick the Ti-tree tribe as her helpers; but she didn't, and I'm not going to question her wisdom simply because I cannot understand it."

"If you could see the hideous mess that has been made of that one-time beautiful hillside," I put in, "you wouldn't talk so philosophically."

"I have learned to look through the present to the future beyond it," said the Tallest Ti-tree. "And I see that in days to come, on that spot now seemingly desolated, houses will appear, as though they had grown from the soil. And gardens will be made, and flowers will spring up in great profusion, and there will be more food for the Bees and the Butterflies, and in the chimneys sparrows will nest, and under the eaves swallows."

"The bottle-brush trees gave

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