

"We need not inquire if all the buds of the new order will survive. Those which are fitted to live will be selected, and will flower in due time. Just as a Japanese scientist in trying to find a cure for syphilis had sufficient patience to investigate the properties of 606 preparations before his efforts were crowded with success, so must those who are engaged in the formidable task of overcoming capitalism be prepared to try method after method until they find the one which answers their purpose best."

—N. LENIN.

Workers
of the
World
Unite!

THE TRUTH

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!

No. 30

14.

FRIDAY, JULY 23, 1920

WHOLE No. 160

FIVE CENTS.

IRISH WORKERS MOVE TO FREE JAMES LARKIN

"Larkin is not dead, nor is his memory forgotten in the city by the Liffey. Those who imagine so can question the dockers, the coal heavers, the carters and the casual workers along the Dublin quays."

In these words Irish labor is starting its fight for the release of James Joseph Larkin, "the universally leader of Irish labor, now in an American bastille, sentenced to a term of from five to ten years at hard labor."

And in these words, the workers in the City of Dublin, Ireland, celebrated the Fourth of July, America's Independence Day, by a gigantic "Larkin release mass meeting," presided over by the Mayor of Wexford (Alderman Richard Corish), one of Larkin's warmest friends and admirers, elected on the Labor ticket at the last election.

Demand Unconditional Release. Irish labor has started its fight—not for a new trial—but for the release of Jim Larkin. It is demanding that Larkin be returned to Ireland his own country, from which he has been forced into exile since 1914.

A Larkin Release Committee, with headquarters at 10 Langrishe place, Dublin, has started the campaign throughout Ireland. Delia Larkin, sister of Larkin, is secretary of the committee. One of the members is Seamus Meowan, captain in the Citizen Army of Ireland. Other members are Bernard Conway, chairman; Michael Connolly, treasurer; Stephen Hastings of the Irish Citizen Army, Henry Dale and Michael O'Maolain of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

The committee has published and distributed broadcast by the hundreds of thousands three handbills and one circular. The circular is the message which Larkin sent to his friends and comrades while on his way to Sing Sing prison. The message, a reiteration of the stand which Larkin has taken throughout his entire lifetime in behalf of the working class, appeared in The Call on the day of his imprisonment in Sing Sing.

Movement Sweeps Land. Delia, writing from Dublin to The Call in a letter dated June 26, and received yesterday, says:

"The agitation initiated a few short weeks ago calling for the release of Jim Larkin, the universally recognized leader of Irish labor, has swept throughout Ireland. Resolutions of protest by the score are pouring in from all parts of the country to the offices of the Larkin Release Committee, 10 Langrishe place, Dublin. Strong protests have also been made by the following boards:

"Corporations—Dublin, Kilkenny, Sligo, Drogheda.
"Urban Councils—Athlone, Beay (Colliclow), Novan (County Meath), Killarney (County Kerry), Mallow (County Cork), New Ross (County Wexford), Kello, (County Meath), Carlow, etc.

"Town Commissioners Bandon, trades councils, trades unions and labor bodies throughout Ireland have sent in strong protests.

English Workers Stirred.

"Nor is the movement for Larkin's release confined to Ireland alone. Several I. L. P. branches throughout England have interested themselves in the matter. It is hoped that the remaining ones will show up in this fight. An injury to one (of the world's workers) should be the concern of the others, unless, indeed, our professions of loyalty to one another are like the utterances of the politicians, who had to say something always when he got upon the platform, but of course they did not mean it that way."

"One feels forced to the view that there is a little too much of that in the labor world of today. Not so was it with Jim Larkin. He said what he meant and did what he said, and so lies in a convict cell in Sing Sing today. Strange it is that efforts on behalf of the 'bottom dog' leads one man to a prison cell and another to afternoon tea on the Terrace."

"Scotch trades unionists are bestirring themselves on behalf of Larkin. Promises of support have been received from many labor organizations in the Land O'Lakes."

"In the capital city of Ireland the strength of the demand for his return will soon be demonstrated at the public meeting organized for Sunday, July 4, to be presided over by the Mayor of Wexford (Alderman Richard Corish), the only labor Mayor elected on a clear labor majority, and an ardent Larkinite."

"Larkin is not dead, nor is his memory forgotten in the city by the Liffey. Those who imagine so can question the dockers, the coal heavers, the carters and the casual workers along the Dublin quays."

Larkin's Last Message.

The handbills, circulated by the release committee, call the attention of the Irish people to the fact that in December, 1914, the British Government prohibited Larkin from returning to Ireland from America, where he had gone on a six weeks' lecturing tour. His work in Ireland rendered him an "undesirable" in the eyes of the British authorities, they state. And in America the British succeeded in having him imprisoned.

"Remember," the posters call, "every enemy of British rule in Ireland deserves the support of the Irish nation."

Other handbills call upon the Irish people to liberate Larkin as they rescued him from Mountjoy jail in 1913.

The circular aside from containing the full statement of Larkin's last message to his friends and comrades, contains at the end the last paragraph of Larkin's appeal to the jury following his defense.

"The poor and unfortunate in my own country will understand," the paragraph reads. "It is they who believe in me in Ireland; it is they who understand. My wife and children will perhaps get along. And in this country there are some among my own countrymen who will work to see that justice is done."

C. L. P. TRIAL

Communist Labor Party Trial Continues On. State Concluding. Defence Expected to present its case by Monday. Dramatic climaxes fail to Climax.

By JACK CARNEY.

CHICAGO, Ill., July 19.—The case of the twenty-one members of the Communist Labor Party continues to occupy the legal arena of the Cook County Criminal Court. The State is expected to present its case by Wednesday, July 21st, and the defense expects to wind up its side by Monday.

Since last we wrote of the trial, the State has occasioned us many disappointments. We read the morning papers and our dear and delightful young hearts, speaking in the first person of course, receive a thrill, when we learn that a "mysterious" person is to testify and disclose a t-t-terrible conspiracy of how certain young men met and formed an organization and the aforesaid organization even went so far as to say there was a class struggle. Mind you a class struggle, and furthermore they had a constitution. Thank whatever the gods there may be, that we have a good constitution to stand it all.

THRILL NO. 1.

Comrade Engelken turned State's evidence. He goes upon the stand and testifies (hold your breath for a moment). He testifies that members of the Communist Labor Party when they desired to discuss anything, went so far in the undermining of this country's institutions as to call a PUBLIC meeting. They were so daring as to leave the doors of their meeting place, the Clarion Book Store, 204 North Clark street, Chicago, Ill., wide open and allow a detective to walk in

and listen to what they had to say. Mind you, these men are alleged to have met together for the purpose of conspiring to make the government turn a double somersault. This is not a joke, because we are charged with overthrowing the government twice, at the same time, which means a double somersault. What did these revolutionists care? They just met and told the world. When they wanted to enlist support for their cause they marched into the State Attorney's Office, Cook County, Chicago, Illinois, and shouted "We are going to overthrow the government," and then all the comrades would shout, "We'll tell the world." Of course this is how it appears from the evidence of the prosecution, coming back to the comrade, who is alleged to have turned State's evidence, all that he had to say was that when the comrades desired to meet, well they met.

THRILL NO. 2.

Call Detective Egan! The defendants all turned a ghastly pink. Eyes shot out of heads, as the Napoleon of the Chicago Radical Squad, better known to fame as the "Bum" squad, Mistawh Egan, walked to the witness stand. The judge went pale as this mastermind of the criminal world took the stand. The editor of "TRUTH" was so overcome that he fell asleep twice during the time this Robespierre was giving his story to the jury. When Egan came to recite the story of the Cook County Convention, even the very heavies sent forth their mighty pro-

test, and Egan sang his swan-song as a detective to the tune of the rolling thunder. Mind you, let there be no mistake about it, Egan is a detective. He is on the pay-roll as a detective, so we will not argue about his qualifications, because this is a free country. He tells the jury that the C. L. P. of Cook county made "Soviet Russia" their official organ. Of course he knew that was all "bull," but it sounded good. You see the point. Communists and Soviet Russia. Clever fellow Egan. After telling a few of the defendants what he was going to do, Darrow has the unmitigated gall to inform Egan that the defense has no desire to question him. Poor Egan! How are the mighty fallen!

THRILL NO. 3.

Call Detective Gaynor! Gaynor is a man of about six feet in height, well-built and a very muscular fellow. He marched to the gallows, beg your pardon, to the witness stand and told of how he arrested Edgar Owens. Owens is a cripple, going blind, has a touch of tuberculosis and is paralysed down one side. But despite all that, you could not frighten Gaynor. Imagine if you can, the tremendous amount of courage displayed by this detective! Gaynor, along with George Kenny, a rather well built fellow, handsome, but why say handsome, he is Irish, Henry Berger another well-built fellow, a lawyer by profession, hardly by practice and the big burly Chief of the Police of Moline, Fancy all

(Continued on page 3.)

TROTSKY'S STIRRING SPEECH

Trotsky Sends Out Ultimatum To Allied and Finnish Imperialists. Warns Them That Further Action On Their Part Lends Them Liable To The Consequences.

On 11 September last year, during the session of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Trotsky gave a short review of the military situation on the Russian fronts. Although his fiery speech comes to us a little too late since the delivery of the speech Estonia has made peace with Soviet Russia, and the eagerness of the Finnish Whites to attack Red Petrograd is dying out, yet it is still interesting enough and well worth reading.

Mentioning the words of Mr. Churchill somewhere that fourteen nations were attacking Soviet Russia (Finland among the fourteen, Comrade Trotsky spoke as follows:—

"Our western front is stationed on territory of such a nature that we cannot retreat even one mile, and we cannot afford to yield one quarter of an inch of ground to our enemies. This is the Petrograd, standing as it does on the coast of the Baltic Sea, is now the only door left to us which opens towards Western Europe. It is as dear to us as our eye—it is our eye. We cannot afford our Petrograd eye to be blinded by anyone; we must preserve our eye-sight. We cannot, and we will not, tolerate any approach too near Petrograd, the great nerve centre of our country."

"Comrades, over and over again has it been said to you, and over

and over again have you understood from our pronouncements that we have no desire to continue the war against Mannerheim or his present substitute, Ståhlberg. Similarly, we have no desire to fight Bourgeois Estonia. We have other tasks, other problems, requiring attention. The struggle we have embarked upon, a struggle on a universal scale, will not be decided on the Estonian or Finnish front—it will be decided on the front of the whole world. The result of that struggle depends on the action of the workers of Great Britain and France, on the action of the suppressed and subject races in Asia—China, Persia, Afghanistan, and India. On these factors depends the result of our struggle against the Imperialism of Great Britain, the most powerful, dangerous, cruel, and treacherous Imperialism the world has ever seen."

"We know that the question of Estonia and Finland will only be settled in this way. We know very well that the Finnish and Estonian bourgeoisie stand on their feet only so long as they are supported by the ghoulish and monstrous centipede of British Imperialism. When you settle the struggles that involve London, Paris, India, Persia and China, the question of Finland and Estonia will automatically

settle itself. Once this is clearly grasped, it will be understood that not out of sympathy or desire for peace with the Ståhlberg and all the present rulers of Estonia, Finland, and Lithuania do we now say emphatically that we have no desire to fight Estonia. Furthermore, now that we are gaining the upper hand on the Estonian frontier, we have officially proposed an armistice to the Estonian bourgeoisie, and hope that these preliminary steps will lead towards the conclusion of peace."

"You know that the conclusion of peace, whenever and wherever it was brought about, has never done us any harm. Our enemies, who were the hope and support of the Estonian and Finnish bourgeoisie, have found their everlasting peace in the churchyard, but we are alive and sound. The memory of Brest-Litovsk has passed into history but the Soviets are in existence, and therefore we can say calmly and convincingly to the Estonian bourgeoisie, 'Which kind of death do you select for yourselves? Death by way of open hostilities against us, or by way of your peaceful extinction?' We can, therefore, quite calmly wait for their answer during the coming days, or weeks."

(Continued on page 3.)

"OPEN SHOP" FIGHT

By HELEN AUGUR.
Staff Correspondent
The Federated Press.

The year 1920 will go down as labor's Armageddon.

There has been a war, and it was costly—in lives, in progress, and in surplus profits. But in the scramble labor gained power. Great organizations grew up miraculously. Wages were high, the eight-hour day was recognized.

The war was costly, and the time to pay up has come. The employing class has determined that labor must pay by sacrificing everything gained during the war. Word has gone out from the Federal Reserve bank that deflation must take place, and that the false superstructure of inflated credit and inflated currency must come down. The employing class, holding on for dear life to the adventurous and Alladinlike ease of making money on the inflated basis, declares that it is blameless, that "underproduction" is guilty.

"Look," says the employer, "labor has organized scandalously during the war. It is constantly demanding higher wages and shorter hours. Labor organization is the real cause of high prices. Down with labor organization!"

So we come to the "open shop" fight. It is nothing new. Out on the west coast last year the United States Steel Corporation hurled its strength against labor organization, and when it wiped the sweat from its eyes, labor organization was still there. The David Taylor ship-building works were gone, and other companies who tried to maintain a union shop were gone, but labor was still organized. The "American Plan" the "National Plan" and all the other plans which recently have been made quite frankly by chambers of commerce from Detroit to Galveston, have all had some success, but much failure. Labor has stood.

But now there is real peril. There is a Citizens' Transportation Committee in New York city which ostensibly was formed to run trucks for the transportation of food to the people during the present strike of teamsters and longshoremen and marine workers. It has the direct backing of six chambers of commerce the disposal of a \$10,000,000 fund, and the advice of every well-known union-killer in the country. The committee has taken the most vulnerable spot in the economic life of the country to make its attack—transportation. It is bent on continuing the present tie-up of New York harbor and of the railroads, which is slowly paralysing the country's life. It will not allow that tie-up to be settled until unionism is destroyed in the transport crafts. If the non-union shop can be forced in transportation, the keystone of industry, it can be forced anywhere and everywhere else.

Within a few weeks perhaps 100,000 textile workers will be idle. That is part of the plan. With textiles dead, thousands of thousands of needle workers will be thrown out. Perhaps 80 percent of them are out already.

Current papers bring the news that the great steel industry is slowing to a standstill. That is

part of the plan. With steel dead, where will the tool-makers and the automobile workers and the machinists be? With steel dead, where will anybody be?

Massachusetts leather workers are not making shoes nowadays. St. Louis cap-makers are on a vacation. Subway trains in New York are mysteriously thinning. Carpenters are idle because contractors are being refused steel for construction, especially, it is said, contractors whose ideas on labor do not harmonize with those of the steel-maker Gary. Furriers are exhausting their funds in a long strike. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the union which may be counted on in a crisis, the union which magnificently gave \$100,000 to the steel strikers last year, is being drained by queer expensive law suits. Well-organized industries in which strikes are avoided by the union, are suddenly be-set with strikes forced on one pretext or another.

Slowly the country's business is being paralyzed from lack of circulation. And the cord which is stopping the circulation is a group of men who have ordained the non-union shop, and who have decided that labor must be given a long hungry vacation, and then come back at longer hours and shorter pay.

The accusations of Frank Morrison about the Citizens' Committee had only one fault. They were too specific, and it just happened that official of the committee were able to deny them. If Morrison had said that every business interest of consequence was logically bound up in the fight, he would have hit the bull's eye. He named the U. S. Steel, the Standard Oil, and four railroad presidents. He should have named Big Business.

The specific accusations I took to John R. Young, secretary of the Committee, a tall, good-looking man sitting up in the Woolworth Building with the cool air of doing large things easily.

"It just happens that the United States Steel and the Standard have not yet contributed to the fund," said Young. "But they have been asked to contribute and we expect that they will. When we decided on this open-shop campaign we wrote to 17,000 business men throughout the country to contribute. The only reason why the railroad presidents have not given any money to us is that their contracts forbid."

"Oh yes, we are out to establish the open shop in transportation. Not in the private industries—that is the employer's own business. We are dealing here with a public problem."

Mr. Young forgot to add that the Committee were enough interested in the private industries to send a questionnaire to every employer of note asking his attitude on the "open shop" matter. And he could not have had in mind the paragraph in that letter which reads:

"In order more effectively to assist the Citizens' Transportation Committee in the solution of the present labor difficulties in New York harbor, the Merchants' Association is very anxious to know to what extent its members carry on their business

under so-called "closed-shop" agreements."

The committees are ready for a long fight, and a nasty one. On its law committee is Walter E. Drew, who through his connection with the National Erector's Association, controlled by the U. S. Steel, is a far reflection of the spirit of Gary. It's chief tactician is Frederick Koster, the union-killer of the Pacific Coast, who came here in May, evidently for the express purpose of showing New York how it is done. In his shadow one can see those dead men who gave up their lives in the fight for unionism on the west coast, and Tom Mooney, rotting in jail, the victim of that fight. Remembering the blood and terror that followed Koster's campaign in San Francisco one reads with misgiving the following paragraph from one of the 17,000 letters sent out to gather funds for the campaign in New York:

"In consequence of the report made by Mr. Frederick J. Koster, at the Merchants' Association luncheon meeting of May 25, concerning the manner in which San Francisco handled it's problem. The Committee has broadened its plan."

England and the East

By KARL RADEK.
(Special to The London Call).

After a year and half of meditation the Allies are now beginning to decide the fate of Turkey. The thing seemed very simple. The Turks, who were massacring the Armenians, who were proposing every existing and non-existing nation the oppression and liberation of whom was the exclusive right of the big imperialist powers, these Turks it was necessary to cut into pieces, to rob them of all that those in power might find appetizing. After this the meal might commence. A very simple thing indeed. However, in the course of eighteen months the Allies had only come to an agreement on the point that Turkey was to be cut up, but they could not agree as to what piece each was to have, that France must have Syria was entered in the books of the firm "Liberation of Nationalities Co., Ltd." but General Allenby, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces on the Palestine front, declares: "It is I who had wrested Syria from the Turks with the help of British troops and not the French." Lord Curzon, on his part, is thinking: "France is a good Ally, but why should this good Ally be so close to the Suez Canal, the vital line of our communication with India? And what if this Ally should betray us? Why nestle a snake on our breast?"

On the other hand the French for the space of a year and a half keep on reminding the English: "Gentlemen, you have grabbed enough. Why do you treat us so shabbily?" There is not much to be said on the selling of Arabia, the creation of half a dozen little kingdoms in Syria and Mesopotamia. These little kingdoms all hang in the air without any ground beneath their feet. They exist to draw French money for intrigues against the English, and English money for intrigues against the French.

One would have thought that the fate of Constantinople was easy to decide, but even here things do not seem to proceed smoothly. Lord Robert Cecil, English Conservative statesman, accuses the French capitalists in the Evening Standard of being in favour of leaving the Sultan at Constantinople and in favour of making Constantinople a free city in order to carry on undisturbed their speculative business in a town without an owner. The Temps replies in most elegant terms: "And you, gentlemen, wish to internationalize the control of the Dardanelles in such a manner as to ensure that the English Fleet should control the straits."

Armenia must be saved. The Entente papers have been writing about it for the last eighteen months, but who is to save her? This saving of Armenia requires the sending of an army of at least 150,000 men. Therefore to the accompaniment of the liberationist shrieks of the Allies the Kurds are nonchalantly massacring the Armenians as in the good old days of Abdul Hamid. The Allies could at any time conclude any treaty of peace with the Sultan and the clique of Pashas at Constantinople, but the problem is how to carry such a Treaty into effect?

All that was best among the officers in Turkey, all who have inhibited modern ideas feel a deep hatred for the Entente. The Young Turk, beaten military, have again become the centre of idealism in Turkey. They are in the process of an ideological and social transformation. They were the party of

the landowners and officers who in order to retain their power had to enter into combinations with international capital. This capitalism, however, wants now to wipe them off the face of the earth as a class personifying the Turkish nation. However, the Turkish officers on the one hand are decadent, they are torn away from the landowning class, on the other the peasants have eased the problem: upon their return home from the front at the conclusion of the war they have smashed up the landowners and thus made an end of all dispute. Some of the Young Turk officers took their stand on the side of the peasantry on the side of the demobilized soldiers organizing armies against the Entente and a movement among the peasants. The party of the landowners is against these officers, but it cannot lean on any considerable forces; it could only gain mastery with the help of foreign bayonets which would stamp the Allied intervention as an intervention against the peasantry. The Allies have an army of 70,000 men at Constantinople, and they hold the Dardanelles, but Constantinople is not Turkey. To defeat the latter and carry out the programme of the Allies it is necessary to move into the depth of the country an army of about 300,000 men; they would have to start a new war against the growing forces of Kemal Pasha.

II.
In his book the economic consequences of the Versailles peace, Keynes, the British financial representative at Versailles, writes that during the Versailles Conference he had the impression as if all the decisions of Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George were some phantom or nightmare, that these moulders of the fate of humanity were playthings, wire-pulled by history. On the test of Turkey the Allies will soon gain the conviction that history is playing them a joke, and that they are pulled from behind by history. They have condemned Soviet Russia to death, but Soviet Russia lives. Soviet Russia is freeing herself from the fetters and fighting for its very existence, it shatters the foundations of Allied reaction. It is not German Imperialism that the Allies have condemned to death. German Imperialism was beaten by history. It is the German people that the Allies have condemned to hard labour; but in painful internal strife a new German people is being born, the toiling people of Germany, a revolutionary force, a Samson whom no Delilah will betray, a Samson who in rising will shake the pillars on which the victor's peace of the Allies is built. It is not old Turkish nationalism that the Allies have condemned to death—it is the Turkish people. To put it in the words of a Turk, the Allies wish to make the Turks a people without a country, but this people of peasants without modern culture is already rising to the fight. Not only did the Allies want to break up Europe into pieces, but they wished to set every piece under their heel against every other. With the hands of the German soldiers they wanted to strangle Soviet Russia, they wanted to encircle us from and through Turkey. However, laying their heavy hand on everybody they are uniting Central and Eastern Europe and throwing up bridges from these gigantic wells of revolutionary power on to the East. Had they pardoned the German imperialists a year ago, had they given the German bourgeoisie the opportunity to restore its social economic power they might have used it against the workers revolution in Russia. However out of greed, out of the desire to avoid revolution at home by throwing all the burden of the consequences of the war on the German people they revolutionized Germany to an extent no communist propaganda could have achieved. Even now they may attempt to amnesty the Ludendorffs to throw them against Soviet Russia, but this would only accelerate the victory of the German proletariat. Ruining Turkey, tearing its living body to pieces they throw the Young Turks into the arms of Soviet Russia. The consequence of the situation they are creating is that the Turkish people who formerly saw in every Russian an inveterate enemy now look upon Moscow as the place whence their salvation will come.

Soviet Russia working for peace by all the means in its power and averse from any thoughts of annexations, whilst actuated by the most sincere desire to help all the ruined peoples in revolt; Soviet Russia, ruined, bleeding from all pores, has so many internal problems, is so greatly in need of constructive work that if the Allies gave her an honest peace and the possibility to live and work, they would thereby compel the most revolutionary Government, a Government considered in the van of the international proletariat, to concentrate all its forces on the in-

teral economic problems of Russia. The Allies, however, do not give Russia that peace. To-day they commence negotiations on trade, and to-morrow allow the Polish attack, although a word from them would have sufficed to hold that wanton attack back. English imperialism, in particular, cannot make up its mind on a definite honest policy towards us, because it is frightfully afraid of our revolutionizing influence in the East. However, English imperialism is forcing Soviet Russia Eastward. It stands to reason—if Soviet Russia gets no peace, if it is obliged to fight the Allies, it will fight them where it is easiest to beat them. Being compelled to it by the Polish offensive, it will beat the French in Poland, because the collapse of Poland means the collapse of the only ally of France. It says to France: Vous l'avez voulu, George Dandin. Even bourgeois Poland could live inviolate and independent if she only chose to live peace with Soviet Russia. She has, however, drawn the sword, and by the sword she shall die! English imperialism, supporting Poland, is forcing us to look for a place where it is most vulnerable. This place is Asia, Central and Minor. Soviet Russia—should British imperialism compel it—will be able to inflict more harm upon British imperialism in the East than imperialism could inflict on us in the West.

The adventurers at the Quai d'Orsay are doomed, and will be done for very soon. The life-limit of British imperialism is longer than that of the French, and it may be that it will reflect before it is too late. It will have to do its reflecting, however, very quickly, or it, too, will be beaten because history is developing quicker than the venerable Lord Curzon or his colleague Lloyd George may perceive. Historical events are possible even during the intervals of the session of the Supreme Council of the Allies. The world is now a volcano, world history a hurricane, and the Allies are not in a position even to command the workers in their own country, and they are decidedly not in a position to take in leash the historical elements. Time does not wait; it demands decisions, clear decisions.

Ready for peace ready for concessions, Russia waits; ready for peaceful cohabitation with capitalist countries even, as long as Labour in the West suffers the burden of the capitalist system. But Soviet Russia is not a carcass upon which the vultures of imperialism will sharpen their beaks and claws. Soviet Russia is a power, a power that is firm and growing, and it will compel its enemies to treat it as such and allow it to live in peace.

POLISH PROPOSAL OF PEACE

Fruit of Reds' Victorious March.

PERSIA EVACUATED.

MOSCOW, June 24. — (By Mail)—The advance of the Red armies on the southern front is going well, and the attack at Mohileff which was the seat of Petlura's Government before the Polish offensive, is developing rapidly. The Reds now occupy Jitomir, Berdichev and Kasatin, and are driving the Poles back south of Jmerinka.

(In connection with the successes, an important statement is made by yesterday's Moscow wireless, indicating that a Polish-Russian peace may come soon. The chairman of the Polish Parliament, it states, proposes that representatives of the various Polish political parties should

address the Polish Prime Minister in favour of concluding peace with Soviet Russia. Pressure in this direction is being exercised by the Socialists, who have made cessation of hostilities a condition of their participation in the Polish Cabinet.)

Persian Accusations.

In order to answer the accusations made by Prince Firuz, the Persian Foreign Minister resident in London, and President of the Persian Council of Ministers, to the effect that the Russian fleet has recently bombarded the Caspian Coast of Persia, that Russian Soviet troops are still on Persian soil, and that Russian agents are taking part in the North Persian revolution, I am able to quote from an order by Trotsky to the Commander of the Soviet Caspian fleet, dated June 4:—

"Your temporary entrance to Enzeli, according to your report, was due to the necessity of protecting our fleet from the possibility of attack from counter-revolutionary ships that had retired under British protection, which practically controlled the whole of Persia. As soon as your aim was accomplished, and the counter-revolutionary ships—as well as property of Russian people were returned into the hands of the real owners from the hands of brigands.

"I gave you a categorical order to evacuate Persian territory and Persian territorial waters, which can be, and ought to be, only under the sovereignty of the Persian people."

"Now I order you immediately to report detailed information as to how you accomplished my order of May 25, number 622."

All Troops Back to Baku. On June 5 a detailed report was received by Moscow that the fleet, with all troops, had left Enzeli and had arrived at Baku.

Further, the solemn affirmation has been repeatedly made by the Soviet Government chiefs that no troops or military operations have since been undertaken by Russian troops on Persian soil. The so-called "Russian agents in Northern Persia" are Persian subjects who left Russia long ago. The Russian Foreign Office was ignorant of their existence until its attention was called to them by the Persian

Foreign Office. The Russian Government is very interested to know how the Persian Foreign Ministers obtains such accurate news from Resht, which is entirely cut off from all telegraphic communication. Long ago the Russian wires were cut, and the British wire to Teheran from Resht was also discontinued when the British evacuated their troops and equipment from North Persia to Mesopotamia.

THE MOSCOW CONGRESS

UNIONS INVITED

The London Daily Herald has received the invitation issued to Western Labour organizations to attend the forthcoming congress of the Third International on July 30, signed by Zinovieff (president) and Radek (secretary). It is addressed:—

"To all Communist Parties and groups, to all trade unions, to all organizations of women Communists, to all young Communist leagues, to all Labour organizations who are in agreement with the Communist platform, to all honest workers."

The agenda are:—

"(1) Report of the Executive Committee. (2) Reports of the representatives of the various countries. These reports must be delivered in writing. (3) The present position and the problems (programme?) of the Communist International. (4) The question of Parliamentary action. (5) Trade unions and factory committees. (6) The role and structure of the Communist Party before and after the conquest of power by the proletariat. (7) National and colonial policy. (8) Land questions. (9) Attitude towards the new tendencies of the Centre to accept the Communist platform, and conditions for joining the Third International. (10) Statues of the International. (11) Question of women's organization. (12) Young people in the movement."

"All Communist parties or groups, and trade unions which have officially joined the Com-

munist International, can participate. All groups and organizations which accept the platform of the Communist International, but are in opposition to the officially affiliated Communist parties, are also invited to the Congress, which is to decide as to the king of vote to be granted to these groups. Furthermore, the Executive Committee also invites to the Congress also those groups of Revolutionary Syndicalists, trade unionists, and the I. W. W. and other organizations with which it is about to come into contact.

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Truth, Collection:Truth (Duluth, Minn.) 1917-1923

TROTSKY'S STIR-RING SPEECH

(Continued from page 1.)

"We do not know in what way White Estonia or White Finland is going to act. We have already learned some facts which lead us to believe that the Finnish White guards are at last about to abandon all adventures against Petrograd. You remember the time when their leader was Mannerheim. At that time the question of arranging the campaign against Petrograd seemed to have been almost decided. Mannerheim chose the neighbourhood of the river Terijoki as the manoeuvring place for his troops. That was in February. The whole enterprise ended most miserably for Mannerheim and his clique. Rank-and-file meetings were held in which the adventure-seeking policy of Mannerheim was severely criticised and condemned. Only two companies took part in the manoeuvres—only 300 men, according to reliable Finnish information. The expedition prepared against Petrograd was postponed—our counter-maneuvres at Bielo-Ostrov having something to do with this postponement. We set a going course of instruction for Red officers in Petrograd. We told them that if the danger came near the city they would get the honour of repelling it. These were our best troops. They enthusiastically accepted the prospects of such a great distinction. Since that time their number have been unchanged, but soon after that Mannerheim's name was erased from the list of candidates for the Presidency, and in his stead was elected the colourless Professor Ståhlberg, whose only activities seem to consist in trembling before the Entente and Mannerheimites, who, under the leadership of General Ignatieff, threaten to revolt if he does not manage things according to their ideas. These latter are the 'activists' of bygone times, the bourgeois and petty bourgeois officers who have no more courage than to put forward the claim for the annexation of Petrograd as a guarantee of getting a warm port for Finland on the coast of the Arctic Ocean.

"These are their childish expectations. Some time ago I was reading the epic poetry of the Finnish nation—the Kalevala. It is a collection of popular legends, myths and fables. It is a dissertation on the poetic spirit of the Finnish people, and shows that the Finns are an able and talented nation, who have in front of them a high culture and mental development. Comrades, in these songs and stories are hidden, to a certain extent, the ideas which the young Finn 'activists' now embody. It is related in 'Kalevala' how once upon a time there was an enormously big hen which laid an egg from which the earth and the sun were hatched. In another part of the book it is stated that there was an axe of such fabulous dimensions that it took exactly 87 hours for a bird to fly from one end of it to the other. That is only imagination and phantasy on the part of an ancient people; but if the Finnish 'activists' could capture Petrograd it would mean the realisation of their fable—the Finnish hen hatching the earth and the sun.

"But the Finnish 'activists' have not the pluck to strike us a blow by themselves, alone and unaided. Behind their backs stands England, which says to Ståhlberg: 'You must do what Mannerheim promised to do! Thanks to your professional love of peace and professorial vacillation we mobilise in Finland every one we can, arm them, and send them against Petrograd.' So England looks upon Finland as a piece of coal or a heap of straw to be thrown into the fire of civil war. England does not care though the consequences prove most precarious for Finland. England's only concern is to use the Finns as tools to perform blood-letting on the Russian workers and peasants, and that section of the Finnish bourgeoisie which allows itself to be humble lackey of British imperialism is the most accursed traitor to the Finnish working class.

"And we, comrades, and with us Red Petrograd and its Soviet, give our word of honour that we will not tolerate indefinitely that such a small country which got its independence through the November Revolution, shall remain a hotbed of all sorts of intrigues and conspiracies against us. That country received its independence without a fight, and offers us now, in return every kind of plot, piratical expeditions into our territory, attacks on our frontier guards, etc. It constantly threatens and provokes us; it is a secure refuge for Yudenitch, Rodsjanko, and others. Just now our enemies are concentrating in

Helsingfors great stores of military equipment. Each day sees the arrival of tanks for use against us.

"They tell the most ignominious lies of their people; they cheat them by untrustworthy information and venomous Chauvinism. They are trying to organise two or three army corps, officered by Englishmen, to be moved against us. On any other part of our vast battle-front these preparations would be of small significance for us, but on the Petrograd front we cannot tolerate it—on the Petrograd front we must act, and act quickly. We know the plans of our adversaries. We know also quite well the internal conditions in Finland—we know for whom the chains are being forged there. Each tank of theirs, each battalion is noted on our list. We know when and where they are going to be sent. We have long since made all the necessary preparations to repel with bloodshed all the treacherous attacks of the Finns.

Of course, we do not for one moment entertain the idea of violating Finland's independence, so long as the Finns behave with decency, stop all their piratical enterprises against our frontiers, and give up their mad idea of capturing Petrograd. On our part we shall refrain from every form of reprisal. Not a single Red soldier shall cross the Finnish frontier, but at the same time we have concentrated there all necessary forces, so that we can rest assured that at the first serious attempt of the Finnish buccannery Churchill, Lloyd-George, and Ståhlberg will be informed that the same road which leads from Helsingfors, and Viborg to Petrograd leads also from Petrograd to Viborg and Helsingfors. An further—if the Red Terror ever achieved anything—we shall now say to the Finnish bourgeoisie: 'You treacherously deprived the Finnish working class of their freedom and independence. Looking forward to the logical development of the Universal Revolution, we have not touched you. You sold young Red Finland, first to the Germans, and afterwards to the English. We did not touch you. You sent the aeroplanes—we tolerated it. You dropped bombs on the women and children—we tolerated it. The moral right is with us. Although we knew that the suppressed workers in Finland would hail enthusiastically the advent of our Red troops, we did not send them—we did not wish to be entangled in an act of provocation. But now, when provocation becomes more and more insistent, when it culminates in a military adventure against Petrograd, we say that every bourgeois becomes responsible for every collective counter-revolutionary attempt against our Red Capital. Every bourgeois in Viborg and Helsingfors must settle his account if, thanks to their provocation, our troops invade Finland.

"But, one may say to us, 'that is revenge! Comrades, the policy of revenge is foreign to us; but there are moments when revenge becomes a necessary revolutionary factor. English capitalists are too impotent to wage war against us; they slip their hounds upon us—the total number of these hounds, according to their over-lord, Churchill, being fourteen. These hounds close their teeth in the bodies of the Russian workers, at the same time sucking the blood and betraying the interests of their own working classes. We must now show that we cannot have these petty bandits, while serving the interests of the universal pirates' biting and tearing the bodies of the Russian workers and peasants. And a practical lesson will first be given to Finland; Finland will be the first to come under the fist of the Red Army, and will be well rewarded for all the panic, provocation, conspiracies, and treason hatched by her. We shall strangle her mercilessly. Comrades, we have concentrated brave divisions at Petrograd which will be reliable reserves for you when you start your manoeuvres.

"I conceal nothing. The Finnish upper classes have had plenty of time to examine our words; in all probability they are in possession of plenty of facts to corroborate our words. We have concentrated forces, both adequate and reliable, at the proper place. I am not going to name these forces or their numbers.

"Comrades! You know the enthusiasm with which the peoples of Asia greet our advancing troops. Soviets have granted to the Bashkirs the fullest self-determination and independence, with the result that they are now organising with the greatest enthusiasm their contingents of Red cavalry and infantry. The Bashkirs know very well who Koltchak is; they have been in his school and have finished his course as the best and most reliable supporters of the Soviets. In the South,

in Ukraine, the first Bashkir regiments showed that they were excellent soldiers. Among them are many heroes, but, unfortunately, they are not yet sufficiently developed politically. Petrograd must be for them the promised academy.

"Comrades, we will give you the Bashkir division. Their commanders—the Communists and revolutionary fighters anxiously inquired as to how they would be accepted—they wondered if their coming would be likely to cause misunderstanding or racial hatred. I replied to the questions of these young comrades by telling them that they do not yet know the Petrograd proletariat. I said to them—'The workers of Petrograd accept the First Bashkir Division as brothers, and will help them in their cultural and political development.' We have already said, and will again say to these Bashkirs, who have been drawn for the first time into revolutionary and political activities. 'Do you know Koltchak, who persecuted, hanged and shot you? The Finnish bourgeoisie is the ally of Koltchak—they help him to seize power.' At the very time when the Finnish bourgeoisie in Helsingfors and Viborg, following the prescriptions and orders of the English generals, send their vanguards against us, we gather the Petrograd workers and Bashkir cavalry and say to them that they are about to have their revenge for the cruelties of Koltchak.

"I repeat, the rulers of Finland have plenty of time to scrutinise every word. I have been empowered to utter here. These gentlemen have themselves commenced a very dangerous game. We will not slip on the orange peels, in the shape of Finland, which Great Britain throws in our way. We must stand firm and unshakable here on the coast of the Baltic Sea, looking steadfastly to the West. The Finnish question, therefore, is not an ordinary one to us; it is not simply one of the fourteen! No! It is an extraordinary question to which we are entitled to give an extraordinary answer. Its extraordinary importance does not involve any of our other numerous battle-fronts. It does not matter when we finish Denmark—whether in one, two, three, or six months. We shall concentrate our best forces against Finland, and Viborg and Helsingfors must meet the expense. Correctly speaking, the most stubborn and decisive battles are in front of us. We must strain ourselves to an even greater degree than we have hitherto done. Our enemy is not yet broken. A few days ago we got a secret message from England. Our friends, the Communists, then wrote:—'Your progress in the heroic struggle against counter-revolution fills our hearts with the greatest admiration. Many forces in our land which were inert up to the present are now becoming active. Everything goes to show more and more clearly that England will soon stand on the threshold of Revolution.'

"How will the Revolution break out? Will it take place in London, carried thither from Paris, or will it blaze out in Asia, among the enslaved natives of the colonies? We cannot tell before hand. But it is a fact that our advance in Siberia and Turkestan fills the hearts of Asiatic peoples, suppressed by the English, with revolutionary enthusiasm. This revolutionary fervour calmed down when Koltchak drove us towards the Volga. Now, occupying Aktjubinsk, the question of our uniting with Soviet Turkestan will be settled in the next few days—with Soviet Turkestan, whose nearest neighbours by the English; Afghanistan, revolted by the English; Afghanistan, revolting against English tyranny; India, seething with discontent; and enslaved China, which expects us anxiously and hopefully.

"We walk through the gateways of Asia, we—the shadow of death for the English and French Stock Exchanges. Who knows—probably the way to London and Paris goes through China, and India, and Persia, and Afghanistan. There will be strike, and strike hard, at the Imperialism of Great Britain. There we will transform Great Britain into an evil and isolated island where the bourgeoisie will strip ten hides from the proletariat.

Before us stand these enormous and gigantic historical problems. We are wakening up the whole continent of Asia. Each day we get news that the movement there goes deeper and deeper; that it is taking root in never layers of the working masses. We stand as the impregnable fortress of the Workers of the World, on the boundary line between the Urals and Moscow, between Europe and China, between England and China. We are not now what we were two years ago—courageous adventures only. We are not now what we were on the first anniversary of the November

Revolution when we were starting the reorganisation of our Red Army. No! Now we are organised, disciplined, and armed. We have evolved from chaos; we are now on a firm ground.

"Our munition factories are working so smoothly that I can say with confidence: It does not matter how long the international financiers compel us to fight. I think we can wage war for a longer period than many people suppose we can. Our soldiers will have abundant supplies of rifles, bayonets, cartridges, machine-guns, and boots.

"There is now no slackness in military supplies to strangle us. It follows in such an army, which is used to conquering, which can sweep the counter-revolutionary forces from the surface of the earth, which can advance our frontier so far westward that the people will say: 'Here is the frontier of the Federated Soviet Republics.' In the ranks of such an army grow and develop the best organisers for other public activities.

"Comrades, history compels the Russian proletarians to enter the ranks of the Red Army, and there to acquire strength, initiative, firmness, resolution, understanding—the knowledge both to give and to execute orders. Such an extraordinary school is bestowed on our working class—on the vanguard of our working class.

"That Commissary whose place is now at the head of the regiment will be indistinguishable when he goes back to peaceful civilian work. Unfortunately not all of them go back. Many of them, like heroes, have fallen in battle. At some future time the great poets of the working class will describe, with words of fire, the immortal deeds of these heroic Workers' Commissaries who carried on their shoulders the burden of these heroic battles for the benefit and welfare of the Workers of the World. The great writers of the times to come will give us impressive descriptions of the sufferings and self-sacrifice of these heroes—the Commissaries. But the majority have come back at the head of their victorious regiments, and now devote themselves to productive work on the field of economic and cultural activities.

"And if we were capable, when hungry, destitute and exhausted, pressed on every side by our unscrupulous enemies—English, French and, formerly, Germans—to organise almost with bare hands our Red Army of workers and peasants, and beat all our adversaries; if we were capable of doing that, it means that we are capable of doing anything. We also will be capable, with our constructive army, of overcoming all difficulties on the battlefield of our economic and cultural life—on our bloodless front.

"We will show to the whole world how the working class in one of the most backward countries in the world, subject all the time to the most pitiless blows of history, can, in a comparatively short time—in two or three years—not only ascend from the bottomless slough of destitution and misery, but by tremendous leaps reach an unheard-of altitude, becoming the organiser, the standard-bearer and emancipator of the Workers of the World. Remember, the eyes of the whole world are watching the struggle, suffering and progress of the Russian working class.

"No! Finland cannot overthrow us—never!

"History has appointed us to solve these titanic problems. We cannot perish, because the great Working Class cannot perish!"

(Translated from "Viesti" (Finland) by J. R.)

C. L. P. TRIAL

(Continued from page 1.)

these men had the courage to start on their way to Owens mother's house and without any sign of fear they arrest Owens. Where are your heroes of the past? Was there ever such heroism displayed?

Gaynor told of how he found the American flag in some dust. But he never told who threw it there. They discovered a Red Flag. The flag was brought into court. During the recess, Heth, Comerford and Barnhart had their pictures taken with the flag. During the operation, that is how it appeared from the grimaces they were making. Heth dragged the flag on the floor. To the lasting credit of W. B. Boss, Lloyd, he protested. The flag was made by the dead wife of Owens, but Heth and his assistants did not have the common decency to show a particle of respect for the memories of the dead. Gaynor thought that he had a wonderful story to tell. But it fell flat. Owens a

"bloody" conspirator throws open all his books, explains how much money he received and where it was spent and even goes so far as to lend the authorities two suitcases to carry away his stuff. Some conspiracy.

THRILL NO. 4.

Call Bonner! Bonner is the handsome detective who led the raid upon the Clarion Book Store. He told of the posters that he took down from off the walls of the store. He also told of the buttons that were found in the shop and the books. But of course he never told the jury that all of the transactions of the C. L. P. of Cook county were open to the inspection of anyone who would take the care to examine them.

This is a sample of the evidence that was found in the Clarion Book Store. Four posters advertising the contents of a British social paper and two placards advertising the contents of an Irish paper. The former were printed in London, England and the latter in Dublin, Ireland. These posters are being used as evidence against all of the defendants. Evidence as to their criminal intent to overthrow the government of the United States by force. Papers published long before the law, under which the defendants are charged, was passed, and books also, are used as evidence. Let us proceed with this "Deadwood Dick" story. Excuse us, if we fail to impress you with our serious outlook on life, occasioned by this trial.

THRILL NO. 5.

A two days' discussion ensued over the admission of the Seattle and Winnipeg strikes into the evidence. After a long argument, during which Comerford proved how little he knew about law and how good a soap-box orator he would make, the Court ruled that a strike that took place six months before the C. L. P. was organized could be used as evidence against the defendants.

The first witness called to the stand was Harry J. Wilson, a self-confessed spy. He told of how effective the Seattle strike was. Up to the time of writing he admitted in his cross-examination by Attorney Forrest for the defense, that he was a male nurse when he was fourteen and studied medicine. Not being able to understand medicine, or perhaps unable to take his medicine, he started to learn the art of photography. Then he drifted about and when court adjourned, he had been located in about forty and one different places. He is a wise guy. He knew all about the strike and he told us of how the dead were refused burial by the strikers and so they postponed their dying. Hospitals were left stranded, no food and patients suffered. Children went out to school, with empty stomachs etc. As if that is a strange affair in this prosperous country. He told a good story. But one story is good until the other side is told. Tomorrow the famous Knight of the Bull-throwers, Ole Hanon, called Ole on account of his perforated brain, all due respects to O. P. L. Many of the defendants are planning on sleeping out on the Lake Shore, afraid of going to bed, because they fear the morning, when Ole will take the stand.

Many dramatic climaxes have been worked up by the State, but they failed to climax due to the battle-axe of the defense. Many mysteries were told to us how this defendant or that defendant had made a confession and when it was read . . . Well Italy, France, Germany, England and America are beginning to trade with Soviet Russia. Canada signs up six million dollars worth of business with Soviet Russia. England decides to deport Santeri Nuorteva and Martens decides to cancel all Canadian orders. England regrets the talk about deportation. Who in the . . . ?

The quality is of secondary importance. It is the quantity that counts, which simply means that all pleasure in work is destroyed. The beautiful fabrics of India have given place to cotton prints. In the measure that capitalist civilization penetrates everything it brings upon everything its deadly mechanization of public life. "Humanity," says Huzinga, "threatens to become the impotent slave of its property and perfected means of technique, material and social. A striking example is given us by the decadence of manuscript writing, fallen from the beauties

COMMUNISM AND CIVILIZATION

By H. ROLLAND HOLST.

As in the social evolution, there is an uninterrupted development of civilization. Nevertheless, there are periods of civilization, and in these periods we can distinguish budding, flowering, and withering.

A civilization is a creation of new ideas incorporated in instruments ships paintings works of art etc. in the process of work in the conditions of production as well as in the relations of classes. It develops itself under the directing class at teeming with this class its highest pinnacle and then falling with it. The new directing class creates a new culture which in its essential characteristics is generally contrary to its forerunner.

I shall sketch the traits of bourgeois civilization in its decline and one can then see that the coming proletarian civilization while in many respects a negation of bourgeois civilization, yet continues the march forward of civilization. The eternal progress of life is a reflex of the continual developments of labour.

The idea of a Communist civilization is not a mere scheme as it was until lately. It flourishes now in our midst and this we owe to the Russian proletariat and their courageous leader.

Each civilization has one central idea. The civilization of the Middle Ages had the idea of God, the unification of all classes in the Church. The development of production of commerce, of money, the power of the princes, the voyages of discovery and travel caused the fall of this society, and consequently the waning of their central idea, the idea of God.

When the modern bourgeois mode of production began to develop in the eighteenth century the idea of liberty was arising. The religious conscience of the century became juridical, and the ideas of liberty inflamed all hearts inspiring Statesmen, Thinkers and Poets—Shelley, Byron, Schiller, Goethe, and also Beethoven. The period of the decadence of bourgeois civilization is detestable to us Communists above all for two reasons. Firstly, on account of its double-dyed hypocrisy, and, secondly, on account of its deadly mechanization by means of which it has degraded and poisoned life. The mode of bourgeois production favours hypocrisy because it is based on exploitation. While the bourgeois holds power the bourgeois State promises liberty and equality. But this equality is only juridical equality, concealing the economic servitude. Their liberty is only illusory, and the more production increases the greater becomes the contrast.

The feudal system was not hypocritical, but capitalism is. This is why bourgeois civilization has never flourished in the domains of public life, architecture and the drama. There is no trace today of the high development attained by the drama and architecture in antiquity and the Middle Ages. There may exist today something which faintly resembles architecture in the country houses, banks and warehouses, but the drama has degenerated into a refined intrigue of the drawing-room or into a game of pure sensuality.

The phenomenon of mass production resting on the development of the natural sciences and technique which are the elemental necessities of bourgeois society, imparts at the same time to capitalist civilization a deadly unilaterality, the gramophones of the bourgeois have deified this for any anti-capitalistic civilization; for example, the beautiful flowering of Oriental civilization. Production is merely mechanical production en masse, because it is inspired merely by gain.

The quality is of secondary importance. It is the quantity that counts, which simply means that all pleasure in work is destroyed. The beautiful fabrics of India have given place to cotton prints. In the measure that capitalist civilization penetrates everything it brings upon everything its deadly mechanization of public life. "Humanity," says Huzinga, "threatens to become the impotent slave of its property and perfected means of technique, material and social. A striking example is given us by the decadence of manuscript writing, fallen from the beauties

of Oriental writings and the manuscripts of the Middle Ages to the deadly standard of cold print. Everything is now rushed and produced in a vertiginous whirl, but Communism will inaugurate a society where one shall produce without haste solely for the realization and the beautifying of life.

The mechanization of the spiritual culture of capitalism appears most clearly in the cinema, which excites and which corrupts the brain and the heart like alcohol. The growing cinema, in the domain of so-called popular art, under the thirst of competition, its influence is penetrating literature, and famous writers have sacrificed themselves to it. A little part of production is constituted by "objets de luxe" which are distinguished by the finer quality of material and the artistic character of the workmanship. A little portion of art corresponds, the anaemic art of the dilettante bourgeois. A snatch of modern lyricism shows itself, lyricism subtly refined, foreign up to the present time to real life like the bourgeois elite for whom it was written.

Other civilisations were also based of domination, but they differed from the capitalist system in these two respects (i. e., mechanization and hypocrisy). Between the culture of the classes of the Middle Ages existed the bond tie of religion. By means of it the masses had still a personal culture. In their farces, proverbs, ballads and songs, in their myths and legends, the masses see represented their feelings and thoughts. They laugh at their lot and make for themselves a world of beauty, simple but pure. But capitalism has cruelly annihilated the profession of art and of poetry as it existed in the Middle Ages. Capitalist civilization has made life a purgatory, a desert for the masses. In Russia, Lunacharsky has been able to intervene and rescue the things worth saving. But in Europe and America it will be necessary to create a new culture. The links which formerly bound masters and subjects, and thanks to which their labour was incarnated creative dyed hypocrisy, and, secondly, the deadening stupefying capitalist regime. The culture of the bourgeois is a hollow farce, pretentious yet without foundations. Imperialism had for its task the setting of the masses in motion. It has made desperate efforts to place science and art at its service. The mechanisation of labour has been carried to an unheard of degree. Hypocrisy and mechanization are surpassing themselves. The Press, cinemas, art, sermons vie with one another in deceiving the masses.

(Translated from "L'Avenir International" by A. Ferguson.)
"The Socialist" Scotland.

GOODS ENTER RUSSIA

Weekly Stream Through Reval and Petrograd

SWEDISH TRADE.

COPENHAGEN, June 22.—According to the Kovno correspondent of the "Berlingske Tidende," the official Bolshevik organ "Pravda" states that goods are now beginning to stream into Russia, partly via Reval and partly via Petrograd. The following are amongst the imports which according to the "Pravda" are shortly expected:—

52 locomotives which are to be delivered by July 1.
Over a million agricultural machines.
150,000 threshing machines.
7,000 reaping machines and 400 cultivators.

Large quantities of tools have also been ordered, including 102,000 ordinary files and 330,000 saw files, of which half are to be delivered by July 1.

In view of the large amount of goods which are expected at Reval en route to Russia, arrangements are being made to run a daily train of six wagons from Reval to Petrograd and a daily train of 40 wagons from Petrograd to Moscow.

"The 'Pravda' declares that several hundred wagons with agricultural implements have already reached Reval for transport to Russia.—Reuter.

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Editor responsible for all unsigned articles.

WHO STARTED IT?

The capitalist class are howling about the dangers of Bolshevism and we reply who started it?
The following editorial, taken from a Danish paper, gives you some idea of how scared the ruling class is getting:—

The Point of Contact Between Islam and Bolshevism.
"National Tidende" (Danish, Conservative Nationalist), June 24.—"It is Lenin's agitation that has taught the natives in Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan, and India that now the decisive moment has come when the Asiatic peoples can demand independence of the States who, it is affirmed, only thought of exploiting the East even when they said they had come to liberate it. What Bolshevik agitation, which has set the whole Mohammedan world in motion, has accomplished here is really a diplomatic chef d'oeuvre. Bolshevism, although it is rather abstract in theory, has been successfully brought into harmony with the sobriety and lucidity of Islam. It is the fundamental social idea of this religion, the idea of equality, which has been used as the connecting link with Bolshevism; in the great choice between two irreconcilable principles, freedom and equality, both Islam and Bolshevism adhere unreservedly to the second, and calmly sacrifice freedom, the ideal of the West European democracies.... For England the gigantic controversy which Bolshevik agitation aims at turns not only on ideal but on highly material goods. The Muscovite enemy aims partly at India, partly at the newly established British rule in the Near East."

The attempt to settle down in Baku was part of the same plan that led England hastily to take the mandate for Mesopotamia—oil.... There is a volcanic belt rich in oil stretching from the west coast of the Caspian Sea to the north end of the Persian Gulf.... With the approaching exhaustion of America's oilfield the riches of Asia are attracting everyone's attention. Japan has already secured Sakhalin and large concessions in China, and Dutch-India disposes of great stores." But the greatest horses were placed on the above-mentioned belt between the Caspian and the Persian Gulf. And it was here that England already considered she had secured priority when an unexpected movement, composed of religious and nationalistic elements, seemed to raise obstructions in the way. Islam in our day is in itself and solely as a religion not hostile to Europe, but it becomes so when pressed into service by the idea of nationalism; the protagonists of the latter again become dangerous when they rally round the banner of religion. And it is in this religion that England's most dangerous enemy, Russia, not Tsarist Russia but Lenin's Russia, seems to have found a valuable ally. After the world-war the Entente Powers thought the prestige they had gained would last not only for regulating their relations with Germany but for the other great world-questions as well. It is this calculation that has now demonstrably gone wrong. There must be something more, and the Entente Powers are now faced by the delicate task of discovering what this more shall consist in."

OIL.

It is recognized on all sides that oil is rapidly supplanting coal as a commodity used in the creating of power to run industry. The necessity of capitalist nations having a supply of this commodity is being manifested in the recent agreements that have been made between the English and French Governments.

These governments recognize that this country is very comfortably situated as regards a supply of oil. It is quite an easy matter to politically control Mexico, or if necessary conquer it. Therefore this country is not worried very much about oil. But the same is not true of the French and English ruling class. They need oil and so they find themselves compelled to turn towards Persia and Roumania, the oil centres of Europe. The ethical aims of the Allies, in regard to their reasons for entering the war, are not those that the people were led to believe they were. The Allies were not concerned about the rights of small nations. For on April 24th, Nineteen Twenty, the French and English Governments signed a secret treaty dividing up the wealth of that country, which formerly belonged to German interests. Read the following, reprinted from the "Manchester Guardian."

Sharing Rumania's Oil.

"Viitorul (Bucharest, Lib.), June 12.—We have had for some time in our possession information concerning a secret agreement concluded by France and Great Britain, but refrained from making it public pending confirmation of its authenticity. We are now satisfied that this "shameful" deal has actually taken place, and therefore, publish that part of it which concerns Rumania. The French and British Governments undertake therein to support their respective subjects, as against competitors, in any negotiations in which they may engage for the following purposes:—

(a) "The acquisition of oil concessions, shares, and other interests in Rumania belonging to subjects or societies of the former enemy countries and which have been placed under the control of the Public Trustee....
(b) "The acquisition of concessions in the oilfields belonging to the Rumanian State."

1. "All the shares of former enemy concerns which it may be possible to acquire, as well as any other advantages resulting from these negotiations, shall be equally divided between British and French interests. It is understood that, if new organizations should be established for the administration and the exploitation of the said shares, concessions, or other advantages, the two countries shall participate in the proportion of 50 per cent each in the capital subscribed, as well as in regard to the number of representatives and votes on the board of directors."

Ibid., June 19, quotes the "Temps" (May 25) as admitting that such an agreement was signed by M. Millerand and Mr. Lloyd George on April 24, 1920.

The two countries agreed to act together and mutually support one another wherever their oil interests could be easily reconciled—in Roumania, Asia Minor, the territories of the former Russian Empire, Galicia, the French and the British colonies.

Now read this extract from the French Socialist daily, L'Humanite":

The Race for Oil.

The "Humanite" (Soc.), June 24, sums up modern politics, and modern war, which is an evolution or prolongation of politics, as merely a race between the world's leading capitalists for control of the chief material products and sources of economic energy. The longer war lasts, the writer believes, the more industrial does it become and that country which has the most powerful industry is the most likely to be the victor, so that until the social and economic workings of the greater part of the globe are completely altered the phase of warfare cannot pass. A capitalist State must always remain a danger to all other capitalist States. At present oil is the most exigent need of capitalist countries, all the more so as coal grows universally scarier. The country which in the future will control the greatest number of oil-wells can aspire to a lasting pre-eminence. This fact explains the policy of capitalist England, a policy founded on a merely realistic and selfish idea. It is not only now that this struggle for oil control has started, but at present, in the period of reconstruction and distress following on the war, the oil race has grown intoxicatingly active.

No nation can find real peace until necessary products are distributed equally between all human communities, but capitalism, which germinates Imperialism, will never accede to such quasi-equality of division. The wars of the future will spring chiefly from this struggle for oil, because the cataclysm of 1914-18, which has so far permitted the survival of capitalism, has also permitted the continuance of all the dangers inherent in it. The oil race is an indication, or rather a decisive phenomenon. Blind indeed would be those who could not grasp its significance.

Of course the capitalists of England and France will deny the theory of the materialistic conception of history. But they will never deny that Business is Business and that Business determines their patriotism. Ask Lloyd George why it was that he was so quick to recognize Russia, when he found the Red army to go to Persia, where big British oil interests hold sway? Was it because he suddenly had a change of heart towards Soviet Russia or was it because.....
.. YOU KNOW WHY COMRADES!

GOLD PRODUCTION TO REDUCED.

Recently, we drew the attention of our readers to the present precarious condition of our financial system. The following news item, sent out by the "Associated Press," will substantiate the argument we then made:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 14.—Less gold was produced throughout the world last year than in 1918 and indications are that the 1920 output also will show a reduction, according to the United States geological survey, which on incomplete returns places the 1919 production at from \$345,000,000 to 350,000,000. World production in 1918 was almost \$381,000,000, of which the United States produced \$58,285,196. Returns for the first six months of this year indicated the United States production for 1920 probably will be less than \$50,000,000. The reports showed shortage of water for placer mining and many stamp mills closed.

THE C. L. P. TRIAL.

At the present moment, there are twenty-one members of the COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY standing trial in the city of Chicago, charged with conspiring to overthrow the UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT BY THE USE OF ARMED FORCE.

We are not going as yet, to criticise the case. We will allow the case to go to the jury and then we will let our readers know something of the manner in which cases are conducted by men, presumed to be versed in law and furthermore, men who take the oath to administer the Constitution, without fear or favor.

The State up to the time of writing, July 18th, has introduced much evidence, for the purpose of shewing the intent of the defendants. The C. P. L. was organized on September second nineteen hundred and nineteen. The State brings forward as evidence, a manifesto, written in the city of Moscow in Russia. This manifesto was written in March nineteen hundred and nineteen. They also bring as evidence against the defendants a newspaper placard announcing the contents of a socialist paper published in London, England. They also bring as evidence a further poster announcing the contents of a newspaper published in Ireland. Both these posters were printed before the law, under which the defendants are charged, was passed. Against the defendants, they have brought the manifesto written by Marx and Engels in 1848. They bring as evidence pamphlets published by the I. W. W. and allowed to go through the UNITED STATES MAIL. All this evidence is for the purpose of proving to a jury that the members of the C. L. P. purged the overthrow of the United States Government by the use of force, crime and violence. Mind you, this is a honest-to-god trial not a burlesque show, that we describe to you!

When the trial is over we will give you same idea of how justice (?) is administered by men who have the colossal nerve to pose as public servants, by disguising themselves in the rig of assistant state attorneys and special prosecutors.

According to the special prosecutor of the case, Frank Comerford, everyone of you, members of the working class, can be arrested under the laws of the State of Illinois, and charged with conspiracy, if you advocate the organizing of the working class into ONE BIG UNION, for the purpose of making your organizations more capable of carrying on the everyday struggle that goes on in the factory. It does not matter to you, says Frank Comerford, the Francis X. Bushman of the Illinois Bar, if an Industrial Revolution has taken place and so changed the productive forces that the old handicraftsman finds that the skill of his hands can not compete against powerdriven machinery and that his occupation is gone and his place taken by a child or woman. This man must be content to die, die for the want of food. It does not matter, says Comerford, if

the insufficiency of the world's gold supply, causes the introduction of paper money, which in turn raises the prices of commodities, you must not join hands with our class and strike, for if you do the minions of the law, in the city of Chicago will pounce upon you and you will be sent to Joliet and there serve from one to five years in prison, because you were not content to starve and die.

What does it matter to an ambitious lawyer, whether you or any of us starve or not. He wants pelf and power and through on your imprisonment he will get it, if you allow him to. Your children must starve and your womenfolk sell themselves, for all that an ambitious lawyer cares. Poverty and misery must be our lot. We must be slaves, heeding not the voice of the ages that calls us to action. That is if we let the lawyers tell us what to do. But the question is, Will we?

"Of Course Murnian Is Unfit (?)"

Of course Bill Murnian is unfit for office, according to the Grand Jury, that recently sat and examined the lynching affair. What kind of a verdict could we, as workers, expect?

The lynching tragedy was a most unfortunate occurrence and we know, from personal observation, that there is no person more deeply affected by it, than Bill Murnian. He found himself in a position where he had to choose between the death of many or the death of a few, and he wisely chose the latter. Those who are not in a position that requires responsible action can easily argue what should have been done, but where were they when they could have done something? They were conspicuous by their absence. As they always are expect insofar as their OWN material interests are concerned. When a strike takes place, and the workers demand more of the good things that they produce, the same Grand Jury would very soon be on the spot. But a lynching is but a matter of a few poorworkers and so they do not really care, only insofar as they can utilize these tragic occurrences as a means of getting back at labor commissioners.

"Truth" and its readers stand solidly behind honest Bill Murnian. In all attacks that arise out of the findings of the Grand Jury, that are centered upon Bill Murnian, we shall line up behind Murnian and we feel positively sure that our readers will. We will go further, and launch the biggest campaign that was ever lodged in this city and expose the opponents of Bill Murnian and stand them naked before the community, stripped of all their camouflage and pretense.

Bill Murnian does NOT agree with the ideas and policies set forth in this paper. We think it is to HIS regret, but no person can accuse Bill Murnian of being dishonest. He is the cleanest and straightest commissioner that this city has had for sometime and accordingly he deserves the support of all members of organized labor, who recognize the real worth of Murnian.

Do not be fooled members of organized labor. The attack is not solely confined to Bill Murnian. They are using Bill Murnian to breed dissension within your ranks. Stand behind Murnian and stand in no half-hearted manner. Let us shew our strength and with our forces united. We will destroy that system that breeds and promotes race prejudiced.

THE PRICE OF PROGRESS

Young brother, young sister, with the uplift gaze,
Would you follow the new vision, live the new life?
Have you conceived an ideal beyond old creeds
and customs?

Does it call you? Would you follow? Count the cost!
Has poverty no terrors for you?

Can you be driven from shelter to shelter till "home"
is an empty name,

And can you still be true?
Can you hunger while prostitution feasts and flourishes,

And keep your genius pure?
Have you reckoned with the world's scorn, and

counted it as naught?
Can you discount the averted gaze where once shone

welcome?
Still I say to you—Count the cost!

Do you know the price you shall pay for your freedom?
A sword shall sever you from kindred, friends, lovers.

Not one who is not of the new, not one of the old can
hold you or be held.

One by one you shall sacrifice them on the altar of
your progress.

In a long-drawn agony of pain,
Your very blood shall cry out to you for cruelty.

Your throat shall ache with pity, but they will never
understand.

The reproach in their eyes shall haunt your
sweetest joys,

And your veriest triumphs shall ring with their defeats.
They whom you love, love, love!

Can you pay for your progress the price of their pain?
Then go on, on, on! and die, still going on!

For you shall never arrive!

But you shall gain? Strength that grows by resistance,
power that is born of purpose;

A deeper insight, a clearer understanding, a
greater love.

And here and there, along steep hillsides, beside
yawning chasms,

A warm hand shall clasp yours,
Clear eyes shall look into yours with the look that

knows and responds,
And you shall claim comrades, your, your own!

You may not keep them with you, but you shall know
That somewhere on the pathway they too are climbing.

They too are pursuing the dream and the vision.
And in you shall be born a living, leaping Hope that

into the pain and the yearning,
Into the world's weariness and woe,

A new light shall dawn, a new day shall break;
That, whether you stand or fall, the world shall grow

by your striving;
That slowly, but with onward sweep of endeavor,

On into Freedom and Joy-life, the World is advancing!

ADELINE CHAMPNEY.

CZECKO-SLOVAK VETERANS ARRIVE IN NORFOLK

By LAURENCE TODD.

Staff Correspondent,
The Federated Press.

WASHINGTON.—In the army supply base camp near Norfolk are 3,500 Czecho-Slovak veterans, who arrive in Norfolk aboard the transport Mt. Vernon on June 13, just four months from the day they sailed from Vladivostok for home.

Seven hundred German war prisoners from Siberia were aboard the Mt. Vernon with them. The vessel was put up at Norfolk for repairs. But when the Czechs—allies and "heroic defenders of true Russia against Bolshevism"—were marched off to barracks, the Germans were sent promptly to another ship and hastened home to their Fatherland.

From June 13, to June 26, the Czechs were held as virtual prisoners in the camp. Then they were told that special permits would be issued to them as individuals good within the city limits of Norfolk between 7 a. m. and 9 p. m. This is their limit of freedom.

Word was smuggled out, and an investigation was made by a man in sympathy with the long struggle of the Czechs for liberation from Austrian tyranny. He went to their place of detention, to learn from the soldiers and their officers the reason for their fall from the status of returning heroes to that of dangerous aliens.

He learned it. The men told him that when their ship reached San Francisco they were forbidden to go ashore because, as was explained to them, their pro-Soviet beliefs made them "dangerous to the population." Their next stop was at the Panama Canal Zone, and here the resident authorities had spread the report that if they came ashore all women ought to go escorted in public, since the men "held the usual Bolshevik views regarding women." When the leading women of the city of Glen saw the veterans, however, they sent a delegation to them with apologies for the fact that these rumors had been circulated. They invited the Czechs to numerous social affairs while their vessel was going through the canal and awaiting orders to steam northward. Finally came the internment at Norfolk.

These 3,500 Czechs are almost unanimous in their admiration for Soviet Russia. A majority of them are avowed Communists. Being a Communist is not a crime for Czecho-Slovak. Of the 40,000 of their Siberian exiles who are streaming back over the earth to Prague, probably three-fourths are radical Socialists, evolving into Communists. They say they have a reason. Their reason is the truth about their part in overthrow of the Soviet rule in Siberia, and in the setting up of the Kolehak regime by the Allies.

After the February, 1917, revolution in Russia, the great of Czecho-Slovaks who had been captured or had voluntarily surrendered to the Russian armies along the Austrian front, asked permission to be formed into a special Czecho-Slovak army to fight against the Central Powers. This was done, and in November when the Bolshevik revolution took place, they were invited by the Soviets to become a nucleus for the campaign against Austria, which had been made difficult by the dissolution of the main Russian Armies.

But at that point the Allies intervened. They had determined to overthrow the Soviets, and they induced these 50,000 Czechs to start toward Vladivostok in order that they might be shipped to France. At almost the same moment, great numbers of the old czarist officers started over the same route. According to the Czech soldiers, they later found that these czarist officers had been sent along with them by the Allied diplomats in Russia, as a means of creating an Anti-Soviet army to cut off Siberian supplies from Soviet Russia. The Czechs announced that they would take no part in Russia's civil war, but would go home at once.

Next, the Allied diplomats and military officers invented the story that the Bolsheviks had raised and armed a force of Ger-

man war prisoners which would destroy the Czechs, and that it was located on the Volga front. The Czechs innocently believe this, and went into the Volga region, where in the first fight they discovered that they had been led against Russian workers. Enraged, they turned about and again started for Vladivostok.

Their officers failed them, and they formed a soviet of Czech deputies to conduct their return home. These deputies were surrounded by Allied soldiers, arrested and interned on an island near Vladivostok. Then the Allied officers sent out to the Czech soldiers a forged statement from these deputies, urging them to trust the allies and keep up their war against the non-existent "German" army in Siberia. Again the soldiers were fooled, but upon their discovery that their deputies were arrested they refused to fight any more. Even their commander, General Gaida, who still had wanted to fight the Soviets, refused to support Kolehak, and was dismissed by the dictator. He went to Vladivostok, attempted to revolt, and was quickly taken prisoner and shipped home. His rebellion was suppressed by Japanese troops.

The second uprising on January 31, 1920, was successful, due almost entirely to the stand taken by General Graves against the Japanese officers who threatened to wipe out the Czechs and Russians. Kolehak's supporters ran away to Japan, where they stayed until the last of the American troops had sailed, on April 3. Then they returned to enjoy the results of the Japanese seizure of the city on April 4. Before leaving, the Czechs issued a formal protest against the Japanese outrages against the Russian Soviets and the Zemstro government of the Far East."

GERMAN WHITE PLOT

Red Revolution to be
Provoked.

THEN KAPP AGAIN.

M. Philips Price.

BERLIN.—The danger of a new reactionary coup d'etat has grown immensely. In Bavaria and East Prussia counter revolutionary troops have been massed, whole divisions of "Freicorps," supposed to be demobilized, have been brought to Mecklenburg and Pomerania with their arms. The "Frontbund," an organization of counter-revolutionary officers, who openly are preparing for a coup, founded in Paderborn, is spreading rapidly.

The Civil Guards have not been dissolved. They have succeeded in securing that they shall retain their arms, and their extension is being carried on through the whole country at high speed. In the Regular Army the Republican officers are being systematically removed, and those who have been dismissed for loyalty to the Constitution during the Kapp week have not been reinstated. All round Berlin detachments of the notorious Liechtechlag Corps and Bavarian troops have been concentrated.

Forcing Revolution.

Hand-in-hand with these militarist preparations go the political preparations. The plan is to bring about a "Kommunist coup," against which it will be possible to take action as defenders of order and of society. How they think of acting is disclosed by a recent article in "Vorwaerts," in which it says: "The Regular Army and the Freicorps will remain passive as far as possible and in the form of military coup, in order to enable the revolt to spread. The people and the Government should for a time stew in the juice of a Red Terror. Meanwhile the Bolsheviks from the right will perfect the chaos in Middle Germany."

"Under the excuse of the defence against Bolshevism the Freicorps massed in Westphalia will cut off the coal transport and at the same time with the help of the irregular bands on the farms east of the Elbe will cut off the food supplies. Then, when hunger and unemployment have reached their maximum, these troops will come in to save the situation, overthrow Bolshevism, and establish a new Government of the victors."