

"I WOULD NOT RETRACT A WORD HAVE UTTERED, THAT I BELIEVE TO BE TRUE, TO SAVE MYSELF FROM GOING TO THE PENITENTIARY FOR THE REMAINDER OF MY DAYS" --DEBS

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

THE TRUTH

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

VOLUME II. No. 37

DULUTH, MINN., SEPT., 20, 1918

WHOLE NUMBER 66

Debs sentenced Ten Years in Prison Delivers Masterly Address to Jury

"FACING ENDING OF HIS DAYS IN PRISON ON CELL"—DEBS REPUDIATES NOTHING

Courts Charge emphasised That Espionage Act is not Intended to Prevent Opinions at Variance With the Government

"I deny nothing.
"I repudiate nothing.
"I retract nothing."
—Eugene V. Debs.

Facing, as he expressed it himself, "a convict's stripes and the ending of my days in a prison cell," Eugene V. Debs confined his defense to his own plea to the jury.

He stood by every word of his Canton speech, on which he was indicted for violations of the espionage act. He accepted the testimony against him as "truthful," complimented the court and prosecution on its fairness and said he voted for and believed in the principles set forth in the socialist St. Louis anti-war proclamation and program.

Calls No Witnesses.
Not a single witness was called for the defense. Although four attorneys, including Seymour Stedman of Chicago, assisted the Socialist leader during the trial, none went before the jury.

Once the prosecution's testimony had been finished, Debs took upon himself the sole responsibility of explaining his acts and his words. His address, lasting little more than an hour, was characterized by counsel and court officials as "a courageous and clear exposition of his principles."

After both prosecution and defense had rested, Attorney Stedman filed a motion, asking the judge to direct the jury to bring a verdict of "not guilty" on the five counts of the original indictment with which Debs was charged.

Judge Westenhaver instructed the jury to return "not guilty" verdicts on counts 6 and 8, but overruled the motion in regard to counts 3, 4, 7 and 10. He reminded the jury that counts 1, 2, 5 and 9 had been nolle.

Count 6 charged Debs with uttering language "intended to bring the form of government of the United States, the constitution, military and naval forces, the flag and the uniform of the army and navy into contempt, scorn, contumely and disrepute."

Count 8 charged that he "urged, incited and advocated the curtailment of the production of armaments necessary and essential to the prosecution of the war."

What Jury Considers.

The four counts which will go to the jury charge that Debs—

Attempted to incite insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces;

Obstructed and attempted to obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service;

Uttered language intended to incite, provoke and encourage resistance to the United States and to promote the cause of the enemy;

Opposed the cause of the United States

St. Louis Platform.

Debs said of the St. Louis proclamation:

"I did not sign it and I was not at the convention, but I voted for its adoption. I believe in its principles. There is some of its phrasing that I do not like and I afterwards advocated a re-statement. The testimony that I had refused to repudiate it was true.

"I believe that statement correctly defines that attitude of the Socialist party toward the war. The statement did not apply to the people of this country alone, but to the workers of all countries."

While he frankly admitted the accuracy of the testimony against him, the Socialist chief disputed the interpretation placed on his words by the indictment.

He denied any attempt to bring the flag of the United States into disrepute, but the implication which Debs most resented was that of "aiding the enemy."

Not Pro-German.

"How could I be pro-German?" he asked. "My father and mother were born in Alsace. They understood the meaning of Prussianism and they hated it with all their hearts. I did not need to be taught it.

"I knew from them what a hateful, what an oppressive, what a brutalizing thing it was. I do not know how anyone could suspect that I for one moment could have the slightest sympathy with 'such a monstrous thing. I have been thinking, talking and writing against it practically all my life.

Despises Kaiserism.

"I know that the kaiser incarnates all there is of brute force, of murder. And yet I would not kill the kaiser. I would do him as Thomas Paine said—kill the king and save the man. I would wipe militarism out of the whole world, from the face of the earth.

"With every drop of my blood I despise kaiserism and everything that kaiserism expresses or stands for. I did say that men are fit for something better than slavery and cannon fodder. Aren't they?"

Debs drew a picture of "the frightful scenes of battle" and of "the breaking of mothers' hearts" and declared, "I am going to do what I can to wipe from the earth this terrible scourge of war.

"If I believed in war, if I could shed human blood, I would be in the first line trenches, not fighting from long range. I would be honest enough to shed my own blood."

Asserting the constitution of the United States specifically laid it down that "Congress shall make no law abridging the rights of free speech, free press or free assembly," Debs asked:

"Isn't it strange that we So-

EUGENE DEBS

By DAVID BOESPA.

I hail you, Gene,
Grand old gray warrior,
Poet profit labor and liberty.

Companion gift with Jim Riley
Of pregnant Hoosier soil to the world.
With Emerson, Lincoln, Whitman,
You take your place as one of America's illustrious quartet
In humanity's procession of prophets.

Your life is a triumphant hymn set to music of service.
From your lips flow reminiscent beauties,
Spun from golden memory threads of love and service.
You clasp my hand and I thrilled as at touch of sweetheart.
The love of all humanity surges in your handclasp—the love that inspires faith, courage and condence.

Yours is the universal passion for men and the far-visioned perception of the prophet. By the touch of your hand is healing wrought among the slaves; and the fingers that once gripped your fireman's shovel would gather the heartfibres of the proletariat and play thereon the sweet symphony of co-operative liberty.

Prison maw received your body
And death hovered over you;
But you bore it bravely, with a smile, for the sake of labor's cause.
The judge who persecuted you
Has since resigned his seat in disgrace,
While the name of Gene Debs
Still inspires and leads millions to fresh hope of deliverance.

Oh! the agony of your stooped shoulders,
Bowed by burdens borne for your brothers.
You stand and reach those long arms as though to gather to your mighty heart every worker. Those arms have listed the prostitute to womanhood and held up the wandering, hungry disemployed.

Unstinted, ceaseless love
Poured out upon your comrades.
Here is the soul of the ages,
Heart of humanity,
Vision of the seer,
Mover of mighty forces,
Voice of thee proletariat.
My neighbor, brother, comrade—
GENE DEBS.

The Main Problem of Our Day

By N. LENINE
(Translated from "Pravda,"
April 13th, 1918.)

Mother Russia:
Thou art poor, and thou art rich
Thou art mighty, and thou art weak.
—Nekrassoff.

The history of mankind is today recording one of the greatest and most difficult crises which has an infinite, we can say without the least exaggeration, world-wide liberating significance. We are turning from war to peace; from war between beasts of prey who are sending to slaughter millions of exploited toilers in order to establish a new system of division of the booty amassed by the strongest robbers, to a war of the oppressed against the oppressors for the emancipation from the yoke

of capitalism; from an abyss of suffering, tortures, hunger and barbarity to the bright future of communistic society, of universal prosperity and a secure peace. It is not surprising that at the most difficult points of such a crisis when everywhere around us the old order is crumbling and falling apart with an awful tumult and crash, and at the same time a new order is being born in indescribable torments—it is not surprising that some are getting dizzy, some become victims of despair, and some to escape from the, at times, too bitter reality, taking cover behind beautiful and enchanting phrases. We were forced, however, to observe most clearly, and to pass through the sharp and painful experience of the most difficult crisis of history which turns the world from imperialism towards

communistic revolution. In a few days we destroyed one of the oldest, most powerful, barbarous and cruel monarchies. In a few months we passed through a number of stages of compromise with the bourgeoisie and got over the petty bourgeois illusions, in the grip of which other countries have spent decades. In a few weeks we have overthrown the bourgeoisie and crushed her open resistance in civil war. We passed a victorious and triumphal procession of Bolshevism from one end of an enormous country to the other. We aroused to freedom and independence the most humble sections of the toiling masses oppressed by czarism and the bourgeoisie. We introduced and firmly established the Soviet republic—a new type

NEWS TRIBUNE ADVOCATES MOB LAW. IS THE EDITOR INSANE OR PRO-GERMAN?

The Editor of the News Tribune, one, the biggest pay-t-RIOT in this fair city, in his editorials of September 11th, comes out for lynching as being the best way to try a person. This is what he states:

"Maybe Montana's way with the I. W. W. agitators is better than Chicago's. Little's trial was shorter and it had no such aftermath as Haywood's."

It is such men as the editor of the News Tribune who constitute the danger to the best interests of the people. These men are arrant cowards, sheltered behind their editorial chairs they advocate things that they themselves would be afraid to do. What do they care, so long as they can play on the ignorance of the masses? Lynching is what they want, but they have not got the nerve to join lynching parties. One result of the foul, slimy and dirty work of men like Mitchell can be seen in the following, taken from the September number of the Crisis:

The murder of the Negro men was deplorable enough in itself, but the method by which Mrs. Mary Turner was put to death was so revolting and the details are so horrible that it is with reluctance that the account is given. It might be mentioned that each detail given is not the statement of a single person but each phase is related only after careful investigation and corroboration. Mrs. Turner made the remark that the killing of her husband on Saturday was unjust and that if she knew the names of the persons who were in the mob that lynched her husband, she would have warrants sworn out against them and have them punished in the courts.

This news determined the mob to "teach her a lesson," and although she attempted to flee when she heard that they were after her, she was captured at noon on Sunday. The grief-stricken and terrified woman was taken to a lonely and secluded spot, down a narrow road over which the trees touch at their tops, which with the thick undergrowth on either side of the road, made a gloomy and appropriate spot for the lynching. Near Folsom's Bridge over the Little River a tree was selected for her execution—a small oak tree extending over the road.

At the time she was lynched, Mrs. Mary Turner was in her eighth month of pregnancy. The delicate state of her health, one month or less previous to delivery, may be imagined, but this fact had no effect on the tender feelings of the mob. Her ankles were tied together and she was hung to the tree, head downward. Gasoline and oil from the automobiles were thrown on her clothing and while she was writhed in agony and the mob howled in glee, a match was applied and her clothes burned from her person. When this had been done and while she was yet alive, a knife, evidently one such as is used in splitting hogs, was taken and the woman's abdomen was cut open, the unborn babe falling from her womb to the ground.

The infant, prematurely born, gave two feeble cries and then its head was crushed by a member of the mob with his heel. Hundreds of bullets were then fired into the body of the woman, now mercifully dead, and the work was over.

News Tribune states that the I. W. W. are guilty of the deaths of the four people who were killed in Chicago by the bomb that was placed in the Federal Building. Judge Landis who sat for over 120 days trying the I. W. W., states that they are not guilty. The editor of the News Tribune should be immediately arrested and compelled to state his grounds for saying that the I. W. W. are guilty, otherwise he should be charged with criminal libel. Of course the members of the I. W. W. belong to the workingclass and so Mitchell, with the Steel Trust and the 'Quare Deal Committee behind him, feels safe. How easy to mock and jeer at men in prison! What a glorious thing to do! How proud must Mitchell feel! One can only have pity for men like Mitchell. Old men suffering from senile decay will say anything. They are like little children, they just babble and babble, not responsible for what they say.

Some day when the war clouds have rolled away and we can see the clear blue sky above; when we can say those things, THAT MUST BE SAID, and when we can do those things that must be done, we shall judge Mitchell and the rest of the bunch. Hiding behind the clouds of dust that the war has raised, these men can camouflage the public. But it will not be for long. Everywhere the rumblings of the discontent of the people can be heard. The mighty edifice of capitalism with its rotten foundation and its rotten supports will soon crumble down into the dust. Then in that day we shall take stock of all that has been done in the past.

We trust that Mitchell will read the following statement issued by President Wilson on July 26th, 1917:

There have been many lynchings, and every one of them has been a blow at the ordered law and human justice. No man who loves America, no man who really cares for her fame and honor and character, or who is truly loyal to her institutions, can justify mob action while the courts of justice are open and the governments of the States and the nation are ready and able to do their duty. We are at this very moment fighting lawless passion. Germany has outlawed herself among the nations because she has disregarded the sacred obligations of law and has made lynchers of her armies. Lynchers emulate her disgraceful example. I, for my part, am anxious to see every community in America rise above that level, with pride and a fixed resolution which no man or set of men can afford to despise.

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The Main Problem of our Day

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

of State—infinitely higher and more democratic, than the best of bourgeois-parliamentary republic. We established the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the poorest peasantry, and have inaugurated a comprehensively planned system of socialist reform. We awakened self-confidence and lit the fire of enthusiasm in the hearts of millions upon millions of workers of all countries. We sent broadcast the clarion call of the international working class revolution. We challenged the imperialistic plunderers of all countries.

And in a few days an imperialistic brigand knocked us down, attacking those who had no arms. He forced us to sign an incredibly oppressive and humiliating peace—a penalty for the daring to break away, even for as short a time as possible, from the iron grip of the imperialistic war. And the more threateningly the spectre of a working class revolution in his own country is rising before the brigand, the more furiously is he oppressing and strangling and tearing Russia to pieces.

We were compelled to sign a "Tilsitz" peace. We must not deceive ourselves. We must have courage to face the unadorned bitter truth. We must size up in full, to the very bottom, the abyss of defeat, partition, enslavement and humiliation into which we have been thrown. The clearer we shall understand this, the firmer, the more hardened and inflexible will become our will for liberation, our desire to rise anew from enslavement to independence, our firm determination to see at all costs, that Russia cease to be poor and weak, that she become truly powerful and abundant.

She can become such, for we still have left sufficient expense and natural resources to supply all and everyone, if not with abundant, at least with sufficient means of subsistence. We have the material in the natural resources, in the supply of human energy, and in the splendid impetus which the creative spirit of the people received through the great revolution to create a really mighty and abundant to deny that fact or to become

Russia will become such, provided she frees herself of all dejection and phrase-mongering; provided she strains her every muscle; provided she comes to understand that salvation is possible only on the road of the international socialist revolution, which we have chosen. To move forward along this road, not becoming dejected in case of defeats, to lay, stone after stone, the firm foundation of a socialist society, to work tirelessly to create discipline and self-discipline, to strengthen everywhere organization, order, efficiency, the harmonious co-operation of all the people's forces, universal accounting and control over production and distribution of products—such is the road towards the creation of military power and socialist power.

It is unworthy of a true socialist, if badly defeated, either to deny that fact or to become despondent. It is not true that we have no way out and that we can only choose between a "disgraceful" (from the standpoint of a feudal knight) death, which an oppressive peace is, and a "glorious" death in a hopeless battle. It is not true that we have betrayed our ideals or our friends when we signed the "Tilsitz" peace. We have betrayed nothing and nobody, we have not sanctioned or covered any lie, we have not refused to aid any friend and comrade in misfortune in any way we could, or by any means at our disposal. A commander who leads into the interior the remnants of an army which is defeated or disorganized by a disorderly fight and who, if necessary, protects his retreat by a most oppressive and humiliating peace, is not betraying those parts of the army which he cannot help and which are cut off by the enemy. Such a commander is only doing

his duty, he is choosing the only way to save what can still be saved, he is scorning adventures, telling the people the bitter truth, "yielding territory in order to win time," utilizing any, even the shortest, respite in order to regather his forces, and to give the army, which is affected by disintegration and demoralization, a chance to rest and to recover.

We have signed a "Tilsitz" peace. When Napoleon I forced Prussia in 1807 to accept the "Tilsitz" peace, the conqueror had defeated all the German armies, occupied the capital and all the large cities, established his police, compelled the conquered to give him auxiliary corps in order to wage new wars of plunder by the conquerors, dismembered Germany, forming an alliance with some of the German States against other German States. And nevertheless, even after such peace the German people were not subdued; they managed to recover, to rise and to win the right to freedom and independence.

To anyone person willing and able to think the example of the "Tilsitz" peace (which was only one of many oppressive and humiliating treaties forced upon the Germans in that epoch) shows clearly how childishly naive is the thought that an oppressive peace is, under all circumstances ruinous, and war the road of valor and salvation. The war epochs teach us that peace has in many cases in history served as a respite to gather strength for new battles. Peace of Tilsitz was the greatest humiliation of Germany and at the same time a turning point to the greatest national awakening. At that time the historical environment offered only one outlet for this awakening—a bourgeois state. At that time, over a hundred years ago, a handful of noblemen and small groups of bourgeois intellectuals, while the masses of workers and peasants were inactive and inert. Owing to this, history at that time could crawl only with awful slowness.

Now capitalism has considerably raised the level of culture in general and of the culture of the masses in particular. The war aroused the masses, awakened them by the unheard of horrors and sufferings. The war has given impetus to history and now she is speeding along with the speed of a locomotive. History is now being independently made by millions and tens of millions of people. Capitalism has now become ripe for Socialism.

Thus, if Russia now moves—and it cannot be denied that she does move—from a "Tilsitz" peace to national awakening and a great war for the fatherland, the outlet of such an awakening leads not to the bourgeois state but to an international socialist revolution. We are "resistants" since October 25, 1917. We are for the "defense of our fatherland," but the war for the fatherland towards which we are moving, is a war for a socialist fatherland, for socialism as a part of the universal army of socialism.

"Hate the Germans, kill them"—such was and remained the slogan of the ordinary bourgeois patriotism. But we will say: "Hate the imperialistic plunderer, hate capitalism, death to capitalism," and at the same time: "Take a lesson from the Germans; remain faithful to the fraternal union with the German workers. They are late in coming to our aid. We shall win them in time, we shall await them, they will come to our aid."

"Yes, take lesson from the Germans. History moves in zig-zags and in round-about paths. It so happened that it is the German who, alongside with bestial imperialism, is the incarnation of the principles of discipline, organizations, harmonious co-operation on the basis of the newest machine industry and strictest accounting and control."

And this is just what we lack. This is precisely what our great revolution lacks to come from a

If It Was True Then. Is It True Today?

An editorial reprinted from the Duluth Herald, February 17, 1917. One Reason for the War in Europe. Among the causes for the war in Europe is one often overlooked, though it is one to which The Herald has frequently called attention. A vivid illustration of this cause is given in this table of the Social Democratic vote in Germany:

Year—	Vote
1871	124,655
1877	493,288
1887	763,128
1898	2,107,076
1907	3,359,020
1912	4,250,329

At that rate of growth, it was not difficult to figure the exact year when the people's party in Germany would grow so strong that it would be a mightier power than the kaiser's, the Junkers and all the hosts of privilege in the German empire. Much sooner than that would come the time when the Social Democracy would have a majority in the Reichstag, despite the peculiar voting system that prevails in some German states, and would be able to vote down the taxes necessary to keep the military power.

And though the Social Democracy of Germany has fought Germany's battles—and has been enormously depleted by war casualties—it is not a party that would have been likely to threaten the peace of Europe.

Here were some of the immediate demands of this growing party as it stood before the war: "Self-government of the people in empire, state, province and commune. Authorities

to be elected by the people; to be responsible and bound . . . SETTLEMENT OF ALL INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES BY THE METHOD OF ARBITRATION . . . Abolition of all indirect taxes, customs and other politico-economic measures which sacrifice the interests of the whole community to the interests of a favored minority."

A party that could grow as the Social Democratic party was growing in Germany spelled the doom of privilege in the German empire. The party had waxed strong in peace; it has gone to pieces in war, and one purpose of the privileged classes has been served.

The principles of the people's party of Germany were as diametrically opposed to the principles of the Hohenzollerns and the military party as the principles of Bryan are to the principles of Penrose. Privilege was doomed unless this growing menace was destroyed. For the time being, war has destroyed the menace of Social Democracy; and at a terrible price the security of the Hohenzollern and the military party has been upheld.

Nor is Germany the only country where the growing power of the people threatened privilege encrusted with the abuses of ages.

It may or may not have been conscious and deliberate, but nevertheless one factor in promoting the great war was the desire to crush the growing power of discontented peoples—the vital need, indeed, that that power be crushed if the power of privilege were to survive much longer.

DISCUSSION ON INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

(Continued.)

"In short, the distinction between the ideas of the International and of Lassalle consisted in the fact that the former advocated economic organization prior to and underlying political organization, while the latter considered a political victory as the basis of economic organization. There antagonistic starting points are apparent at the very beginning of American socialism as well as in the trade unionism and socialism of succeeding years."

Having made an assertion and illustrated it with a citation, which in our opinion can be considered as documentary evidence substantiating our claim, we will now cite from original sources, in order to avoid the charge of presenting second hand data from "capitalist sources."

To show that the function of a Socialist organization is considered by reputable Marxists and Marxian organizations not only to make Socialists, but also to actively carry on the class struggle on both the economic and political fields; to show that theoretical clarity must be followed by "irreversible revolutionary economic and political activity; furthermore, to show that not only Comrade Dannenberg finds it necessary to have "two wings" with which to fight the two wings of the capitalists' army, we will present the opinions of an authoritative Marxian and a recognized Marxian organization on this still "burning question." The readers will kindly note that in some of these quotations the constructive functions of the workers' economic organizations are also touched upon and emphasized, sufficiently indicating thereby that also other Marxians do not entertain and are not content with the fatalistic version of Comrade Harrington of leaving it to the "future" to "procure its own midwife."

A resolution prepared by Karl Marx and adopted at the Congress of the International Workingmen's Association, at Geneva, 1866, contains the following pithy and highly illustrative paragraphs: "The immediate goal of the trades unions is confined to the necessary daily struggles between capital and increasing usurpations of capital, i. e., it is confined to the question of wages and hours. This activity of the unions is not only permissible, but also indispensable as long as the present system exists. Moreover, this activity must be generalized

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victorious beginning, through many severe trials, to a victorious end. This is precisely what the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic needs that she may cease to be poor and weak, that she may irreversibly become mighty and prosperous.

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through the establishment and consolidation of economic organizations (Gewerkschaften) in all countries. "On the other side, the economic organizations have become, without being conscious of it, the focus of organization for the working class; performing the same function as the mediaeval municipalities and communities for the bourgeoisie. If the economic organizations are indispensable to the daily guerilla war between capital and labor, they are far more important as an organized means to advance the abolition of the system of wage-slavery itself." (Underscoring ours.)

Continuing: "These struggles (the guerilla war), however, go beyond their limits, and in them the masses find and consolidate themselves—organizing as a distinct class."

A resolution adopted by the International Workingmen's Association, on July 26th, 1869, at Geneva, opens up with the following significant proposition:

"In consideration that the trade unions alone are the correct form for workingmen's associations and on the whole offer the correct form for future society, etc." (Underscoring ours.)

These quotations will, we believe, conclusively prove that our conceptions of Socialist Unionism or, taking twentieth century capitalism into consideration, Socialist Industrial Unionism are not quite so novel as Comrade Harrington suggests; and that the dual conception of things in general and the Marxian theoretical system in particular can not be only charged to us, but must also be cast up to Marx himself.

Writing on the seat of the proletariat's power, Anton Pannekoek, a Marxian of international repute, writes: "Out of what elements does the social power of the working class consist?"

"In the first place it rests in its numbers. The proletariat of today constitutes in an ever larger proportion the great mass of the people. In the most developed countries, the wage-earning class already represents a significant majority of the population. However, a majority dependent upon the minority, like, for instance, the numerous slum proletariat, can never develop its own power. To the numerical strength of the proletariat, the economic importance of the workers must be added. In the course of evolution, the working class is developing gradually to the economically most important class in society. To social production, the industrial proletariat of modern industry is of far greater significance than the comparatively still large class of bourgeois and farmers. These proletarians live massed together in the large industrial centers, the cities, in which also political life is concentrated; while the farmers, on account of their isolated position, exert far less influence. The basic establishments which really govern social life automatically: the iron and steel indus-

tries, the railroad traffic, mining, etc., are all such large centers, and the workers engaged therein can, therefore, through a strike, for instance, exercise an influence upon society far out of proportion with their numerical strength. Consequently, through the importance of their economic function, through their irreplaceability in the process of social production, the power of the working class is much greater than its numerical strength would have it appear.

"However, mere numbers and economic significance can not alone give a class power, if it is not conscious of the same. If a class has not recognized its peculiar position in society, and the distinct interests interwoven therewith; if a class, thoughtless and enervated, submits to the domination of its oppressors, thinking this to be the eternal order of things, then all its numbers and economic significance will not carry any weight. Therefore, to these factors of working class power, clear conception and knowledge must be added. Only through class-consciousness will this large number of workers become a contingent of workers for its own class, only thereby will they become conscious of the might slumbering in their economic irreplaceability, and be able to apply the same in their own interests. Class-consciousness first infuses this gigantic, muscular but dead body with life, and makes it competent to engage in class activity." (The Radical Review, pages 238-239.)

With reference to comrade Harrington's statement that the state is the source of all power, a proposition whose theoretical unsoundness, we believe, has adequately been established in the first part of this article, the Communist Manifesto sets forth:

"The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

According to Comrade Harrington's deduction the agent in form of the state is the source of all power, and the principle, in this case the bourgeoisie, is—what, Comrade Harrington? However, taking the interpretation of the Communist Manifesto for granted, the modern state being the agent of the bourgeoisie, under these conditions, is Comrade Harrington naive enough to assume that the servants of the state his capitalist ridden institution, will peacefully permit their ejection and relinquish control over the governmental machinery, if the working class has no might with which to enforce their political decree expressed at the ballot box: If they have no power with which to enforce the fiat of the ballot? What course and tactics will Comrade Harrington and the organization he has the honor to represent pursue, if the capitalist class through its agent, the state, refuses to recognize and obey the mandate of the electorate?; for instance, if they answer the threatening political storm of revolutionary Socialism visible on the horizon by levying a poll tax of say \$50.00 on every voter, thereby making it impossible for any worker unable to pay this tax to vote?; or if, as it has so often happened in elections of relatively far minor importance, the vote containing a Socialist majority is not counted: if that source of all power, the state, which is incidentally also the obedient agent of the bourgeoisie, falsifies the returns or apudically steals the elections for the master class? In other words: How will Comrade Harrington and the S. P. of C. give expression to the revolutionary will of the workers and enforce this will, if the bourgeois state refuses to be its own executor by overriding the will of the electorate and, if need be, suspending constitutional guarantees? While penning these interrogations, the prophetic warning of that eminent Socialist scholar and fearless revolutionist, Daniel De Leon, rings in to our ears:

"The ballot is a weapon of civilization; the ballot is a weapon that no revolutionary Movement of our times may ignore except at its own peril; the Socialist ballot is the emblem of right. For that very reason the Socialist ballot is weaker than a woman's tears, tamer than sleep, fonder than ignorance, less valiant than the virgin in the night, and skillless as unpractised infancy, unless it is backed by the might to enforce it."

Comrade Hilferding, an eminent Austrian Marxist and author of "Das Finanzkapital," the most profound addition to Socialist Economics since the publication of "Capital," anticipating the probability of just such a situation, writes:

"All the parliamentary tactics of the working class must, however, necessarily lead into a blind alley, if just at that moment, when they are to execute decisive acts, they must fearfully perceive the ground giving way, and admit that the very foundation upon which these tactics are predicated is slipping from them. The political franchise becomes a useless weapon, if we must at really important opportunities continually fear its repeal. The foundation of our position must be protected. And it can only be adequately protected if against the economic might of the bourgeoisie and the governmental forces influenced thereby we place the organized economic might of the proletariat, from whose influence independent source of existence, can not be immune.

"The economic power of the proletariat rests, however, in its indispensability to production, and appears alone in the discontinuation of production—the strike. Discontinuation of production is the only decisive means of force at the disposal of the proletariat against the compelling powers of the state, especially since the direct battle on the barricades has become an impossibility. Discontinuation of production shows the indispensability of production to present society whose whole process of life is really dependent upon its labor. It is just this indispensability of the working class that establishes its irresistible might and also insures the necessity of ultimate victory. This economic power must be employed, when it becomes necessary to preserve the foundation upon which the modern proletariat stands against all attacks and convulsions. If the parliamentary tactics, which have up-to-date led from victory to victory, are not suddenly to be made impossible by our opponents, then the proletariat must be ready to protect its political rights, the right to vote, with all the means at its disposal. Behind the franchise and political rights must stand the will the indispensability of the proletariat must be, with the general strike." (Der politische Massenstreik, von Karl Kautsky, pages 57-58.)

In closing we wish to reaffirm that the Socialist movement by the very nature of the social institutions in capitalist society is compelled to wage the class struggle on both the economic and political fields. As emphasized, this is decreed by the compelling influence of social conditions; and the very existence of working class economic organizations and political parties shows the tragic fallacy of attempting to limit the Socialist class struggle to the political arena. Comrade Harrington may attempt to ignore the principles and tactics employed by the gigantic workers' organizations on the industrial field, he may for a time successfully play the ostrich act, but economic organizations of workers of the A. F. of L. type will not ignore him and his associates. If the pure and simple political Socialists, be they as uncompromising as they may, will not carry the Socialist propaganda and struggle into the unions and attempt to revolutionize them for Socialism, then these reactionary economic organizations bulwarks of Capitalism, will carry their capitalist propaganda into the Socialist movement. Mr. Gompers' vigorous declaration of war on the Socialist movement and his vicious attack upon the Socialist philosophy, at the recent St. Paul Convention, the exploitation of two million workers organized in the A. F. of L. in the interest of American Imperialism furnishes convincing testimony for the accuracy of this contention.

Hic Rhodus, hic salta! Karl Dannenberg.

LEGION DENOUNCES GOMPERS AS FALSE TEMPER TO CAUSE OF LABOR.

Copenhagen.—Carl Rudolph Legien, president of the German Federation of Trade Unions, speaking at a meeting of the federation's executive committee recently, accused President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, with falsity to labor's cause and of desiring "to quench the spark of inclination toward peace which has been flamed up in English laboring classes." President Legien declared that "Gompers' speeches were calculated to support the Pan-Germans, whose activities and aims are decisively rejected by Germany's labor unions."

The war can be prolonged for years flaming up in English laboring classes follow Gompers' precepts, said President Legien. He concludes: "Let us repeat that only peace by agreement, without annexations or indemnities, can be enduring and can make it possible for us to work with and alongside each other."

Watch Editorial Page Next Week A. Y. Litman, 1831 W. Sup. St.

EASTMAN AND MASSES TRIAL TENTATIVELY SET BY JUDGE FOR SEPT. 23rd.

The trial of the Masses, Max Eastman and others under indictments charging violation of the espionage act was tentatively set for September 23 by Judge J. C. Hutcheson in the United States district court. However, this date will be advanced to September 30 if one of the lawyers for the defense, whose residence is in Chicago, is unable to be present earlier.

Counsel for the defense asked that the trial be set aside for the December term, but Assistant United States Attorney Earl B. Barnes insisted that it should precede the trial of Jeremiah O'Leary, which is to begin October 14.

A nobler order yet shall be Than any that the world hath known; When men obey and yet are free, Are loved and yet can stand alone. W. M. N. Call.

In the House of Commons recently, General Croft declared that all the people of Britain wanted "Victory!" "For democracy or plutocracy?" asked Lorn Cavendish-Bentinck.

Watch Editorial Page Next Week A. Y. Litman, 1831 W. Sup. St.

NEWS TRIBUNE ADVOCATES MOB-LAW. IS EDITOR INSANE OR PRO-GERMAN?

(Continued from page 1)

We proudly claim to be the champions of democracy. If we really are, in deed and in truth, let us see to it that we do not discredit our own. I say plainly that every American who takes part in the action of a mob or gives it any sort of countenance is no true son of this great Democracy, but its betrayer, and does more to discredit her by that single disloyalty to her standards of law and of right than the words of

heroic boys in the trenches can do to make suffering peoples believe her to be their saviour. How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples, if we disgrace our own by proving that it is, after all, no protection to the weak? Every mob contributes to German lies about the United States what her most gifted liars cannot improve upon by the way of calumny. They can at least say that such things cannot happen in Germany except in times of revolution, when law is swept away!

I therefore very earnestly and solemnly beg that the Governors of all the States, the law officers of every community, and, above all, the men and women of every community in the United States, all who revere America and wish to keep her name without stain or reproach, will co-operate,—not passively merely, but actively and watchfully,—to make an end of this disgraceful evil.

Watch Editorial Page Next Week A. Y. Litman, 1831 W. Sup. St.

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"I Deny Nothing; I Repudiate Nothing; I Retract Nothing" -- Says Debs

"With Every Drop of My Blood I Despise Kaiserism and Everything that Kaiserism Expresses or Stand for"--Debs

FACING ENDING OF HIS DAYS IN PRISON CELL -- DEBS REPUDIATES NOTHING

(Continued from Page One)

cialists stand almost alone in defending the constitution of the United States today? The right provided by the constitution was the right I exercised at Canton on June 16, and for exercising that right I have to face this charge.

"It is far more dangerous to attempt to gag a free people than to permit them to speak. If the espionage law stands then the constitution of the United States is dead."

Quotes the President.

Debs declared every statement he made at Canton was borne out by President Wilson's "New Freedom." "His language is different, but he is a college professor, while I never had the advantage of an education," he added.

"President Wilson says in his 'New Freedom,' 'Today, when our government has so far passed into the hands of special interests!'" When Socialists say this in other words, they are branded as criminals."

"I Am No Lawyer."

"For the first time in my life I appear before a jury in a court of law to answer for a crime," he began. "I am no lawyer. I am not acquainted with legal practices. I know only that you are here to hear the evidence and decide whether I shall be consigned, perhaps to the end of my days, in a cell. I do not fear to look the court, and you and the world in the face, for in my conscience and

soul there is festering no accusation of guilt.

"I wish to admit the truth of what has been testified to in the proceedings here. I have no disposition to say anything that is true. I would not retract a word I have uttered, that I believe to be true, to save myself from going to the penitentiary for the remainder of my days."

Purpose to Educate.

"You heard the report of my speech at Canton. There isn't a word in that speech to warrant the charges in the indictment against me. In what I had to say there, my purpose was to educate the people to understand something about the social system in which we live, and to prepare them to change this system by perfectly orderly means into what I conceive to be a real democracy."

"My friend the assistant prosecuting attorney says I advocated force and violence. I have never advocated force or violence in any form. I have always believed in education, intelligence, enlightenment; always made my appeal to reason."

"I admit being opposed to the present social system, the present form of government, and have been for many years. I have advocated doing away with a small ruling class and establishing real social and industrial democracy."

Sympathy for Comrades.

He then continued by declaring that he did, in his speech, express his personal sympathy with his comrades in jail, and with those indicted and convicted, comrades that he had known for years and in whose integrity he had every right to believe.

He first took up the cases of Ruthenberg, Wagenknecht and Baker. He declared that Kate Richards O'Hare had never uttered the words attributed to her, that she was incapable of them, in referring to Rose Pastor Stokes he said:

"Through all of her life she has been on the side of the oppressed. If she were so inclined she could occupy a place of ease in the world. But she has renounced that and taken her place among the poor. If these women are criminals then I, too, am a criminal."

Defends Russ Bolsheviks. "When I said what I did about these three comrades of mine in the workhouse at Canton, I had in mind that these three workmen just a little while before had their bodies strung up for eight hours at a time until, when finally released, they had fallen to the ground from exhaustion; all because they refused menial tasks beneath their dignity."

He then defended the sympathy he had expressed for the Russian Bolsheviks, pointing out how they had been misrepresented by the capitalist press. He referred to the time when, under the czarist regime, Russian Socialists had been sent to Siberia and lashed with the knout if they ever dreamed of freedom. "Then the change came and the powers of government were assumed by the workers, soldiers, and peasants," he continued. "The Bolsheviks have written a chapter of glorious history that will stand to their credit forever."

Debs Reviews Struggles.

Debs then reviewed the history of the struggling minorities in this country. He first showed how the revolutionary fathers had been branded; Washington, the father of his country, as a disloyalist; Samuel Adams as an incendiary, and Patrick Henry as a traitor.

"They were misunderstood at the time," he said. "When great changes occur in history, as a rule, the majority is wrong, the minority is right. I have been accused of opposition to war. I admit it. I abhor war. Men talk about holy wars. There are none."

He then quoted Benjamin Franklin as having said that

"There never was a good war or a bad peace," and Napoleon, on his death bed at St. Helena as having declared, "War is the trade of savages and barbarians." He then told of Jesus Christ, Socrates and others as having suffered for attacking the established order.

Lovejoy is Recalled.

"Elijah Lovejoy, who was murdered in 1837 because of his opposition to chattel slavery, was as much hated in his day as the Industrial Workers of the World are hated today," he said. "Today we are in another agitation: The rising of the toiling masses. It is because I happen to be with the minority of today that I am here before you charged with this crime."

Need Human Brotherhood.

"Why should anyone oppose internationalism? If we had internationalism there would have been no war. I have never uttered a word against the flag. I revere the flag as the symbol of freedom. I believe that nations have been hurling themselves against each other long enough. I love the people of this country and do not hate the people of any country. Human brotherhood has yet to be realized in this world. It never can be realized under the present competitive, capitalistic system in which we live."

In his argument for the right of free speech during war times he showed that Abraham Lincoln, Charles Sumner, Daniel Webster and Henry Clay had opposed the Mexican war, branding it as a crime against humanity; that they were not tried for any crime but that they are all honored men today.

Exercised Only His Right.

He showed that the Democratic party in its platform of 1864 had been privileged to brand the civil war as a failure. He declared that the Socialist party stands almost alone today in defending the constitution relating to free speech, free press and free assembly, declaring its English so plain that a child could understand it, and that the revolutionary fathers had meant just what they said when they adopted it.

"That is the right I exercised at Canton," declared Debs. "For exercising that right I am here."

Cleveland, Sept. 12.—Eugene V. Debs was found guilty on three counts of the indictment against him by a jury today. The jury was out about six hours.

Judge Westenhaver continued Debs' bail until Saturday, when Debs will come up for sentence. The maximum sentence on each count is 20 years in jail and \$10,000 fine.

Lawyers for the defense announced an appeal would be taken. The judge finished charging the jury at 9 o'clock this morning, both the government and the defense having rested yesterday, the latter putting no witnesses on the stand, Debs arguing his own case before the jury.

Judge Westenhaver charged that Debs was to be found guilty if he had wilfully and with malice aforethought sought to hamper the government's prosecution of the war with Germany.

War Criticism No Crime.

He emphasized, however, that the amended espionage act was not intended to prevent opinions in variance with those of the majority of the people and the government, and that Debs should be found not guilty if in his Canton speech, which served as the basis of the prosecution's case, he had no criminal intent. He said it was not a crime to disapprove of the war or to criticize the administration or the conduct of the war, provided there is no criminal intent.

At 11 o'clock this morning the 12 talesmen left the jury box for the jury room. Judge Westenhaver charged the jury an hour and a half.

"I think the judge very fair in his charge," said Debs. "It is all right anyway. Tell comrades everything is all right. Tell them for me not to worry, even should there be an adverse verdict."

All day long there was a most unpleasant atmosphere in and about

the court room on the third floor of the federal building here.

Federal Agents Present.

Scores of federal agents and members of the American Protective League were in the court room and along the corridor, and kept a keen watch on the movements of every man and woman who entered the room or came from it.

In the court room a number of local Socialists were standing along the walls, while in the 12 rows of black benches sat many women, among them Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes, of New York, who has been by the side of Debs since the trial began on Monday.

Several Socialists from Detroit and Chicago were questioned in the room of the department of justice as to their business in this city.

While the jury debated in the forenoon, "Gene" answered a number of letters which he had received from friends in all parts of the country since his trial commenced. Debs sat at the desk of the federal court clerk and wrote his notes as though nothing was happening. He seemed oblivious of the fact that at any moment the 12 men might condemn him to a prison cell for the rest of his lifetime.

In the morning a Cleveland Socialist brought Debs a little bouquet of red and white roses, attached to which was a ribbon of the national colors. Debs caressed the flowers and carried them with him to luncheon. Several times during the afternoon the bailiff brought him special delivery letters and telegrams.

Reads His Letters.

These he opened and immediately read their contents to the little group that surrounded him as he sat at the counsel table. One of these letters was from Mayor John G. Lewis of Elwood City, Ind. Mayor Lewis is the only Socialist executive in Debs' state.

In the afternoon Edmund Vance Cook, the newspaper poet, visited Debs for a moment. Cook left a typewritten copy of a poem written for Debs which, he said, had been inspired by the forceful and courageous address which Debs made to the jury yesterday. As he read the poem in the courtroom to the little group that sat about his chair Debs' eyes were damp and his voice husky with suppressed emotion.

The jury was charged to determine the guilt or innocence of Debs on only four of the original 10 counts. Briefly, these counts are as follows:

What Counts Are.

Attempt to incite insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces.

Obstructed and attempted to obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service.

Uttered language intended to incite, provoke and encourage resistance to the United States and to promote the cause of the enemy.

Opposed the cause of the United States.

The character of Judge Westenhaver's charge accounts for the time the jury required to reach a verdict.

Toward the end of his charge the judge in effect said it is not a crime for a person to disapprove of the war or to criticize the administration and conduct of the war, so long as such disapproval and criticism was not made with criminal intent.

He said the espionage law even in its amended form was not intended to prevent opinions which may be at variance with those of the majority of the people and the government; and that if the jury found that Debs in his Canton speech had no criminal intent as charged in the indictment it was for them to return a verdict of not guilty.

Point Is Stressed.

The court laid considerable emphasis upon this part of his charge and that particular portion came almost at the very end of his long address.

"If you find the defendant intended nothing more than to convey information to the public," said the judge, "you should return a verdict of not guilty."

On the other hand the jury was instructed to find Debs guilty if they were agreed that he had deliberately, wilfully and with malice aforethought sought to hamper the government in its prosecution of the war against Germany.

Judge Westenhaver charged that it was not necessary for the government to prove that the speech of Debs at Canton had actually caused

insubordination, incited mutiny and profaned the cause of Germany. It was enough if the jury believed that it was the intention of Debs to do these things, the court said.

Takes Up Evidence.

He then took up the evidence which the prosecution had presented against Debs, and referred to much of it as mere "scraps of evidence." In this category was placed the St. Louis majority report which the prosecution had used as one of its big cards against Debs.

The court referred to the testimony of three newspaper reporters who were witnesses against Debs. The court said he had allowed this testimony to go into the record only as it might give the jury a clue to "the state of mind of the defendant" when he was interviewed by the newspaper men at different times.

The Canton speech was the only real and positive evidence upon which the jury could establish the guilt or innocence of Debs, said the court in effect.

With the question of the constitutional right of free speech the court dealt at some length, maintaining that the right of free speech should and must be denied any person who sought and intended to interfere, hamper or delay the government in time of war.

The court in his charge denied Debs' statement to the jury that the espionage law was invalid. The court told the jury that it was not for them to determine the validity of that measure but for the courts.

On the question of the espionage law, Judge Westenhaver said it was enacted to protect public peace and safety in time of war, and said that if there were no such law on the statute books it would be the minority who would suffer and who would be struck down.

Debs Sentenced to 10 Years in Prison Debs was sentenced to ten years in prison on each of the three counts of the indictment on which he was declared guilty. The three prison terms were ordered to run concurrently. No fine was imposed.

The prison selected to receive Debs if all appeals to higher courts fail was the West Virginia State Penitentiary at Moundsville, near where the striking coal miners arrested during the Cabin and Paint Creek strikes were confined.

Immediately following the imposition of sentence bail to the extent of \$10,000 was furnished to provide for Debs' liberty pending the appeal of the court except to go to his home posed bail on condition however that Debs must not leave the jurisdiction of the court except to go to his home at Terre Haute, Ind. This will mean that all of Debs' speaking dates will have to be cancelled.

Seymour Stedman argued at length for a new trial. Stedman attacked the prominence the prosecuting attorney had given the St. Louis proclamation that Debs had not even mentioned in his Canton speech. He showed that the government attorneys had devoted most of their time to this document.

Stedman declared that no political party would humiliate itself by re-dictating a platform or statement of principles it had adopted. Instead it would make new statements to meet the new needs. The plea for a new trial was overruled, the court declaring that it could not see that any prejudicial errors had been committed. The court also went into detail in an effort to uphold the constitutionality of the anti-free speech legislation under which indictment against Debs was returned. He refused to entertain any further argument on this matter from Stedman, however.

Immediately the request for a new trial had been overruled, Court Clerk Miller called out, "Eugene V. Debs, have you anything to say why sentence should not be passed?"

Debs then rose quietly and walked up to the bar of justice. Slowly and with well chosen words he began by declaring that years ago he had recognized his kinship with the meanness of the earth.

"While there is a lower class, I am in it," he said. "While there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

"If the law under which I have been convicted is a good law then there is no reason why sentence should not be passed upon me," continued Debs, launching into an attack on the espionage act, declaring it to be a despotic enactment, in flagrant conflict with democratic principles and the spirit of free institutions.

Debs then administered a scathing rebuke to the prosecuting attorney for the manner in which he had bandied with the names of Rose Pas-

(Continued on Page 4.)

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EDITOR & BUSINESS MANAGER JACK CARNEY

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

WEST END LABOR ASSCN.

Address Communications to TRUTH, 161
Stack Building, Duluth, Minn.
— PHONE Mel. 2517 —

GAWD 'ELP THIS PORE STRANGER.

Last week we published two newspaper items regarding the visit of Samuel Gompers to England. Gompers, the leader of ALL labor movements, was going to sweep back the rising discontent of the British Labor Movement. "I shall not do this," and "I shall insist on that," etc., was all that Samuel could say to the newspaper reporters. Now he has changed his mind, now it is something like this, "One regrets, but nevertheless if it is so then it is." As the London longshoreman would say, Gawd 'elp this pore stranger. When Gompers arrived in England all the papers that come under the title of the kept press, showered their fulsome praises on him. They all waited for Gompers to make the speech that would forever shatter the prestige of Arthur Henderson and the rest of his associates, THAT speech was never delivered, for the simple reason that the Labor movement in Great Britain is a movement that expresses the sentiments and ideals of the rank and file. There is no machine in the British Labor Movement like there is in the American Labor Movement.

Gompers went to the Trade Union Congress and delivered a speech. How the capitalist class of England and America waited for that speech! The speech that was to stagger us all with its defiance to the pacifist and give courage to the crowd who want to fight the war to the bitter end. The speech was delivered and what a speech! What did Samuel say, "If the curse of militarism can be removed by stopping the war tomorrow, then I am for the stopping of the war (Sammy, you got the pacifist then! hush!), but if the war has got to be fought to the bitter end in order to rid the world of militarism, then I am for the fighting of the war to the bitter end." (Sammy, you got the bitter-enders that time.) Then Sammy went home feeling proud, he had played politics and had got both sides to support him. That was what Sammy thought, but those fighting Welshmen, the dour Scots, the hard-headed Northerners and those Cockneys, were used to hearing politicians talk and so when Samuel sat down, he sat down never to rise any more in the deliberations of the British Labor Movement. Gompers had played his cards and lost.

The following from the Reading Labor Advocate will be of interest to our readers:

Profound dismay and bewilderment have fallen upon those who counted upon the magic name of Gompers to sway the British Labor Movement away from its avowed purpose to demand the ending of the world war by negotiation as soon as Germany's military power should be definitely beaten on the battlefield.

As so often happens in like circumstances, those who find their dearest hopes dashed by events are already beginning to vent their spite upon the one who they feel deceived and betrayed them. A petulant resentment of the whole Gompers mission to Europe is visible in circles which a few days ago referred to the A. F. of L. president as the most admirable and heroic figure in the whole field of labor.

The complete rout of Arthur Henderson in England and the early conversion of French and Italian labor to Gompers had been widely advertised in the bourgeois press as a certain consequence of Gompers' tour of the allied countries. Persons who believed or hoped that this would happen are aghast at the news that Henderson's followers swept everything before them at the Derby congress, enacting, in the very presence of Gompers, resolutions which provide for:

Immediate peace negotiations when the Germans have evacuated France and Belgium.

An international conference of the workers of belligerent countries, provided the German Socialists shall first indorse the war aims of the interallied workers.

A vote of censure upon the government for refusing passports to labor delegates.

Henderson Indorsed.

Both Gompers and Havelock Wilson, the English laborite who opposes Henderson, had addressed the congress, and had been given a courteous welcome. The delegates then proceeded with their business of asserting the independence of the working class along lines set forth by Henderson in the current number of Century magazine.

With this outcome before them, many of Gompers' more recent followers are saying to each other that he should have known better than to intrude himself upon a congress of British workers with the widely advertised purpose of telling them what they should do in a situation with which they are very much more familiar than he.

The British people, say these about-facers, were sure to resent such meddling in their affairs, which was perfectly calculated to make the labor congress programs an even heartier indorsement than they would otherwise have received.

And these reproaches are being extended to include others than Gompers. Various representatives of the tory wing of American labor have been or are still abroad for the purpose of converting labor in the allied countries to the A. F. of L. viewpoint. Commenting bitterly upon Henderson's sweeping triumph at Derby, the New York Tribune remarks with sour cynicism:

"A few days ago John Spargo had an article in the Tribune saying that no trade union in England could muster a decent pacifist majority." Henderson and the

British labor party program are always denounced as "pacifist" by the Tribune, whose editor concludes his wry column of conhero:

"Perhaps the merchandise which Gompers and our own Socialists took abroad is not as unique as we think it is."

The phrase "our own Socialists" is drawn to cover those who have left the party and are now operating under bourgeois auspices. Many in Washington have always known that the "merchandise" taken abroad by Gompers was anything but unique in the minds of European labor men. It was only the American press which taught its naive readers that Gompers had discovered a brand new prescription that would surely allay all the "disorders" apparent among the workers of England, France and Italy.

Withdrawal Near.

Timely importance is given to the Derby resolutions by which many military critics regard as the imminent withdrawal of the German army from virtually the whole of France. The effect of such a retirement would be to destroy all remaining illusions among the German people respecting the government's chance to win a military victory and prove a big stimulus to peace propaganda there.

Under such circumstances, the German Socialists—both minority and majority wings—are counted upon to give official indorsement to the program of the entente labor groups, which in turn would vastly increase the pressure everywhere in favor of an international labor conference, to include representatives from all the belligerent countries.

What Gompers' attitude would be under such circumstances cannot be foretold. It will doubtless be influenced by the effect of his propaganda in France and Italy, which countries he has yet to visit.

May Not Extend Trip.

It is rumored about A. F. of L. Headquarters today that Gompers "may not find it convenient" to extend his tour to the last-named countries. His closest friends and supporters at Washington realize that his prestige has received a heavy blow in England, and that he will be utterly discredited as an international figure in the labor world in case he fared as badly in France and Italy.

Hence the rumored advice that he return home after the facts of his European debacle have circulated among American workmen and impaired his domestic leadership.—Reading Labor Advocate.

Gompers will return back from England a sadder but wiser man. The trip abroad will not have been in vain. The stinging rebuke that Gompers received will give him cause to pause for awhile and remember the old saying of Lincoln, "You may fool all the people some of the time, some of the people all the time, but you can never fool all the people all the time."

We would rather be Eugene Debs in a prison cell, than Samuel Gompers in the seats of the mighty.

Debs goes to prison, Gompers is welcomed by the capitalist class of Great Britain. It is the logical rewards of present society. Society rewards the fakir and imprisons the genuine pioneer. Debs may go to prison for ten years and the prison cell might be his last resting place, but as sure as the night follows the day, the masters of America will have cause to remember Gene Debs. You can kill the bodies of men, but you can never destroy the spirit that makes men like Debs sacrifice life and all that it holds dear.

Gene Debs! When James Connelly was leaving Belfast for Dublin, on a journey that was to be his last, he advised us to go to America and if you meet Debs then tell him that "I hope and trust that he will keep the old flag flying." We visited Gene Debs and told him of Connelly. We talked and talked and when we left that house on Eighth Street, Terre Haute, we felt enriched by our visit to Gene Debs. Comrades all, we want to send a small tribute to Debs in the shape of a check towards the expense of the trial. We want one hundred of you to send us anything from one to five dollars. It is no use writing long editorials on Debs, editorials cannot keep Debs out of prison, but your dollars might go a long way to giving him the best possible defense that there is to be had.

WILL YOU DO IT? SURE!

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

Many people today talk about industrial democracy, politicians included, but they never define what they mean by industrial democracy.

The meaning of industrial democracy is that the all those who work in industry, shall be given a voice in determining the conditions, etc., of that industry. That is industrial democracy. A whole host of people, some Socialists believe that industrial democracy will be brought about by casting a ballot. In other words, from political democracy we will get industrial democracy. These people fail to perceive and consequently fail to understand the signs of the times. The days of politics, as we know them, are nearly over. The war is responsible for their death.

The war does not depend upon Congress for its support. All that Congress does is to sanction the measures that are instituted for the well-being of war. The demands of the war upon industry receive their legal sanction at the hands of Congress. In other words

Congress is playing second fiddle to industry. Industry today controls Congress, in such a way, that every person with half an eye can see.

News Tribune attacks Congress for its delays, etc., and the Herald apologizes for it. But neither the News Tribune nor the Herald can see that Congress has outworn itself. Those who were sent to Washington before the war to deal with law and politics, find themselves confronted with the problems of industry. A lawyer may be alright framing laws, but he is no good when it comes to managing a factory. Hence the silly debates and the spectacular speeches of men like Senator Sherman, Clarence B. Miller and others. The war demands that industry be rendered more efficient, sounder organization is required, rebate scraps must be done away with. Everybody in industry must get together and give of their best, if the war is to be won. Hence Congress with its 60 per cent of lawyers, etc., is useless in the present war. Congress lacks the knowledge, the training, the structure, adequately to deal with such matters.

The real work of the country today, that is the work dealing with the war, is done by the Council of National Defence, Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Trade Commission, etc. Some of these bodies are invested with power well-nigh dictatorial and it is they who are administering and regulating the industrial affairs of the country.

The lesson of it all is that we must be prepared to have our committees, and they must be composed of members who represent organized labor, like the above committees represent organized business. As business today is organized from top to bottom, so must labor be. We must confront the organized capitalist class with and organized working-class.

The present Congress is singing its swan song. The Congress of the future will not be one of political representatives, but one of industrial representatives. This is going to be the position in the very near future, the interests of capitalism itself demand it. The great industrial changes that are taking place will bring it about. We must not act like an ostrich in this matter, but we must be men and women acting in a common-sense manner. We must be prepared for the occasion when it arises. In other words, we must advocate industrial unionism.

Do not fail to read the September "Liberator"!

Somebody, with a perverted sense of humor, attempted to play a grim joke on the mining companies along the range by circulating handbills calling for a general strike of the miners, but here was no strike and no thought of a strike.

The absence of any indication of industrial unrest on the Mesaba is causing a great deal of worry to the sensation-monger, particularly in Duluth, and they can't spring a strike scare every so often their jokes don't set well.—Mesaba Ore.

THE NEED FOR POLITICAL ACTION.

The Socialist party advocates that all workers engage in political action. Not with a view to obtaining any immediate demands, but with a view to obtaining control of the State and so taking out of the hands of the capitalist the powers of the club.

The capitalist class will fight tooth and nail against the workers ever obtaining control of the government. Evidence of this may be found in the case of McNamara Brothers who dynamited the Times Building, Los Angeles. On the eve of the Los Angeles election, when everything was in favor of the Socialist Party, when it was clearly to be seen, that unless something happened, the Socialists would gain control of the administrative forces of that city, the McNamara Brothers were induced to make a confession, and in return they were given their lives. The confession was not demanded with a view to finally determining the real culprits in the crime, but with a view to offsetting the Socialist vote. The confession of the McNamara Brothers killed the chances of the Socialist Party during that election. The workingclass were thus kept from seizing the government of that city.

The workingclass, no matter how they are organized, can never hope to achieve their emancipation, so long as the powers of government are in the hands of the capitalist. By the ballot we can propagate our ideas and by using the ballot we can wrest the power of the club from the hands of our masters.

Whilst the Socialist party believes in the ballot, we are careful as to not expect too much from the ballot. On the job the workers must organize, but the ballot will protect their organization. When the workers do obtain control of the State, they must be prepared to carry on industry. They can prepare themselves by organizing as industrial unionists. By organizing as industrial unionists and educating themselves, the success of the workers is assured.

Therefore for the success of the social revolution, we require one workingclass organization on the industrial field and one on the political field, both working hand in hand.

"FACING ENDING OF HIS DAYS IN PRISON CELL"—DEBS REPUDIATES NOTHING

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE

tor Stokes and Kate Richards O'Hare.

"His levity and wantonness were absolutely inexcusable. I can think of no disrespect of no woman. When I think of what was said here, I feel like taking off my hat to every woman, even the sisters of the street, and begging their pardon for being a man."

Debs then pointed out that Socialist principles called for a changing of the present social system by perfectly peaceful and orderly means.

He declared that five per cent of the population were in control of two-thirds of the wealth of the land, and then deviated for a moment into the first personal reminiscences he had allowed himself during the trial. He said that as a fourteen year old boy he had entered the railroad shops, that at 16 he began firing a freight engine, and that he still remembered all the hardships and privations he had undergone.

"From that time to now my heart has been with the oppressed," he said. "I could have been in congress long ago. I prefer to go to prison. The choice has been made. I could not have decided otherwise."

"I am thinking this morning of the men in the mills and the factories. I am thinking this morning of the women who for a paltry wage are compelled to work out their lives; of the little children who are robbed of their childhood, forced by the resistless grasp of Mammon into the industrial prison. I can see them, dwarfed, diseased, their little lives broken, their hopes blasted, because in the high noon of our 20th century civilization, money is much more important than human life. Gold is God and rules in the affairs of men. The five per cent that I before referred to rule in our country. They are our economic masters."

"I believe in common with all Socialists that this nation ought to own and control its industries. Instead of being the property of the few, the industries should be the

common property of all, democratically administered in the interest of all."

He showed that John D. Rockefeller had an income of \$30,000,000 per year, doing no useful work, while those who spent their lives toiling received a mere pittance.

"I have no quarrel with John D. Rockefeller personally," he said. "I am simply opposing the social order under which those conditions prevail. This order of things cannot always endure. I have registered my protest against it. There are multiplied hundreds of thousands of others who realize we must reorganize society. We have an organized movement reaching over all the face of the earth; 60,000,000 loyal, devoted adherents, of every race, color, creed, sex, all spreading the propaganda of the new order."

"I have been accused of being the enemy of the soldier. The soldier has no more sympathetic friend than I am. I think of them, feel for them, sympathize with them. I am struggling to bring about a condition of affairs in this country worthy of the great sacrifices they are making."

After rendering a tribute to the personal attachment and devotion shown by his lawyers, of which he said he was deeply appreciative, Debs said:

"You, honor, I ask, mercy. I plead for no immunity. At the last the right must prevail. I have never more clearly comprehended than now the struggle between it and satiable greed and rising hosts of freedom. I am conscious that a better day is coming. The people are awakening. In due course of time they will come into their own. He is true to God who is true to man."

WHILE DEBS WAS TALKING HIS LAWYERS RECEIVED A LETTER FROM A 19-YEAR-OLD GIRL, PROMINENT IN THE WORK OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE, OFFERING TO TAKE DEBS' PLACE IN PRISON, NO MATTER WHAT THE SENTENCE MIGHT BE.

Fabulous Salaries

In our circles, when any one receives a salary of \$100 a week, it is considered very high indeed. The highest salary in the government of the country is that of the President of the United States—\$75,000 a year. But in the large trust businesses \$75,000 seems a poor salary.

The federal trade commission, which is investigating profiteering in various industries, has found that presidents and other officials of a certain company receive much higher salaries than that of the president of the United States, and for no other reason than because there is a large demand for certain metals.

The officials of the American Metal Company of New York, a concern dealing mostly in zinc, receive large salaries, not because they do the actual mining, or refining, or the smelting of the ore. That is done by labor at wages that yield a bare living. They do none of these things, yet they get away with fabulous salaries.

The commission has found that the salary and extras of one official,

the president of its board of directors, in 1917 was over \$364,000. One of the vice presidents received \$221,596. Another official, the chairman of the board, got \$179,663. One vice president received \$147,930. One branch manager got \$148,553. Nine other officials received a salary of about \$66,000 each, and minor officials \$9,000 each.

It is suggested that they included these large salaries in the expense, profits tax; such is their great patriotism. But, whatever the case, it shows who it is that lives on the fat of the land in the present unjust social order.—Bakers' Journal.

Socialists Note!

A foreign born Socialist, single man, wishes to rent a well lighted & heated room, or small rooms, in Superior, furnished or unfurnished, preferably in a family where he might have an opportunity to learn to speak English, whether in conversation with children or elder folks. Replies should be addressed without delay to K. A. Box 553 Superior, Wis.

Entertainment

— GIVEN BY —
SCANDINAVIAN LOCAL AT

WOODMAN HALL

SUNDAY EVE., SEPT. 22nd

1918. AT 8 O'CLOCK.

There will also be a good program of music, singing and recitations.

CHARLES DIRBA,

the new State Secretary will speak at the WOODMAN HALL. As this is Comrade Dirba's first appearance in Duluth we urge upon all of our readers to attend this meeting and make the acquaintance of the State Secretary.

REFRESHMENTS WILL BE SERVED.

Admission 35c. and 15c.

EVERYBODY WELCOME!