

Workers
of the
World
Unite!

THE TRUTH

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

Who is it speaks of Defeat?
I tell you a cause like ours
Is greater than defeat can know
It is the power of powers.

As surely as the earth rolls round
As surely as the glorious sun
Brings the world moon wave,
Must our Cause be won!

WHOLE No. 142

14.

FRIDAY, MARCH 5, 1920

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U. S. GOVERNMENT TRADES WITH RUSSIA

Lenin Again Offers Peace To The World

ARMY GOODS SOLD BY BAKER TO RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIK GOVERNMENT

Big Shoe Deal Presumed to Have Had Approval of State Department — Soviet Agent Martens Scores Points in Senate Probe.

By Paul Wallace Hanna.

Washington. — Secretary of War Baker has recognized the Russian soviet government.

An official statement issued by the war department Friday announced the sale of army shoes and rubber overshoes to the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, 110 West 40th St., New York City.

That is the New York address of the soviet bureau conducted by Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the soviet government representative now appearing as a witness before the senate foreign relations committee.

The sale concerned is of 135,000 pairs of army field shoes and

overshoes at \$1.35 and \$2 a pair. The director of sales of the quartermaster department announced that the bids made by soviet government for the above articles were the highest of any received up to the closing of the sale Feb. 13.

It was impossible to learn Thursday night whether Secretary Baker consulted with the state department before making the award to the soviet government. It is supposed that he did, however, since all purchases made by the soviet bureau have been contingent upon the procurement of a permit to ship to Russia and such permits are signed by the state department.

DESPITE VICTORIES, SOVIET SEEKS PEACE, WANTS OTHER NATIONS' AID, SAYS TROTSKY

Declares First Power to Enter Into Relations Will Be Well Rewarded.

BY LINCOLN EYRE.

Special Cable to The New York World.

Giga (by courier to Berlin), Feb. 24.—"Notwithstanding the Red Army's sweeping victories, we are ready to make peace today as we have ever been. And the country which is first to enter upon amicable relations with us will be the first to derive the commercial advantages accruing therefrom."

In the above formula Leon Trotsky, the people's commissary for military affairs, enunciated for me soviet Russians attitude toward the cordon of enemy powers that surrounded her.

The man who with Lenin forms the strongest single influence in this vast commonwealth replied freely and fully to every question put to him. Our talk elicited from him the following noteworthy observations:

1. "The military situation which has never been better for soviet armies should result before spring in a complete crushing of all Russia's armed antagonists—unless the Entente sends colonial or other new troops against the reds.

2. "Adequate material guarantees will be given to and demanded of foreign capital invested in Russia enterprises after the conclusion of peace.

3. "American opponents of intervention in Russia do not appear to have much influence with their government since the federal authorities see fit to arrest Martens, soviet envoy, in New York.

4. "It should not be any harder for a bourgeois state to deal commercially with communist Russia than it was for the American democracy to trade with czarist Russia.

5. "The soviets must look to the United States or Great Britain for railway engines, machines and other imports which they so badly need. The economic instability brought about by the defeat effectively blocks any attempt at capturing the Russian markets by Germany.

6. "Peace would lead to immediate demobilization of the red army,

only the framework of that organization and frontier guards being retained. There will be military training for the working class, however.

7. "Militarism, striking as it does at the roots of communism, cannot possibly exist in soviet Russia, the only truly pacific country in the world."

Trotsky's Apartment Spacious.

Trotsky was seated at a big desk in one corner of a large richly furnished room, the kind of apartment one naturally associates with ministerial pomp and circumstance. There was little to suggest the military status of this leader of the most formidable army in the world—for such the red army, with its 2,000,000 men, undoubtedly is today.

Trotsky's personality altogether lacks that impersonal reserve and aloof precision which one is prone to attribute to a military chieftain. His bristling crop of thick black hair, the almost feverish intensity of his gaze sharply focused by the eyeglasses he wears, his fiercely abrupt gestures, the orator's inflection in his voice—all these bespeak the militant of class strife, the discipline of revolution, never the cool-headed architect of the most sensational war machine humanity has ever beheld.

Trotsky the pacifist, the rabid adversary of militarism, at the head of 3,000,000 trained troops baffles one's imagination. It is easy to picture Napoleon conducting a kindergarten. And yet if half of all one hears in Moscow and at the front about his ability as generalissimo be true, this erstwhile newspaper reporter must be one of the greatest soldiers in the history of man.

"Our military successes have not blinded us to our need of peace," he asserted. Then, with a careful choice of words, he formulated the two sentences quoted at the start of this article, which were the keynote of all his utterances.

"We require peace," he went on, "for the re-establishment of economic stabilization. During these 18

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INCREASED PRODUCTION!!

(Reprinted from "London Call")

On the walls of the capitalist citadel is written "Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin," and the fear of the guilty is in their hearts. They see the present situation as a portent. We must see it as a sign and AN INSPIRATION. The fear of the capitalists is only partly based upon real facts at present. It is the duty of Communists to make that fear real. When more production is called for, the reply must come swift and sure from the Communist ranks: AGREED! More production must mean increasing the number of producers, clearing away the parasites of ALL classes, the ceasing of useless production. Only thus can we make the world A BETTER PLACE FOR THE WORKERS."

—The Sign-writer.

NEW RED PROPAGANDA BEYOND TREATY PALE

Third Internationale Trains Citizens of Each Land;
Russ Leader Tells Method.

By LINCOLN EYRE.

(Special Cable Dispatch to the Daily News and the New York World.)

Riga, Latvia (by courier to Berlin) Feb. 26. — Bolshevik propaganda abroad, though still as active and insidious as it has ever been, has undergone a radical change of late. That conclusion was arrived at by a close study of the subject which I pursued in Moscow and Petrograd, reinforced by an interview with G. S. Zinovieff, ruler of the latter city, also president of the executive committee of the third Internationale and firebrand of the revolution.

The Russian communist party, which is the bolshevik's official political title no longer exports agitators chosen from among its members to kindle the flames of revolt in foreign lands. It is too wise for that antiquated process nowadays.

What it does in these scientific times is to import from the country of his birth the crudely fashioned product of his own domestic bolshevism, subject him to certain finishing processes (including perhaps a gold lining), and ship him back home again, complete in every detail smooth running and highly inflammable.

That is one of the reasons why the soviet government in prepared to promise and to keep its promise to refrain from sending forth agents charged with spreading the gospel of annihilation of capitalism.

Will Don Gold Lace.

Soviet representatives of Russian nationality are activities. It may safely be assumed that were

the Moscow dictatorship to be recognized by the powers and diplomatic privileges accorded to it, its embassies and legations would conform with entire honesty to all the niceties of international etiquette.

I asked one of the high officials of the soviet foreign office if its ambassador would be prepared to don diplomatic gold lace and to go to court like other diplomats in the monarchical capitals.

"Why not, if it were necessary for the furtherance of our interest?" was the reply, to which was added, however, the smiling remark that on the other hand Tchitcherin, the people's commissary for foreign affairs, would not hesitate to receive the Moscow diplomatic corps in a sweater, if he saw fit.

Another reason for the soviet's willingness to quit propagandizing abroad is that it has already turned over to the third internationale all business of that kind.

For the benefit of the layman, it may be explained that the third internationale is the third international organization of socialists established, since Karl Marx formulated his doctrine on scientific socialism.

Started at Moscow.

It was called into being at Moscow in March, 1915, following the failure of the so-called official socialist groups, assembled at Bern, Switzerland, in the second internationale to subscribe to bolshevism. The second internationale still exists, but is denounced by the bolsheviks as

(Continued on page 2)

RUSSIAN PEOPLE RULE BY SOVIET, - VAYS MARTENS

Senators at Hearing Told Proletarian Dictatorship Means Control by Majority of the Nation.

BOSSSES' TALE DENIED.

Trotsky's Alleged Speech in Manufacturers' Record Called a "Dirty Lie" — Revolt Explained.

By Paul Wallace Hanna.

Washington, Feb. 17. — "The dictatorship of the proletariat means dictatorship by a majority, because the proletariat constitutes a majority in all countries," the Senate committee investigating Russian propaganda was told today by Ludvig C. A. K. Martens, representative of the Soviet government.

The explanation was brought out by Wade Ellis, who, as counsel for the committee, was permitted to ask all questions today. It was indicated that there is no longer any hope of showing that Martens has conspired to do wrong in America since he was questioned exclusively about the philosophy and operations of the Soviet government within Russia.

Hardwick Reminds Moses.

Former Senator Hardwick, counsel for Martens, was forced to remind Chairman Moses that the latter had said the committee was after facts "not theory or propaganda," and to claim for himself the right, formerly denied, to introduce evidence of actual conditions in Russia.

Attorney Wade came to the hearing armed with a clipping from today's paper and the constitution of the Soviet government. The clipping told of an alleged courier caught in Lon-

(Continued on page 4)

LENIN AGAIN OFFERS WORLD RUSS PEACE

Declares in Interview U. S. Welfare at Stake With Trade of Moscow Tied Up.

DOUBTS ALLIES' SINCERITY.

By LINCOLN EYRE.

(Special Cable dispatch to the Daily News and the New York World.)

Riga, Latvia (by Courier to Berlin, Feb. 21.) — Despite his aversion to receiving representatives of "bourgeois" newspapers, I had an hour's talk with Nicholas Lenin in the Kremlin at Moscow a few days ago. Our conversation for such it was rather than a formal interview of question and answer, covered every important phase, economic, political and military, of the Russian problem today.

The autocrat of the proletariat approached every subject discussed from the viewpoint of the practical man of affairs, coldly, realistically and analytically, but never anatically or even dogmatically. He was the statesman, the politician, the economist, careful in phraseology and precise in formula, never the intolerant revolutionary, the ruthless annihilators of present day civilisation.

Most of Lenin's utterances would have fitted comfortably into the mouth of a conservative prime minister were such a one charged with the guidance of Russian statecraft at this distressful juncture. Lenin's manner was that of a dispassionate observer of events in which he was interested but not vitally concerned. The profound anxiety for the future which he must feel was never permitted to reveal itself.

Lenin Looks the Thinker.

With his bald pate, squinty eyes, broad nose, thickish lips and unkempt, reddishgray beard, Lenin is decidedly homely, not to say ugly. But his homeliness is that of the bulldog, having about it nothing unwholesome and repulsive. His wide and slightly bulging forehead, revealing the thinker, moreover, redeems his face from the heavy, almost brutish quality it might otherwise reflect.

On his feet the man is as light as the cats of which he is so fond. Indeed, all of Lenin's movements and gestures have a feline swiftness and elasticity which I fancy is duplicated in his mental processes.

His dress was nondescript — a slightly soiled white collar (even soiled white collars are a rarity in Russia), a black tie and a dark brown business suit, the trousers stuffed into knee high boots of thick felt, the warmest kind of foot covering.

The clothes in this case, at least, did not show the man, for Lenin's raiment might have been worn by a sartorially careless cabinet minister or newspaper man or a prosperous bricklayer.

Soviet Holds Co-Operatives.

Of the allies' reported decision to lift the blockade he said: "It is hard to see sincerity behind to vague a proposal, coupled as it seems to be with preparations to attack us afresh through Poland. At first glance the supreme council's proposition looks plausible enough — the resumption of commercial relations through the medium of the Russian co-operatives. But the co-

MOSCOW ELEC- TION RESULTS

Of 719 Deputies, 650 Were Communists—80 Women Chosen.

London, Feb. 25. — Of the 719 Deputies chosen in the recent Moscow election 650 were Communists, 21 were sympathizers with Communism, 37 were nonpartisan and 8 were Mensheviks, according to a wireless dispatch received here from the Russian capital. Eighty Deputies were women, 70 of whom were Communist and to nonpartisan.

Nikolai Lenin, the Bolshevik Premier, is reported to have addressed workmen and invited them to take an active part in elections and in the political life of the country.

operatives do not any longer exist, having been assimilated into our soviet distribution organs. Therefore, what is meant when the allies' talk of dealing with the co-operatives? Certainly it is not clear.

"Therefore, I say that closer examination convinces us that this Paris decision is simply a move in the allies' chess game the motives of which are still obscure."

Lenin paused a moment, then added with a broad grin:

"Far observer, for instance, than Marshal Foch's intended visit to Warsaw."

Expects Polish Offensive.

I asked if he deemed the probability of a Polish offense serious. (It must be recalled that in Russia the talk was of a drive by the Poles against the bolsheviks, not vice versa.)

"Beyond doubt," Lenin replied, "Clemenceau and Foch are very, very serious gentlemen, and the one originated and the other is going to carry out this offensive scheme. It is a grave menace of course, but we have faced graver ones. It does not cause us fear so much as disappointment that the allies should still nurse the impossible, for the Polish offensive can no more settle the Russian problem for them than did Kolehak's and Denikin's. Poland has many troubles of her own, remember, and it is obvious that she can get no help from any of her neighbors, including Roumania."

"Yet, peace seems nearer than before," I suggested.

"Yes, that's true. If peace is a corollary of trade with us, the allies cannot avoid it much longer."

"I have heard, that Millerand Clemenceau's successor, expresses willingness to envisage commercial relations with the Russian people. Perhaps this heralds a change of front among the French capitalists. But Churchill is still strong in England, and Lloyd George, who probably wants to do business with us, dare not risk an open rupture with the political and financial interests supporting the Churchill policy."

Think U. S. Bankers Fear Reds.

"And America?"

"It is hard to see clearly what is going on there. Your bankers seem to fear us more than ever. At any rate, your government is instituting more violent repressive measures not only against the socialists but against

the working class in general than any other government, even the reactionary French.

"Apparently it is persecuting foreigners. And yet, what would America be without her foreign workers? They are an absolute necessity to your economic development."

"Still, some American manufacturers appear to have begun to realize that making money in Russia is wiser than making money in Europe. We shall need American manufactures—locomotives, automobiles, etc.—more than those of any other country."

"And our peace terms?"

"It is idle to talk further about them," Lenin replied emphatically. "All the world knows that we are prepared to make peace on terms the fairness of which even the most imperialistic capitalists could not dispute. We have reiterated our desire for peace, our need for peace and our readiness to give foreign capital the most generous concessions and guarantees. But we do not propose to be strangled to death for the sake of peace."

Wheat Tastes Same.

The red standard bearer stopped short as if to lend weight to his ultimatum, then continued, with one of the ironic grins that constricts his narrow eyes into two slits like a Mongolian's.

"I know of no reason why a socialistic commonwealth like ours cannot do business indefinitely with capitalist countries. We do not mind taking their capitalist locomotives and farming machinery, so why should they mind taking our socialistic wheat, flax and platinum. Socialistic corn tastes the same as any other corn, does it not?"

"Of course, they will have to have business relations with the dreadful bolsheviks—that is, the soviet government. But it should not be harder for American steel manufacturers, for instance, to deal with the soviets than in was for them to deal with entente governments in their war time munitions affairs."

"That is why this talk of reopening trade with Russia through co-operatives seems to us insincere, or, at least, obscure—a move in a game of chess rather than a frank, straightforward proposition that would be immediately grasped and acted upon."

Moreover, if the supreme council really means to lift the blockade why doesn't it tell us of its intentions? We are without official word from Paris. What little we know is derived from newspaper dispatches picked up by our wireless."

Lives in Five Rooms.

At this point, in response to a request of my companion, a photographer, to picture the dictator in his home, London led us down a short corridor, past two sentries, in the five room apartment in which he lives.

We entered a fairly light and simply furnished parlor, through a dining room square enough to have formed part of a Harlem flat. There we were joined by Comrade Onialovna, Lenin's wife (she prefers to use her husband's real name, Vladimir Ritz Onialovna.)

Lenin's wife is a quiet, middle aged woman who looks even more a proletarian than her spouse, but who speaks four languages and is an authority on secular education. Subsequently one of Lenin's cats strolled in and perched on his knee. Resuming his pronouncements on the affairs of nations amid these incongruous surroundings, the president of the people's commissars observed trenchantly:

"The statesmen of the entente and the United States do not seem to understand that Russia's present economic distress is simply a part of the world's economic distress. Until the economic problem is faced from a world standpoint and not merely from the standpoint of certain nations or group of nations, a solution is impossible."

Must Have Russia's Aid.

"Without Russia Europe cannot get on her feet, and with Europe prostrate, America's position becomes critical. What good is America's wealth if she cannot buy with it that which she needs? America cannot eat or wear the gold she has accumulated, can she? She can't

trade profitably, that is, on a basis that will be of real value to her, with Europe until Europe is able to give her the things she wants in exchange for that which she has to give. Europe cannot give her those things until she is on her feet economically."

"In Russia we have wheat, flax, platinum, potash and many minerals of which the whole world stands in desperate need. The world must come to us for them in the end, bolshevism or no bolshevism. There are signs that a realization of this truth is gradually awakening. But, meanwhile, not only Russia but all Europe is going to pieces, and the supreme council still indulges in tergiversation."

"Russia can be saved from utter ruin and Europe, too. But it must be done soon and quickly. The supreme council is so slow, so very slow. In fact, it has already been dissolved. I believe, in favor of a council of ambassadors, leaving nothing settled and with only a league of nations which is nonexistent, still-born, to take its place. How can the league of nations possibly come to life without the United States to give it backbone?"

Military Situation Satisfactory.

My inquiry as to whether the soviet government was satisfied with the military situation.

"Very much so," Lenin replied promptly. "The only symptoms of further military aggression against us are those I spoke of in Poland. If Poland embarks on such an adventure there will be more suffering on both sides. More lives needlessly sacrificed. But even Foch could not give the Poles victory. They could not defeat our red army, even if Churchill himself fought with them."

Here Lenin threw back his head and laughed grimly. Then he went on in a graver vein:

"We can be crushed, of course, by any one of the big allied powers, if they can send their own armies against us. But that they dare not do. The extraordinary paradox is that, weak as Russia is compared with the allies' boundless resources, she has not only been able to shatter every armed force, including British, American and French troops, that they have managed to send against her, but to win diplomatic and moral victories as well over the cordon sanitaire countries. Finland refused to fight against us. We have peace with Estonia, and peace with Serbia and Lithuania is at hand. Despite material inducements offered to and sinister threats made against these small countries by the entente, they preferred to establish pacific relations with us."

This assuredly demonstrates the tremendous moral force we hold. The Baltic states, our nearest neighbors, appreciate that we alone have no designs against their independence and well being."

Reconstruction Under Way.

"And Russia's internal situation?"

"It is critical, but hopeful. With spring the food shortage will be overcome to the extent at least of saving the cities from famine. There will be sufficient fuel then, too. The reconstruction period is under way, thanks to the red army's stupendous performances. Now part of that army are transformed into armies of labor, an extraordinary phenomenon, only possible in a country struggling toward a high ideal. Certainly it could not be done in capitalist countries."

"We have sacrificed everything to victory over our armed antagonists in the past; now we shall turn all our strength to economic rehabilitation. It will take years, but we shall win out in the end."

"When do you think communism will be complete in Russia?"

The question was a noser. I thought, but Lenin replied immediately:

"We mean to electrify our entire industrial system through power stations in the Urals and elsewhere. Our engineers tell us it will take ten years. When the electrification is accomplished it will be the first important stage on the road to the communistic administration of public economic life. All our industries will receive their motive power from a common source. Capable of supplying them all adequately."

"This will eliminate wasteful competition in the quest of fuel

New Red Propaganda Beyond Treaty Pale

(Continued from page 1)

"yellow" and a traitor to the Marxian principles.

Now, the third internationale has no official connection with the soviet government. It is supposed to be a separate institution. Yet all its leaders hold office under the soviets, and its funds, which are considerable, must be derived from soviet sources. Nevertheless, it is technically, indeed legally, non-governmental, wherefore the Moscow cabinet is justified in pledging itself to leave propaganda to "friendly" foreign states alone.

The moving spirit of the third internationale is Zinovieff, who with Lenin and Trotsky, forms the triumvirate on which bolshevism to-day rests, although he is by no means as big a man as the other two.

Zinovieff is not a member of the council of people's commissaries (the cabinet) but merely of the all Russian central executive committee, from which the former body derives its powers, and which itself in subordinate to the supreme executive, legislative, judicial organ, the all Russian convention of soviets.

No Voice in Administration.

Thus, while the role allotted to him on the administrative stage is really as prominent as that of any of his fellows, short of Lenin and Trotsky, Zinovieff can legitimately claim to be without voice in the actual administration of the soviet republic.

I saw him in Moscow shortly after the arrival in Russia of the anarchists expelled from the United States. He was one of the principal hosts to that much advertised company and, as such, revealed much of the finesse that makes his agitational performances so effective, for to digress a moment, their visitors from America were by no means a source of unmitigated satisfaction to the bolsheviks, who were considerably worried lest Alexander Bergman and Emma Goldman and the rest should prove anti-soviet, as have a considerable proportion of the Russian anarchists (who feel that there is too much law and order, and not enough real anarchy in Russia.)

Accordingly under Zinovieff's supervision, and imposing reception committee undertook to welcome 'the Americans' and bring them into the soviet fold before they had time to set themselves up in opposition to the communistic party.

Welcomed With Bends.

Arriving at the Russian frontier from Finland, the 200 odd exiles were greeted by a military guard of honor worthy of the czar's ceremonial appearance, with brass bands, speeches and ribbons.

They were fed and housed in royal style and afforded every opportunity of realizing the friendliness of the communistic officials and the idealism of the soviet government, as well as its strength.

At Petrograd the streets were beflagged in the visitors' honor, and palace manufacturing enterprise on a sound economic footing, without which we cannot hope to achieve in full measure interchange of essential products in accordance with communist principles.

"Incidentally in three years we expect to have 50,000,000 incandescent lamps burning in Russia. There are 70,000,000 in the United States. I believe, but in a land where electricity is in its infancy more than two-thirds of that number is a very high figure to achieve. Electrification is to my mind the most momentous of the great tasks that confront us."

At the close of our talk, Lenin delivered himself—not for publication, however—of some cutting criticism of certain socialist leaders in Europe and America, which revealed his lack of faith in the ability of even the desire of these captains to promote world revolution effectively. He evidently feels that bolshevism will come to pass in spite of, rather than because of, the "official" chieftains of socialism.

(Copyright, 1920, by the New York World.)

and Snolney institute, Petrograd's city hall, was very much en fete.

As a result of this adroit propaganda, the bulk of the anarchists at last accounts, became warm hearted supporters of the bolshevik regime, although the positions of their chiefs, Bergman and Goldman, had not been fully defined.

The first point that Zinovieff made clear to me in our talk was that the third internationale was not comparable to the league of nations (despite frequent comparisons of the two forms of internationalism which are formulated in and out of Russia).

"Your league of nations," the overlord of Petrograd affirmed, "is supposed to be a governmental organization—an international administrative organ with executive, legislative and judicial branches."

Reports 8,000,000 Members.

"The third internationale on the other hand is a purely political group. It is a confederation of the world's communists, an international coalition of the communist parties already existing in their respective countries."

"There is still another striking difference between the two institutions," Here Zinovieff smiled cynically. "It is that the third internationale is a going concern, with some 8,000,000 members, while the league of nations lives only on paper in the ridiculous treaty of Versailles."

"How, though," I asked, "is your aim of a European or world republic of soviets to be realized, unless there be some international governmental machine?"

"There will be some such machine," Zinovieff replied, "but probably it will take the form of a new organization along soviet lines."

"Your propaganda program," I ventured, "it is strong and far reaching as ever?"

"The third internationale is primarily an instrument of revolution," was the prompt reply. "It reunites at Moscow the intelligence and energy of all the communist groups the world over. Delegates from the various national organizations come to us and give and take knowledge about the cause and return to their respective home countries. This work will be continued, no matter what happens, legally or illegally. The Soviet government may pledge itself to refrain from propaganda abroad, but the third internationale—never."

Figures Seem Exaggerated.

Zinovieff's estimate of 8,000,000 communists enrolled under the Moscow banner is scarcely susceptible of confirmation. With only 410,000 officially registered communists in Russia, not more than 1,500,000 (Zinovieff's figure), in Germany, and less than that in Italy, and France, it is hard to see where the remainder are to be found.

Despite his long years in exile with Lenin, this young enthusiast, he is today scarcely 40, is able to run Petrograd, a metropolis suffering from every municipal ailment imaginable, with an efficiency that many American communists might envy. Petrograd is still underfed, underheated, dirty and desolate, but it continues to live, despite ordeals that would have blotted out a less resolute municipality.

Besides having a hand in everything that concerns local administration, and most things that have to do with national government, he personally edits and writes many pages of the third internationale's organ, the International Communist, a monthly magazine of some 250 pages printed simultaneously in Russian, English, French and German. Moreover, he passes upon all important printed matter emanating from the internationale's press. Every foreign communist coming to Moscow or Petrograd sees Zinovieff and gets pointers from him on how to propagate bolshevism.

From British or French Envoys.

In the seven weeks I spent in Moscow, three delegates arrived from the United States and literally scores from Germany, Hungary, Austria, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Italy, China, Japan, Korea, India, Afghanistan and Asia Minor. The only important countries from which few communist envoys come are Britain and France.

Practically all these missionaries are obliged to travel illegally, that is, with false passports or without any. They slip across the fighting fronts that encircle the soviet republic in astonishing ways, risking death and all forms of hardship to reach Moscow.

A youthful emissary of the I. W. W. said to me:

"We come here to drink of the fountain of revolutionary youth."

"I asked him what he thought would happen when Russia's frontiers were opened."

"We shall come as we come now but in greater numbers and with greater ease," he replied.

"Won't the third internationale send its Russian agitators abroad then, thus making it unnecessary for you to come here?"

"What for?" he retorted.

"There is no use sending Russians to talk to American workmen, Americans will close their ears to a foreigner, where they will open them wide to one of their own countrymen."

IRISH WILL BE THERE

By The Federated Press.

Dublin.—Out of the Irish Transport Workers' union is growing the One Big Union of Ireland, judging from the last report of that organization.

The union already has more than 110,000 members, and includes not only 17,198 transport and fuel workers but also 28,911 men and women in industries ranging from theater employes to gardeners. The great majority of the members of the union are engaged in the production of food, and these workers outnumber the transport workers three to one.

The chief groups making up the union are: Building trades, 3,259; timber mills, 2,800; iron-works and foundries, 1,112; manure workers, 1,039; casual laborers, 7,030; tradesmen, 1,773.

There is a growing tendency to the establishment of workmen's industrial councils. For

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example, each creamery in the south of Ireland is represented in the Creamery Workers' council, which controls the labor in the creameries of southern counties. Roadmakers are organizing along similar lines.

Join action in formulating claims is coming more and more into practice. The flour and grist milling trade has been organized nationally by the Transport Workers' union, and a uniform scale set for the whole country.

One of the most important results of this nationalization of labor standards has been the elimination of undercutting by the unorganized worker coming in from the country and breaking down the union standard. The position of Workers in small towns and in the country is being rapidly brought up to the level of the city workers.

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TRUTH--Duluth, Minn.

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100 PER CENT AMERICANISM!!

The above advertisement appeared in the Hilton Record, published in the State of New York, on February 12th.

It is a sample of the 100% Americanism, that we hear so much of in these days of political jugglery. 100% Americanism is like clarity, it covers a multitude of sins. A politician has only to stand upon a 100% American platform and he can be sure of a good following. There is no need to explain the platform, just state that you believe in prosperity and that all that you stand for is contained in that one term—100% Americanism—and you will not be questioned very much. Those that dare to question your platform will be arrested under the Espionage Law and charged with overthrowing the United States Government by force. It is a great world we live in!

Rest assured that the days of pseudo-Americanism are well nigh over. To-day the members of the I. W. W. are facing and enduring all the brutalities that a degenerate ruling class can inflict, but not for long! Capitalism stands at the brink of the precipice and the world will need the constructive ability of the Industrial Workers of the World. It will also find work for yellow dogs, like the person who inserted the above advertisement in the Hilton Record. Let them resort to their terrorism! Let them lynch! Let them deport! Let them arrest! Let them jail! But let them not forget, "THAT HE WHO LAUGHS LAST LAUGHS BEST."

ON WITH THE FIGHT!

BEFORE THE TRIAL

"He who would be saved must have good friends or violent enemies; and that he is best off who possesses both."—Plutarch.

Due to another case occupying the attention of the court, our trial up to the time of writing, February 29th, has not taken place. Lawyers when on piece work make short trials, and vice-versa when on day wage. We are of the opinion, that the case now engaging the attention of the court is a day wage trial.

The United States Attorney for the District of Minnesota lays emphasis upon the following paragraph, taken from the article that appeared in "Truth", November 14th, entitled, "Hands Off Soviet Russia":—

"WORKERS OF AMERICA—it is not sufficient to know and to bear this in mind. YOU MUST ACT ACCORDINGLY! Your slogan must be: NOT A SOLDIER FOR WAR AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA, NOT A CENT, NOT A RIFLE TO HELP WAGE THIS WAR."

For publishing that appeal, every word we earnestly believe in and support, we will probably be sentenced to prison for a term of years. We cannot for one moment seriously entertain the view that the American people are in agreement with the officers of the Government. The charge is ridiculous, if it were not a tragedy. A crime against the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Let your minds go back to the year 1776. It was in the old hall in the city of Philadelphia gathered in that Hall were a number of men. They were waiting for someone to enter the hall. See yonder door is about to be opened! Who are those three men and what is that parchment they hold? They are a committee bringing with them the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. Of the men holding the parchment one is a Virginian farmer, one Thomas Jefferson by name, the second, John Adams, with sparkling eye and resolute look upon his face, and the third is a calm-faced man, with thick black curls, a Philadelphia printer, Benjamin Franklin. They lay the parchment on the table and the question now before the assembly is, "SHALL WE SIGN IT OR NOT?"

A debate is taking place. Some counsel caution and others speak of the terrible consequences that will result from the signing of that document. Up speaks Jefferson and in bold language, urges the assembled delegates to sign. John Adams pours out his soul and begs and implores the assembly to be men of courage and sign.

One man, whose name history does not record, because history has the happy faculty of forgetting the coward and glorifying the brave, stands up and in fear begs the assembly to withhold its signature. He tells the delegates that the axe, the rope, the guillotine the gibbet, and the scaffold awaits them. With one squeak he roars, "Gentlemen the gibbet!"

Silence reigns supreme. The enthusiasm created by Jefferson and Adams has been dampened by the speech of the coward who has just spoken. The delegates seem to be unable to make up their minds. The voices of the brave

have been overpowered by the lone voice of the coward. The document still awaits the signatures of the delegates. All hopes is abandoned. The document will not be signed!

There arises a pale-faced young man. Dressed in a faded red cloak. Tall and slender in form he turns upon the trembling delegate who talked of the gibbet. Listen to the roar of his voice! It is the voice of the centuries! The voice that has always spoken the word that has led the people to freedom. What is that he is saying? Americans listen to it! "Gibbet! They may stretch our necks on all the gibbets in the land; they may turn every rock into a scaffold, every tree into a gallows, every home into a grave, and yet the words of the parchment can never die!"

"They may pour our blood on a thousand scaffolds, and yet from every drop that dyes the axe, or drops on the sawdust of the block, a new martyr to freedom will spring into birth!"

"The British king may blot out the stars of God from His sky, but he cannot blot out His words on the parchment there. The work of God may perish; His Word never!"

"These words will go forth to the world when our homes are in dust. To the slave in bondage, they will speak hope; to the mechanic in his workshop, freedom; to the coward king these words will speak, but not in tones of flattery. They will speak like the flaming syllables on Belshazzar's wall. The day of judgment draws near."

"Yes, that parchment speaks to kings in language sad and terrible as the trumpet of the archangel! You have trampled on the rights of mankind long enough. At last, the voice of human woe has pierced the ear of God and called His judgment down. You have waded on to thrones through seas of blood; you have trampled on to power over the necks of millions; you have turned the poor man's sweat and blood into robes for delicate forms, into crowns for your anointed brows. Now, kings! Now, purple hangmen of the world! For you comes the day of axes, and gibbets and scaffolds; for you the wrath of men; for you the lightnings of God!"

"Look! Now! The light of your palaces on fire flashes into the midnight sky! Now, purple hangmen of the world, turn and beg for mercy. Where will you find it? Not from God, for you have blasphemed the law! Not from the people, for you were baptized in their blood! Here you turn, and lo! a gibbet! There and a scaffold stares you in the face! All around you—death—but not pity! Now, executioners of the human race, kneel down—yes, kneel down on the sawdust of the scaffold! Lay your perfumed heads upon the block; bless the axe as it falls—the axe sharpened for the poor man's neck."

"Such is the message of the declaration of man to the kings of the world. And shall we falter now? And shall we start back appalled when our feet touch the very threshold of freedom? Do you see quailing faces around, when your wives have been butchered; when the hearthstones of our land are red with the blood of little children? What? Are there shrinking hearts or faltering voices here, when the very dead of our battlefields arise and call upon us to sign that parchment, or be accursed?"

"Sign! If the next moment the gibbet's rope is around your neck—sign! If the next moment the hall rings with the echo of the falling axe—sign! By all your hopes in life and death as husbands and fathers—as men, sign your names to the parchment, or be accursed forever."

"Sign! For the declaration will go forth to American hearts forever and speak to those hearts like the voice of God. And its work will not be done until throughout this wide continent not a single inch of ground owns the sway of privilege or power."

"Nay, do not start and whisper with surprise. It is the truth. Your own hearts witness it; God proclaims it. The continent is the property of a free people, and their property alone. God, I say, proclaims it. Look at this strange history of a land of exiles and outcasts suddenly transformed into a people. Look at this wonderful exodus of the Old World into the New, where they came weak in arms, but mighty in God-like faith. Nay, look at the history of your Bunker Hill, your Lexington, where a band of plain farmers mocked and trampled down the panoply of British arms, and then tell me, if you can, that God has not given America to be free. It is not given to our human intellect to climb the skies, to pierce the councils of the Almighty one. But methinks I stand among the awful clouds that veil the brightness of Jehovah's throne. Methinks I see the recording angel—pale as an angel, weeping as an angel can weep—come trembling to the throne and speaking this dread message:

"Father, the Old World is baptized in blood! Father, it is drenched with the blood of millions, butchered in war, in persecution, in slow and grinding oppression. Father, look! With one glance of Thine eternal eye, look over Europe, Asia, Africa and behold, evermore, a terrible sight—man trodden down beneath the oppressor's feet, nations lost in blood, murder and superstition walking hand in hand over the graves of their victims, and not a single voice to whisper hope to man."

"He stands there (the angel), his hand trembling with the black record of human guilt. But hark! The voice of Jehovah speaks out from the awful cloud: 'Let there be light again. Let there be a new world. Tell my people, the poor, down-trodden millions, to go out from the Old World. Tell them to go out from wrong, oppression and blood. Tell them to go out from the Old World to build up my altar in the New.'

"As God Lives, my friends, I believe that to be His voice. Yes were my soul trembling on the brink of eternity, were this hand freezing to death, were my voice choking with the last struggle, I would still, with the last gasp of this voice, implore you to remember the truth—God has given America to be free. Yes, as I sank down in the gloomy shadows of the grave, I would beg of you to sign the parchment in the name of One who made the Savior who redeemed you; in the name of millions whose very breath is hushed, in intense expectation they look up to you for the awful words—'You are free.'"

Who is this man, who speaks in such wonderful language and with such power? Strong men are shedding tears of joy. The speech has stirred their very souls. In the midst of the applause that greeted the speaker as he sat down someone shouted, "S-I-G-N!" There they go! See there is old John Hancock! Before he has hardly time to sign his name, the pen is snatched from his hand. See them, Hancock, Carroll, Lee, Adams, Jefferson and Franklin! And now the man in the red cloak advances to the table and signs in the same hand that waved in such fiery scorn Patrick Henry.

All the fifty six delegates have now signed their names. Slowly John Hancock reads, "When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they shall declare the causes which impel them to the separation.—We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted amongst Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.—That whenever any Form of Government becomes

destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it—"

"The United States vs. Jack Carney" Will the prisoner please wake up and remember that Patrick Henry is dead and the Declaration of Independence was signed over one hundred years ago? As I was saying gentlemen of the jury—

After the Trial.

To be continued.)

The Collapse Is Here.

Mr. Edward A. Bradford, one of the leading financial authorities of America, in a article in the New York Times, Sunday, February 15th, quotes Urofessor Jastrow of the University of Berlin, as saying:—

"Our money trading machine has broken down. We no longer have a standard of value. It must be stated frankly and ruthlessly that we no longer have a functioning monetary system."

We also learn that the European manufacturers are refusing to take American goods, on account of the high rate of exchange. It stands to sense that the English manufacturers cannot afford to pay \$7.50 for every \$5.00 worth of goods. The result will be, that the American manufacturers will have these goods left on their hands. But the high cost of living will not come down, as one manufacturer suggests. Because if the American manufacturers are left with piles of goods on their hands, they are not going to manufacture any more, until they have disposed of those that they have. Hence there will be a closing down of factories and that means being OUT-OF-WORK. When you are out of work, it does not matter what price the necessities of life are, if you have not the wherewithal to purchase them. Does it?

The Treasury Department has also issued a further supply of paper money. With the addition of more paper money, prices must go higher, because an increase in paper money makes paper money cheaper. Consequently the less you can buy with your money, the more money you have to pay for the commodities that you buy. But why should the Treasury Department issue more money, when they realize that the issuance of same inflates currency and aggravates the problem of the high cost of living? Surely, if they want to keep prices down, they would endeavor to keep as much paper money out of the market, as they possibly could? THE TREASURY DEPT MUST ISSUE MORE PAPER MONEY. THEY CANNOT AVOID DOING SO. They are just as amenable to the economic laws that govern society, as the rest of society. The reason why they issue more paper money, is due to the fact that in times of depression, such as we are living in, people hoard their money. They retain hold of it as long as they possibly can, because they do not know where the next is coming from. Consequently more paper money has to be issued. In times of prosperity, everybody spends liberally, consequently there is no necessity to issue more money, due to the fact that money is constantly changing hands and is kept in rapid circulation.

The following despatch appeared in the "Minneapolis Tribune", Feb. 18th:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 18.—The man with an income of \$2,000, is now actually drawing \$870, on the basis of dollar value in 1913. This startling fact is brought out plainly in a statement to Congress today by Harold N. Lawrie, a nationally known economist for the American Mining congress. The purchasing value of the ounce of gold which, under statute cannot bring more than \$20.67 has, Mr. Lawrie shows, shrunk through inflation of currency until it is no longer possible for gold to be profitably produced.

The expansion of the national credit has lowered the purchasing power of a dollar through increasing all commodity prices. Based upon the prewar prices of 1913, these prices gradually advanced from 100 per cent in 1913 to 223 in October, 1919. Each increase in credits has been absorbed by a corresponding increase in commodity prices and has resulted in placing the nation upon an artificial plane of living. The gold producer finds the actual purchasing power of his ounce of gold is now \$9 instead of \$20.67.

Gold mines of the United States are being closed down at an alarming rate. Many of these can never be reopened owing to the prohibitive costs of retimbering and unwatering. Cripple Creek, the greatest American gold camp, is taking on the appearance of a city of dead hopes. Great drainage tunnels, monster underground workings, vast areas of expensively constructed plants, whole cities of homes are being deserted and thousands of skilled miners are being forced to seek new camps because gold—the basic monetary metal of the United States—cannot longer be produced at a profit.

It is easy to be seen that the collapse of capitalism has set in. As Cahn, in his "Capital of To-day", points out:—

"—Nothing will avail again this final outcome of a long process of evolution—no paper money 'based on the credit of the nation,' whatever hallucination this phrase of the American greenbackers may have covered; no bi-metallism at any ratio whatever; no federal reserve acts; no transfer of the banking business, with all its assets and liabilities, to the state; no collection of all the gold of a country into a single reservoir, to be kept there, as in a fortress, out of danger of exportation; no decree threatening penalties for paying, or offering to pay, a premium on gold; no other scheme which might be broached by some imaginative mind—the will and purpose of no man, or set of men, or of all men, will avail to preserve the life of passing form of society, the commodity-producing society. It cannot live without the free exchange of commodities, a single one among which must be in the equivalent form of value."

Capitalism is morally, socially and economically bankrupt.

It cannot even solve the problems created by the war, yet alone solve the problems of everyday life, that were with us before this world-war was even given thought. In the meantime, out of the chaos of to-day, with its suspension of industry etc., the workingclass are suffering. In the trail of the world-war lie the dead bodies of little children, victims of the most horrible of all deaths, death by starvation. Women also are suffering, too weak to even bear children die at birth, nine times out of ten, such is the case in the "enemy" countries. In this country also, the workingclass are suffering. It does not matter what politicians may say, the facts of life are against them. Misery and poverty are rampant throughout the land. There is going to be more of it, as the conditions become more unbearable. Naturally enough, the question arises as to what the chief sufferers of this chaos are going to do? Are they going to lie down and die or just shuffle along, between the twilight of life and death? Are they going to be forever content to allow those, who cannot solve the problems of to-day, to dictate and domineer over them? In a word, IS THE WORKINGCLASS GOING TO LIVE FOR THE JOY OF LIVING OR ARE THEY GOING TO LIVE FOR THE MEER SAKE OF TOILING AND MOILING FROM DAY-

BREAK TO SUNSET AND THEN BACK TO BED TO REST FOR THE NEXT STRETCH OF WEARY TOIL?

There are many sane thinkers in the ranks of the working-class, who refuse to believe that it is the "divine" mission of the working-class to be forever toiling and slaving their lives away. At the present moment they are in "disrepute." Many of them have been packed like cattle on to a boat and deported to the countries they were born in. Others have died on Ellis Island, victims of the ferocity of blind and brutal politicians, who in turn are the tools of the exploiters of the working-class of America. Others find themselves standing on the threshold of prison and many to-day are in prison, paying the penalty of having been in advance of their time. Can we solve the problems of today, by oppressing those that see a way out of the chaos of to-day? We think not! The ostrich thinks that by burying his head in the sands, that he cannot be seen, just because he cannot see others. The capitalist class are in the same boat as the ostrich. Because they, the capitalists, cannot find a way out of the problems of today, they feel positively sure that no one else can. It therefore becomes the bounden duty of the working-class to devise ways and means of emancipating itself from the slavery of capitalism. Yes, we said S-L-A-V-E-R-Y! You can call it by a more euphonious name, but that will not alter the nature of the beast. It is slavery all the time, so long as you are compelled to work for another, for low wages and long hours and never be sure of having your job, from one week to another.

What is there to be done?

Some one suggests that we organize the workers into trade unions. Let us examine the case for the trade unions. In the first place let it be clearly understood that trade unions were forced upon the working-class. They were not the product of some wise person's brain. The failure of the individual worker to improve his economic status in society, compelled him to organize with his fellow-workers on the job, for the purpose of using their combined efforts, in order that they might obtain shorter hours and increased wages. In the earlier days, trade unions were of a great benefit to the working-class, because of the fact, that the industrial development of that time was not ripe enough to bring into being the trust. We had the small companies. Against the small companies, of course let it be understood that these were a product of handicraft days, the trade unions were successful. Due to the fact that the worker dominated the machine. It depended upon the skill of the worker, as to what manner of materials were produced. Bad worker, bad products, skilled worker vice-versa. As Veblen points out, in his latest work, "The Place of Science in Modern Civilization," "In early— modern science its central norm and universal solvent is the concept of workmanlike initiative and efficiency." The workman dominated in industry. Upon his skill depended the success of the industry. Consequently the organization of the individual workers into their craft unions gave them added power, which enabled them to obtain their demands. But fortunately, or unfortunately, it all depends as to how you view change, the craft unions have failed to adapt themselves to the new changes that have, and are taking place in society. As we pointed out in our last issue, the law of life, plant, animal or human, is "ADAPT OR DIE." If you adapt yourselves to your environment you win if not, then you go down to eternal defeat.

What is the change that has taken place in society?

Society has developed out of handicraft manufacture into what has come to be known as machino-facture. Today we live in the days of the trusts. The small companies have been bought up or ruined and in their places stand the trusts. For instance, the Steel Trust, Copper Trust, Oil Trust, Beef Trust and many other trusts. Against the organized power of the trust, the craft union stands as helpless as the individual stood against the small company. With the advance of the trust, occasioned through the advance of machinery, a change has taken place in the lives of the workers. Veblen shows how in the days of earlier science, man dominated the tools of production; how the tools of production had to obey the whims and dictates of the man who used them. But today, "All economic change is a change in the economic community,—a change in the community's methods of turning material things to account. The change is always in the last resort a change in the habits of thought. This is true even of changes in the mechanical processes of thinking." Instead of the worker dominating the machine the machine dominates the worker. It does not matter how well-versed a worker may be, if the wires of the dynamo are worn out or broke, the dynamo will fail to work. So with other machinery. The machine moulds and re-moulds mankind. So we are faced with a change in our economic life. Instead of the employers being organized in small companies, they are organized in trusts. Against our antiquated form of industrial organization, they are equipped with the modern form. With the advances in science, they now have machines that have supplanted the skill of the workers and the workers instead of being masters of the machines, find that the machines are their masters. Therefore the trade unionist finds himself faced with a situation, that leaves him well-nigh helpless. But then you suggest that he should organize like the trusts. He should organize into an organization that meets the organization of his masters with equal efficiency. In a word, you suggest that the craft unions should organize as industrial unionists. We are in entire agreement with you. The working-class must organize as industrial unionists and line themselves up with the O-N-E B-I-G U-N-I-O-N. But as we pointed out to you, the capitalist class are compelled to resort to the use of paper money, due to the absence of gold. The more paper money they circulate, the cheaper it becomes, because the market is already flooded, with it. Therefore every strike for higher wages brings with it practically no gain whatsoever. If striking for higher wages will not deliver the goods, what must we do?

In the answer to that question, we find that which distinguishes the "red" from the "sane" trade unionist. The "red" is conversant with all the workings of capitalist society. He understands every move that is made by the capitalist class and why that move is made. Because he understands the capitalist class and knows their ways of working, that is why he is feared. The capitalist class can handle deal with the un-thinking worker. They know that all that is required, is a few "statesmen" of the type of Mr. Woodrow Wilson. These "statesmen" coin a few democratic and high-sounding phrases and with their aid they can fool the working-class. Also with the assistance of a few "labor leaders", who can be utilized to stem the tide of progress within the labor movement, by refusing to countenance any suggestion of revolutionizing the craft union form of organization. So you can readily perceive that with their plans carefully laid, the capitalists have no need to worry. But when the "red" appears upon the scene and rudely demands to know what the game is, then you can rest assured that the capitalist class are not going to be kindly disposed towards the "red." The "red" has seen through the game. He realizes the hopelessness of the position of the workingclass under capitalism and he also realizes that Communism is the ONLY solution for the problems that beset the path of the working-class. Communism is the organization of the working-class into industrial unions, for the purpose of preparing the workers to control industry. With the workers understand-

DEFECTIVE PAGE

SUN. EVE. JACK CARNEY at BRICKLAYERS HALL

ing and controlling industry, they bring about their freedom. With economic freedom in the shop secured, all other freedom follows. Freedom of speech will follow, because there will be no persons afraid of hearing the truth. Free press will follow, because everybody will want to read the truth. Freedom of assemblage will follow, because people love to engage in social intercourse and talk things over and as there will be no necessity to hide anything, everybody will be free to talk about what they feel like talking about. It is only the burglar who gags his disturber, likewise the rapacious profiteer. The capitalist class are afraid to have the people know the truth, because that would be the means of exposing them and arousing the people. Hence we have a United States Attorney, in the name of "freedom", arresting a man for advising "the workers not to go to Russia, when we are still at war with Germany and Austria-Hungary." That is how our indictment reads.

But how are we going to organize our industrial unions? Do not the capitalists bring out gunmen and call upon the State, every time we demand higher wages and shorter hours? Do you not think that with a knowledge of what the capitalists did during the Steel and the Coal strikes, that they will be more vicious when we demand full control of industry? Most assuredly the capitalist class will resort to "every underhand trick, that their depraved minds are capable of conceiving. But if we capture control of the State, the capitalist class are left without the means to enforce their threats, in case the working-class takes control of industry. But then you say, suppose they organize bands of gunmen etc. what are we going to do then? We will use exactly the same methods that our "law-abiding" masters use against the workers. There is no need to devise new methods. All the methods of oppression necessary have been shown to us by our masters, for which we thank them! But then you say, how are we going to organize the workers into industrial unions? We shall do that by being living expressions of solidarity. We have been content in the past to talk about solidarity. We have rendered lip-service to the cause of international solidarity of labor. Instead of talking about solidarity, we will live it. Whenever the working-class are engaged in a strike, we shall not sit idly by and criticize their shortcomings, we shall jump into the industrial trenches and "do our bit." We shall fight alongside of them and help them to win their fight. If there is a danger of the working-class employing the wrong kind of tactics, we will point out their mistakes and place them on the right road. If the working-class of one part of an industry strike, and there is a danger of that strike being lost, due to its sectional nature, we will jump into that strike and bring out the whole industry. In a word, we shall resort to mass action, i. e., the action of the mass of the workers of that industry. Mass action raises the struggle of the working-class from the level of mere striking for the crumbs that fall from the tables of the rich, to that of sitting down at the table and having the rich do the waiting. It means the making of men out of slaves. It compels men to stand erect and face the future with the confidence that begets victory. It is not the calling of the masses out on to the streets to stand behind barricades. It is staying on the job, learning to understand it, so that some day you will be able control it for the benefit of ALL those who labor. Furthermore, by the power of mass action we can enforce our demands through Congress. That sounds like treason! Oh no! You realize that all the rich men of "our" country have risen to their sphere in life, due to their exceptionally ability and intelligence. Attorney-General Palmer, and even Judge Morris, will testify to the correctness of our viewpoint. Let us delve into a little history of how these men acted when they required anything doing. We must always watch closely the "great" men of our day, so that we can profit by their illustrious example. The orchestra will kindly play the National Anthem! During the term of the late President Roosevelt, Morgan and Rockefeller interests, by the usual capitalist methods, had obtained control of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. They wanted to make the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company a part of the United States Steel Corporation. There was something in the way. Upon the Statute Books of these United States, there was a federal law which prohibited such a merger. Yet it was extremely important that the United States Steel Corporation be allowed to take into its folds the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. How could it be done? Those of you who are acquainted with the period we speak of, naturally enough being American citizens, you will understand the period we refer to, will recollect that Roosevelt was using rather strong language in his criticisms of the Trusts. Yet despite the fact that Roosevelt was condemning the Trusts, this merger of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company and the United States Steel Corporation was carried through. Read, mark, learn and inwardly digest. The Federal Law distinctly stated that the merger was illegal and the President (Roosevelt) had expressed his agreement with the law and his opposition to the trusts. The merger went through. But how?

Word was sent to Theodore Roosevelt by Morgan, that if the merger did not go through, that there would be a financial panic. Roosevelt submitted to the carrying through of the merger. Turn to the Congressional Record of that year and you will find a document signed by seven United States Senators severely denouncing Roosevelt for his sanctioning the merger scheme of Morgan and Rockefeller. It is an example of the effectiveness of political action, when it is obtained through the use of economic power. The action of Morgan in bringing about a panic was only possible, because Morgan held the necessary economic power that could make a panic possible. Morgan wanted political sanction, in order to make the merger legal. He knew that by the exercise of his economic power that he could obtain it and he did. Therefore it is well worth the working-class to study and profit by the example of its illustrious master, J. Pierpont. Morgan. What you cannot obtain through appeals you obtain by the exercise of your economic power. You are living in a land, teeming with democrats and democratic institutions. What is good for Morgan, is good for the workers!

Our advice to the working-class is for it to organize its forces into the One Big Union and also upon the political field. By a judicious use of its economic power it can strengthen its political power. Let the working-class understand how the economic power of the capitalist class is used to enforce political laws or nullify them, and they will learn a great deal. Never you mind what the capitalist class say, or their tools say, you have the right to strike, even if an alien informs you. Organize! Organize! Organize! And then some more!

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF LABOR.

SECRET DIPLOMACY.

The people of this country do not know and are not expected to know anything about the diplomatic relations of "their" government. If the people of this country or any other country, knew one-tenth of what was transpiring in the circles of international diplomacy, they would overthrow their rulers, bag and baggage. Because of the sordid nature of diplomatic dealings, the ambassadors and secretaries of foreign affairs, deem it advisable to keep their doings secret. If the people of this country and all Allied countries had been aware of the nature of the various treaties entered into by the Allied countries, it would have been impossible for this, or any country, to have raised an army of even one hundred thousand soldiers. We would never have known the truth about international diplomacy, if it had not been for the Russian Soviet Government.

We have just received from Petrograd, through the kindness of a European comrade, a copy of the various treaties, entered into by the Czaristic regime, with the Allied Governments, with the exception of America. In a preface to the pamphlet, containing these secret treaties, Leon Trotsky states, "The Russian people and the peoples of all the world as well should be informed of the documentary proof of those plans which high finance and commerce with the aid of their parliamentary and diplomatic agents were forging in the dark. Their right to learn this truth has cost the peoples of Europe numberless victims and universal destruction."

Of course everybody is aware of the "idealistic" aims of the Allies, that induced them to enter the war. There can be no doubt(?) in the minds of all "same" people, that the recent world-war was a war "to make the world safe for democracy." That is what our illustrious rulers say, and who are we, that we should doubt their word? Now that we understand each other, let us delve into the OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS of the Allied nations. On February the 19th and March the 4th, 1915, the French, British and Russian ambassadors met and decided to hand over to Russia, the port of Constantinople; the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles; southern Thrace up to the line of Enos-Midia; the coast of Asia Minor between the Bosphorus, the river Sakaria and a point along the Ysmid-bay subject to later determination the Islands Imbros and Tenedos. That is all that Russia wanted in order to destroy Prussian militarism. There can be no question about the "idealistic" war aims of the Allies. Then some people have the colossal impudence to even suggest that the war was not a war for democracy!

The Italians also entered the war, imbued with the same "idealism" as that of the rest of the Allied nations. This is what Italy desired as her reward for fighting and overcoming Prussian militarism. Italy to be allowed to seize (another lovable term, counts better than "to steal"), with the aid of England, France and Russia, the regions of Serbia, Croatia, Trieste and South Tyrol, Albania, Greek Islands, some parts of Asia Minor and Africa. Of course these diplomatic agents spoil all our wonderful dreams about the world being made "safe for democracy." Listen to this, taken from a secret treaty of the Allies. "Provided she enters her armed forces against Austro-Germany, and prevents the intervention of the Pope in the interests of cessation of the war." Now do you still say that this war, was NOT a war to make the world "safe for democracy?" Of course this is not all that Italy was promised, unfortunately we are only a four-page paper and so we have not very much room.

"March on! March on! All hearts resolved!" Wonderful France, what dreams and visions they name conjures up! It was you "La Belle France" that made that wonderful name, "Liberty" famous! How our good old friend Darrow, used to romance about France! We heard him one Sunday morning, speak in such glowing terms of France and when Darrow's soul is moved, there are very few people that can sway an audience like Darrow. Now all our dreams and hopes are cruelly blasted! Gosh darn the Bolsheviks! We have just read a copy of the secret telegram sent by the Czar's ambassador, Mr. Pokrovsky to the Russian ambassador in Paris, Listen. "After the war is over France would like to secure the return of Alsace Lorraine as well as a special position in the valley of the River Saar; she would further like to effect a political segregation of Germany's trans-Rhenish dominions and to establish them on a special status so that the river Rhine might in future serve as a formidable strategic protection against all German intrusion." Oh Comrade Trotsky, why did you do it? You have busted all our bubbles of "democracy!" So France too had "idealistic" war aims. About as "idealistic" as the aims of the man who holds you up at the point of gun and shouts in your ear, "Your wallet or your life!"

It appears that the war aims of the Allies were not "idealistic" enough for the Greeks. On November 22nd 1914, the Consuls of France, Russia and England at a meeting in Athens, announced to the Greek Government that they were prepared to give her the southern part of Albania and certain territory in Asia Minor, if she would consent to fight to make world "safe for democracy." Of course Greece stood out for more "loot" and was offered in addition the Island of Cyprus and other territory. She finally succumbed to the appeals of the Allies. Oh Democracy, where did you get all this land from?

To show you how "genuine" the Allies are, they even paid for 8000 copies of a book, written by a Swedish writer, entitled, "Vor dem Tribunale", for distribution amongst the German war prisoners. Of course the book was an indictment of German capitalism, not of Allied capitalism. If it had been an indictment of international capitalism it would never have been circulated, but nevertheless it does prove that the working-class DO think, otherwise the Allies would not try to influence them through literature.

The Secret Treaties of the Allies prove conclusively, that the recent war was a war of conquest and not one of ideals. If the Bolsheviks had not published these treaties, the Allies might have been able to "prove" how sincere they were. But these treaties give the lie to all the hypocritical statements of the Allied spokesmen. Some day the truth will be known by the common people, until then, ON WITH THE FIGHT!

CLARENCE DARROW AS A NOVELIST.

Clarence Darrow a few years ago wrote a novel, dealing with his boyhood days. We strongly urge all Americans to read it.

Through the courtesy of the Chicago Daily News, we reprint a review of "Farmington", by Carl Sandburg.

CLARENCE DARROW OF CHICAGO
"FARMINGTON" by Clarence Darrow.

Republished by B. W. Huebsch, New York.
Clarence Darrow is without a doubt one of the world's foremost successful failures. It is not often that a man who is a success in the law says the law is wrong. Nor is it often that a man with a tough digestion and a serene out-

look and a soothing voice says that life is cruel and the world is headed for nowhere, night and chaos. Darrow is one man, we are sure, who if he had a little knack for cartooning could compete with Rube Goldberg's conceptions entitled, "It's All Wrong" or "They All Flop Sooner or Later".

These characterizations of Darrow need rounding out. Such a rounding out is at hand, done by Darrow himself, in a book named "Farmington." The name is from the author's old home town in Ohio. Home, childhood, the church, the grave-yard, baseball, girls, fishing, Aunt Mary, Aunt Louisa, rules of conduct, are some of the chapter topics all coming to quiet, conclusive fadeaway under the heading, "How I Failed."

If Darrow had no salty savor of a sense of humor he would be the ghastliest philosopher in these United States. The humor is quiet. It is never violent. It is always tolerant of the way other people look at life. Often he strums his theme in a lazy, easy way, as though the time bars of it were beaten off in an infinite vacation of fishing weeks.

"None of us ever really understood anything about the pieces we spoke on the last day of school," he writes. "I remember in a general way they were mainly of our country, and brave boys fighting and winning victories and dying, and about the evils and dangers of strong drink. We had a great many pieces about intemperance, ambition and the like. I especially remember one boy with red hair and freckles and a short neck and large warts on his hands who used always to speak a piece entitled, 'How Have the Mighty Fallen.' This boy was the prize speaker of the school, and the piece told about Alexander and Caesar and Napoleon, and how and why they failed. Their lack of success was due to ambition and strong drink. I know this piece made a deep impression on my mind and I always vowed that I never would fail as Alexander and Caesar and Napoleon had done—and I never have."

A chapter on summer vacation is poetry. Lovers of French vers libre, say, after Francis Jammes or adherents to Olive Schreiner's "The Story of an African Farm" will enjoy this and read it more than twice. Darrow's father was the town miller. He wanted his boy to learn the Latin language and to be a scholar of achievement. The boy learned his Latin. The father is one. The boy, looking back, keeps the memory of this father as one of the beautiful things of life. And he sings it here, croons it insinuatingly, strums the theme of the boy and the father and the years all passing with the musical monotony of the boy saying ever and saying over the conjugations of moods and tenses of old Roman speech.

At the finish the writer says he might sum up the story of his life "in a few short words" and then gives us this paragraph:

"All my life I have been planning and hoping and thinking and dreaming and loitering and waiting. All my life I have been getting ready to begin to do something worth while. I have been waiting for the summer and waiting for fall; I have been waiting for the winter and waiting for the spring; waiting for the night and waiting for the morning; waiting and dawdling and dreaming, until the day is almost spent and the twilight close at hand."

"CHICAGO POEMS."

The Public Library has recently added to its shelves Sandburg's "Chicago Poems." We advise our local readers to read it. If you desire to purchase a copy the Glass Block have a few on hand.

We will review Sandburg's poems in a future issue. The following poem, by Sandburg, is reprinted from "The Dial":

THE LAWYERS KNOW TOO MUCH

By Carl Sandburg.

The lawyers, Bob, know too much.
They are chums of the books of old John Marshall.
They know it all, what a dead hand wrote,
A stiff dead hand and its knuckles crumbling,
The bones of the fingers a thin white ash.

The lawyers know
a dead man's thoughts too well.

In the heels of the giggling lawyers, Bob,
Too many slippery ifs and buts and howevers,
Too much herebefore provided whereas,
Too many doors to go in and out of.

When the lawyers are through
What is there left, Bob?
Can a mouse nibble at it
And find enough to fasten a tooth in?
Why is there always a secret singing
When a lawyer cashes in?
Why does a hearse horse snicker
Hauling a lawyer away?

The work of a bricklayer goes to the blue.
The knack of a mason outlasts a moon.
The hands of a plasterer hold a room together.
The land of farmer wishes him back again.

Singers of songs and dreamers of plays
Build a house no wind blows over.
The lawyers—tell me why a hearse horse snickers
hauling a lawyer's bones.

Trial of the Editor

It has been impossible for us to publish a report of our trial, due to the fact that up to the time of our going to press, the case is not yet concluded.

In our next issue we shall publish a report of the trial, together with our address to the jury. Those of you who desire to help us to distribute copies of our next issue could most certainly assist us in that direction by sending a donation towards the extra expense incurred. It would be foolish our part to attempt to convey to you the impression that we have not lost financially during the trying times of 1919 and 1920. The waves of hysteria that swept over this country, at the commencement of the present year, effected our sales considerably. It also injured our advertising and so we have lost quite a bit. If you appreciate the fight that we have had to contend with, then we feel positively sure that you will lend us all the financial assistance at your command.

Yours ever in the fight for human freedom.

Jack Carney,
Editor of "Truth".

DESPITE VICTORIES SOVIET SEEKS PEACE

(Continued from page 1.)

months in which all the powers of the imperialistic capitalism the world over could bring to bear against us were striving to encompass our destruction we have had to concentrate all our efforts on military measures. We have had to sacrifice the welfare of our people and the health of future generations to the desperate needs of the hour. To tear from our throat hands that were seeking to strangle us, we were forced to transform a peace-loving population of workers and peasants into an armed camp in those 18 months. By dint of stupendous endeavor we have organized a really strong army, and with it we have beaten off every attempt which the criminals of the entente and czarism have made to murder the revolution.

"No other state in the world could have done what Russia, bankrupt by four years of imperialistic massacres, has done in the past two years. In France, in England, even in America the peoples were sick of slaughter that their capitalists had engineered. Hopeless of better things to come, they had refused to follow their rulers further along the bloody road to ruin. Ask Clemenceau, ask Lloyd George, whether they can get together an army today of the strength and spirit of ours.

Allied Opposition Futile.
"They cannot do it because the workers of their countries have begun to realize, dimly as yet, but daily, the villainous tasks to which the soldiers of bourgeois governments are put. Powerless to further conscript their own subjects, the entente and the helpless subjects of the entente and America bribe and bully czarist reactionaries and helpless little nations to our proletarian fighting men have wage war against us. The defeats inflicted on their mercenary antagonists, however, are bound to have a salutary effect. Already all the Baltic states are conferring with a salutary effect. Already all the our emissaries with a view to peace, Peace is merely a matter of time, and I repeat that which ever nation is first to resume friendly relations with Russia will be the first to reap the commercial harvest sown by such a step.

Trotsky ceased speaking with his characteristic abruptness, drummed the desk for a moment with his fingers and went on a bitter note in his voice:
All this is not new. We discussed it with Mr. Francis, your ambassador, two years ago and with your military representatives. I asked the Allied missions at that time when we were organizing the red army if they would help us repel the Germans. They said they would like to say yes, of course, but that they must first consult their respective governments by telegraph. That was two years ago, and I am still waiting reply to the telegrams they sent. They consistently preferred a policy of strangling us—because we stood for the working class against the bourgeois and capitalist. And yet they hypocritically profess horror at the peace of Brest-Litovsk.

"Nevertheless, our peace terms remains what they have always been. We recognize our need for outside aid in setting this country on its feet industrially and economically. It is a tremendous enterprise, one that will take two, five, perhaps ten years to carry out, but through the indomitable spirit of our proletariat it will be accomplished with a speed and competency that will amaze our foes. Remember that Russia is rich. Her riches are all intact. And once again I say that the people who help us gain peace will share in the profits, the very considerable profits, resultant from the aid they will have extended to us."

By The Federated Press.
London. — It is rumored here that John Burns, militant of organized labor, may oppose Winston Churchill in the next by-election in Dundee. Local labor men are said to be anxious to put up J. Ramsey MacDonald, noted labor leader. Against all this heavy labor artillery political observers declare that Churchill will be in for a close campaign.

CHURCHILL OPPOSED

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Russian People Rule By Soviet, Says Martens

(Continued from page 1.)

don on his ways to America with a message to American Communists from Bucharin, editor of Pravda.

Martens explained that Pravda was a party paper and Bucharin not a member of the Soviet government. He refused to say he did or did not approve Bucharin's alleged incitation to force and violence, but when finally permitted to give his own interpretation of Soviet principles, he said:

Proletariat is Majority.

"It is the contention of socialists that the proletariat constitutes a majority of all peoples and it is their hope that this class will eventually control in all countries.

"When this class formulates its desire to control and shows that its wish is the wish of the majority, we believe the governing minority will resort to violence to retain power. In some circumstances we believe in force against force and violence against violence."

When Ellis asked if the witnesses were striving to create such circumstances in this country, Martens replied: "For 100 years it has been the dream of Socialists that all nations might be ruled by the working class.

Time and Manner of No Concern.

"The government and people of Russia share that dream till and express it in the preamble to their constitution. But we are not concerned with the time or manner in which the American people make the change."

Wade read from the Manufacturers' Record of October 2, 1919, an alleged speech by Trotsky while he was in America, in which the American workers were urged to overthrow this government "while I go back home and make Russia stop fighting Germany."

"That is a dirty lie," Martens exclaimed, adding that he could fill a library with similar lies told about the Soviet government and its leaders.

Wade sought to show by questions that American business men were being offered money and materials which the Soviet government had stolen from Russian property owners.

Confiscation Act of 100,000,000.

"Confiscation in Russia," Martens replied, "was an act of 100,000,000 peasants who, for 300 years, have refused to recognize the title of the landowners. They have always considered it their own, and now they have taken it for themselves." He added that bank depositors lost nothing through the nationalization of finance.

Referring to the arming of the peasants and the disarming of the bourgeoisie, Ellis asked: "Is that what you call Socialism?" And Martens replied, "No, that is civil war." — (By United Press.)

TOO LATE!

Unite to Fight Bolsheviki

Catholics and Protestants to Hold International Congress at Hague.

The Hague. — A movement from within the ranks of European labor against Bolshevism and anarchy, through a union of Roman Catholic and Protestant labor organizations, has resulted in a decision that an international Christian labor union congress be held at The Hague on May 5. A conference of the leaders in this movement from Germany, Holland, Belgium and France, held at Rotterdam last Friday, determined that sectarian as well as war differences should be brushed aside, and that there should be unity on common ground against Bolshevism.