

The Great are Only Great Because We are on Our Knees

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.

VOLUME II. NO. 35

THE TRUTH

DULUTH, MINN., SEPT. 6, 1918

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

Permit No. 40
Duluth, Minn. 1c. Paid

WHOLE NUMBER 6

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At 8:00 A. M., Tuesday, Aug. 27, the 100 defendants were brought in patrol automobiles to the Federal Building from Cook County Jail, handcuffed in pairs, in wagon loads of ten, heavily guarded by U. S. deputies and Chicago police. Held an hour in the "dining-room," No. 03 entering court at 9:00 A. M. Judge Landis entered at 9:07 A. M., and clerk Sullivan called the roll of defendants.

Vanderveer: "Before making motion for a new trial in this case, the defense asks for arrest of judgment on the first two counts of the indictment. I shall argue for the arrest of judgment on the second count first.

"Second count charges conspiracy to intimidate and obstruct 'certain citizens of the United States' from carrying out rights granted 'citizens' under U. S. Constitution. Our position is that all rights of contract are not rights of citizenship, nor are they derived from the U. S. Constitution. All rights of contract originate and are regulated by state law and never granted to the

U. S. government by the state government."

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"The right of contract," said Vanderveer, "like the right to vote, is limited by state and not by federal law. And the right of contract exists for non-citizens as well as citizens, and also it existed before the adoption of the U. S. Constitution and apart from it."

Judge Landis says: "The government surely has the right to contract for supplies." "True," says Vanderveer, "but this indictment is not concerned with government rights but with citizens' rights. Where in the U. S. constitution is there a provision sanctifying contract made with the government? With the government, I remind you. These men are not charged with interfering with the government, but with citizens who had contracts."



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Nebeker breaks in, saying, "Your Honor, we must consider the situation. The government is at war and there is a new right here, and 'different than in times of peace. It is in time of war and the government must have protection to provide for its very existence,' and Nebeker cites a case where a U. S. marshal shot a man to protect the life of a federal judge, and states that the marshal had a right to shoot the man to protect that arm of the government. Nebeker seems sorry defendants cannot be shot.

"It is true," said Vanderveer, "that in time of war government rights may be enlarged, but it is

not true that citizens' rights are also enlarged. The government has a right to draft men and commandeer industry and to summon soldiers to protect its property and its welfare, but the citizen himself has no right to do such a thing or to exercise the use of military force of the government to merely protect his individual right of contract. Where in the citizens' right to compel eminent domain?" "Very well says Vanderveer, 'but where is the authority for this suggestion of counsel that 'because of war' an contract becomes clothed with sanctity, because, among other contracts, he may have one with the government?"

Judge Landis said, "It seems to me that contractor who contracts with the government to furnish it certain supplies must be protected and it is my opinion that if no court has yet decided to so protect him, then it is now the time to do it."

"But," says Vanderveer, "what if he broke the contract; would not the government have to sue him and in suing him, would the government not have to pursue the judicial remedies guaranteed to the government as a party to the contract by state laws and in state courts by state judges? In peace or war, wisely or unwisely, the government enters the field of contracts on a par with any other individual, who makes a contract with another individual. That is the law."

"Now, in the first count of the indictment in one section of it, the defendants are charged with conspiring to hinder the operation of cer-

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Landis: "It seems to me that the government passed these appropriation laws authorizing certain government officials to get the stuff."

Vanderveer says, with a grin, "Your Honor and myself once had a debate about 'motive' and 'purpose.' I recall that I lost out because you ruled that there was a difference between 'motive' and 'purpose.' Now, the 'motive' of Congress in passing the law was, undoubtedly, to 'get the stuff,' but the 'purpose' of the law was fulfilled by the making of the contract. The indictment does not charge us with hindering the government but it does charge us with hindering private individuals. We have intimated here in this case that perhaps some individuals were the government an counsel objected to that. Is that attitude now reversed? Are the mine owners of Butte made a part

(Continued on page 2)

CAN WE SAY TRIAL WAS 'FAIR'? VERDICT FURTHER PROOF OF CLASS WAR

It has been said that we were given a fair trial. This observation of the trial is apt to leave a wrong impression with the thousands of workers interested in this case. Whatever measure of justice we received, was not so much to the judge and still less to the Department of Justice, but to our attorneys and the enthusiasm of the membership active in the support of this case.

In the first place, we did not receive a fair trial! We could not receive a fair trial in any court under the circumstance that surrounded this case from the beginning to end. This fact should sink deep into the minds of the workers every where.

It is true that so far as the judge in his rulings was concerned, so far as his treatment of the prisoners was concerned, he has shown an unusual disposition to be fair. When we say we had a fair trial so far as the judge is concerned, that is what we mean, and all that we do mean.

But even in his instructions to the jury, as good as they were, they were by no means what the average person would suppose them to be after hearing that they had the indorsement of the defendants. We

should say that they were better than we had expected, and that is all we can say.

The Trial Proper.

The trial started long before the arrest of our members on the 25th of last September. For years, the prosecution has contemplated this case. They had set out to convict the organization. They sent their own men into our union. They have tried to incite to violence and fill our files with damaging evidence. They have given official sanction to the mobs who have raided our halls, destroyed our property and beat up our members. They have arrested our members and thrown them into prison without the authority of law. They have entered our homes, insulted women, terrorized children and driven the husband out at the point of a gun. Where they have failed to murder him in cold blood in his own home, he has been deported and left on the burning sands of an Arizona desert. They have arrested workmen in the name of law, confined them in jail and then, in the dark hours of the night, have taken them out in automobiles, beaten them until unconscious, leaving them crippled, sore and bleeding on the prairie, near Aberdeen, S. D. Through open violation and utter disregard for the mining laws of Montana, about 175 men were burned alive in the mines of Butte. They tarred and feathered sixteen members at Tulsa, Okla., in the name of the law. But I almost forgot the lynching of Little. It was cold-blooded murder to say the least. Yet no one was ever brought to trial for it, any more than was the mob at Aberdeen, S. D., Tulsa, Okla., or Kansas City, Mo., and a score of other places.

The remarkable thing to note in this connection is that, in each instance, our members were not guilty of any crime. Yet the Chief Prosecutor, Nebeker, in his speech to the jury, attempted an apology for the lawless mob in each instance. This, in view of the fact that there is no justification for such acts possible.

Methods of the Prosecution.

The prosecution has raided our offices, confiscated our correspondence, both private and official. They have used it as evidence against us. That is, they have forced us to testify against ourselves which is in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and without such evidence there would have been no call for their action. They have interfered with our defense, raided our offices, held up our funds in the banks. They have arrested men and put them in jail because they were active in defense work. Mail was held up for two months, thus depriving the wives and children of defendants of the weekly allowance given them by the General Defense Committee. The private homes of defendants have been entered by detectives and evidence necessary to their defense confiscated. And then, witnesses for the defense have been intimidated and tampered with by agents of the Department of Justice. Still we are told that we were given a fair trial. We deny it.

The Jury

We now read in the press that the jury was composed of "average American citizens." We read the same thing about the jury that vindicated the mob that so brutally murdered Robert Prager. They were "average Americans" also. But that is no proof of a fair trial. Is it not possible for average Ameri-

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INTENTIONAL DUPLICATE EXPOSURE

DEFECTIVE PAGE

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS—If the Number Opposite Your Name on the Address Slip is 64 or less, Your Subscription to The TRUTH Has Expired, and You Should Renew at Once—Office, 101 Stack Building

The Deadly Parallel

November 11th 1918.
Albert R. Parsons.
August Spies.
George Engel.
Adolph Fischer.
Louis Lingg.
Samuel Fielden.
Michael Schawb.
Oscar Neebe.

On the 11th day of November, 1887, the above men were sent to prison, and some were sent to the gallows. They were the first members of the labor movement to pay the cost of agitating for better conditions. In those days, like as today, men who fought for their class, the working class, were starved, beaten, and sent to prison and hung. The crime with which the above men were charged was never proven against them. But a capitalist class mad with the lust for the blood of the workers refused to listen to reason and so on that cold and dreary November morn, Parsons and his friends, with two exceptions, were hung by the neck until they were dead.

It is far cry from 1887 to 1918, but still the miscarriage of justice that took place in 1887 has had very little effect. So long as you work for your own class against another class, so long will the other class strive to send you to prison. Then when you are dead they will shed crocodile tears over your grave and endeavor to wipe out the stain of the past with a scrip of paper. Yesterday it was Parsons and his friends. Today it is William D. Haywood and his friends.

WHAT OF THE ESPIONAGE LAW?

I. Our Purpose.

"The whole purpose of democracy is that we may hold counsel with one another, so as not to depend on the understanding of one man but to depend upon the common counsel of all."—(New Freedom, p. 105.)

"We are banded together in America to see to it that no man shall serve any master who is not of his own choosing."—(Milwaukee, Jan. 31, 1918.)

"We have forgotten the very principle of our origin, if we have forgotten how to resist, how to agitate, how to pull down and build up, even to the extent of revolu-

tionary practices, if it be necessary to readjust matters."—(Sch. Rev. 7:604.)

"If there is one thing we love more than another in the United States it is that every man should have the right, unmolested and uncriticized, to utter the real convictions of his mind."—(Pitts, Jan. 9, 1916.)

II. What Has Happened to Us.

"Does any man doubt the great discontent in this country? Does any man doubt there are grounds and justifications for discontent?"—(N. F. 53.)

"We know that something intervenes between the people of the United States and the control of their own affairs at Washington. It is not the people who have been ruling there of late."—(N. F. 223.)

"We have come to be one of the worst ruled, one of the most completely controlled and dominated governments in the civilized world—no longer a government by free opinion, no longer a government by conviction and the vote of the majority, but a government by the opinion and the duress of small group of dominant men."—(N. F. 20.)

"The organization of business has become more centralized, vastly more centralized, than the political organization of the country itself."—(N. F. 1187.)

"The incubus that lies upon the country is the present monopolistic organization of our industrial life."—(N. F. 205.)

"The masters of the government of the U. S. are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States."—(N. F. p. 57.)

"The government of the United States at present is a foster child of the special interests."—(N. F. 58.)

"There is hardly a part of the United States where men are not aware that secret private purposes and interests have been running the government."—(N. F. 223.)

"An invisible empire has been set, put above the forms of democracy."—(N. F. 35.)

III. What We Must Do.

"The trusts are our masters now, but I for one do not care to live in a country called free even under kind masters. I prefer to live under no masters at all."—(N. F. 216.)

"I don't care how benevolent the master is going to be, I will not live under a master. That is not what America was created for."—(N. F. 207.)

"It is partly because citizens have foregone the taking of counsel together that the unholy alliances of bosses and big business have been able to assume to govern over us."—(N. F. 91.)

"I believe that the weakness of American character is that there are so few growlers and kickers among us."—(Sch. Rev. 7:604.)

"Differences of opinion are a sort of mandate of conscience."—(Sch. Rev. 7:604.)

"There is no air so wholesome as the air of utter publicity."—(N. F. 132.)

"Keep the air clear with constant discussion."—(N. F. 107.)

"The only place where he can find the true American, is in the clearing house of absolutely democratic opinion."—(N. F. 99.)

"We must learn, we freemen, to meet as our fathers did, somehow, somewhere, for consultation."—(N. F. 109.)

"I am not afraid of the American people getting up and doing something. I am afraid they will not."—(N. F. 108.)

President W. Woodrow Wilson.

WAR TAXATION.

The Government has introduced a new taxation bill to raise the sum of eight billions to carry on the war the coming year. Therefore whilst the taxation question is uppermost in the minds of the people, it will be well worth while to discuss the relation of the worker to the question of taxation.

The question of taxation has been discussed time and time again, yet there are members of our party, editors of party papers, we regret to state, who believe that the workers pay the taxes. If it were not for the sake of clearing the air somewhat, we would not waste our time discussing the tax question, because every moment that we take up in discussing same we are wasting. We could be doing more useful propaganda.

We know that labor is a commodity, just the same as eggs, butter, etc. Therefore the value of labor is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor that it takes to produce it.

Now if a tax is placed on a commodity, who pays it? The buyer. Now if a tax is placed on labor, who pays it? The buyer. Now who is the buyer of labor power? The capitalist. Therefore it logically follows that the capitalists pay the taxes. Therefore all the time we spend fighting over the tax question is wasted. We would do better by organizing the workers. It is the ignorance of many members of our party on such questions as the tax question that compels them to make so many silly excursions into politics. Politics is for the sake of propagating our ideas and also obtaining control of the State. The real and most essential work lies on the job. There the worker is robbed and exploited. There he can stop the robbing. Whilst he is organizing on the job, we can organize politically and keep back the wolves of capitalism who will endeavor to destroy his industrial organization. That is why we believe in political action.

So we trust that our readers will not worry over the tax question, but get on with the real work. Organization on an industrial basis, which means one industrial organization of the workers. The industrial organization to work side by side with one political organization of the workers. If we carry on our propaganda with those two organizations, then we shall most certainly succeed, but otherwise we shall be doomed to certain defeat.

"See our numbers still increasing; Hear the bugle blow. By our union we shall triumph Over every foe." And triumph we will, while victims at present of the most infamous outrage ever perpetrated in American history. Charged with

having printed the Preamble of the I. W. W., our prosecutors have made that document as historic as the Declaration of Independence. The Preamble is still nailed to our masthead. Yours for Industrial Freedom, WM. D. HAYWOOD.

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HAYWOOD GETS 20 YEARS

(Continued from Page One)

of and one with the government by reason of a contract?"

Vanderveer here cited a federal decision on a case arising from a petition for a writ of habeas corpus, a case charging that the defendants in the case cited were charged with conspiring to violate a treaty made by the United States with the Chinese government. The defendants there, (it was in California) ran the Chinese off the jobs and out of their homes and so on, but could not be held on the charge of violation of the treaty for the treaty could only be kept or violated by the contracting governments.

"Now," says Vanderveer, "Another section of the first count of the indictment charges these defendants with conspiring to use force to overthrow the government of the United States. Now, this charge is invalid if the proof submitted shows only that any force exerted was against some class of persons having contract relations with the governments. Even if force be proven to have been used against some property of the government or against some certain law made by the government, to be valid, the charge must be proven that force was directed at the government itself. As in the California case just cited, where it was shown that the defendants exerted force against the Chinese and not against the government, so in this case, as in that, where the similarity is shown by the decision which says the Chinese were a 'class of persons' contracted by treaty with the U. S. government; so in this case, any force exerted was against a class of persons" having contracts with the government or having protection of the government as citizens of it, but not exerted against the government itself."

Judge Landis denied Vanderveer's motion for arrest of judgment on these first two counts of the indictment. Vanderveer then proceeded to move for a new trial

upon the haste shown by the jury in returning the verdict. I assert and I have evidence from a source previously proven reliable, that the jury did not consider, confer or discuss the evidence in this case after fifteen minutes. My assertion is based upon the information given me by the defendants who while in custody were so situated that they looked in to the windows of the room where the juryman were."

Landis smiled and said, "We should have thought of that and pulled down the blinds."

"It is absolutely impossible that those twelve jurors considered, conferred and discussed evidence against 100 individual defendants upon four separate and distinct counts and did it all in 30 minutes," said Vanderveer. "That jury could not render 400 fair verdicts in 30 minutes; 100 men upon four counts. It is inconceivable. And the haste shown would alone demand that the verdict be set aside as the law has provided verdicts should be set aside on proper grounds. When this case opened, Your Honor told the jurors, counsel them carefully, not to discuss or consider the evidence until all the evidence was in on both sides and you had given them your instructions on the law. All indications are that they violated that injunction. Besides, it seems to me that the jury violated your injunction to them that they must take your instructions upon points of law whether they liked it or not. Apparently they disregarded your instructions. Now, a verdict is not a mere assembling of opinions of twelve men separately arrived at. Jurors must consider the evidence together, and a verdict made after close of evidence without discussion of the evidence is void under precedent and must be set aside. Twelve men must confer mutually with each other. With this jury a verdict was impossible to arrive at after a discussion of what each of the 100 defendants had to do with four alleged conspiracies. It was impossible for them to have voted upon the guilt or innocence of

each defendant, even with voting machines, even if they had been provided with the most modern appliances human ingenuity has provided and judge these defendants properly as provided by law. I am not mis-stating it when I say that there were 400 verdicts to be arrived at. Your honor instructed them to consider each individual defendant on each separate count. It is lucky my own name was not on that indictment, or I, myself, would have been convicted. I think Mr. Cleary here will agree with me."

Here Vanderveer started to take up the cases of individual defendants to prove his contention, beginning with Olin B. Anderson. "There is absolutely nothing against Anderson on the third and fourth counts. All the evidence against him is based on his letters and an article or two, and nowhere does Anderson mention the war. The only thing he said about soldiers is that on the Fontaine River the soldiers there were friendly toward the strikers."

Nebeker here interjected that, "It is the contention of the government, and has been asserted in my opening statement, that the I. W. W. is a criminal organization. Proof of unlawful acts of individuals is not necessary when the organization, which he forwards the interests of, is unlawful in itself. Proof of conscious acquiescence is enough."

Vanderveer: "More than that is necessary."

Landis: "Not if that conscious acquiescence goes to assist the unlawful instrumentality."

Here Landis asked both prosecution and defense to brief the opposing contentions regarding each defendant and present there in writing at 1 P. M. Wednesday, August 28th, "And I will dispose of the case on Thursday."

Vanderveer then put in an added argument for a new trial on the ground that part of the Judge's instructions went beyond precedent on the question of implied intent. "Another thing," he said, "War or

no war, the question of guilt or innocence must always be considered, and I cannot but feel that this is a 'war verdict.'"

HARRISON GEORGE.

On Thursday, Aug. 29th, at one o'clock court was called to order, and Judge Landis immediately made ruling denying the motion for a new trial.

The defendants were then called upon in alphabetical order to make what statements they wished before having sentence pronounced. This occupied the entire afternoon. A few of the fellow-workers spoke at some length, but most of them said but a few words. None of them had anything to retract on any apology to make, all understanding that the fundamental reason for the verdict of Guilty was their activity in the work of organizing among the workers in the basic industries. There was no begging for mercy, in fact several of the defendants sharply criticized the prosecution. Kane told Nebeker he was "going to prepare a place for him." Ralph Chaplin criticized the jury, and when reprimanded by Judge Landis, said he was "glad he had climbed high enough for the lightning to strike." Andreytchine made a strong attack upon capitalist society.

Haywood said there was nothing to apologize for or take back, and that he would still adhere to the principles enunciated in the preamble to the constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World. Crowds of thousands watched the prisoners being taken to and from the federal building. Hundreds of police and plainclothes men were on guard.

There was a record attendance at the noonday luncheon of the Los Angeles Advertising Club at Hotel Clark yesterday. President Jans conducted the preliminaries and Mr. Arthur M. Loomis was chairman of the day. The hall was packed.

Harry E. Andrews, managing editor of The Times, talked on "More Business Than Usual," taking

the ground that:

"You can't save the nation by rule and regulation."

You can't make wealth by Hooverization;

There's only one way to meet the situation; And that's to speed up business like hell and damnation."

Mr. Andrews declared that commerce had pulled this nation out of every hole it ever got into, from the Revolutionary War down. He said the nation hasn't enough wealth saved up to carry us through this crisis; we must add to the nation's wealth, and the only way we can add to the nation's wealth is to add to the nation's business. We must do more business than usual.—Los Angeles Times.

CAN WE SAY TRIAL WAS 'FAIR'? VERDICT PROOF OF CLASS WAR

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

cans to err in their judgement? Are they beyond the influence of social and economic relations? Can they not be intimidated as easily as other people? Why! If they are average Americans, they are bound to yield to popular prejudice. The press had so poisoned the "average American" mind against us that it was no condition to consider the evidence, rather than the patriotic appeals of the prosecutor, it would have been clear to them that there was no "conspiracy" even contemplated. They lacked the moral courage to return a verdict based upon the evidence in the case. Hence, a verdict of "Guilty as Charged in the Indictment."

We deny that we received a fair trial from the Department of Justice. We deny that we received a fair trial from the jury.

We admit that the conduct of the case by Judge Landis was far better than we had anticipated. Yet we know that the Judge's part in the whole trial was very small. The verdict itself is simply further proof that the "Class War" is a fact. FORREST EDWARDS.

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Intervention in Russia

By **GEORGE V. LOMONOSOFF,**

Head of the Russian Railway Mission in the United States—An
Address Made at a Conference of the Woman's
League, Held at Rys, N. Y., July 20, 1918.

Your newspapers, talking about Russia, do not take into consid-
eration the following:

1. That Russia is in the period of social revolution;
2. That she was economically disorganized by the war; and
3. That previous to this war the Czar's regime had left unradicated the traits of slavery in the national psychology.

I would refer you to the year of 1861 when the "moujiks," i. e., 80 per cent of the population, were in actual slavery. They were looked upon as cattle by the government and the landowners-slaveholders. While, in fact, they were people not less gifted by nature than their owners. These people were capable of any moral heroism; these people were seeking in vain God and justice.

Slavery was abolished, almost simultaneously in Russia and the United States. However, slavery left its traces in both countries. Here in the United States as well as in Russia between the slaves of yesterday and their owners was left a sting. The former could not forget the insults and the latter still looked down upon their former slaves.

In some respects the situation in Russia was better than in the United States, as the slaves and owners were of the same race, but on the whole the Czar's regime had succeeded in creating a much worse situation. You have given your liberated slaves equal suffrage, while in Russia until the very last revolution the law distinctly differentiated between the so-called "privileged classes" and the "tax-paying class." Even education was a privilege of the former, while corporal punishment for the latter was abolished only in 1904. It is true that the best part of our intellectuals joined the people, but they were met with suspicion. The people had become too well accustomed to look upon every "master" as their personal enemy. And when the time came to return to the people the privileges and the land, the majority of the so-called "peasant-lovers" began to cry "Murder!" and began to send out invitations for military intervention not only to the Allies but also to the Central Powers. Who are these Russians that are begging for military intervention? Are they the laboring people? No. They are the immigrants of the new type who hope through the aid of American rifles to regain their lost privileges. Among them you will find the former officials of the Czar, landowners and adventurers with a criminal past, and also well-paid journalists! Are all these gentlemen and their greedy appetites worth the life of a single American soldier? Is free America going to defend the remnants of slavery?

Now, a few words about the war. The United States, this enormously rich and most democratic land, is at war only a little over a year, and already all of you feel the breath of this monster war. Now, can you imagine how it was for Russia to wage war with such men as Soukhomlinoff and Rasputin at the head of the government? And notwithstanding this, we carried on the war for three years—carried it on, not on the other side of the ocean, but at home, on our own soil. On this soil we buried 7,000,000 of our sons; and for the defense of our land we spent 27 billions of dollars which brought upon us complete financial and economic ruin.

Already in the fall of 1916 our condition was getting worse and worse. The value of paper money in Russia fell 77 per cent, cultivated land 30 per cent, and only half of the cattle were left. Then followed the shortage of locomotives with the result that the means of transportation were utterly disorganized. I myself have seen in Odessa whole divisions of soldiers marching barefooted in March. I have witnessed nurses tearing their uniforms for bandages. I have seen rows of horse fallen from hunger. Moreover, I myself, with one of our armies, had to eat the meat of those fallen horses to sustain myself, while in Eastern Russia and in Siberia, corn, oats and meat were decaying under sheds. At that time everything was in abundance, but there were no means of transportation.

When I came here a year ago to acquire locomotives, my appeal was like a voice in a desert. And when we were forced by starvation and economic disintegration to lay down our arms, you called us traitors! Ladies and gentlemen, I promised to come down here and talk to you, but imagine that on the way here I met an accident. Would you then call me a traitor? Would you insist on bringing me here off my death bed to keep my promise and deliver a lecture?

A few more words about the revolution. You do not like its course, its social character. You want it to follow the principles of your great revolution. But do you not think that if your revolution took place now and not 143 years ago, it would take a different course? You object to cruelties and massacres. You are right! But what revolution has been carried on in silk gloves and evening dress? If you will leapmare the Russian revolution with the French, taking into consideration the size of Russia and France, and if you will remember the difference between our higher and lower classes, you will say that the Russian revolution was a bloodless one.

I do not mean to say that the present form of government in Russia is ideal. Not at all. But at the same time we cannot deny that it is in its nature deeply democratic. Therefore, I believe it is not consistent to wage a war for democracy on one hand, while on the other hand helping such counter-revolutionists as Semanoff, Kaledine and Horvath to crush the Russian democracy.

Halt! Come to your senses! Intervention in Russia for the sake of counter-revolution will leave a stain on those democracies that undertake and participate in it! But still more shameful it is for those who, understanding this fact, are saying: "Let the Japanese do this dirty work."

Professor Lomonosoff is not a Bolshevik; he was sent to the United States by Kerensky to buy \$100,000,000 worth of railroad rolling stock for Russia. He was for years head of the Russian Railway Institute, and is the leading Russian authority on railway engineering.

LABOR MEMBER QUILTS

FRENCH MISSION TO U. S.

SAN FRANCISCO.—As a result

of a rupture in the ranks of the

French diplomatic commission to

Australia, following the death of

M. Albert Metin, the mission Wed-

nesday was en route to Australia

without a labor member. M. Paul

Thomson, labor member, left with

the body of M. Metin. "I found

that my views differed from the others in the party, so I did not leave with them," he said. "I shall take the body of my dead friend back to Paris." The disagreement of Thomson is said to have resulted when Gen. Paul Pau was named head of the mission. Thomson had expected the appointment of Henri Bergson or some other economist or labor supporter.

DON'T WORRY; ORGANIZE.

We should worry about Socialism being against human nature. It is within everybody's nature to get all they produce.

We should worry about Socialism being a foreign movement. Let's all join it and make it international.

We should worry about dividing up. When two per cent of the people own sixty per cent of the wealth and sixty-five per cent only five per cent.

We should worry about reforms. When such a bitter class struggle is on.

We should worry over 'Gene Debs' and our other comrades' indictments. They are campaigning for Socialism.

We should worry about revolutionists being jailed. They inspire others to join the great cause.

We should worry about Bill Haywood and other I. W. W.'s being prosecuted for conspiracy. The workers know the REAL CAUSE is loyalty to the working class.

We should worry about capitalists now on top of "Big Bill." Time will reverse it.

We should worry about those sneering the I. W. W. on trial. The workers will learn their value.

We should worry about twenty year sentence for our comrades. Capitalism will NOT last that long.

We should worry about the condemnation of the Bolsheviks. Their revolting spirit spreads all over the world.

We should worry about the deserters from our movement. It only purifies it.

We should worry about personalities. Let's have a fight for principles.

We should worry about religion. Peace on earth can be realized only through an industrial democracy.

We should worry about 'hereafter.' We are on the threshold of a social revolution.

Joseph R. Booth.

REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

signal boxes of the state they know your incoming and outgoing. They can control your mind; they can go behind you and before, and float over you, and build military tunnels under your feet with your own hands. You cannot be emancipated while that class is in control and they can afford to let you play at all kinds of radical dissonance as long as you leave them where they are."

And oh, the contempt he pours upon the middle class:

"The middle class man is the negative, empty space between two facts, he is nothing—not even a hypocrite. He has no role to play anywhere in any great world. No great social movement is for him who is but a soaker, maintaining himself by keepink on the moister side of every-thing."

That which is of value in these essays is a certain power born of earnest conviction which meets Tolstoi's test of art, viz., that the emotion of the writer is communicated to those who read. They are not literature, it is true, but they deserve to be read.

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In this propaganda, the life-breath of the movement, the press, is paramount to all other agencies and influences and the progress of the press is a sure index of the progress of the movement." — Eugene V. Debs.

With a view to increasing the circulation of TRUTH, the directors have decided to institute a campaign for subscriptions. We feel that it is absolutely necessary that Truth should continue to exist. The Big Business element have at all times gone out of its way to pay us compliments, with the inevitable result. We are at present losing forty-five dollars per week on Truth. This sum can be easily secured if ALL comrades who read the paper will at once renew their subscription and also obtain at least one more. The Truth is in the hands of its readers, if they desire it to be published, if not, then Truth will be discontinued. Those who are in touch with the paper and its work know full well that Truth is badly needed here in Duluth and that it would be nothing less than a catastrophe for it to close down at this time. So we earnestly appeal to all readers to assist us in our subscription campaign.

The comrade who enlist the highest numbers of subscribers for the next four weeks, will receive a prize of ten dollars in cash. To the next three we will present five, two-fifty, and one dollar's worth of books.

It is entirely in your hands as to what shall become of Truth. If every reader renews his subscription we can continue for at least another nine months. Every reader renews his subscription and obtains one new subscriber we can go on at least a year and a half. Let us know what you can do.

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THE I. W. W. TRIAL.

In war time it is easy to camouflage everything. The merchant raises the prices of his commodities and camouflages same by blaming it on the war. The politician whose record is bad, can get by once more, by waving the flag and parading his loyalty. The actor on the stage delivers a rotten act, but all that he requires to do is to wave the flag and he will be assured of much applause. The same applies to many of the prosecutions that are taking place today. The prosecutor before the war had to do much camouflaging, in order to convince a jury of the soundness of his argument. But now all that he requires to do is to state, "Gentlemen of the jury, we now live in most trying times. What the defendants have done, may have been all right before the war, but today it is tantamount to treason." The jurymen nod his head in approval. Sure there is war on, that is enough to prove the prisoners guilty.

The Industrial Workers of the World have been made the victims of a prejudiced jury. A jury that was ignorant of the work and the philosophy of the organization they were trying.

In the first place the I. W. W. were charged with conspiracy against the Government of these United States. The conspiracy lies in the fact that the I. W. W. by virtue of the strength of their organization were able to demand higher wages and better conditions all round. The employers claim that by engaging in strikes the I. W. W. have hampered industry. Therefore if the I. W. W. have hampered industry, then they have hampered the carrying on of the war. Now on the surface that looks sufficient to prove that the I. W. W. have hampered the war. Therefore let us examine the charge and see how far it is true.

In the first place the Industrial Workers of the World is an organization formed with a view to raising the living conditions of the worker. They propose to do this by organizing the workers and compelling their masters to give them higher wages and better working conditions. Now that has been the policy of the I. W. W. before the war and after war was declared. It was aimed at the employers of this country, so when Nebeker states that it was a conspiracy against the Government he lets the cat out of the bag and clearly demonstrates that the employers of these United States are the Government. If the employers are NOT the Government, then Nebeker is at once guilty of a gross perjury in claiming that the I. W. W. acted as a conspiracy against the Government. Mr. Nebeker cannot have it both ways. He has got to admit it the one way or the other. Either the employers are the Government or the charge against the I. W. W. is false.

If the I. W. W. by demanding higher wages, etc., have been guilty of hindering the war, what shall we say of the employers, the profiteers of this country? The Government is paying extraordinary high prices for raw materials to carry on the war. Copper has advanced fifteen cents per pound, steel, lumber, etc., all have advanced in price. Therefore the Government has had to pay more for its raw materials. In other words the Government's work has been hindered by the lack of raw materials. The reason for the present high taxation bill is because the Government needs the necessary raw materials, etc., to carry on the war. Therefore if the employers had fixed war prices at the same scale as pre-war prices, then the Government would have had more raw materials. But as the employers did not do that, but used the war to engage in wholesale profiteering, then the employers hindered the war. If the I. W. W. are guilty, then the employers are a thousand times more guilty.

No amount of camouflaging can conceal the real cause of the Industrial Workers' conviction. It is plainly a class issue. In passing we pay our small tribute to the fairness of Judge Landis, but the evidence and the cross-examination of the I. W. W. members plainly disproves the idea of a conspiracy. Why is it that the I. W. W. whose object was to hinder the Government during the war, have had the charge of the work in Philadelphia? The work on the Philadelphia docks is the most important work the Government has. In constituting the loading of munition ships with guns, etc. Now if the I. W. W. were out to conspire against the Government, how is it that there has not been one single accident of any kind in Philadelphia during the war? You cannot sidestep this question. If the I. W. W. are pro-German, traitors, etc., as the editors of the Herald and News Tribune would have you believe, how is it that there has not been one accident on the Philadelphia docks? There has been no answer made to this question either by the editors of the Duluth papers or the government prosecutors. The silence in regard to that question is clear proof that the I. W. W. are not being charged with any attempt to stop the war.

The Government in its cross-examination of Bill Haywood clearly gave the game away. Nebeker took Bill Haywood all through the period commencing 1896 right down to the present time. What has the Western Federation of Miners got to do with the charge of conspiracy during war times? If a man had tea with his grandmother twenty years ago, that is sufficient evidence for a divorce on part of his wife, if we are to follow out the logic of Mr. Nebeker's cross-examination. No one can read the evidence of the trial and not be firmly convinced that the case against the I. W. W. is purely one of the whole capitalist class against the most aggressive members of the working-class. That is the real charge

against the I. W. W. Any person who tries to connect the I. W. W. with a conspiracy against the Government because we are at war is only wasting his time.

Let us deal with this charge. Let us examine it and then we will be able to form our judgment as to whether the I. W. W. received a fair trial or not.

In the first place the members of the I. W. W. are products of a social system. Many of their members are in America and under most trying conditions. One member on being questioned about the subject of patriotism stated:

"You ask me why the I. W. W. is not patriotic to the United States. If you were a bum without a blanket; if you had left your wife and kids when you went West never kept you long enough in a place to qualify you to vote; if you slept in a lousy, sour bunk-house, and ate food just as rotten as they could give and get by with it; if deputy sheriffs shot your cooking cans full of holes and billed your grub on the ground; if your wages were lowered on you when the bosses thought they had you down; if there was one law for Ford, Suhr, and Mooney and another for Harry Thaw; if every person who represented law and order and the nation beat you up, railroaded you to jail, and the good Christian people cheered and told them to go to it,—how in hell do you expect a man to be patriotic?"

So you will see the foundation for a man being an I. W. W. Working under most trying conditions, fed like hogs, housed like cattle, kicked about like curs and finally to die between freight cars, a victim of a rotten system. That has been the fate of many of our people, and that is why we have such organizations as the I. W. W. No amount of Government persecution will stay such organization. As they are a product of a system, like a wet floor is the product of a leak, they will continue to be with us so long as we have the system. Many other members of the I. W. W. have thrown in their lot with the I. W. W. because they were men of intellect. They were not merely stomach rebels, they are men of intellectual worth and recognizing the truth, as they witnessed it, they joined the I. W. W. You cannot spend a night with Ragnar Johanson, Ashleigh, Chaplin, Haywood, and the rest of the convicted men and not feel enriched by so doing. It has been our pleasure to have had many of them sharing our hospitality. We had many arguments, raging fierce at times, and we knew more of the realities of life after we had discussed things with these men, than we did before. There must be something good in the I. W. W., otherwise the men we have mentioned would have left it. Men do not give up careers on the stage, like Johanson, and join the I. W. W. just for the notoriety, because where can a man gain more notoriety than on the stage? Men do not give up careers on the stage, like Johnson, are fools—and Chaplin is no fool. There must be something in the organization, we say! What is that something? It is a burning passion for social justice that grips men and women and compels them to go out and fight for the class they belong to. Men like Nebeker and Porter do not and never can understand the social passion that burns within the souls of the I. W. W. Men who have always been the parasites and tools of soulless corporations, never can and never will understand why men become imbued with humanitarian ideals and risk death itself, in order that their class, the down-trodden, oppressed and starved working-class may be free and you expect men who represent corporations, that have children, women and men, to understand the feelings and the nature of men who risk everything and sacrifice better for those who follow on? It is absolutely impossible to expect men like Nebeker to understand these men. Therefore it is judicial miscarriage for any Government to appoint such a man to prosecute the Industrial Workers of the World. The case of the Industrial Workers of the World is not one of the Law. There are no legal rules involved. The case is merely one of right and common sense. The I. W. W. state that those who produce all the wealth shall not live like pigs and forever be doomed to darkness, but shall live like men and stand erect with the sunlight in their eyes. Nebeker, attorney for a soulless corporation, says no. The workers must be contented and Nebeker, like King Canute, grimly smiles.

What of the jury?

Twelve men were carefully selected. No person with any sign of radical tendencies was allowed to sit upon THAT jury. If a man looked any way intelligent, the Government prosecutor in all the solemn majesty of the law would state, "I object. I saw that man eating a piece of pie wrapped in a copy of Solidarity." A jury of twelve men, who had never read one scientific work, in less than one hour weighed up the evidence consisting of millions of words, and finally decided that the I. W. W. was guilty. It was a gross farce and a burlesque combined. The jury were the judges as to whether the I. W. W. were guilty or not. A jury that did not know anything at all about the system under which we live and consequently did not know anything at all about the conditions under which men lived and the reason why men do certain things. They were just marionettes and Nebeker pulled the strings. They remind you of certain sections of the workers who sit and admire art creations, even though they do not understand them, but nevertheless they want people to know that they are intellectual. How can a jury that has not read one work on sociology understand the actions of men who have mastered these works? Men who have devoted their whole lives to studying science and after sitting down

and formulating certain ideas, along come some more men, as ignorant as little children, and condemn them. Where is the justice of the whole thing, we ask. How can we honestly be proud of our country if we allow such injustices to be perpetrated upon our fellow-citizens?

The cause of the I. W. W. will become stronger on account of the reason of convictions of its members. When the early Christians were thrown to the lions, Christianity received the greatest impetus of its existence. The early Romans never dreamed that some day a mighty organization of Christians would dominate the world. So with the I. W. W., so with the Christians, the I. W. W. will become stronger on account of its present persecution. Many will join them because of a sentimental regard for the weak against the strong. No movement has ever been crushed by wanton persecution.

The question of the day, in relation to the conviction of the I. W. W., is what are we going to do?

The time is NOT now for discussing the policy of the I. W. W. The I. W. W. are members of the working-class and in that respect alone are entitled to the full support of ALL Socialists. The basic principle of our party, AN INJURY TO ONE IS THE CONCERN OF ALL, should be practiced today more than we have ever practiced it before. The support of these men in prison is not one of charity, it is one of self-preservation. Men like Hillquit and Debs, holding such diverse views on the question in industrial unionism, are united upon the question of supporting the I. W. W. No Socialist, worthy of the name, can stand idly by and allow these men to be railroaded without doing something to say such railroadings. You can help the I. W. W. in many ways. You can send along a dollar to assist the many women and children that will be left behind. You can spread the gospel of industrial unionism and so bring about that glorious day which we are all hoping for. It is action today that speaks louder than words. The time for passing resolutions has passed. Today we must go out and show the road to industrial freedom. Point out the road and get the fellow-worker on the job to realize that victory is on the side of the big battalions. The workers in one organization can wield a power mightier than the armies of Kings or Kaisers. Before the organized power of the workers the world must stand and wait. Not one industry, not one nation and not one empire can exist a single day without the aid of Labor. Today we appeal to Labor to assert itself. To stand by members of its own class. Whilst out in France the boys are risking life and death in the trenches, let us not lie down on the fight in the industrial trenches. The clarion call has been sounded, the order to advance has been made. Shall we be traitors to our own class and refuse to advance? Are we so submissive to the wishes of the Big Business Element of this country, that we have not got the manhood to rise and protest against the judicial outrage that is being perpetrated against the I. W. W.? Let it not be said when the twenty years is over and these men return from prison battered wrecks, that we refused to assist them. We would rather be the vilest capitalist than a worker in those days if we had to admit that we refused to assist members of our own class. Workers, gaze at your masters and learn a much needed lesson. Gaze at them and see the spirit of class-solidarity they display. When you strike, all of your masters get together and defeat you. When will you learn how to get together?

How many more men are to be railroaded before we learn the lesson of solidarity? In the meantime, whilst you are thinking about the need of solidarity, DO NOT FORGET THE 97 MEMBERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS NOW IN PRISON.

SCANDINAVIAN CONVENTION.

As we go to press we learn that the Scandinavian Convention, held in Minneapolis September 1st and 2nd, decided to donate fifty dollars to Truth and also instructed the locals to take up subscriptions. Comrades, what is your local going to do? Now, comrades, Truth will not close down.

It is absolutely ludicrous to call any country a democracy in which men and women are sent to prison for the mere expression of the opinions they hold.

J. O. Moronty, secretary of the Sydney S. L. P., was recently fined \$250 for giving a letter to a ship's steward for delivery to the secretary of the American S. L. P. The letter merely mentioned that all Labor and Socialist papers have been prohibited from coming into Australia. Prussia isn't the only place that suffers from Prussianism.

Wellington (N. Z.) "Evening Post" of March 25th, 1918, printed the following in its London correspondence as a portion of a speech delivered by J. H. Thomas, M. P., railwaymen's secretary: "There are, roughly, 5,500,000 people in arms, 750,000 occupied in munitions, 2,000,000 employed in other industries connected with the war; and so we have more than 11,000,000 men and women engaged exclusively for war purposes. When peace is in sight, thousands and hundreds of thousands of these men and women will be discharged. If millions of men who have gone through the hell of the trenches and have become callous to death are brought back to take their places in a long queue looking for a job, they will say that they will have another 'scrap' to alter this state of things."

Revolutionary Essays

By Lillian Hilder Udel.

Has Socialism a literature? This word "literature" is obviously not meant to be used here as synonym for printed matter, as we speak of the literature of an anti-tuberculosis campaign or a vice-crusade. One regrets the poverty of language which forces us to employ one and the same noun in describing the tragedy of an Aeschylus or an Ibsen and the report of a garbage inspector. Socialism has its men of science like Enrico Ferri, its philosophers like Dietzgen, its economists like Marx and Engels, its scholars like Kautsky and Ward, its men of action like Bebel, Haywood and Debs.

In the present inquiry we refer to the art by which noble thought finds adequate expression on the printed page, the medium through which aesthetic or heroic emotion becomes articulate for our own and succeeding generations.

For existence, even our present existence under the wage system, has its aesthetic and heroic phases. None of us should forget that, least of all the pioneers in a revolutionary movement. Granted that the philosophies of the eighteenth century did not take the Bastille or achieve the cataclysm of '93, none the less their work stands as the best inheritance of their time, none the less their writings form the source of highest inspiration for their spiritual descendants of the twentieth century. What we of today are striving for is not merely physical well being, nor even physical well being plus a most intimate and accurate knowledge of our descent from the amoeba and our kinship with the chimpanzee. Does the Socialist movement as at present constituted afford us those elements of poetry and eloquence which nerve the spirit for the great act of rebellion which must precede the bringing in of a better order of things?

One recalls Oscar Wilde's "Soul of Man Under Socialism" and William Morris' "News from Nowhere." These two master artists have, however, given us pictures of society in its ultimate perfection. Their prophecy is derived less from science than from faith. Mr. Shaw has treated current problems with a lucidity and brilliancy unsurpassed by any contemporary writer. But his appeal is never to the deeper emotions of his readers.

These thoughts occurred to me as I laid down a little volume entitled "Revolutionary Essays in Socialist Faith and Fancy," by Peter E. Burrows.

I cannot claim for this author a very high place among literateurs, yet in his best moments he is reminiscent of Carlyle, of Whitman and curiously enough of Friedrich Nietzsche.

At his worst he is mystical even to the point of becoming unintelligible. There is much in these essays that could have been omitted. Yet the reader who can enter into the mood in which the work is conceived will find himself abundantly repaid for the effort.

There is throughout all these reflections a fine enthusiasm which act upon one as a tonic. There are moments of passionate eloquence, almost of poetry. There is little that is dull. One feels that the man who penned them had the temperament of a poet. He is religious but his religion is of this world. He writes:

"Oh, he is a very present, very near and dear God—the God whose name I whisper to thee, Socialism. And as you think of the glistening morning thoughts, wherewith so often he has coronated your brow, that crown of yours, which is in the thought world as a rich rose giving out

of its folds delightful particles of fragrantly blessed fancies, you know nevermore aught of the terrible nearness of God. He is no longer that awful live eye which the priests pulled out of a socket and set staring at you from the altar, staring in among your poor poor little heart thoughts, to shrivel you up with a horrible fear of God and make you slaves. The God of humanity is so sweetly near, and you so sweetly fearless of his nearness, are that you would if you could, let him into your bosom's heart to stay among the red pulses."

Yet this dreamer is far indeed from holding the point of view of the Christian Socialist. He is never more vehement and perhaps never clearer in his utterance than in his attack upon organized religion:

"There is no vision that ever came to man so unconquerably true as the Socialist perception that the church in every nation is but the voice of the economic ascendant. In America, many are puzzled to see—mercantile Protestantism and mercantile infidelity flirting to incontinently with Rome. The daily press, which is indubitably run and written by trade and for trade only, cannot nevertheless conceal and cannot hold back the daily interest of its proprietors in the prosperity and doings of that venerable hypnotist, the approved handmaiden and willing paramour of all despotism, the Roman Catholic Church. And let it be known that she deserves their confidence and affection, for she has never yet officially betrayed any property class, and indeed cannot, for every cell and tissue of her canons, doctrines, and practices was formed in the bowels of riches for its own defense and comfort against sinners who must work and who do not work enough."

And later:

"I do not single out Rome by name in order to separate her dishonorably from the other churches of the world. Her own claim that in Western lands she is the mother church is sound; she is older and wiser in the police business than her Protestant progeny, who though a bit naughty in the past, are filially imitative. It was but a minor property quarrel that separated them, the major property interest of uniting against Socialism will soon bring them all together again. Hence the billing and cooing between their eminences in the press and the priesthood."

The so-called progressive movement in modern capitalist politics will find here little encouragement:

"The reform tinker, who has no higher aim in politics than to mend the passing pots, we do not endorse. He shall pass through life mending pots, and shall leave the world with yet more pots to mend than he found there when he came."

We are to have no illusion concerning the depth of our slavery to those who own the tools of production:

"This parasite class, according to the observed law prevailing in all ages, having obtained control of the economic needs and forces of their time, 'clothe themselves with authority, and gird themselves with the powers of the state. They therefore can supplement the privation by exclusion from the means of living. They can also add positive suffering to the negative misery; they can beat you by all the rods of law into their laboratories; they can entangle your feet in every step you make for freedom; they can not only use the guns of the state against you but they can force you to use them against yourself; they can, by possessing all the archieves, know how much it is costing you to live, and can as private employers, cut your wages down to that. From the

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 3)