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THE TRUTH



MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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VOLUME III. No. 3

DULUTH, MINN., FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1919.

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"Let us, in the name of God, if we must talk about democracy, do something for the 99 per cent that they might have at least a fragment of rump steak.

"In this land of freedom, we are the only nation who so far have failed to respond to the new voice and the new thought of the world.

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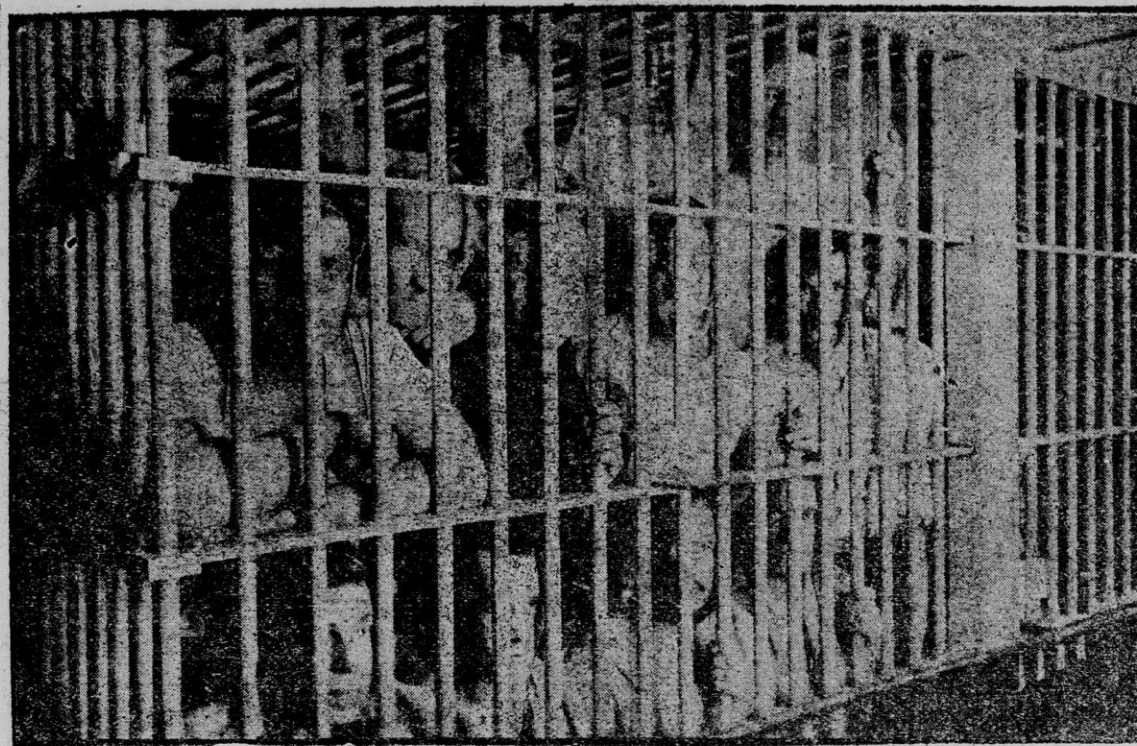
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Dear Bill,
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The boys are now getting down to business. Excuse us for keeping you inside a little longer, but you know Bill we just want you to have a rest.

We are going to let you out soon and when we do the old world will have changed somewhat.

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A leader of the mutiles addresses the police:

"We will preserve order in our ranks, if you will ward off attacks from the sidewalk," he says.

The police consult among themselves. There are orders out to prevent such incidents. But one cannot attack and club these men who already have been shot and clubbed almost beyond recognition in defense of la patrie. The policemen shrug their shoulders.

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Royalist supporters heckle the mutilated men from the windows of "L'Action Francaise."

"Spies!" they jeer. "German agents! Tools of the enemy!"

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"Ils ne passeront pas!" said the diplomats.

Yet the mutiles DID pass, and Paris is still scared by the wake of their journey.

The women clutched their handkerchiefs as though they anticipated the blow that was about to descend, and threatening to tear husband and father from home and hearth and thrust them into a Federal prison for long, weary years.

"Read the verdict, Mr. Clerk, snapped Judge Landis.

H. L. Handee, 70 years old, retired fruit dealer, of Waukegan, Ill., handed a slip of paper to the clerk. "We, the jury, find Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, William F. Kruse and Irwin St. John Tucker guilty as charged in

the indictment," read O'Sullivan.

Reporters dashed for the door, but were halted by the marshal. The judge was speaking. Attorney Stedman asked that the jury be polled. Each rose in his seat and declared that the verdict read was his.

Judge Landis then offered the usual thanks to the jury for the service which they had rendered to the court and country. The jury then filed out of the room. As they marched down the aisle they must have heard the sobbing of a few

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DEFECTIVE PAGE

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Judge Landis then offered the usual thanks to the jury for the service which they had rendered to the court and country. The jury then filed out of the room. As they marched down the aisle they must have heard the sobbing of a few

(Continued on Page 5)

JANUARY 1919

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WHY THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS OF FINLAND HAVE FAILED

A Searching Analysis of the Causes That Led up to Their Defeat.

(Continued from last week.)

Secondly, We, middle socialists, did not desire to unite with the bourgeois "democracy" in any governmental alliance, which kind of an alliance was hoped for by the conservative socialists that supported the revolution and those that did not. Without this kind of an alliance, the aim of the conservative socialists who supported the revolution, could not be fulfilled, i. e. the bringing about of a democracy. This group, or at least a majority of them, advocated that the restriction in the exploitation of food materials, and the bringing about of the various democratic reforms should be done through the diet. The conservative socialists thought it very necessary that in this "red senate" inspired by revolution, there should be some representative of the peasantry. With this in view, a conference was held during the week of general strike, attended by the conservative socialists, and social democrats, who invited the representatives of the peasants, and of other "progressives". The result of this conference was that Comrade Tokoi went to question the officials of the Senate if they wished to remain in the service of the "Red Senate". Thus the revolutionary desire of the revolutionary socialists was to bring to life the coalition senate of the spring in a more complete form, through the aid of the socialist majority, leaving out the most conservative.

Under favorable circumstance, this might have been the direct result of the November revolution. Nothing more. The labor movement of Finland could acquire nothing more. Part of the organized workers, without doubt, would have demanded a further step to be taken, but the easily satisfied majority could have appeased this demand and the revolutionary voice of the proletariat, by turning immediately after having attained their aim, against the desire of the revolutionary workers for dictatorship. By this, the majority surely could have obtained its own purpose. Looking back to it now, makes it seem more realistic than at that time. It is apparent that the bourgeoisie of Finland would have had to yield that much to the revolution in order to save their chief advantages, which were not threatened by the revolutionary movement of the conservative socialists. According to all probability, the November revolution in Finland would, in truth, have become a bourgeois democratic revolution. This most assuredly would have been followed by a split in the ranks of organized labor, the right side, to defend the "commonwealth" would join the bourgeoisie, the left would take a stand for true revolutionary socialism, or communism and would have risen against the bourgeois state and all its forces.

This is the proximate outcome of the revolution we, the so-called "Marxian Democrats", had in mind as early as on the week of the general strike. But we had two important reasons for not supporting the outset of a revolution. First, we did not desire to aid the alliance of the social democrats and the bourgeoisie. Secondly, we wished to avoid the breaking of the labor party in two bitterly opposing parties. Even in this instance our trend was in the direction of the social democrats and not towards Marxism. Truly we hindered historical progress, which had risen into unavoidable conditions, by avoiding this break in the ranks of labor; but this action made it possible for labor to progress in the lines of revolution. This organization was unable to proceed because it had to support two opposing principles. Its collapse was possibly injurious to the action of social democrats—to parliamentarism and craft unionism. The aspirations of election returns surely decreased; but for the true progress of labor and the strengthening of class war,

this break a sure benefit. By this break labor would have been freed from injurious and obstructing elements which would not have been so dangerous to a workers revolutionary class struggle while in the bourgeois ranks as in the ranks of the workers. It is true that we could not dictate the outcome of the revolution however we strove. History alone would dictate it. We should have done our part in aiding history. Even history cannot do its duty empty handed. Even though a great ice-flow in the current of Finnish class struggle history had not occurred, it would have been dammed up by the bourgeois democracy, yet this flow would have been a long stride in advance for it would have broken up the huge layer and could concentrate its force upon the small jam until it would have been crushed. The procedure at the time of the breaking of the ice in a stream is the quickest and the most natural. It was carried on in Russia in this manner. It is the quickest way of getting a start. A large part of the resistance in a shackled bourgeois state here becomes useless. On the contrary the breaking up of the flow may last for weeks until the whole will suddenly give away.

We kind of checked the beginning of the drift by calling off the strike within a week and postponing the question of revolution until the party convention. Dissatisfaction and bitter anger because of these doings were very general amidst the workers. This dissatisfaction did not break out in open riot against the leadership of the party, but its effects may be very injurious to the future class struggle for it broke the confidence of the workers in the leaders of the movement. Leadership which needed fire to struggle against the enemy of labor, had only the cold coals of suspicion. The suspicion and envy thus created has been a nightmare during the whole period of revolution. In November it already predicted the disorganization of April. The party convention, assembling after some weeks, at that time felt that the surge of general feeling for the revolution had passed, because of the crosswinds this surge was gradually disappearing. The representatives of the party convention were selected already in the spring under different conditions. Half of them seemed to support the revolution, the other half was against it. We of the center, wished by all means to keep our party together, and "succeeded". The summarizing resolution did not contain a word for or against the revolution, but had considerable of the spirit of independent class struggle; in addition a group of reformation demands from the bourgeoisie and encouraging the workers to make armed preparation, not for offensive purpose, but for purpose of self defence.

Self defense became the greatest momentary need of the bourgeoisie. Seeing that they were temporarily free from the dangers of revolution they commenced to prepare consciously for the offensive. Publicly it carried on a fierce anti-socialist chase, and in a less conspicuous manner they developed their war plans, gathered arms, organized and drilled the slaughter guard and sent agents with rush business to foreign countries. Locally unorganized revolutionary eruptions burst forth automatically with their anarchistic side interests. One burst in Abo. Parliamentary procedure was now injurious to the affairs of the workers. It only employed the unnecessary powers which might have been used in the preparation for the approaching revolution. It only blinded and lead astray from seeing what is about to happen, what the bourgeoisie prepared for and what the proletariat should have prepared for. When the November revolution threatened by majority action the diet passed a resolution that the parliament, no governmental clique,

CENTRAL EUROPE FEARS BIG SPREAD OF BOLSEVISM

Breakdown of Government in the Defeated Nations Causes Dread as Chaos Increases.

REDS' PROPAGANDA GROWS Large Amount is Reported Spent in

Berlin, and Even More Sent Here. GERMAN FRONTIER MENACED

Troops Sent to Resist Russians Advancing to Join Teuton Sympathizers.

By Harold Williams.

SPECIAL CABLE TO THE NEW YORK TIMES. GENEVA, Feb. 2.—History is turning strange somersaults. Italian prisoners in Galicia are fighting with the Poles against the Ukrainians, German troops in Southern Russia are selling or giving arms to the Ukrainians; are fighting and plundering, now leaguely themselves with the Ukrainians and Bolsheviks and now opposing them. Further north some of the German troops are thoroughly Bolshevik, while others are trying to retire, only to find themselves attacked in the rear by Lenin's Red Army.

Europe is strewn with guns, machine guns, bombs, and ammunition, all the belongings of a great war, and every one and no one is master of these instruments of destruction.

Frontiers and lines of demarcation are swaying. Agreements are made today and broken tomorrow, and save for a few cases there is not a Government from the Rhine eastward that is not desperately beating the air today and is liable to be swept away tomorrow.

In the war the democratic maritime powers are victorious, and the great blocks of despotism in the European hinterland have been broken up into their component atoms without any visible binding will or controlling purpose.

I have no hesitation in saying that the spectacle of European ruin is simply appalling. Nineteenth century civilization has broken down.

I do not mean merely that dilapidated trains crawl dimly; that postal and telegraphic communication is hardly better than in Napoleonic times; that famine and pestilence are creeping over Europe, but that there is a collapse of human, moral energy, a revival of the primitive, barbaric instincts, and the fierce endeavor to have one's little private will by force.

The general sense of the purpose of life is lost in the chaos of petty warring impulses. People eagerly repeat the shibboleths of democracy and equality, hoping that this will dispel the terrible dread that lurks in their hearts. Little men, often well-meaning and sincere, devise shallow plans for coping with the menacing forces of destruction.

In Germany the soldiers make chaotic politics while the upper class

would have the greatest governmental power. This seems a real, even tho, a weak step toward a real faultless "democracy". At a meeting of the Constitutional Committee we attempted to draft on paper a plan for the construction of this beautiful state, we also decided to give a prize for the grandest flag patterned for the flagpole of Finnish Democracy.

Then we heard from the mouth of Sir Svinhufvud (dictator of Finland) the Constitution of Capital which has only one article: "Iron hand regime!"

This was a brutal and blood thirsty Constitution, but it referred to the reality and violence of the history of class wars when many social democratic constitution was won through a victory in election.

O. V. Kunsinen Translated by O. W. Oksanen.

Now in Preparation, First Complete American Edition of

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I hope that I may be forgiven for telegraphing in this way; but no one who has closely watched the present ruin of Europe can help feeling that all purely external discussion is futile unless the moral foundations of peace are powerfully laid.

That is why the League of Nations is supremely important. If the League of Nations is a Utopia, then our spiritual strength is exhausted and civilization will go down in a welter of barbarous slaughter.

looks on unrepentant, arrogant, resentful, and helpless; and amateur governments of a day spend their little strength in torrents of speeches while they have no power to stay the inevitable course of events. Through all this seething chaos run evil currents of intrigue after intrigue, monarchical, Bolshevik, financial, imperialistic, particularist, clerical, atheist.

Russian prisoners in hundreds of thousands are on their great trek homewards, starving, in rags, dying like flies on the way, and the revolutionary German Government has provided them with copies of periodicals in Russian, Socialist, and full of invective against England and praise of the German Soviets.

Up through the European chaos is surely creeping the menace of Bolshevism, not Socialism, but that Bolshevism which is the revengeful shadow of reckless, modern materialism.

I don't wish to appear to be preaching, but only the imagery of the Apocalypse can do justice to the present state of Europe. It is not a political but a spiritual crisis. The victory of the Maritime Powers is an immense moral responsibility because on the victors lies the task of saving and reconstructing all that is worth saving in civilization.

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A COUGH IS AN ALARM OF FIRE

A cough usually comes from the inflammation of some organ. The words "Inflammation" and "Flame" have the same origin, and so, the cough means a "Fire".

The seriousness of the average cough lies in what it may lead to, such as bronchitis, congested lungs, even consumption. A short, hacking cough is often the ONE evidence pointing to the invasion of consumptive germs commonly called by doctors "the pre-tubercular stages."

A. Ph. Balsamic Cough Anodyne helps to PUT OUT THE FIRE when it stops the cough. As a sedative, it soothes and quiets the inflamed and irritated surfaces; as an expectorant it loosens the cough. It acts quickly and safely. It tastes agreeably.

The trouble with the ready-made cough syrups of the "patent medicine" sort is that they may be stale. Stale medicine is no better than stale food. Druggists Members of the Associated Pharmacists put up A. Ph. Balsamic Cough Anodyne themselves. Their slogan is: Always fresh; Always active; Always uniform. 50 and 25 cents a bottle. A. Ph. Balsamic Cough Anodyne is made, sold and guaranteed by

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Explanation by Workers' Council.

It is apparent to all who have followed the case of Tom Mooney and other victims of the persecution of the corrupt forces that dominate national life that the plan of action so far followed has failed to bring the results sought.

Attempts have been made by the committee in charge of the defence to satisfy all elements among the various labor organizations and as usual such a course has resulted in only widening the breach that exists. It is contended that the conservative element, so-called, is not interested in freeing Tom Mooney or anyone else; that they are under the influence of the employing class and are actuated by the same motives.

The efforts to free Mooney have so far been carried out through the existing machinery of organizations that are organized primarily to secure increases in wages and a shortening of hours; in short, purely economic organizations.

The efforts to free Tom Mooney, the calling of a general strike, constitute revolutionary action. It follows that any effort to use the organizations that can function only in matters of wages and hours must necessarily fail.

What then must be done?

There must be builded up within the existing organizations another body whose members are fully conscious of their class position appealing to the militant element of workers, organized or unorganized, in the desired manner composed of men and women who are willing to agitate and organize with one object in view—the freeing of persecuted members of the working class, in order that all may finally be free.

The two fiascos that have brought shame to the militant members of the workers of this country prove that such a line of action is necessary and in fact, inevitable if the goal is to be reached.

To this end the workers of Butte have formed a body in which the overwhelming majority of the existing organizations are represented and are entering upon a campaign of education within and without the ranks of the present organizations. They recognize the futility of the attempt to get united action by working through the officialdom of the

labor movement and are appealing to the membership exclusively, for the very good reason that they are convinced that this same officialdom is so contaminated with the ideas of the ruling class through long association with them and because most of them are today simply a cog in the wheel of one or the other of the political machines of the two capitalist parties that they can do nothing but assist in retarding any action of the workers that seeks to wrest the power from the hands of the oppressors of labor.

One example of the failure of the economic organizations to handle a political strike will suffice to show the dire need for some other method.

Although there are no provisions in the constitutions of existing organizations covering political strikes, and although no strike benefits could be paid, the American Federation of Labor organizations followed the constitutional provisions calling for a two-thirds or a three-fourths majority as the case might be, in both of the proposed strikes.

It is therefore maintained that any further movements initiated along these lines must disregard union rules and regulations as they affect purely wage and hour measures.

It must be a spontaneous movement on the part of the intelligent and militant members of all organizations and it is for the purpose of crystallizing this sentiment that the workers council of Butte has been organized.

They have no intention of interfering in any way with the present labor organizations; they can function as they have so far done, in matters affecting the economic welfare of their members. To interfere with them would largely tend to nullify their efforts, for it is largely within the ranks of these trade and industrial organizations that the educational campaign is to be conducted.

The aim and object is a mass organization and movement on the part of an intelligent and enlightened section of the working class; a section that intends, by a campaign of education, to make the majority.

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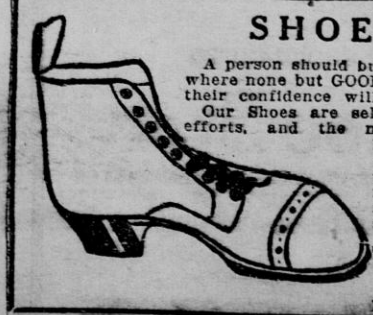
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NO WONDER THEY GET WILD.

The Bolsheviks like the Red Flag is here to stay, so all the foolish and venomous criticism that is being levelled against them is a waste of time. Because Billie McEwan thinks he is a second King Canute, we should not lose any sleep over him! Bill, like Samuel Gompers, will receive a shock someday and when he does, he will realize how foolish he was during the dark days of 1919.

You know, comrade readers, when we think of the social changes that are going to take place in ALL countries, that includes America, well, we must laugh. We will not mention names, but when the qualification for a voter and a candidate for office is that they must work, oh boy! (God help the Republican and the Democratic parties.) Picture Burnquist and Colonel Weiss hod-carrying or Judge McGee in the extra gang. Say, what a laugh, poor Charlie Chaplin will be a dead act, we will obtain all the amusement we want on the job. Imagine Bill Haywood foreman of the job, with Judge Landis and the Chicago jury in the gang! Oh, Bill! Or Karl Liebknecht with the Kaiser in his gang! Boys, there is a wonderful time a-coming.

Aside from the humor of the whole thing, think of the rottenness of those who are urging that troops be sent to Russia, to crush the Bolsheviks! Remember what went on in Russia under the Czar and then when the people have broken away from all this and made Russia a fit place to live in, the dirty, foul, sordid, degenerate imperialists of all countries want to drive these people back to Czarism. Think of how a Jewish girl had to register as a prostitute! Think of women who were compelled by landlords to suckle pigs at their breasts. Think of it, my dear friend McEwan, if your mother was compelled to take a pig to her breast and suckle it! Think of the cells in Siberia that were found full of human remains of the countless victims of a dirty, degenerate Czar! And you want to bring this state of affairs back again! How rotten and despicable you all are! But you are not going to do it, because the workers of America and the whole world are getting wise to your dirty game. By the red blood that flows through our veins, you shall not pass. We shall hurl ourselves at you and make you go through what they in Russia have gone through. The pogroms, the terrors of the knout, the starvation and the massacres before the palace of the Czar, by God we tell you that if you start to drive those brave Russian people back, we shall swear vengeance. It will not be in the passing of resolutions, it will be the organization of all workers and we shall take everything from you. We shall place your children in the factories and take our children out. We shall take our women from the brothel and make your women work. We shall take our old men from the workhouses and poorhouses and let them taste life and you shall wait on them. Go to it, if you are blind to the facts of today. A mighty world is awakening and the upheaval is going to take place. Call your forces and let the fight go on. Hear that tune the Marseillaise and the other the Internationale, they are being played by our fellow-workers. See the effect upon the people. Their souls are aflame with a passion for social justice. They are not asking you for justice, they are going to take it and you cannot stop them. So on with your armies to Russia, and BEWARE of the armies that went to fight for you, will come back and fight against you. You have commenced the fight, BUT WE WILL FINISH IT. Go to it!

THE I. W. W.

It seems that some radicals spend more time fighting the I. W. W. than they do fighting the master class. Comrades, we want to relate to you a few personal ex-

periences and then you will understand why, although we disagree with some of the methods of the organization, we always stand by the I. W. W. so long as they are being persecuted.

When we arrived in America, we came here and were prepared to judge the radical movement as we witnessed it in action, not by its pamphlets and speeches of its members. We walked into the I. W. W. local and saw thirty men sleeping on the floor. These self-same men were busy during the day organizing the workers, yet in the cold weather they were content to sleep upon the floor. Why was it? Can you not see in that action the real stuff that only exists in men? WE DID. We admired those boys for it. Their faith in the Internationale was real. It was not the rendering of mouth-service, it was the giving of everything they possessed. TAKE THE ORGANIZERS OF THE A. F. OF L. AND FRANKLY CONTRAST THE POSITION OF THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS' ORGANIZERS.

During the Mesaba strike we went to union after union and appealed for funds. Trade unionists with big treasuries donated five and ten dollars, yet we have seen waitresses give as much as whole unions. Why do these I. W. W. do this? Is it because they want to fool the workers? No, my friends, it is the expression of a courage and devotion to their class, that the critics of the I. W. W. are not capable of.

Comrades, those boys in prison are real men and someday you will give them credit for what they have done. They do some rather peculiar things, things that we would not do, because we have not their spirit. They are crude and they wear dirty clothes some of them, it is because they prefer riding on freight trains instead of spending money in Pullmans. The I. W. W. are the diggers of the ditches, which must be dug before we can erect the fine edifices and mansions. They will keep on digging, because the digging has to be done. So you and all of us must recognize that they are playing their part in the social revolution. Disagree with them, but never play the game of your master. Stand by the I. W. W. and show the masters that you are for solidarity. A revolutionist must first of all be possessed of a real class-conscious spirit. You have to have the spirit first. Many intellectuals have the knowledge, but they have not the spirit. That is why they are so easily bought up by our masters. Comrades, we shall need the I. W. W. and all workers, so let us have more tolerance amongst ourselves. IF THERE IS ANY FIGHTING TO BE DONE, YOU KNOW WHO YOUR ENEMY IS!

After you have read Truth, Liberator, etc., send them to the I. W. W. boys at Box 7, Leavenworth, Kansas. Also look up any books that you have and send them on. A letter would be appreciated.

RECIPE FOR MAKING SOCIALISTS.

Take the average American workingman, and have him read the following Socialist classics in the order given:

- REVOLUTION, by Jack London 10
 - INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM, by Haywood and Bohn 10
 - VALUE, PRICE AND CAPITAL, by Karl Marx 15
 - SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC (Engels) 10
 - COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, by Marx and Engels 10
 - CLASS STRUGGLE, by Karl Kautsky 25
 - EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION, by Mark Fisher 10
 - MERRIE ENGLAND, by Blatchford 15
 - SHOP TALK ON ECONOMICS, by Mary E. Marcy 10
 - MARXISM AND DARWINISM, by Anton Pannoeck 10
 - NO COMPROMISE, by Liebknecht 10
- 10 per cent off in quantities of 10; 25 per cent off in quantities of 50.

RANK MATERIALISM.

Our opponents are fond of telling us that Socialism is rank materialism. That is because they do not know any better.

A minister preaches against drunkenness. He tells you that drunkenness produces wrecked homes, blighted lives, etc. Does he know this, because he dreamed it? No, certainly not, he sees the effect of drink in the material homes and the lives of drunkards in material surroundings. The ideas that are in his lecture are the

which in turn reflects itself in his lecture. The basis of this lecture is materialism.

Socialism is based upon facts that are obtained from life. What we see take place around us, reflects itself in our minds. And the greater aptitude of our brains in acquiring, retaining and combining the ideas so obtained the better able we are to deal with the facts of life. It is because the Socialists use their brains that they are so able to state the case for Socialism in such a way as to be able to defy contradiction.

The Socialist compels his opponent to deal with the facts as they are, that is why speculators in thought can only reply to our arguments by foolish phrases. Ask any minister or philosopher who states that Socialism is rank materialism, to sleep in a spiritual home and wear a spiritual suit and eat a spiritual breakfast? He will say the idea is ridiculous, it is as ridiculous as his attempt to combat Socialism by calling it rank materialism.

WHY GERMANY CAPTURED ALSACE LORRAINE!

The mines of Alsace-Lorraine produced in 1913 21,136,265 metric tons of iron ore as against 7,471,638 tons produced in Germany.

Please do not ask why the Allies were so eager to get it back?

NEXT ISSUE BOLSHEVIKI NUMBER.

TRUTH WILL FROM NOW ON BE A SIX PAGE EDITION. NEXT WEEK WE SHALL DEVOTE THE ENTIRE ISSUE TO THE BOLSHEVIKI OF RUSSIA AND GERMANY. THERE WILL BE EXTRA EXPENSE INCURRED, SO IF ANY OF OUR READERS CAN AFFORD TO SEND US AN ODD DOLLAR WE WILL MUCH APPRECIATE THEIR KINDNESS.

THE TRIAL OF THE EDITOR OF TRUTH HAS BEEN POSTPONED UNTIL NEXT JULY. THANK YOU ONE AND ALL FOR YOUR GENEROUS SUPPORT. LEGAL EXPENSES ETC. HAVE SO FAR AMOUNTED TO OVER THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS. THIS AMOUNT WAS OVERSUBSCRIBED BY OUR MANY READERS. WE ARE SORRY THAT WE CANNOT THANK YOU INDIVIDUALLY, BUT YOU CAN REST ASSURED WE APPRECIATE YOUR QUICK RESPONSE MORE THAN WORDS CAN TELL

POISON: Lies, forgeries and slanders about the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic fed to the American public every day by the capitalist press.

ANTIDOTE: Immediate distribution of the following three books: SOVIETS AT WORK, by Nikolai Lenin, the Bolshevik Premier, 10c; ON BEHALF OF RUSSIA, by Arthur Ransome, Correspondent in Russia for the London Daily News, 5c; AN OPEN LETTER TO AMERICAN LIBERALS, by Santeri Nuorteva, Representative of the Finnish Workers' Republic, 5c.

JOHN GABRIEL SOLTIS WILL SPEAK AT THE WOODMAN HALL SUNDAY EVENING, JAN. 19, ON "PEACE AND THE BOLSHEVIKI."

here, in order that he might learn some things. I really believe he did so, and, however, he may talk in America, I hope his stay with us was far more beneficial to him than he is willing to admit in his speeches."

MacDonald is a member of Parliament from Leicester, and an I. L. P., that is, Independent Labor party. This party, strictly Socialist as it is, is an integral part of the Labor party, with which it co-operates, and which co-operates with it. MacDonald is likewise a member of the general executive of the Labor party, the organization of some 3,000,000 organized trades unionists.

Gompers' trip to England was widely heralded, and the speech referred to was delivered at a welcome meeting in Chicago, at which members of the President's cabinet spoke in terms of high praise of the American labor leader.

ENGLISH LOCAL

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I. W. W. MALTREATED IN JAIL.

From within the silent stone walls of the Federal prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kan., where 93 members of the I. W. W. are serving sentences aggregating 807 years, there has leaked out, in spite of official efforts at suppression, a sickening story of cold-blooded brutality and official cruelty that recalls the worst days of the regime of the czars of Russia, declared the New York Defense Committee yesterday in a statement which reads:

"On December 4 the convicts working on the 'rock crusher,' assigned to this task because their weakened condition made hard labor impossible, were given twice the usual amount of work to do. Being physically unable to comply, they quit when they had completed their usual daily task. For this insubordination they were locked up in their cells and another gang ordered to do their work.

"This new gang, which comprised a number of I. W. W.'s, refused to scab on their fellow prisoners. Seven of the I. W. W.'s were thereupon thrown into the 'hole.'"

On Saturday afternoon, December 7, the acting warden, L. J. Fletcher, who accused the I. W. W.'s of having organized the prisoners and instigated the strike, ordered the "coal gang," largely made up of I. W. W. men, to unload a shipment of coal, although the prison rules allow the men Saturday afternoon off, as their only opportunity for recreation. When the men insisted on the regula-

(Continued on page 5.)

DUES INCREASED TO FIFTY CENTS PER MONTH.

(Continued from Page Two.)

were ready to risk their liberty, their very lives, to take it from the master class. They went out and "expropriated the expropriators," to carry on their propaganda.

Their sacrifices have given the world the first Socialist Republic. Without readiness for sacrifice we are not fit to be counted in the ranks of the revolutionary army of the working class.

We want to be a fighting organization. Those who would drop out of our Party on account of the paltry increase in dues, do not belong to it. For those who cannot pay on account of sickness, unemployment, or other sufficient causes, there are exempt stamps—they need not pay anything. No one has to drop out of the Party because of INABILITY to pay the increased dues.

The Storm of Revolution is sweeping the World. Our comrades everywhere are put to the test of fire and death, and they are standing it in the fashion of true heroes, they are proving the noble metal of which they are made everywhere. Machine guns and air attacks and poison gases cannot break their morale. Unflinchingly they sacrifice their lives that the Revolution may live.

There is a noble example for us. We will live up to it, now and until the New World is realized.

Zenith Phone Lincoln 117-A.

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O. F. WENNERLUND'S
EYE TALKS

AMONG all of the things the human family needs there is nothing as precious as good eyesight. Nothing else in the category of absolute necessities can be purchased at such a reasonable price as the blessing of eyeglass comfort. Our Competent optometrist will look into your eye structure and advise you properly.

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ON GOING TO JAIL.

By Anise in Seattle Union Record.
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That folks who went
Jo JAIL
Were just a bunch of
DOWN and OUTS
Who drifted into being
DRUNKS and THIEVES
And VAGRANTS
And got picked up
By POLICEMEN
Who HAD to be doing
SOMETHING to hold their jobs.
JAIL must have been
A DREARY PLACE
In those days
With no persons of SPIRIT
And nothing INTERESTING
Going on.
BUT NOW.
There seems to be
More EXCITEMENT in jail
Than there is OUTSIDE!

Here is a bunch

In the Seattle jail
Putting on a HUNGER STRIKE
And nearly DYING
Just because they have
Too darned much spirit
To KEEP STILL
About bad food
And injustice!
And a friend of mine
In the Newark jail
Is getting up
A PRISON CHORUS
And specializing
On Negro folk-songs,
With quartettes and color;
He says they are good enough
To go on the road
Except that they can't LEAVE
During the BUSY SEASON!
And those Sinn Feiners
In the Belfast jail
Have BARRICADED themselves
In a wing of the building.

With enough PROVISIONS

To stand a SIEGE,
And have hoisted an IRISH
FLAG,
And are playing
REVOLUTIONARY TUNES
On instruments made
From kitchen utensils.
With all these strikes
And committees
And organizations IN JAIL
It seems as if
A man's ACTIVITIES
Aren't INTERRUPTED any more
By going to JAIL
Than they are by going
To PORTLAND;
He merely finds a new place
To CARRY THEM ON,
With BOARD and ROOM
And STEAM HEAT
FURNISHED FREE.
And maybe this winter,
When UNEMPLOYMENT sets in,

THAT will become such

An INDUCEMENT,
That the world outside
Will have to IMPROVE ITSELF
In order to get
The WORKERS
To STAY OUT!

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HOLD DEMONSTRATIONS
URGING DEMOBILIZATION

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GOOD FOR SYLVIA.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has for some time dissociated herself from the activities of her mother and sister, having given herself to social reform movements in the East End. She, too, does not intend to become a parliamentary candidate. "I am waiting," she declares, "for the Soviets. I am weary of the present

parliamentary system, which is so remote from daily life and from the control of the rank and file workers to be all but useless to them. Socialism built up from the workshop and home is alone worth while."—Dispatch from London.

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Gompers Learned a Bit

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CHICAGO. — Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, learned more in England from the Socialists there than he taught them, according to J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P., who tells of Gompers' reception in England in a letter to Adolph Germer, national secretary of the Socialist party. Germer had sent a copy of Gompers' speech to England, in which he told of his impressions of his trip. The trip was widely advertised as a missionary tour, to show the English the error of their ways in taking an international stand on matters connected with the war.

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DEFECTIVE PAGE

NO WONDER THEY GET WILD.

The Bolsheviks like the Red Flag is here to stay, so all the foolish and venomous criticism that is being levelled against them is a waste of time. Because Billie McEwan thinks he is a second King Canute, we should not lose any sleep over him! Bill, like Samuel Gompers, will receive a shock someday and when he does, he will realize how foolish he was during the dark days of 1919.

You know, comrade readers, when we think of the social changes that are going to take place in ALL countries, that includes America, well, we must laugh. We will not mention names, but when the qualification for a voter and a candidate for office is that they must work, oh boy! (God help the Republican and the Democratic parties.) Picture Burnquist and Colonel Weiss hord-carrying or Judge McGee in the extra gang. Say, what a laugh, poor Charlie Chaplin will be a dead end, we will obtain all the amusement we want on the job. Imagine Bill Haywood foreman of the job, with Judge Landis and the Chicago jury in the gang! Oh, Bill! Or Karl Liebknecht with the Kaiser in his gang! Boys, there is a wonderful time a-coming.

Aside from the humor of the whole thing, think of the rottenness of those who are urging that troops be sent to Russia, to crush the Bolsheviks! Remembers what went on in Russia under the Czar and then when the people have broken away from all this and made Russia a fit place to live in, the dirty, foul, sordid, degenerate imperialists of all countries want to drive these people back to Czarism. Think of how a Jewish girl had to register as a prostitute! Think of women who were compelled by landlords to suckle pigs at their breasts. Think of it, my dear friend McEwan, if your mother was compelled to take a pig to her breast and suckle it! Think of the cells in Siberia that were full of human remains of the countless victims of a dirty, degenerate Czar! And you want to bring this state of affairs back again! How rotten and despicable you all are! But you are not going to do it, because the workers of America and the whole world are getting wise to your dirty game. By the red blood that flows through our veins, you shall not pass. We shall hurl ourselves at you and make you go through what they in Russia have gone through. The pogroms, the terrors of the knout, the starvation and the massacres before the palace of the Czar, by God we tell you that if you start to drive those brave Russian people back, we shall swear vengeance. It will not be in the passing of resolutions, it will be the organization of all workers and we shall take everything from you. We shall place your children in the factories and take our children out. We shall take our women from the brothel and make your women work. We shall take our old men from the workhouses and poorhouses and let them taste life and you shall wait on them. Go to it, if you are blind to the facts of today. A mighty world is awakening and the upheaval is going to take place. Call your forces and let the fight go on. Hear that tune the Marseillaise and the other Internationale, they are being played by our fellow-workers. See the effect upon the people. Their souls are aflame with a passion for social justice. They are not asking you for justice, they are going to take it and you cannot stop them. So on with your armies to Russia, and BEWARE of the armies that went to fight for you, will come back and fight against you. You have commenced the fight, BUT WE WILL FINISH IT. Go to it!

THE I. W. W.

It seems that some radicals spend more time fighting the I. W. W. than they do fighting the master class. Comrades, we want to relate to you a few personal ex-

periences and then you will understand why, although we disagree with some of the methods of the organization, we always stand by the I. W. W. so long as they are being persecuted.

When we arrived in America, we came here and were prepared to judge the radical movement as we witnessed it in action, not by its pamphlets and speeches of its members. We walked into the I. W. W. local and saw thirty men sleeping on the floor. These self-same men were busy during the day organizing the workers, yet in the cold weather they were content to sleep upon the floor. Why was it? Can you not see in that action the real stuff that only exists in men? WE DID. We admired those boys for it. Their faith in the Internationale was real. It was not the rendering of mouth-service, it was the giving of everything they possessed. TAKE THE ORGANIZERS OF THE A. F. OF L. AND FRANKLY CONTRAST THE POSITION OF THE TWO ORGANIZATIONS' ORGANIZERS.

During the Mesaba strike we went to union after union and appealed for funds. Trade unionists with big treasuries donated five and ten dollars, yet we have seen waitresses give as much as whole unions. Why do these I. W. W. do this? Is it because they want to fool the workers? No, my friends, it is the expression of a courage and devotion to their class, that the critics of the I. W. W. are not capable of.

Comrades, those boys in prison are real men and someday you will give them credit for what they have done. They do some rather peculiar things, things that we would not do, because we have not their spirit. They are crude and they wear dirty clothes some of them, it is because they prefer riding on freight trains instead of spending money in Pullmans. The I. W. W. are the diggers of the ditches, which must be dug before we can erect the fine edifices and mansions. They will keep on digging, because the digging has to be done. So you and all of us must recognize that they are playing their part in the social revolution. Disagree with them, but never play the game of your master. Stand by the I. W. W. and show the masters that you are for solidarity. A revolutionist must first of all be possessed of a real class-conscious spirit. You have to have the spirit first. Many intellectuals have the knowledge, but they have not the spirit. That is why they are so easily bought up by our masters. Comrades, we shall need the I. W. W. and all workers, so let us have more tolerance amongst ourselves. IF THERE IS ANY FIGHTING TO BE DONE, YOU KNOW WHO YOUR ENEMY IS!

After you have read Truth, Liberator, etc., send them to the I. W. W. boys at Box 7, Leavenworth, Kansas. Also look up any books that you have and send them on. A letter would be appreciated.

RECIPE FOR MAKING SOCIALISTS.

Take the average American workingman, and have him read the following Socialist classics in the order given:

- REVOLUTION, by Jack London 10
 - INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM, by Haywood and Bohn 10
 - VALUE, PRICE AND CAPITAL, by Karl Marx 10
 - SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC (Engels) 15
 - COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, by Marx and Engels 10
 - CLASS STRUGGLE, by Karl Kautsky 25
 - EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION, by Mark Fisher 10
 - MERRIE ENGLAND, by Blatchford 15
 - SHOP TALK ON ECONOMICS, by Mary E. Marey 10
 - MARXISM AND DARWINISM, by Anton Pannekoek 10
 - NO COMPROMISE, by Liebknecht 10
- 10 per cent off in quantities of 10; 25 per cent off in quantities of 50.

RANK MATERIALISM.

Our opponents are fond of telling us that Socialism is rank materialism. That is because they do not know any better.

A minister preaches against drunkenness. He tells you that drunkenness produces wrecked homes, blighted lives, etc. Does he know this, because he dreamed it? No, certainly not, he sees the effect of drink in the material homes and the lives of drunkards in material surroundings. The ideas that are in his lecture are the

which in turn reflects itself in his lecture. The basis of his lecture is materialism.

Socialism is based upon facts that are obtained from life. What we see take place around us, reflects itself in our minds. And the greater aptitude of our brains in acquiring, retaining and combining the ideas so obtained the better able we are to deal with the facts of life. It is because the Socialists use their brains that they are so able to state the case for Socialism in such a way as to be able to defy contradiction.

The Socialist compels his opponent to deal with the facts as they are, that is why speculators in thought can only reply to our arguments by foolish phrases. Ask any minister or philosopher who states that Socialism is rank materialism, to sleep in a spiritual home and wear a spiritual suit and eat a spiritual breakfast? He will say the idea is ridiculous, it is as ridiculous as his attempt to combat Socialism by calling it rank materialism.

WHY GERMANY CAPTURED ALSACE LORRAINE!

The mines of Alsace-Lorraine produced in 1913 21,136,265 metric tons of iron ore as against 7,471,638 tons produced in Germany.

Please do not ask why the Allies were so eager to get it back?

NEXT ISSUE BOLSHEVIKI NUMBER.

TRUTH WILL FROM NOW ON BE A SIX PAGE EDITION. NEXT WEEK WE SHALL DEVOTE THE ENTIRE ISSUE TO THE BOLSHEVIKI OF RUSSIA AND GERMANY. THERE WILL BE EXTRA EXPENSE INCURRED, SO IF ANY OF OUR READERS CAN AFFORD TO SEND US AN ODD DOLLAR WE WILL MUCH APPRECIATE THEIR KINDNESS.

THE TRIAL OF THE EDITOR OF TRUTH HAS BEEN POSTPONED UNTIL NEXT JULY. THANK YOU ONE AND ALL FOR YOUR GENEROUS SUPPORT. LEGAL EXPENSES ETC. HAVE SO FAR AMOUNTED TO OVER THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS. THIS AMOUNT WAS OVERSUBSCRIBED BY OUR MANY READERS. WE ARE SORRY THAT WE CANNOT THANK YOU INDIVIDUALLY, BUT YOU CAN REST ASSURED WE APPRECIATE YOUR QUICK RESPONSE MORE THAN WORDS CAN TELL

POISON: Lies, forgeries and slanders about the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic fed to the American public every day by the capitalist press.

ANTIDOTE: Immediate distribution of the following three books: SOVIETS AT WORK, by Nikolai Lenin, the Bolshevik Premier, 10c; ON BEHALF OF RUSSIA, by Arthur Ransome, Correspondent in Russia for the London Daily News, 5c; AN OPEN LETTER TO AMERICAN LIBERALS, by Santeri Nuorteva, Representative of the Finnish Workers' Republic, 5c.

JOHN GABRIEL SOLTIS WILL SPEAK AT THE WOODMAN HALL SUNDAY EVENING, JAN. 19, ON "PEACE AND THE BOLSHEVIKI."

here, in order that he might learn some things. I really believe he did so, and, however, he may talk in America, I hope his stay with us was far more beneficial to him than he is willing to admit in his speeches."

MacDonald is a member of Parliament from Leicester, and an I. L. P., that is, Independent Labor party. This party, strictly Socialist as it is, is an integral part of the Labor party, with which it co-operates, and which co-operates with it. MacDonald is likewise a member of the general executive of the Labor party, the organization of some 3,000,000 organized trades unionists.

Gompers' trip to England was widely heralded, and the speech referred to was delivered at a welcome meeting in Chicago, at which members of the President's cabinet spoke in terms of high praise of the American labor leader.

ENGLISH LOCAL

Meets every Sunday

AFTERNOON

WOODMAN HALL

21st Ave. West & 1st St.

Good Discussions

Everybody Welcome.

I. W. W. MALTREATED IN JAIL.

From within the silent stone walls of the Federal prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kan., where 93 members of the I. W. W. are serving sentences aggregating 897 years, there has leaked out, in spite of official efforts at suppression, a sickening story of cold-blooded brutality and official cruelty that recalls the worst days of the regime of the czars of Russia, declared the New York Defense Committee yesterday in a statement which reads:

"On December 4 the convicts working on the 'rock crusher', assigned to this task because their weakened condition made hard labor impossible, were given twice the usual amount of work to do. Being physically unable to comply, they quit when they had completed their usual daily task. For this insubordination they were locked up in their cells and another gang ordered to do their work.

"This new gang, which comprised a number of I. W. W.'s, refused to scab on their fellow prisoners. Seven of the I. W. W.'s were thereupon thrown into the 'hole'."

On Saturday afternoon, December 7, the acting warden, L. J. Fletcher, who accused the I. W. W.'s of having organized the prisoners and instigated the strike, ordered the "coal gang," largely made up of I. W. W. men, to unload a shipment of coal, although the prison rules allow the men Saturday afternoon off, as their only opportunity for recreation. When the men insisted on the regula-

(Continued on page 5.)

DUES INCREASED TO FIFTY CENTS PER MONTH.

(Continued from Page Two.)

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LITTLE

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'GUILTY' IS CHICAGO VERDICT AGAINST SOCIALIST OFFICIALS

(Continued from page 1)

women who could not restrain their tears.

Socialists Are Calm.

Berger, Germer, Engdahl, Kruse and Tucker took the verdict calmly and with dignity. Not a word escaped their lips when their fate was sealed by the reading of a scrap of paper. Yet I know that several of them were dealt a shocking blow. They had not expected a conviction. A few moments before the jury came in Berger said to me, "The jury cannot convict me of this charge."

Kruse thought there would be a disagreement. Engdahl was not greatly surprised.

A few moments after the motions were made, the convicted men left the court room, accompanied by their wives. The great marble court room once more became the tomb that had contained the ghost of the spirits that had held common counsel and fellowship therein for five weeks.

It was the same courtroom that seemed to be haunted by the memory of the great trial of the Industrial Workers of the World who were convicted only a few short months ago. The doors slammed, a key turned in the lock, and it seemed that something intangible, something big and brave, had been locked in that judicial sepulchre.

Landis Charges Jury.

Promptly at 10 o'clock today Judge Landis began to deliver his charge to the jury. At exactly the stroke of 11 o'clock the jury left the box to deliberate.

Shortly before 1 o'clock, while the corridors leading to the courtroom were crowded with spectators, defendants and their families and friends and myriad detectives, Judge Landis dashed out of his chamber attired in a great coat. It was a signal that the jury would suspend deliberation until after luncheon.

A few minutes later the 12 men filed into a near-by restaurant in the custody of four bailiffs and two detectives. A large table had been reserved for them in the rear of the restaurant. The jurymen all looked solemn, and seemed to appreciate the tremendous responsibility that was theirs.

A few moments later Engdahl, accompanied by his wife and a few friends; Berger, walking arm in arm with his wife and two young daughters; Seymour Stedman and Swan Johnson, attorneys for the Socialists, and several Socialist newspaper men filed into the same restaurant.

Two Merry Parties.

There was a perfect commonhood between the 12 men who sat isolated in the far corner and the defendants and their families when the waitress brought on steaming food. Jurors laughed and joked. So did the defendants.

It was a curious scene. Perhaps in another hour the 12 men who were dipping into whipped cream and coffee and exchanging the merry quip would say the word that would brand five idealists as criminals. Or perhaps they would say the other word that would not only restore the Socialists to their families, but would vindicate the right of freedom of discussion in America, even in time of war.

While the jury debated the case before luncheon there were perhaps half a thousand persons in the corridors. Every defendant gathered about him a group.

Engdahl and Mrs. Engdahl strolled about the circular corridor. He had the me of a reporter rather than a defendant. Berger was leaning over the rail, talking with Mrs. Berger, flanked on either side by his two daughters, both students at the University of Wisconsin. Kruse was jesting with his wife and a small party of Yipsels. Germer was in earnest conversation with one of the agents of the Department of Justice. Tucker strolled about, humming old hymns and appearing unconcerned. Such was the scene.

Into the eyes of the Socialist women there appeared from time to time a look of great weariness and suspense. Caroline Lowe and Ella Reeves Bloor had their heads together as they discussed other Socialist trials that have resulted adversely.

Long before the hour of opening of court there was a great crowd blocking every entrance to the court room. Defendants, their attorneys and newspaper men had to scramble through the dense mass of humanity

to get into the room. The jury came in looking fresh, though perhaps slightly more serious than they have appeared during the five weeks that has been consumed in trying the case.

In a moment the great doors leading to Judge Landis' chambers swung ajar and the Federal court was in session for the last day of the trial. Judge Landis gave a stiff nod to the attorneys, he jury and the reporters. A few words were spoken by the lawyers for the Socialists and then Judge Landis seated himself in his leather chair.

With a jerk he lit the lamp on the end of the bench. His face was very close to the lamp and the yellow rays fell full across his countenance. His mop of silver hair seemed more radiant than ever. His eyes burned with what seemed to be a fiercer glow. For a moment he studied his audience, looked at the defendants who sat serene, with folded arms before him.

Moving slightly, he said: "Gentlemen of the jury," and the charge had begun. The delivery consumed exactly one hour. Most of the instructions were read from prepared manuscript.

A number of times Judge Landis sharply emphasized points such as "the country was then at war." "This is a grave charge against these defendants." Once or twice he lifted his gold rimmed glasses over his high forehead and pointed his long finger directly at the jury.

The judge gained national fame a dozen years ago by fining the Standard Oil Company, \$29,000,000, and has been in the spotlight ever since. He is the same judge who sentenced 93 members of the I. W. W. to the Federal prison at Leavenworth for a total of 807 years and imposed a fine against the members of the I. W. W. aggregating \$2,570,000. And now, here he was presiding at the trial of five officials of the National Socialist party.

Once during his charge he raised himself from his seat, swung the chair about and sat on the arm. Another time he leaned his full weight on the desk, and in a crouched position emphasized the different features of the case and stressed certain points of law.

Landis would have made a great tragedian. He has a natural sense of the dramatic, a splendid sense of humor, a severity that has been called brutal, and a sense of right and justice and morality splendidly and consistently in keeping with the conventions of the time.

Reads from Indictment.

Landis began his charge by reading from the indictment. He read parts of the Espionage law, defined a "conspiracy" in the legal sense, told the jury what was "reasonable doubt," and then admonished them to use their common sense in their deliberation of this case, just as they would do if the problem concerned their own lives and home circle or business.

"You gentlemen will have perceived that the defendants are charged first, with conspiring to do certain things, and, second, with performing certain acts and taking certain steps to carry that conspiracy into effect. The statute upon which this offense is based states that the conspiracy must be performed and the conspirators must do some act to carry the conspiracy into effect.

"In other words, if they conspired to violate the law, no matter how heinous the conspiracy may be, and without any member of the conspiracy doing any act to carry into effect the conspiracy, this section of the (Espionage) law is not applicable.

"Therefore, if you find a conspiracy was formed by any one, or any overt act was committed to give effect to the conspiracy, the case is made out against the defendants, it not being necessary for the proof to establish all the overt acts charged.

"It will be well for you gentlemen to have in mind that when this act was passed, the country was, and is, at war. Proof of that fact is unnecessary. You also understand that it is successful prosecution that war, military and naval forces were essential, that these forces were being formed by voluntary enlistment and by the compulsory provisions of the selective draft act.

Defines "Conspiracy."

"A conspiracy is formed when two

or more persons agreed to do an unlawful act. To constitute a conspiracy it is not necessary that two or more persons should actually meet together and enter into a formal agreement to carry out an unlawful scheme. It is sufficient that two or more persons in any manner came to a mutual understanding to carry out the scheme and unlawful design. If two persons co-operate to carry out an unlawful scheme that becomes a conspiracy. A conspiracy need not be proved by direct testimony. The purpose of the conspiracy is known only to those who enter into it, and their guilt can usually be proved only by circumstantial evidence. In determining the question of the conspiracy charged here, the acts and declarations of the accused persons, may, among other circumstances, be considered by you. Statements of all and in some instances of two or more defendants, in the absence of the other defendants have been given in evidence. Numerous letters and telegrams have also been admitted.

"Acts or declarations by any individual defendant are not to be considered by you as affecting any other of the defendants, unless you find that the act or declaration of a certain defendant was done in agreement with the other defendants.

"Passive knowledge of acts is not sufficient to prove knowledge of a conspiracy. Some active participation is necessary. Co-operation in some form must be shown. There must be active participation with a view to furthering the common design and purpose.

Law and Evidence.

"The principle of law and rule of evidence is that when some satisfaction of a conspiracy is established and the defendant is shown to be a party hereto, then he is bound by the acts of his fellows in furtherance of the common object.

"The defendants have the right to advocate in good faith their religious, economic and political opinions, and their views respecting the war and its causes and effects, and anything involved in carrying out the war. I say against this right the Espionage law is not directed.

"And if this is what the defendants have done, they are guilty.

"The law only concerns the bad faith and common advocacy of an evil purpose. This law invades no man's common and constitutional right of free speech and free press.

"If the evidence shows that before June 15, 1917, the date of the passage of the Espionage law by Congress, the defendants were consciously conspiring together in a common enterprise to establish a common object and that object then was to cause insubordination or mutiny or refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States, and this purpose and design continued to be their object down to June 15, 1917, and continued after that date—their right to go on with that enterprise stopped with the enactment of the Espionage law.

"If the evidence shows that the defendants did not stop on that date but continued their purpose, whatever it was, then this statute, known as the Espionage law, applies to each and all of them so far as the charge of conspiracy as set forth in this indictment is concerned."

At the conclusion of his instructions Judge Landis inquired of the attorneys if they had any suggestions or exceptions to make.

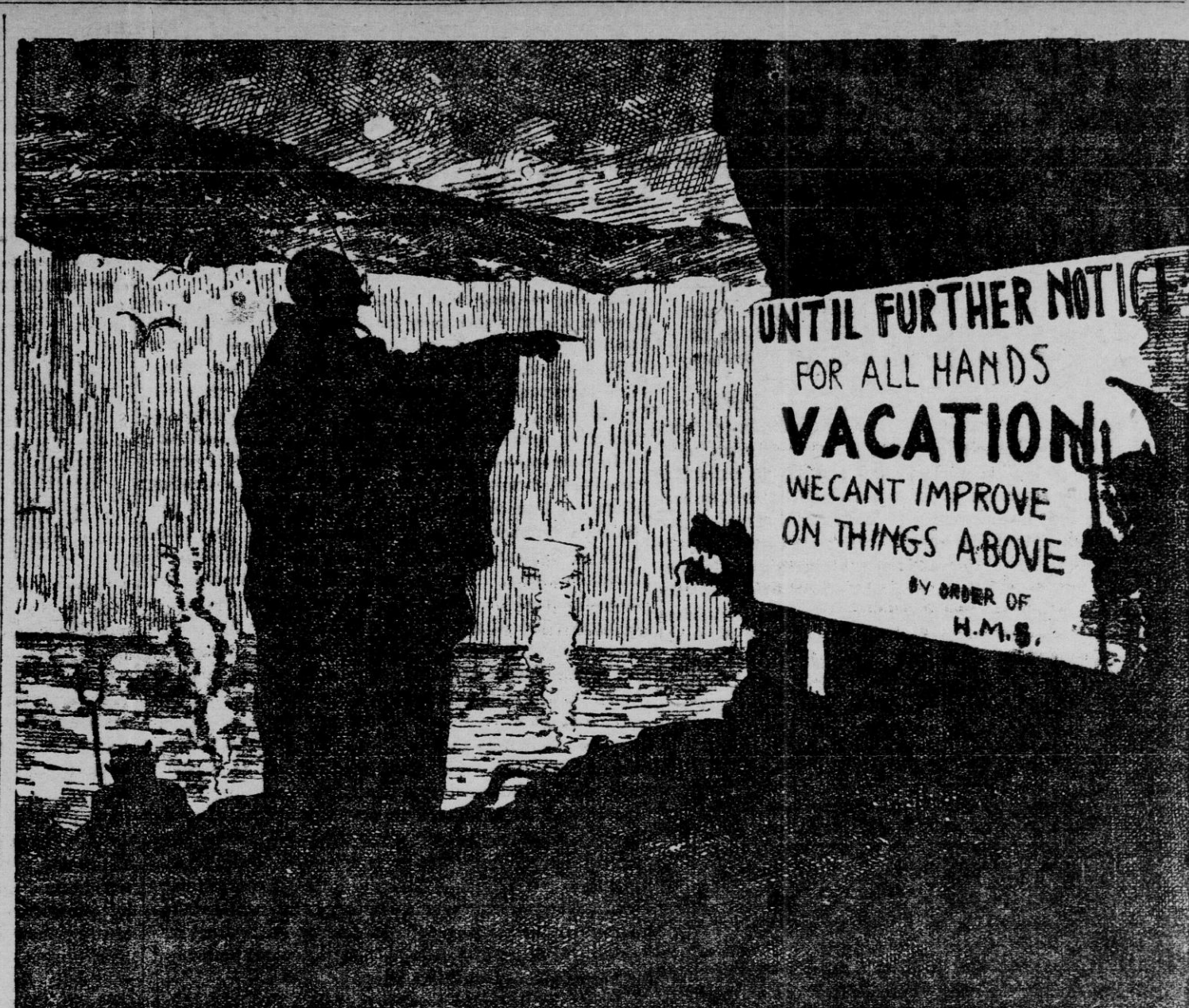
The attorneys for the prosecution announced they had no suggestions to offer and registered no exception to any particular statement of the charge.

A Letter From the Front

(The Truth herewith reprints a letter from a soldier in France which, despite the fact that the phrase has been overworked, may aptly be called "a human document.") It reveals the mental reaction upon many of the men in the service at the front, which this young soldier observed and the determination expressed by many of them that they will take their place in the struggle to prevent the occurrence of another such catastrophe. It will also be observed that this young man divined exactly what many of the dark forces in this country would be planning while he and his comrades were in the trenches. We reprint the letter just as it was received by his relatives, and we are sure our readers will appreciate it for its high idealism and devotion to the forces that are struggling for a better world.)

Dear Dad:

Christmas day is also fathers' day, and all the boys are writing letters to their dads, so I have de-



UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE
FOR ALL HANDS
VACATION
WE CAN'T IMPROVE
ON THINGS ABOVE
BY ORDER OF
H.M.S.

cided to follow suit, writing, however, a letter different, perhaps, than the average.

Others may review the year's achievements, write of victory of the Allied arms, but I will not dwell so much on that.

This past year has been a hard and back in the United States. It has been one full of tragedy for many families heretofore very happy and possibly even contented. And, unfortunately, we have had our share of tragedy. But I expect that the years to follow will be harder and more trying. The difference, though, for us, at least, will be that we will be involved in a fight that means everything to the American people, to the world. We will feel happy in the knowledge that we are doing our bit in the great fight.

Some of the boys—many of them—seem to think that this is the end of all wars. It could be if the men of the A. E. F. put their shoulders to the wheel and make it the end. It is up to these men, no so much because they are the soldiers of the A. E. F., but because they are the young, the virulent, the vigorous blood of the country. Instead of this being the last war, it might be the first war of its kind. The Allies have won a military victory. All of the countries of the old world are now practically bankrupt. America alone retains her financial strength. Not only retains that, but is now supreme in the commercial world. The world's commerce is in the hands of American financiers. To hold the markets they have won in this war they must maintain a large army. It means that when the old countries organized their armies, they will be casting hungry and revengeful glances at the throat of American capital. Our capitalists are not fools enough to fail to realize this. Consequently they will be crying preparedness for the next decade. Universal military training will be advocated more strongly than ever before. The sedition laws, the espionage laws, all of that emergency legislation will become permanent institutions. We will be making ready for the next great shedding of the blood of the workers of the world.

All that I have been taught in the years past, now comes vividly in my mind and I see the truth of it more plainly than ever. And seeing that, and having been here, with my life always ready to be sacrificed, I now see my part in the events to happen in the next few years. At this time thoughts of my own material benefit, of a big income, of piling up our wealth—as much as it can pile up—are far from my mind. It all seems so uninteresting, so ridiculous, so ordinary and lifeless. All that I will need is enough to keep body and soul together and to give me strength to take my place in the fight. The fight is the all-important thing to me now. There is no sacrifice too great to give towards helping in the fight to end forever imperialism, militarism, poverty, ignorance, prejudice, vice,

in short, capitalism.

There will be many of the men now over here who will be ready to make the fight, willing to sacrifice their lives, if need be. It gives me great hope to hear the men talk among themselves, to see how they are beginning to see matters in their true light. Men who have been at the front are determined that there shall be an end of war. And their determination is not a hasty and loud threat that will pass with the return to home life. I have spoken with some excellent men here of all walks of life, very intelligent men, real Americans, and without exception they have sworn that they will do their bit to prevent the repetition of this, and begin as soon as they get back, to fight against militarism and imperialism.

I consider myself very fortunate that I have been here, a buck private mingled with the rank and file of the men, men of graded degrees of intelligence; men without much education, others of great intellectuality, and those like myself, with a fair education. Being among them, I can feel the under-current of feeling of the A. E. F., and hear the question, time and again, discussed in mess hall, "Where do we benefit? What does it all mean to us?"

The men seem to realize that the talk of reconstruction physically, mentally, industrially, is only temporary, that a few years after this we will take our places with the veterans of other wars, ignored, some helpless, forgotten, unless we ourselves do something for ourselves. And not only for ourselves, but for the next generation.

When the new year begins it will find a world in ruins, but once more at peace. To maintain that peace, to destroy everything that tends to again break that peace, to remove the causes that bring death, destruction, despair, misery, in times of war, and poverty, ignorance, vice, at all times, to strive to educate myself so that I may enlighten and help others to see the path that leads to a beautiful world, is my work for the future, and we need everybody in this fight.

It is Thanksgiving day. I thank you, father and mother, for all you have done to make my life so beautiful, and beautiful it is, because you have always taught me and instilled in me this feeling of the Brotherhood of Man, because you have taught me the meaning of the fight, and enabled me to fight in it. Through this I have met wonderful people who have become my close and loving friends. With them and with you I will take my place in the immense life-giving struggle. I have been saved from the dull, passionless struggle for just an existence because you were able to see the truth in time, and taught it to me.

I hope you are all well, and I am anxious to learn the results of the last state campaign. I am very anxious to know about Gertie and the kiddies. Let me know exactly what is going on at home, just how

To the President of the United States

(Woodrow Wilson is to address the Socialists and Syndicalists of Europe; Press Report.)

Pray, will you tell them of the thing that mars Our nation, like the blight upon a flower— The Beast that "framed" to make Tom Mooney cower And left Frank Little dangling to the stars; That herded miners in foul cattle-cars— Deported them, and broke their strike with power? Or tell those men in Europe, at this hour, Their comrades here are chained to prison bars!

And while you speak of Freedom and its laws, With word-begotten fervor, over there, Some few may ask you "Is your own house clean; What DEEDS of yours have helped this holy cause? Then tell the whole sad story, if you dare, Or stand a side and let the Truth be seen! U. S. Penitentiary A. Paint Creek Miner. Leavenworth, Kansas, Jan. 10, 1919.

(Radical papers please copy.)

I. W. W. MALTREATED IN JAIL.

(Continued from Page 4)

tion halfholiday. Fletcher locked them up in the "hole."

"Enraged at hearing the men in the 'hole' singing I. W. W. songs, the acting warden seized a baseball bat and started toward them. When a prisoner named Stratton, not an I. W. W., cried out, 'Don't do that!' Fletcher drew a pistol and threatened to shoot him. After this he was so cruelly beaten that he lay unconscious for 50 hours. A Socialist, Floyd Ramp, received a double compound fracture of the skull.

"Two of the I. W. W.'s, Manuel Rey and A. V. Azuara, a slender little fellow weighing hardly 100 pounds, and another man named Murphy, were beaten unmercifully by two orderlies, "Mack" and Wingfield by name. As the prisoners had been placed in separate cells and had no means of defense, they were helpless in the hands of these brutes, who were armed with a baseball bat and a piece of lead pipe.

"The other I. W. W. prisoners in the 'hole' were treated with similar wanton cruelty. When the acting warden saw that three of them, J. R. Basket, Hodge and Charles Plahn, were lying on mattresses ordered by the prison doctor because they were ill, he took the mattresses away, exclaiming that 'concrete was good enough for them!'

"Frank Westerlund, Bill Lewis, James Manning, Jack Walsh, Charles Plahn and Harry Lloyd were hand-

you all are. I cannot help but worry in view of the recent epidemic and the sad tragedy in the family. Love to all.

cuffed to the bars of their cells for two days, and only taken down when it was learned that an inspector was coming to visit the prison.

"Every effort was made by the prison authorities to cover up their brutality. They tried to spread the story that three revolutionaries had been found in a locker used by the I. W. W.'s. When the attorneys for the men, Fred H. Moore and Miss Caroline Lowe, came to investigate, the prisoners were forbidden by the warden to say anything about the treatment they had received.

"Since the I. W. W.'s were brought to Leavenworth, prison discipline has been made more rigorous in order to inflame the other prisoners against the newcomers and, if possible, start fighting to furnish excuse for the guards to beat up the I. W. W. men.

"While their fellow workers are being thus inhumanely treated in prison, 43 I. W. W.'s on trial in Sacramento are putting up a "silent defense" as a protest against the frameup which they charge. They are on strike, they declare, against the injustice of American courts toward the workman, and refuse to answer any questions or take any part in the court proceedings.

"While no money is to be spent for lawyers or court expenses in this case, large sums are needed at once to give publicity to the stand these men have taken, and to care for their families and provide the prisoners with the supplies made necessary by American jail conditions. Contributions should be sent to the New York Defense Committee, 74 St. Mark's place, or to the International Defense Committee, 828 South 2d street, Philadelphia, Pa."

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EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TRUTH

(EDITOR RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL UNSIGNED ARTICLES)

EDITOR & BUSINESS MANAGER JACK CARNEY

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THE KAISERS AT HOME.

President Wilson in his message to congress stated:

"It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives have been taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of. . . . There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind."

As a result of this message, Congress decided: war must be declared. Millions of young men were drafted into the army and all the workers in the industries of the nation worked night and day in order that the whole resources of the nation could be used to back up the men in the trenches. The President said it was "A Challenge to Mankind." What was a challenge to mankind? The killing of innocent women and children. Well, President Wilson, why not take up the challenge anew and fight the Kaisers at home? In New York slums children are dying for the want of milk and fresh air. In industry women and men are being killed for the want of safety appliances. They (the Kaisers of America) are destroying the lives of our women and children. It is a challenge to all mankind.

If it is logical to organize the whole forces of the nation in order to fight the enemy abroad, how much so is it necessary to fight the enemy at home? Why not, Mr. President, come out and take up this new challenge? We understand. Well, we will do this thing ourselves. We shall organize and the boys who so willingly went into the Expeditionary Force to fight the Kaiser, will enter the grand army of Labor and fight the Kaisers at home.

If it be a matter of justifiable concern to defend the nation against the enemy abroad, is it not more justifiable to defend the nation against the enemy at home? Are not our own children and women entitled to the same amount of support and care as those of other countries?

The people of the nation are now seriously threatened, even though the war is over. Their very lives are being blighted and blasted by blood-sucking profiteers. The profiteers that know no religion, no country and no people. They are for themselves and themselves alone. They want dollars and they do not care how many lives are sacrificed in order that they might get those dollars and the people are dimly asking WHY?

The last profit-monger has got to go the way of all vermin.

Every resource of the earth and all of the productive power of the people must be organized and only those who are engaged in useful work, that is, if physically fit, should be entitled to service. SERVICE FOR SERVICE, is our motto.

All the terrible and criminal waste that is involved in the profit and plunder wrung from the toilers by the rulers and masters of the country must be stopped, and the life-giving stream of useful production turned to the common good and the uplift of humanity to a higher plane of civilization, far removed from the dull, sordid, slavish and bloody level of that of today.

It must be done by the workers themselves and not by the expectancy of sweet legislation from the profiteers' tools and representatives.

THE PROFITEERS.

Short shrift for the common rogue perdue,
And the voltage swift or the gallows tree
For the simple fools
That break the rules
In the common way with the common tools;
Burglar's jimmy, or bullet or knife;
Thirty years or a life for a life.
Not for them are the law's delays!
Not for them the long draw appeals—
Too crudely did they kill and steal
And took such antiquated ways.

Why had they not large office snites
Like fashionable thugs and cheats?
Wringing from war and widow's tears
Immunity as—profiteers.

Brave musketeers
Are the profiteers,
With their hoarded wheat
And their rotten bread,
And their stinking meat
To the soldiers fed;
And no aeroplanes—
And the money sped;
And nothing to fear, but some distant date
When Congress may investigate.

Yet, if truth were told, the foulest Hun
That pollutes the all-enduring sun,
Is not so vile as this carrion thing
That gorges on human suffering
And rubs his hands, as the nations bleed,
Cold to all other dreams but—greed.

While your honest knave has no shred of hope
But he needs must swing on yon hempen rope;
There's something wrong, something mighty queer—
That we have no rope for the profiteer.

OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT WILSON.

My dear Mr. President:

The reception that you have been accorded by the workers of England, France and Italy, must have left a feeling in your mind that these workers look upon you as a man who stands far above the rulers of their native lands. The reception that you received is one that any person might feel proud of and so I am taking this opportunity of appealing to you to see that the workers of your own country receive as kind a reception from your hands as the workers of Europe gave to you.

In Leavenworth prison are lying nearly one hundred members of the I. W. W. They are there serving sentences from five to twenty years in prison. As you traveled through England, France and Italy you must have been struck with the charms of the scenery of those countries. How wonderful it is to breathe the atmosphere of the sunny shores of southern France or to ascend the Alps and inhale the glorious air! It is good to have your freedom and to be able to enjoy the bounteous goodness of Mother Nature. It is good to know that in your own time people understand you and showered their love and esteem upon you as a signal token of their faith in your work. But away in Leavenworth prison are workmen confined within the grim walls of foul and soul-destroying cells. They were sent there because they dared to advocate ideas which are in advance of current opinion. They did not murmur when they were sent to prison. They said to the friends they had left behind, "Hold the Fort, for we are coming." They went to prison singing, just like the Italian peasant sang to you, Mr. President. They are possessed of a spirit of fortitude, that the world at present is not capable of understanding.

It is a hard life, to be shut up in a prison cell, when you are sent there for aspiring for freedom. To be shut out from the big things of life is a hardship that many of us are not capable of enduring. So, Mr. President, may I not appeal to you to see that these men in prison receive proper treatment. Oh no, Mr. President, for them, for they are too proud to humble themselves, their spirit is not weakening, it is I who am appealing for them, for they are too proud to humble themselves. I want you to feel that everything is all right at home and if it is not, I want you to be honest and say that you will right these matters.

The prison officials at Leavenworth are not possessed of a spirit of humanity. So they are terrorizing and using brutal tactics against those heroic boys of the I. W. W. Imprisoned like rats in a trap, the I. W. W. are now the sport of soulless officials. Some of the I. W. W. boys refused to work under a brutal officer and as a result they were thrown into a big cell. Then four big colored prisoners, armed with baseball bats, beat these I. W. W. boys and some Socialists most mercilessly. For hours some of them lay unconscious. Their bodies were black and blue. One of them is expected to die. Others too ill to work are compelled to sleep upon a cold cement floor. The horrors of the Inquisition are but a joke compared to the horrors of Leavenworth. The tragedy of it all, when people in every country are preparing to greet the dawn of the New Day, men in America are being brutally tortured in prisons.

Bolshevism is the protest of the aroused workers of the world against these social injustices. You cannot crush out the lives of men without making other men think. Stop the social injustices of today, and you stay Bolshevism. Let them continue and Bolshevism grows.

Mr. President, the sun is bursting through the dark clouds of war-ridden Europe. The people are standing with the sunlight of a new day in their eyes. Surely you will not allow these men of the I. W. W. to be tortured? Stand up for them, my dear Mr. President, and show the world that you are a maker of freedom, not a talker. Let the world know that your own doorstep is clean, before you try to clean others. The world treats you well these days, may I appeal to you to do to others as others have done to you?

Yours for the New Era,
JACK CARNEY.

(We urge upon our readers to tell the story of the I. W. W. persecution throughout the length and breadth of the land. Make it known all over the United States, so that the workers with one mighty protest will put an end to the terrible outrages that are now taking place in Leavenworth. Do not delay this matter. It means life and death for those boys out yonder. They are asking you to stand by them and the answer is in your hands.)

REVENGE.

For years I have worked and worked. Every morning I arose from my bed, more tired than when I lay down upon it. For years it has been my lot to slave and be tired. Oh, the misery of it all! I let you take my children and sweet them. My daughter was your plaything. The thing she prized the most—her honor—was the thing you thought least of. For years I have been asleep. I am awakening. I feel within my soul an uneasiness that I cannot understand. It begs me arise and I wait with watchful step. What shall I do? Command me, soul of mine! What is it you desire? Oh, the agony of it all—and now I feel it is not for long.

The sights of my youth, they haunt me still. The crowded slum, the nights of despair, the mornings with-

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Today we live in the midst of stirring times. The man who wants to succeed must deliver the goods.

We have delivered the goods that is why our business is growing so fast.

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O. P. Langdahl

(Late the Stack Building)

The Tailor

out food. The horror of it all comes back to me. I will not go back. I am coming, comrades. I see it all now. Yours the message that I rejected. Oh, the misery and the waiting. No more. I will come with you. Play on your music and let my soul be glad. I can see the dawn awakening. Comrades, I am coming. We are all coming. The darkness of the past flies before the rising sun. Shout—shout—shout with joy. Today we live—tomorrow we start life anew. From the depths of despair I shall rise to the heights of happiness. Music, what charms you have! My soul answers to your call. Art, the creation of my class. Mansions that we built. All these are ours. Ours, I say. We are coming. Revenge, I say. Revenge—masters. Our lot shall be your lot and your lot shall be our lot. Swing open the prison doors and let us band together and march into the New World singing and rejoicing.

TO THE TIRED WORKER.

At the present time that poor brain of yours is somewhat fuddled. The news that is flashed across the wires and finds repose in the local newspapers has you guessing. One day Karl Liebknecht is a hero, the next day he is a traitor and you still keep on guessing. The way you devour the news that is served to you by capitalist editors, does not surprise us in the least when we find that you refuse to accept our teachings. When we see YOUR children forced into the mines. When the fetid atmosphere of the factories steals the rosy cheeks of YOUR children and in time robs them of their health and strength, we wonder but understand. When the smiling face of YOUR daughter fades away and before she has passed out of girlhood's years, her face is wrinkled and furrowed with care, we again wonder but understand. When you yourselves are content to be sweated and worked to death and then accept starvation wages, we wonder but understand.

Some get angry with you and curse you for your stupidity and tell you it is your own fault. Highbrows talk of your crude methods and you lack of appreciation of art, music and all the good and fine things of life. We do not.

We know that down deep in your soul there is a yearning that someday will express itself. You that go down in the mines, into the factories and on the sea and land make all the good things possible. You our big lumberjack comrades make it possible for us to enjoy the good books that rest upon our shelves. No lumberjacks—no books. No miners—no coal. No ships—no food. No farmers—no food. All the good things that we enjoy you gave them to us. A thankless world has not recognized your worth and never will. The sorrows that you endure they only read of. But out of your sorrows will come song. Like the mighty roar of the ocean, the song of a new democracy will come surging forth. Go on my friends of the mines, factories etc. Others despair of you, but we know that some day you will begin to move. The thoughts of what you are going to do makes the blood flow quicker through our veins. We know that you will be men in the hour of your awakening. Others know that you are going to awaken. Comrades the future is ours. Oh you rich and cruel masters! The men you thought were dumb and mere machines have souls that are crying out for life! They want life with all its joys. Music they have never understood. It was your hands that quickened their blood and sent them into the army of death that went to France. Play on sweet music. Someday you will drive men into the army of the revolution. Play the Internationale and let the red blood flow. Let the strains of music enter your souls and in that hour we shall be free.

Comrades of Russia, of the I. W. W., Socialist Party, and all radical organizations, "Hold the Fort for we are coming." Soon we shall join together hand-in-hand and in the great Red International we shall stand triumphant.

So comrades do not be afraid for slowly the giant Labor is wakening. Slowly the music is playing, it ascends higher and higher. See the players putting forth all their energy. The workers are rising, they are slow but they are coming. Now for the grand Finale. See they all rise and now for the morrow.

Masters—Goodnight.

The Future
Belongs to
the People.

"The philosophy of Karl Liebknecht as revealed in these pages leaves but a narrow ledge for heroes to stand on. To him, the significant thing in history is; and always has been, the stirring of the masses of men at the bottom, their unconscious writhings, their conscious struggles, and finally their gigantic, fearsome, upthrust, which overturns all the little groups of clever men who have lived by holding these masses down."

Walter Weyl, who opens his introduction to Liebknecht's collection of speeches, under the title "The Future Belongs to the People," with the above words, scarcely agrees. He is inclined to think that the socialists generally are inclined to minimize illogically the influence powerful men are apt to exert. The speeches which follow his introduction are apt to call forth agreement with his view.

They are inspiring speeches; they stir. Witness his May Day Manifesto 1916. For expressions in this manifesto he was sentenced to jail:

"Poverty and misery, need and starvation, are ruling in Germany, Belgium, Poland and Serbia, whose blood the vampire of imperialism is sucking and which resemble vast cemeteries. The entire world, the much praised European civilization, is falling into ruins through the anarchy which has been let loose by the world war.

Those who profit from war want war with the United States. Tomorrow, perhaps, they may order us to aim lethal weapons against new groups of brethren against our fellow workers in the United States, and fight America, too. Consider well this fact: As long as the German people does not arise and use force directed by its own will, the assassination of the people will continue. Let thousands of voices shout 'Down with the shameless extermination of nations! Down with those responsible for these crimes Our enemy is not the English, French, nor Russian people, but the great German landed proprietors, the German capitalists and their executive committee.

Forward, let us fight the government; let us fight these mortal enemies of all freedom. Let us fight for everything which means the future triumph of the working classes, the future of humanity and civilization.

Workers, comrades and you, women of the people, let not this festival of May, the second during the war, pass without protest against the Imperialist Slaughter. On the first of May let millions of voices cry, 'Down with the shameful crime of the extermination of peoples. Down with those responsible for the War.'

Liebknecht had many opportunities for making himself heard; he was a Deputy of the Reichstag, an assemblyman to the Prussian Landtag and Councilman in Berlin. Never did he miss an opportunity to expound socialism; always was his voice heard against the German ruling class. In the face of government persecution, in spite of opposition from the conservatives in his own party, from which he was expelled, he stood his ground. The most powerful figure in the German Empire, his voice could not be stopped. In June, 1916, he was sentenced at secret trial to thirty months penal servitude for high treason. When the prosecution asked for this sentence, Liebknecht exclaimed "It is cowardice on your part gentlemen. Yes, I repeat, you are cowards, if you close these doors."

In 1907, when Liebknecht was first tried for treason, it was said on good authority that the Kaiser was connected by secret wire with the court room. Throughout his public life, Liebknecht continued to wage the war against Capitalism that his father, Wilhelm Liebknecht, had carried on before him. And this is the man whom the corrupt American press is labeling an enemy of the people!

(The Future Belongs to the People. Macmillan. On sale at Socialist Party Office, 424 2nd Ave. So., Room 9. Cloth \$1.25.)