

"These are the times that try men's souls. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered, yet we have this consolation with us, the harder conflict the more glorious the triumph."

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY
Thomas Paine.

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!

Vol. IV—No. 6

14.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1920

WHOLE No. 138

FIVE CENTS.

AMERICAN LEGION BEFOGS CENTRALIA CASE

Palmer Bursts His Presidential Boom

Palmer's Presidential Boom Punctured

Palmer Sedition Bills Dead As a Door Nail. As Dead As Palmer's Political Ambitions.

WARNING TO PEA-NUT POLITICIANS.

By PAUL W. HANNA.

Staff Correspondent,
The Federated Press.

Washington. — Palmer's presidential boom has been hopelessly punctured. It ran into a revival of old-fashioned liberalism and collapsed. The attorney general started out, apparently, to capture the conservative vote by jailing or deporting all advocates of radical change in the economic structure of the country. He has run squarely into the first wave of returning public rationalism and is already on the defensive.

The man who had charge of espionage cases for the department of justice during the war, Alfred Bettman, Cincinnati, came to Washington especially to denounce the Palmer peace-time espionage bills. United States District Attorney Kane, Philadelphia, has publicly resigned his post in disgust at Palmer's tactics, and has now taken to the stump to combat the post-war inquisition.

The Palmer bills in congress are said to be quite dead. A host of witnesses, from Samuel Gompers up and down, have apparently converted the house committee to a belief that the present federal law to punish enemies of the state is sufficient to cope with all genuine traitors.

This week witnessed the second hearing before the senate committee which is investigating Russian propaganda. Ludvig C. A. K. Martens, representatives of the soviet government in America, was again the star witness. In a formal statement Martens explained that his instructions from Moscow forbade him to interfere in any manner with the internal affairs of the United States, directing him instead to labor only for the restoration of friendly trade and diplomatic relations with America.

On being questioned about the alleged efforts of the soviet government to stir up revolutions abroad, Martens said:

"In the early days of the Russian revolution, when all the world was arrayed against Russia, the soviet government did appeal to the working class in other countries to help prevent the destruction of the workers' and peasants' regime in Russia. But that is no longer necessary, and the policy has been abandoned. Soviet Russia is now able to cope with all its enemies, at home and abroad. It does not need the help of revolutions anywhere to sustain it. It regards the present as a time for reconstruction and is anxious for peace and friendship with all nations."

Martens further explained in answer to questions from Senator

LENIN URGES WORKERS USE ALL METHODS

"The party must be everywhere where there are workers where it can address workers, where it can influence the working-class."

REJECTION POLITICAL ACTION BLUNDER.

By the Federated Press.
Hamburg, Germany. — A social revolution is only accomplished well by working through trade unions of the Gompers sort, and by going wherever labor is to be found, declares Nicolai Lenine, head of the Russian soviet government, in a letter written to the Communist party of Germany.

"From the point of view of Marxist theory, as well as from that of the three Russian revolutions, I regard the rejection of participation in capitalist parliaments and in conservative trade unions of the Gompers type, as a big blunder," declares Lenine.

"The fight against the traitors to Socialism, against the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, must be waged with the utmost energy, but by political action. A still greater mistake would be to abandon the Marxian idea of a strong centralized party, for the idea of syndicalism."

"The party must take part in the capitalist parliament, in the trade unions, and even in the emasculated workmen's councils installed by the Scheidemannites; it must be everywhere where there are workers, where it can address workers, where it can influence the working class."

Borah that the unrest prevailing over the world was not due to Bolshevik propaganda sent out from Russia. "If Russia were hermetically sealed there would still be social unrest in every land where the economic conditions produce it," he said.

It developed at this hearing that if the senate committee should make a formal demand for the original instructions given Martens, in code, from Moscow, the soviet representative may offer to furnish them if he is permitted to communicate with Moscow by cable and procure permission to disclose the soviet code.

The senate committee appears to recognize that Martens may be bound in honor, as all diplomats are, not to disclose their government's cable code, and if the senators decide they want to have a look at the soviet representative's original papers they may join in a demand that the state department allow Martens to forward his request by the most direct cable route to Moscow.

The railroads are still hopelessly entangled in government operation. And congress, the lower house, especially does not dare return them to private control with the big financial guarantee which the private owners require. It is better than even money now that President Wil-

"THE community which does not protect its worst and most hated member in the free-utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or how hateful, is only a GANG OF SLAVES."

—Wendell Philipps.

Any Trade With Russia Implies Recognition of Soviet System

All Processes of Export and Import, Including Co-operatives, Now Thoroughly Nationalized.

NO SACRIFICE SALES.

Russia's Surplus Supplies Will Be Marketed at Current High Prices, Not "Dumped."

By Paul Wallace Hanna.

Washington. — American business men anxious to trade with Soviet Russia see one possible joker in the qualified lifting of the blockade against that country. It lies in the Allied pretense that there is a difference between the co-operative societies of Russia and the Soviet government.

There is no difference so far as foreign trade is concerned. All the processes of import and export trade were nationalized by the Soviet government long ago. The co-operative societies have conformed to the decrees of nationalization, and are now an integral part of the Soviet system.

So-called agents of the Russian co-operatives now living aboard who pretend they are authorized to purchase commodities and distribute them within Russia independently of the Soviet government are rank impostors, comparable only with Bakhmetieff, Sazanoff and others when the latter pose as Russian ambassadors at Washington or Paris.

son will either recall his restoration proclamation, returning the roads March 1, or congress will pass a resolution to continue government operation indefinitely.

The transportation eggs that were broken in December, 1917, are so thoroughly mixed and stirred together that all the Humpty-Dumpties in Washington and Wall St. seem unable to put them apart and together again by March 1.

Trade Involves Tacit Recognition

Business men who are familiar with the chicanery and trickery that have characterized Allied diplomacy in Russia anticipate that the thoroughly established nationalization of foreign trade in Soviet Russia may presently be heralded abroad as a "Bolshevik-trick," suddenly put into execution to thwart the humanitarian effort of the Allies to feed the Russian masses.

The point to be remembered is that trade of any kind with Russia—either internal or foreign—involves a tacit recognition of and actual co-operation with the Soviet government, which owns and operates the entire transportation system, the port facilities and the very stocks of raw materials and grain which must form the basis of such trade.

It is generally reported, also, that a big majority of the Russian people obtain the necessities of life from the Soviet stores, integral parts of the governmental system and of the co-operative societies as they have existed for more than a year past.

Allies Must Accept Soviet.

In their advertised willingness to resume trade with Russia the Allies must either accept and work through the Soviet machinery of distribution which touches every inhabitant of the country, or else restore the blockade on the pretended ground that Lenin has shown himself too dishonest for the impeccable western business man to deal with.

There is another "materialistic" interpretation of the latest blockade move. The Allies aim to make some of their flock of dependent states at least partially self-supporting. Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Poland and Rumania have all been a heavy drain upon the Allied treasuries ever since they were sponsored by the western powers.

The case of Poland is typical. A battle front between Poland and Russia is a twisted torque which binds the commercial arteries that have sustained Poland

for more than a century. As late as 1908 the business men of Poland protested against a proposal discussed at Moscow to set Poland free. The claims of Polish nationalism did not weigh against the commercial convenience of union with Russia.

Free Poland Flat Broke.

The free Poland created fifteen months ago has been industrially prostrated since the day of its birth. Like the neighboring Baltic state, Poland has been living on the bounty of its creators. And so it (and they) must continue to live until the anti-Bolshevik battle line evaporates to permit a free interchange of commodities with the parent country—Russia.

Under the terms of the lifted blockade Poland and the other artificial states will be encouraged not only to trade with Russia, but to collect a commission from all the business flowing through their territories between Russia and the outside world. If this plan succeeds the Allies will have passed their bill for border states charity on to the Bolshevik "devil."

I understand the Soviet government is fully aware of this item of Allied strategy and is prepared to meet it. Russia's stock of surplus supplies will not be "dumped" on the outer world as a sacrifice. It will be sold at the prices quoted abroad, which means in most cases for many times what flax, leather, furs and wheat sold at prior to the war. And if they cannot pay, they will not get the goods.

Incidentally, the inflated American dollar will discourage buying by the Soviet government in the United States. Certain classes of machinery and other articles not to be had promptly from any other source will certainly be bought here, and the bill will run into scores of millions of dollars. But our long military intervention in Siberia, the trucking of our diplomacy to British influence and the inflated dollar are expected to bring the Soviet authorities here to shop for nothing that they can as conveniently get elsewhere.

941 FIRMS WANT RUSSIAN TRADE

Martens Submits List of U. S. Corporations Anxious to Begin Business Relations.

Washington. — A list of 941 American firms that wish to do business with Soviet Russia was presented to the Senate Committee investigating Russian propaganda by Ludvig C. A. K. Martens, commercial representatives of the Soviet government in America.

The list was submitted in response to a request made by the Senate committee at Monday's hearing. The names of business men were taken from the files of the commercial department of the Russian Soviet Bureau in New York and include only those firms which have expressed a positive desire to enter into business relations with Soviet Russia.

Almost every line of manufacturing is represented in the list submitted, such as medical and optical supplies, dyes, paints and chemicals, agricultural machinery, leather, textiles, shoes, clothing, foodstuffs, electrical supplies, paper, talking machines, stoves, automobiles, tractor machinery, tools and printing presses.

The firms are situated in 32 different states, 417 being located in New York alone, 66 in Massachusetts, 87 in Michigan and 52 in Pennsylvania.

At the next session of the Senate committee, scheduled for Friday, Marten announced that he will submit a list of firms with which contracts have already been concluded for the purchase of goods for the Russian republic.

The Cudahy Packing Company, Morris & Co., Borden Condensed Milk Company, the Pittsburgh Steel Company, Swift & Co., Wilson & Co., and the Denison Manufacturing Company are among the firms listed.

LEGION BEFOGS CENTRALIA CASE

Affidavit Alleging Facts, Since Disproved, Circulated by Local Post.

Seattle.—The American Legion post of Centralia in sending broadcast an affidavit about the Armistice Day shooting, repeating the stories since disproved by the testimony at coroner's inquest.

The affidavit was drawn up by Mayor Rogers and two commissioners of Centralia and has been widely printed in the capitalist papers of the Northwest, which are trying to hide the real facts of the shooting.

Charging that a peaceful parade was fired upon by the I. W. W. men, the affidavit goes on to tell how "exservice men overpowered the murderer: of their dead comrade and delivered him to jail. That evening he was taken from jail and hanged by persons unknown."

After talking about an alleged "plot" against returned soldiers laid "two or three weeks before the tragedy," the affidavit winds up with a peroration which tells with many adjectives how "all patriotic people in the twin cities of Centralia and Chehalis and vicinity arose as one man and joined in a determination to bring the guilty parties to prompt trial at the bar of justice and to cleanse the community down to the last element of disloyalty and sedition."

This smoke screen propaganda of the legion post will fail, say Seattle union men, as it is a frantic effort to hide the sworn facts, attested by Dr. Frank L. Rickford and many others, that the legionaries smashed the door of the union hall before a shot was fired.

Above all, unionists declare, the affidavit seeks to divert attention from the mayor's actions in the lynching of an ex-service man, Wesley Everett.

The propaganda will fail, unionists assert, because organized labor of Washington will bring out the facts to the world. A working class jury selected by the Central Labor Council of Seattle will sit side by side with the trial jury in court and report the testimony to the Union Record and other labor papers.

RED ARMY'S STRENGTH

AN OFFICIAL REVELATION.

Griffin Harry.

Dorpat, Jan. 1. — In talk with me today, Secretary Klushko, of the Soviet Delegation, summed up the policy of the Soviet Republic upon the conclusion of the agreement with Estonia.

"First, we do not disguise our desire for a similar peace with all the Border States," he said. "Our creed—the creed which we are fighting for—is self determination. But it must be applied to ourselves also."

"The border States and their (Continued on page 2)

THE AMERICAN LEGION.

The members of the American Legion, who belong to the workingclass, are honest and really believe that they are acting in a manner that best suits them, by joining the American Legion. Because we can see the causes that prompted the formation of this organization, we want to issue a word of warning to them.

In the first place, we will present a list of recent acts, sponsored by the American Legion;—

1. They attracted attention by "scabbing" on the Seattle longshoremen. The Seattle longshoremen had refused to aid the villainous campaign of Kolchak, in which hundreds of American boys and thousands of Russian lives were being needlessly sacrificed. They thereupon refused to load any munitions for Siberia, rightly believing that an army without ammunition, is like a Ford without gasoline. This act the longshoremen of Seattle had tremendous weight with those who were striving to assist the people of Russia to form their own government, in the manner they deemed fit. The head men of the American Legion foresaw that if such actions were to be pursued by ALL the workers of this country, that imperialism would receive a set-back, consequently they used the rank and file of the American Legion to stab the Russian workers in the back.

2. Members of the Legion, and as yet the Legion has NOT disowned the attack, attacked and destroyed the office of the Oakland "World".

3. Members of the Legion burned and destroyed thousands of dollars' worth of literature belonging to the Cincinnati local of the Communist Labor Party. They committed this unlawful act, over the protest of the Mayor of that city, Mayor Galvin.

4. The members of the Legion threatened armed resistance, in case the Rev. Irwin, St. John Tucker spoke at an Amnesty Meeting in Reading, Pa. This also was done, over the protest of the local mayor.

5. The Legion in New York State and other States, exhibited a bigotry, more fitted for the Dark Ages, than 1919, in refusing to allow Fritz Kreisler, the greatest violinist in the world to-day, to play. Kreisler's only crime being that when war was declared he stood by Austria, like the members of the Legion stood by the American government.

6. Refused to allow the Committee of Forty-Eight, an organization of American liberals, to meet in the Hotel Statler St. Louis, Mo.

7. The David Wisted Post (Duluth) supported Judge Morris, in his arbitrary dealings with Joel Lichtem, thus assisting a man who had broken the first amendment to the Constitution.

8. STANDS FOR UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING. After fourteen million dead have clearly demonstrated that you cannot destroy militarism with militarism.

9. Threatens to R-L-O-T, if the Mayor of Springfield, Mass. did not stop an Amnesty Meeting.

We do not intend to quote ALL the acts of the Legion, just a few in order to prove our contention, and that is, that the Legion is an organization formed for the sole purpose of being used by the reactionaries of this country, to stifle every progressive movement that dares to assert itself.

Many of the Legion members have joined the local Post, because they believe that they will then obtain their State Bonus. We beg to inform them that they cannot be denied their bonus, because it has been passed and is now a law of the State. Hence they are legally entitled to it. So all this talk about the Legion obtaining the bonus for the men, is so much cant and we urge all those members who joined the Legion, with this reason in mind, to withdraw and join a real organization, THE WORLD WAR VETERANS!

After studying the acts and the make-up of the American Legion, it is a pleasure to read the declaration and aims of the British National Union of Ex-Service Men. We commend them to the attention of the members of the American Legion:—

NATIONAL UNION OF EX-SERVICE MEN.

To the discharged or demobilised man.

Remember:—You have now become an ordinary civilian worker once again and your general interests are identical with those of all your fellow-workers.

The appeal then goes to state:—

"We are ex-Service men, but we are workers, and we realise that our general interests are identical with those of our fellow-workers. We shall therefore support the Trade Unions in their struggle to improve the conditions under which all the Workers—including ourselves—must work.

"To maintain that spirit of comradeship which existed among us while we were together in the Services. And to reinforce it with that sense of comradeship which should inspire us who are still fighting together, but this time for political and industrial aims at home."

WE DID NOT FIGHT TO SAVE THE COUNTRY FOR THE CAPITALISTS, BUT FOR THE PEOPLE. WE HOLD THAT INDUSTRY, LIKE GOVERNMENT, SHOULD BE CARRIED ON "BY THE PEOPLE FOR THE PEOPLE" AND WE SHALL THEREFORE WORK WHOLE-HEARTEDLY FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM ACCORDING TO THIS PRINCIPLE.

Members of the rank and file of the Legion! You are workers, just like those with whom you work on the job. You know, better than we can tell you, that your interests are bound up with those of your fellow-worker. You know that the interests of your boss and yourself are not identical. You know that tomorrow, if the warehouses are full of goods and there is no further demand for them, that you will be thrown out of work. You know what it means to be thrown out of work. It means POVERTY! If tomorrow some person were to invent a machine that would do your job and ten more men's jobs, in the same time as it takes the whole eleven of you, that your boss would bring in that machine, employ one man to watch it and fire the rest of you. It is against YOUR interests to have labor-saving machinery and it is to YOUR master's interests to have labor-saving machinery. How can you reconcile the two economic interests. Yet you are asked to join the American Legion, along with the plutocrats of this country and you expect to assist yourselves. You will find that you are just the pawns in the game of your masters and you will be moved about, just like we move pawns about on the chess board. You will be used to combat every move that is made for more wages and shorter hours. The result will be that your standard of living will be kept down, because you will be helping those that profit by cheap labor to cheapen labor and remember that low wages for one man means low wages for all men on the same job. Did you ever think of the Legion in that light?

Oh to be sure! They will tell you that we "stabbed you in the back", just because we are OPPOSED TO WAR. With

all the passion of our soul and with every ounce of energy at our command, we stand opposed to war. We shall oppose every war that is the result of the present system. If the capitalist class want war, then let THEM FIGHT IT. We favor only ONE war and that is war against capitalism. We shall fight to the last ditch against the exploitation and degradation of the working class. Someday when you realise the truth about matters of vital importance to yourself, then you will stand alongside of us, playing your part as an enlightened and class conscious worker. Until then our slogan is ON WITH THE FIGHT THAT REALLY MATTERS—THE FIGHT AGAINST CAPITALISM AND FOR COMMUNISM.

"If comradeship of heart, not lip,
Is more to your taste than cash;
If ancient frauds and tinsel gods,
Are idols you long to smash;
If your patience breaks at the honored fakes,
That the pious priests have decked;
If you're not content, till the veil is rent,
And the temple of lies is wrecked;
Then your place is made in our stern brigade,
That never can halt or pause.
Till the war is done and the fight is won,
The fight for the human cause,
So take your place, get our step and pace,
In spite of the old world's din,
And get the swing of the song WE sing,
And join in the march—Fall In."

"A FOOL THERE WAS"

The Department of Labor has declared that membership in the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party is a crime. Another King Canute has arisen in the shape of Secretary Wilson!

Let us study the history of the evolution of mankind. We need not go back beyond the Tertiary period. The Tertiary period found the world basking in the sunshine of prosperity. There was an abundance of food to be had. Like the federal lords, the giant dinosaurs of that period, were lazy and clumsy. They did not have to struggle for a living. Food could be had in abundance, without the display of any great amount of physical energy. In fact, food came to the giant dinosaurs, just as simple as it came to the feudal lords. Consequently the giant dinosaurs always living in idle luxury, with no necessity on their part to worry about tomorrow's food, became big and clumsy creatures. All they had to do, just like the feudal lords, was to eat, lie about in the sun and sleep. No work required at all. These giant dinosaurs believed, just like the feudal lords, that this state of affairs would last for all time to come. So they never worried about tomorrow.

Then there arose the carnivora, the primitive forefathers of our tigers, wolves, hyenas, foxes. With their advance the giant dinosaurs were compelled to face the issue that presented itself. No more could they loiter around and bask lazily in the sun, now they had to fight to live. In the struggle for existence they lost out. Big and clumsy, they could not compete with the lithe, lighter and more intelligent carnivora. So ended the race of animals known as the dinosaurs. The feudal lords lived in idle luxury and when they were forced to struggle for their right to live, they found that they were unable to compete with their foes, the rising bourgeoisie and so the feudal lords were defeated. The bourgeoisie after that memorable struggle, the French Revolution, rose to power. They too believed and still believe that things will be the same tomorrow, as they are today.

The carnivora having overcome the dinosaurs and demonstrated its fitness to live, rested secure. Every known foe they had conquered, and they too believed, just like the capitalist class of today, that things will be the same all the time. But when the carnivora drove the weaker members of society to the trees, such as the bat, the squirrel and the ape, they sounded their own deathknell. These weaker animals forced to the trees were compelled to adapt themselves to their new environment or die. All must obey that stern biologic law, "Adapt or Die". The ape, the primeval man, found the use of its front paws, a means to enable him to swing from branch to branch. The necessity of swinging from branch to branch brought into being the hands. Primeval man then started on his long road to progress. With the use of his hands, he commenced to devise certain methods of attack. Devising new methods of attack compelled him to use his brain and developed it.

When the carnivora drove the ancestors to man to the trees, it was there that primeval man secured the training which made it possible for him to wage war upon the carnivora, a warfare a thousand-fold more disastrous than the warfare of the carnivora upon the stupid Tertiary monsters. Imagine if you can how the carnivora must have viewed with amazement, the maneuverings of primeval man? How they must have been struck with the force of the weapons that were invented by him? Primeval man had to adapt himself or die before the onslaught of the carnivora. So he devised methods of defense out of sticks and stones and brought forth the arrow. He devised another method of attack and that was fire. He built huge fires and used them for the purpose of keeping the carnivora away. With the arrow and fire, primeval man himself never realised what the future had in store for him. But today man dominates in the animal world. The carnivora must obey man.

So comrades, the feudal lords fell before the rising bourgeoisie. Today the rising bourgeoisie, drunk with power, tries to stem the tide of Communism. So sure as the French Revolution witnessed the death of feudalism, so sure will 1920 witness the beginning of the end of capitalism. Gorged with profits, it has filled its greedy stomach to excess and now it stands grappling with death itself. Frenzied and hysterical it attempts to stem the advance of the working-class. But it is powerless to do so. The people today are growing tired of the social oppression that destroys their impulse to live. Tired with simply toiling and toiling, with no chance to really enjoy life, they now demand the right to live. Every strike is but the defiant protest of the people, uttered in no uncertain tones against their oppressors. That voice that has echoed throughout the ages is now making itself heard again. It was heard by Rameses in his pylons at Thebes; it was heard by Bourbon Louis at Versailles; it was heard by the little White Czar in the Kremlin; it was heard by the Kaiser in Berlin; and it was heard by Judge Gary, hence the ten per cent increase for the steel workers. It will be heard again. Rameses refused to hear it and he died a miserable death; Bourbon Louis refused to hear it and he died on the guillotine; the Czar refused to hear it and in the passing of night, a kingdom slipped from his hands; the Kaiser refused to hear it and he too, witnessed the slipping of a kingdom from his grasp. The capitalists of this country refuse to listen to the voice of the people. But the people are not going to make whining appeals. They are going to organize in the factory, mine and shop and someday by the use of their economic power, they are going to capture the State and take from your hands, masters of America, the power by which you suppress them. Having wrested political power from your control, they will commence to build the new social order. A social order that will mean the freedom of the working-class. The capitalist class, of which you are

part, used the guillotine, but we of the working-class shall be more terrible in our day. We shall inflict upon you a vengeance, born of our terrible experiences. Remembering the millions of our class whom you have betrayed and degraded, we shall not spare you. We shall have as much pity for you, as you had for us. Your nice soft hands will bear the marks of our vengeance. OUR PUNISHMENT FOR YOU WILL BE TO COMPEL YOU TO DISCARD YOUR SILK AND ATINS, AND DON THE OVERALLS. YOU WILL BE FORCED TO WORK!!

The Communist and Communist Labor Parties maybe outlawed by the Government, but it is not the parties that count in the struggle of the working-class, it is what they stand for. Drive these parties underground and you compel their members to get down to serious business. Much time has been wasted in the radical movement, by the engaging of its members in spectacular demonstrations that mean nothing, but are the means of treating the members to an occasional emotional joy-ride. We have become drunk at times, intoxicated with revolutionary phraseology. We have thought that it was only necessary for us to say, "Workers of the world unite" and it would be so. When God said "let there be Light", he had nothing on some of our revolutionaries. They try to imitate Him, by saying let there be a revolution. Now the Government has come to our rescue. They have decided to arrest and deport every alien they suspect of being a radical. Furthermore, after they have got through with the alien they are going to arrest the citizens of this country. DOES ALL THIS MEAN THAT WE WILL BE COMPELLED TO STOP OUR PROPAGANDA AND BE CONTENT WITH EVERYTHING AND ANYTHING THAT OUR MASTERS LIKE TO SHOVE DOWN OUR THROATS? DOES IT? It means, that we shall engage in the same kind of propaganda, but we shall engage in it in a different manner. Instead of shouting our message from the house-tops, we shall see that the worker receives and reads the written word. We shall engage in every strike of the working-class. We shall engage in every working-class fight. We shall, masters of America, point to the working-class the cause of their economic ills and we shall also point out to them the cure. Our numbers may be lessened, but our strength will increase. It will increase because we will know who are the members that can be relied upon. A garden never suffers by weeding, the soil is strengthened. So with the Communist Labor Party. Fools are they that believe for one moment that the Coal Strike, the Steel Strike, the Seattle Strike and the Winnipeg strike were the cause of radical agitations. If the social conditions were not there to produce the social discontent, there is not one agitator with the power to call a strike, much less conduct one. Do you think that the deportation of thousands of aliens will answer the question of the woman who wants to know why sugar is 25 cents per pound? When your factories close down and thousands are out of work, do you think that you can point to the "Bufford" and satisfy the empty stomachs of the unemployed? But why ask questions of a class, that is drunk with power? Let us go on with our work. We shall engage more in the activities of the various American Federation of Labor locals. We shall bring the members of our class more together. We shall agitate for the greater unionism. Coming together as one, we shall act as one, in the meantime, masters of America, what are you going to do about it?

IRISH SOCIALISTS AND AMERICAN TYRANNY.

To the Editor, Watchword of Labour.

Dear Comrade,—At the half-yearly general meeting of the S. P. I., held on the second inst., the following resolution was proposed by Eadmonn MacAlpine, seconded by Cathal O'Shanon, and unanimously adopted:

"Resolved that the Socialist Party of Ireland, in half-yearly general meeting assembled this 2nd January, 1920, vigorously protest against the arrest of Jim Larkin and Ben Gitlow in the United States of America by the heresy-hunting Lusk Committee of the State of New York; and be it further,

"Resolved that we appeal to the Irish workers in the United States to take action to secure the release of Larkin, the man whose personality, courage, and devotion to working-class ideals raised the Irish workers from the abyss into which alien and domestic capitalism had thrust them; and who, along with his great colleague, James Connolly, is to-day the inspiration of the Irish working class in its painful struggle towards the achievement of the Workers' Republic; and be it further.

"Resolved that we protest against the arrest of Jack Carney, editor of Truth, Duluth, Minnesota, whose outspoken and fearless advocacy of industrial freedom in the United States is worthy of the best traditions of the Irish working class; and be it further.

"Resolved that we, living under the heel of a foreign military dictatorship, send our fraternal greetings to the I. W. W., the Communist Labour Party, and all our working-class comrades in America who are being oppressed by the industrial oligarchy of America."

The favour of publication is requested.—Yours fraternally,
GEO. SPAIN, Secretary.

Socialist Party of Ireland,
42 N. St. George's St., Dublin.

TO SUPPRESS BOLSHEVISM.

It is announced that a motion picture is to be taken of the original copy of the Constitution of the United States, and exhibited in every movie house in the country, as part of the campaign of the State Department against Bolshevism.

This is excellent. The idea should be taken up with avidity. In addition to the old Constitution, the Declaration of Independence should be shown in every Bijou Dream and Nickelodeon in the country.

We herewith suggest that when the orchestra or organ or piano plays the National Anthem, and after the people have sat down again, and after there has been an impressive showing of the pictures of George Washington and Benjamin Franklin and Robert Lansing and Leonard Wood and other great men, these words be flashed and kept standing until every man and woman and child in the house shall know them by heart:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, of prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

After the applause has died down, and after pictures of A. Mitchell Palmer, John Hancock, Thomas Jefferson, Albert Sydney Burleson, Thaddeus C. Sweet, John Adams, and other lovers of liberty have aroused the passion of the people to a still higher pitch, these words should be flashed, and kept standing until every child is able to repeat them by heart:

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, AND AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

Then, with a showing of the inspiring faces of Elihu Root, the Commander of the American Legion, Governor Lowden, and views of Eugene V. Debs in jail, the audience will reverently and solemnly file out, with a pure and passionate love of liberty in their hearts.

ONE REAL NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

"My New Year's message to Labor is: Be courageous, be audacious, be even reckless in fighting for an ever-increasing share of the wealth produced by hand and brain."

—Mr. Robert Williams, Secretary British Transport Federation.

RED ARMY'S STRENGTH

(Continued from page 1)

backers—France, England, and America—should have learned by this time that great wars cannot be won by money and munitions alone. They require men. Ours are fighting for the vision of the new world which already has begun to exist in Russia. Therefore, every army fighting us is over-generalized and under-manned.

Peace Offer Expected Soon.

"We have known that for a long time; our enemies are beginning to understand it. So we expect before long peace offers, beginning with the Baltic States. On that point it would be well for the Allied peoples to study the agreement with Estonia which we have issued for worldwide publication. We want the peoples to understand it.

"As for any desire on our part to spread Bolshevism by the sword throughout Europe, I believe this horrid fear is the real reason of the existing Governments keeping olive this hopeless and suicidal war. Our obvious effort to release regiments on the Estonian front during the recent negotiations, so that the men shall return to work, is one little proof of our real intention.

"It is absurd for sane people to suppose that a Workers' and Peasants Government has any place in it for militarism. Imagine what chance such a policy would have for existence in a country as war weary as Russia, even if the Soviet leaders willed it. When we deal with the Entente we shall be willing far more, insist on — provisions making possible the demobilisation of the 2,500,000 men in the Red Army."

SENSATIONAL SECRET DOCUMENTS

Allies Trying for Peace With Austria in 1917.

CZECHS AS A PAWN

From Our Special Correspondent M. PHILIPS PRICE.

Berlin, January 5.—I have received information from a reliable source in Prague that at the end of this month they will take place there the trial of Moona, one of the leaders of the Czech-Slovak Left Socialists.

He is accused of participation, while in Russia during 1918, in a so-called "conspiracy" with the Bolsheviks to hand the Czech-Slovak troops over to the Germans. The charge of treason is brought against him because he edited a Czech-Slovak newspaper in Moscow at that time which defended the Soviet Government. I am informed that Moona's legal advisers are in possession of documents which should make the trial of international interest.

After the Czech-Slovak rising in Russia in June of 1918, the Soviet Government seized in the Bureau of the Czech-Slovak National Council a number of documents which throw a flood of light on the relations between this Council and the Allies. I learn that these documents, which are to appear at the trial, concern correspondence during 1917 and 1918 between Masaryk (now President of Czechoslovakia), who was at that time in London, and Dr. Maksa, President of the Czech-Slovak National Council in Russia.

Separate Peace with Austria.

It transpires that during 1917 secret negotiations were going on between the Allies and Austria, with a view to securing a separate peace with the latter. This news greatly alarmed the National Council, which realised that it would jeopardise the hoped-for independence of Czechoslovakia—for Austria was attempting to get as one of the conditions of a separate peace the recognition of the principle that Czechoslovakia was an integral part of the Dual Monarchy.

Masaryk, in a telegram to Maksa, says that the situation was very serious, as the Allies were ready to sacrifice Czechoslovakia and make a separate peace with Austria.

Another document describes negotiations between Maksa and the head of the French Military Mission in Russia, who hinted that if the Allies were to recognise the independence of Czechoslovakia the latter must raise a rebellion against the Soviet Republic in the interest of the Allies. On hearing this Masaryk, who was still in London, telegraphed to postpone taking action until he had made further representation to the Allies, but, on obtaining no concession in terms, he informed Maksa that it was necessary to take action in order to secure the recognition of the Czech-Slovak State, even if it meant bloodshed in Russia. Shortly after this telegram Czech-Slovak troops seized the Siberian Railway and the line of the Volga.

Since that time every effort has been made in Prague and Paris to prevent the publication of these documents.



New York Sensation

Mother and Daughter are Doing Nicely, Thank You, While Father is Flat-wheeling Around Looking Like an Accident going Somewhere to Happen.

NEW YORK.—Realizing the need for women taking a greater interest in the affair of the world, J. E. C. Donnelly, well-known as printer of James Connolly's works in America, announces that his family has made room for and received a fine lusty Colleen. Realizing that good women are born not made, Donnelly is stated to be proud of his achievement.

When interviewed by our correspondent, Donnelly was moved to state:—

Of all the words of poet and pen:

The saddest of these,
It might have been... TWINS.

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LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY

I am glad that a system of labor prevails under which laborers can strike when they want to, where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances, and are not tied down to work whether you pay them for it or not. I like a system which lets a man "quit" when he wants to, and I wish it might prevail everywhere.

I want a man to have a chance to better his condition; that is the true system.

I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was hired laborer.—Abraham Lincoln.

---COME AND SEE US!

Time there was when the radical movement was full of all manner of freakish ideas. Every freakish fad under the sun was launched in the radical movement. But today, the educated worker is no longer a long-haired, red-tie zealot, he is a studious reader of the financial papers of the master-class. He reads and ponders over them with keener eyes and sharper intellect than the paid prostitutes who write for them. We trust that those of you who accept the word of capitalist papers as gospel truth, will come to our meetings and hear what we have to say. We cannot accommodate all of the workers, but we can find room for a goodly crowd. Next Sunday, JACK CARNEY, the editor of "Truth", will speak on the:—

"Amercanism of Abraham Lincoln."

Lincoln's Birthday is on Feb. 12th. Do you know what Lincoln stood for? He was a man, who had red blood in his veins. He was not one of those supineless creatures, with the backbone of a gnat, who masquerade as statesmen these days. Come and hear what this GREAT AMERICAN had to say in his time.

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110 West 40th Street,
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Ten cents at News Stands; Subscription Price: \$5 per year; \$2.50 per half-year.

An Appeal from the Hungarian Communist Party to the International Working Class

Comrades,—After months of heroic fighting we have been beaten by the well-equipped and well-organized armies of the counter-revolutionists. The White Guards of the Hungarian counter-revolution are terrorising the people by barbarous acts of repression and are supported by International capitalism—a war of extermination never before witnessed for its horrors against the Hungarian proletariat.

Thousands of our comrades have been cruelly tortured in order to make them confess to crimes they have not committed and finally sentenced to death, the method being by beheading. Women and children have not been spared, women have been flogged naked in the streets, lines of workers and students have been tied to the tails of horses and dragged along the ground until they have died of exhaustion; Soviet delegates have been buried alive. The persecutions and tortures are not yet at an end. The degenerate Hungarian nobility, thirsty for blood, has viciously revenged itself on the defenceless working-class, because, in feudal Hungary the workers dared to institute a Communist Society. Mutilated corpses are still to be seen lying about, but still they search for fresh victims. Now has begun a judicial comedy, for the persecutions still go on under so-called legal forms. Comrades who honestly and conscientiously carried out their duties in the Communist Government are awaiting their death sentence!

All suspected of sympathy towards the working-class movement are being interned in the camp at Heymsmasker, so no revolutionary movement is able to rise again between the Danubq and Tibisk. The concentration camp has been prepared for 120,000 persons, and has been named the Hunger Doom! Heymasker during the war was a military camp for fever stricken and other contagious diseases.

The captured Red Army which fought so bravely for four months to defend the revolution has been deported to Rumania and other regions.

We turn to the International working-class, we appeal to its conscience and reason to help the Hungarian people in this terrible hour of need, to save them from the death sentence and internment in the camps of hunger and death.

The Hungarian Revolution is not dead; the Hungarian Proletariat will again take its place in the last fight. Do not allow your Hungarian brothers to be exterminated. In sending you our best greeting, we are certain that the Italian, French, English, Belgian, and American working-class will not ignore our appeal our cause is their cause, and once

again we cry, "Long live the Social Revolution!"
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.
Translated from "Avanti,"
December 7th, 1919.

SCOTS SUPPORT MOSCOW

I.L.P. AND THE INTERNATIONAL.
(From Our Own Correspondent.)
Paisley, Jan. 5th.—The annual conference of the Scottish I. L. P. branches was held here yesterday, with a record attendance of 218 delegates, representing 110 branches.
The main item on the agenda referred to the alliance with the Labour Party and its affiliation to the Labour Party and its affiliation to the Second International.

By 147 votes to 53 Labour alliance was endorsed, and by 158 votes to 28 it was agreed that the I. L. P. should sever its connection with the Second International and affiliate with the Third International.
The latter decision was received by an enthusiastic demonstration of approval, the great majority of the delegates joining in a frantic outburst of cheering. The decision will go forward to the Easter Conference of the Party for consideration.
The motion in favour of affiliation with the Third International was urged strongly by Robert Foulis, of Edinburgh who maintained that the Second International had scuttled its principles and was composed of men who had no faith in Socialism, and they must now look to Lenin as the leader of the movement which would destroy world capitalism.

—"London Daily Herald".

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SHORT HISTORY OF THE MODERN BRITISH WORKING- CLASS MOVEMENT

By W. W. CRAIK,

(member of the National Union of Railwaymen, and acting-Principal of the Central Labor College.)

We trust that every reader of "TRUTH" will send the small sum of \$1.00 to the following address:—

"The Plebs" League, 11a Pen-y-wern Road, Earl's Court, London S. W. 5 ENGLAND.

They will receive a copy of the above work and a monthly magazine, edited by the working-class, for three months.

We have no hesitation in giving the above work our personal endorsement. Whilst it deals with the British working-class movement in parts, yet in the main it is of inestimable benefit to the workers of this country.

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TRUTH--Duluth, Minn.

EDITORIALS

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Born February 12th, 1809 Died April 15th, 1865.

This week finds us setting out on our third year as editor of "Truth". For over two years we have held the position of editor of this paper. During those two years we have watched the growth of the paper, along with the growth of the movement, that made the paper's growth possible. Looking back over those two years we have nothing to regret, the fights and the oppression that we have had to contend with, have only served to inspire us to go on with the fight and to weld the men and women together, who have so nobly stood behind us. It is a coincidence that we should be celebrating our second birthday as editor of "Truth" and at the same time celebrating the birthday of that great American, Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln was a great man, not great in the sense that greatness is understood today, but great because he wrote his memory in the hearts of the common people of America. Tested by the standard of statesmen of to-day, Lincoln was not a great man, but tested by the test of real comradeship, Lincoln stands out as the greatest president that ever watched over this Republic. May America live to see the day, when there shall arise another Lincoln that will guide this Republic out of the stormy seas of sordid politics and steer it clear of the rocks of reaction.

It has been charged that we are endeavoring to introduce into this country alien ideas. Let us, in celebrating the birthday of Lincoln, read his speeches, especially his inaugural speech, delivered March 4th, 1865. Speaking at that time, he said:—

"The country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

Yet there are men who presume to represent the people, who cast into prison those who dare to even criticize the present form of government. Today in "free America" aliens are dying, on Ellis Island, for the want of medical attention. Dying amidst the frantic appeals of their comrades for medical aid. Let the American people utilize the birthday of Lincoln as a day upon which there shall arise a million hands, pledging to fight for the preservation of the rights, that were bought with the blood of their forefathers.

If any person dares to utter the following statement, to-day, they would find their homes raided and ultimately they would be arrested, at the instigation of County-Attorney Warren. E. Greene and charged with "Criminal Syndicalism":—

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is superior of capital, and deserves much higher consideration."

The above statement was made by Abraham Lincoln, July 4th, 1861. Lincoln in that same address, delivered on July 4th, 1861, showed he knew the true nature of the capitalist class of that time. Referring to the working-class he stated:

"No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch ought which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which if surrendered will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost."

At the present moment there are certain newspapers printing about the democratic nature of "our" government and its institutions. Let us recall the opinion of Abraham Lincoln, regarding the United States Supreme Court:—

"...the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decision of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made... the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal."

As to the correctness of Lincoln's point of view, we have only to examine the Supreme Court. This body is elected by the President. All Supreme Court judges receive their office, because of their political affiliations. Yet their decision is binding upon all the people, without the people having any say as to whether these judges should be allowed to assume office. There is no disputing the fact, that the United States Supreme Court is the most un-democratic institution that any country could be possessed of.

In these days when the attorney-general of this Government is accusing the Communist of attempting to overthrow the United States Government by force, it is well worth while to publish the remarks of Lincoln, taken from his inaugural address, March 4th, 1865:

"Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

Yet again, when the Maryland legislature, disagreed with Lincoln, and called a meeting at Annapolis, on April 26th, 1861, for the avowed purpose of arming the people against the United States Government, Lincoln was asked to deal with them. Before reading an extract from his reply, think again of those poor aliens, who have died on Ellis Island, the victims of the mad fecocity of politicians like Palmer, who are drunk with power and ambition. Lincoln's reply:—
Washington April 25, 1861.

Lieutenant-General Scott.

MY DEAR SIR: The Maryland legislature assembles tomorrow at Annapolis and not improbably will take action to arm the people of that State against the United States. The question has been submitted to and considered by me whether it would not be justifiable, upon the ground of necessary defense, for you, as General in Chief of the United States Army, to arrest or disperse the members of that body.

I think it would not be justifiable nor efficient for the desired object.

First. They have a clearly legal right to assemble, and we can not know in advance that their action will not be lawful and peaceful, and if we wait until they shall have acted their arrest and dispersing will not lessen the effect of their action.

America needs a Lincoln in these trying times. The need is felt all the more, when we witness the stupid and brutal actions of Attorney-General Palmer. When the rattlesnakes shall have found repose in the skulls of the Palmers and their names shall have been forgotten, like the ships that pass in the night, the name of Lincoln will shine forth in all its splendor, an inspiration to the millions that are striving for the realization of an ideal: "Peace on Earth, Goodwill to all mankind." The life of Lincoln was cut off in its prime, but he lived long enough to render such precious service to his fellow-men that his work and worth will be cherished and his memory honored by coming generations. He was one of the real heroes of American history. He lived and labored wholly for his fellow-men. He struggled bravely with all the adverse fates and forces that others might be spared the pains and privations that fell to his lot and have life richer and more abundant. He fought as heroically and unselfishly for humanity as any man that ever won the crown of martyrdom.

Fifty-five years have past, since Lincoln died at the hands of a foul and insane assassin, but America has yet to learn the true greatness of the man and the infinite value of his service to humanity. He freely laid his all upon the altar that those who came after him might escape the curse of slavery and know the joy of being free. He was absolutely true to the highest principles of his exalted character and to the loftiest aspirations of his own unfettered soul. He bore the cruellest misrepresentation, the foulest abuse and the vilest calumny, but stood firm through it all. He measured up to his true stature in every hour of trial, he served with fidelity, and without compromise to the last hour of his noble life, he paid in full the price of his unswerving integrity to his own soul and each passing century to come will add fresh luster to his immortal fame. In concluding this feeble attempt to pay tribute to a great man, we take pleasure in quoting from a lecture, delivered by Walt Whitman, in New York, April 14th, 1879:—

"When, centuries hence, (as it must, in my opinion, be centuries hence before the life of these States, or of Democracy, can be really written and illustrated,) the leading historians and dramatists seek for some personage, some special event, incisive enough to mark with deepest cut, and memorize, this turbulent Nineteenth century of ours, (not only these States, but all over the political and social world)—something, perhaps, to close that gorgeous procession of European feudalism, with all its pomp and caste-prejudices, (of whose long train we in America are yet so inextricably the heirs)—something to identify with terrible identification, by far the greatest revolutionary step in the history of the United States (perhaps the greatest of all world, our century), the absolute extirpation and erasure of slavery from the States—those historians will seek in vain for any point to serve more thoroughly their purpose, than Abraham Lincoln's death.

Dear to the Muse—thrice dear to Nationality—to the whole human race—precious to the Union—precious to the Democracy—unspeakably and forever precious—their first great Martyr Chief.

Do not forget to order Craik's book, price 65 cents through "Truth" office.

A LETTER TO PIOUS POLITICIAN PALMER!

Dear Mr. Palmer:—

It is too bad that the people are becoming wise to the straw man that you built. If they had only waited for a few more days, you might have been hailed as a popular hero, a kind of political Napoleon. But—?

You came out with lurid stories about bomb plots, robbing the workers of their Liberty Bonds, etc. and they all fell flat. What chance will the Communists have of obtaining those Liberty Bonds, when you, the Attorney-General of the United States, with all the power that your official position bestows upon you, states, that you cannot prosecute or influence the profiteers? When the high-cost-of-living has finished with the Liberty Bonds, there will be very little left of them. You know that, but you thought that it would be a fine way of bringing the workers round to your point of view, by naively suggesting that they would lose their Liberty Bonds. They are losing them every day, so your story came too late. Try something better next time!

You told lurid stories of dynamiting, bomb plots etc. and up to the present time, there has not been discovered one person who was a bomb-plotter. Either you are a durn liar or else your department is too slow? What do you say Palmer? We do not preach the use of dynamite or bombs, because we realize that the working class has a greater power than any other power on earth. The power of their strong right arm. The working class that has built the villages, developed the towns and erected the teeming cities, has no need to use dynamite. All that it needs to do, is to realize the strength of its own power and to utilize that power for its own advancement and not for the advancement of your paymasters, who are the ONLY class that advocates and uses force at every turn. We have told the workingclass that organizing as industrial unionists, they can use their economic power to their own advantage. You realized how true that was, that is why you were afraid of telling the working class WHAT YOU WERE REALLY OPPOSED TO. The working class organized in the union of ITS CLASS, can demonstrate to you, how little YOU and those YOU SERVE count in the real order of things. Be frank Palmer, and admit what we say is true?

In place of wholesale destruction and fighting on the barricades we have advocated the general strike. You fear the general strike, because it means the conscious organization of the workingclass into ONE BIG UNION. It gives to labor a power that you fear. What YOU want is street fighting, because you know that you have the necessary organization that can shoot down the workers like dogs. Palmer we are wise to your game!

We are going to march ahead, Mr. Palmer. Your unconstitutional acts will come home to roost. If the people treat you in the manner that your actions deserve, then you have only yourself to blame. When at the next election you are buried beneath an avalanche of votes, so deep, that you cannot extricate yourself, then look back at your work of New Year 1920. Your political suicide will serve as a warning to all other politicians that Abraham Lincoln WAS RIGHT when he said, "You can fool all the people some of the time....", you know the rest. We are going to close our ranks. We are going to come together, welded together by your raids, deportations arrests etc. For which we thank you Mr. Palmer!

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF LABOR.

POLITICAL ACTION.

In a letter to an American friend, Marx writing from London, November 23rd, 1871, stated:—

"The political movement of the workingclass has for its natural and ultimate aim the conquest of political power for it, and this requires, of course, that a previous organization of the working class, arising out of his economic struggles, should have reached a certain degree of maturity.

On the other hand, every movement, in which the working-class meets the ruling classes as a class and seeks to overcome them by pressure from without, is a political movement. For instance, the attempt to force from individual capitalists a reduction of labor time, in some individual factory or in some line of occupation, is a purely economic movement; but a movement trying to obtain an eight-hour law, or something similar, is a political movement. And in this way a political movement grows everywhere out of the various economic movements of the working class, that is, a movement of the class to enforce its demands in some general form, in some form, which shall have a general social power.

In "Capital", vol. 1, pages 836—7, Marx further states:—

"Hand in hand with this centralization, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develop, on an ever extending scale, the co-operative form of the labor-process, the conscious technical application of science, the methodical cultivation of the soil, the transformation of the instruments of labor into instruments of labor only usable in common, the economising of all means of production by their use as the means of production combined, socialised labor, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and this, the international character of the capitalist regime."

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolize all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organized, by the very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself. The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production, which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds, the expropriators are expropriated.

"The transformation of scattered private property arising from individual labor, into capitalist private property is, naturally, a process incomparably more protracted, violent and difficult than the transformation of capitalist private property, already practically resting upon socialised production, into socialised property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."

We defy any parliamentarian, and when we refer to a parliamentarian, we mean that type of Socialist, who believes that you can introduce Socialism through the exercise of the ballot and the consequent use of the capitalist State, to show to us where Marx was of the opinion that the workingclass could obtain its freedom by pure and simple parliamentarian methods. Marx and Engels coined a phrase, that has been echoed and re-echoed around the world, "The emancipation of the working-class must be accomplished by the working-class themselves." In other words the working-class, as a class, must organize itself and use its own power to bring about its own freedom. Where else does the power of the working-class lie, is not on the job? The dynamic power and the revolutionary initiative of the working-class must spring from the point of production. Unfortunately the parliamentarian has placed a narrow, dogmatic construction upon the term, political action. Political action to him means nothing more nor less than the casting of a ballot. He fails to understand the broad meaning of the term. W. W. Craik, in his "History of the Modern Working-Class Movement," gives a definition of political action. A definition with which we are in complete accord:—

"Economic power and political power must not be conceived as independent of each other. Political organization is the organization of the economic power of a class, as a class. While the economy of the future cannot result in economically unequal classes and, therefore, offer no foundation for political organization, nevertheless the task of consciously establishing the new economy falls to a class—the working-class. It must become a ruling-class before it can abolish class-rule. It must constitute a political organization in order to clear away the political and juridical obstacles to the organization of its economic power. It must democratize political society in order that it may find room for the free development of the democratic organs of the future industrial society. For the working-class, its political action is to its industrial organization what scaffolding is to the building of a house. Only after the house is built does the scaffolding become superfluous."

The Socialist, like James O'neal, who creates the impression that the Communists deny political action, is begging the question. What we do deny, is the argument of men like O'neal, when they attempt to fool the working-class by implying that their main weapon of attack upon the capitalist system is the vote. All that we can do with the ballot is to advertise the principles we believe in and expose the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie. If O'neal is a student of Engels, and we do not say that he is not, he will know that you cannot take hold of the capitalist State and utilise it in the interests of the working-class. The capitalist State is of no use to the working-class. To understand why it is of no use, we have only to understand how it came into being. In his "Origin of the Family", (Kerr edition, page 206) Engels points out what the State really is. "The State", states Engels, "is by no means a power forced on society from the outside; neither is it the 'realization of the ethical idea.' 'The image and the realization of reason,' as Hegel maintains. It is simply a product of society at a certain stage of evolution. It is the confession that this society has become hopelessly divided against itself, has entangled itself in irreconcilable contradictions which it is powerless to banish. In order that these contradictions, these classes with conflicting economic interests, may not annihilate themselves and society in a useless struggle a power becomes necessary that stands apparently above society and has the function of keeping down the conflicts and maintaining 'order'. And this power, the outgrowth of society, but assuming supremacy over it and becoming more and more divorced from it, is the state, Engels goes on to state, At a certain stage of the development which was of necessity accompanied by a division of society into classes, the state became the inevitable result of this division. We are now rapidly approaching a stage of evolution in production, in which the existence of classes has not only ceased to be a necessity, but becomes a positive fetter on production. Hence these classes must fall as inevitably as they once arose. The state must irrevocably fall with them. The society that is to reorganize production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, will transfer the machinery of state where it will then belong; to the Museum of Antiquities by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze ax." If O'neal is right, then Engels is wrong. We leave it to your-selves to judge as to who is right. But it does seem foolish

to believe that you can vote yourselves into power, when you realize the savage nature of capitalism.

The Communist believes in the ballot, but he is wise enough to understand its limitations. The mere fact that the Government has centered its attack upon the Communists and has ignored the Socialists, is proof positive that they fear the Communists more than they fear the Socialists. The Socialists will be driven more and more to the position of the Communists, even the rank and file of the S. P. despite their reactionary leadership, has endorsed the Third International. Either they accept the issues presented to them by the capitalist class or else they will calmly submit to every indignity that is heaped upon them and finally land in with the Labor Party. In the meantime we urge upon the working-class to develop its organization in the shop. Let them come closer and closer together. Whenever they find their interests threatened, they must use every power within their control. They must not be afraid. They must act. The power and the efficiency, the capacity for successful action, are not sent from heaven like the ancient manna; they must be developed by the sheer force of actually trying and doing things. This development of power and initiative is unthinkable without the training afforded by actual trial and training. What you have never experienced, you can never gain by reading about. In the field of muscular action, you develop the power of your muscles by doing things, the same is true of the power of the workers. If you are in fight for working-class freedom and the fight means anything to you; if you are heart and soul with it, then you will try and try again. Failures will not discourage you; temporary set-backs will not dishearten you, but all will combine to set you right for your next attempt. You will get wise by the things you have done.

It does not matter how enlightened you are, not even if you can recite every classic of working-class thought, you are doomed to everlasting failure, if you waste your time on preparing for the "opportune moment" to arrive. Waiting and waiting breeds inaction. Inaction breeds conservatism. Conservatism breeds failure. Keep your organization alive by keeping ever in the fight. Never allow any power to defeat you or abuse you. Stand erect as men and let your red blood flow. Fight and fight again. The more you engage in the class struggle, the more you will recognise, what seems impossible to tell you, that craft unionism means nothing in these days of the big trust. You must come together and fight as a class. In conclusion we take great pleasure in quoting the final words of that remarkable work of W. W. Craik, (see our advertising columns):—

"...Industrial organizations embody a new principle of socioeconomic organization, that they have a decisive part to play in the transformation of society, and an essential function to fulfill in the transformed society. They are necessary, both for the day of battle and for the victorious morrow. Here is a new conception of Socialism, of a Socialism, objective and tangible, which sees in the whole evolution of industrial organization the rising of a new world, the world of the organized producers of social wealth. It is a conception which, from its very nature, must evoke an ever-increasing response from those whose historical mission it is to make 'the word flesh.'"

"In the degree that this conception gains in depth and breadth, and becomes generally applied to the immediate task of industrial organization, a more correct appreciation of the political situation will follow and find its inevitable sequel in political reorganization. Industrial organization will tend to become more political and political organization more industrial. When they have become one, then there will no longer be need for two, because the 'hands' of production will have become the masters of production."

HYSTERIA IN LONDON.

The following account accurately describes a state of mind in London society with respect to two notorious statesmen, and the cause they represent:

"London was altogether beside itself on one point, in especial; it erected a nightmare of its own, and gave it the shape of Nicholas Lenin. Beside this it placed another demon, if possible more devilish, and called it Leon Trotsky. In regard to these two men, English society seemed demented. Defense was useless; explanation was vain; one could only let the passion exhaust itself. One's best friends were as unreasonable as enemies, for the belief in poor Lenin's brutality and Trotsky's ferocity became a dogma of popular faith. The last time the writer of these lines saw one of the most famous novelists in the world before his sudden death... was in entering the house of Sir Henry Holland for an evening reception. The great writer was pulling on his coat downstairs, laughing because in his usual blind way, he had stumbled into the wrong house, and not found it out till he shook hands with old Sir Henry, whom he knew very well, but who was not the host he expected. Then his tone changed, as he spoke of his friend, Mrs. ... of South Carolina, whom he had loved as Sally..., and had made one of the most celebrated fiction characters in recent literature.... His warmth of feeling for her revived when he heard that she had died of consumption in Moscow, while her parents and sister were refused permission to pass through the lines to see her. In speaking of it, the novelist's voice trembled, and his eyes filled with tears. The coarse cruelty of Lenin and his hirelings was notorious. He never doubted that the Bolsheviks made a business of harrowing the tenderest feelings of women—particularly of women—in order to punish their opponents. On quite insufficient evidence, he burst into violent reproach. Had his friend carried in his pocket the proofs that the reproach was unjust, he would have gained nothing by showing them. At that moment, the great novelist and all London society with him, needed the nervous relief of expressing emotion; for if Lenin was not what they said he was—what were they?"

It sounds natural, does it not? Well, it is not quite correct. Go over the paragraph, and wherever the name of Lenin appears, write Abraham Lincoln, for Trotsky, write Mr. Seward, and fill in the name of Thackeray for the great novelist. Instead of Moscow, insert Columbia, S. C., and for Bolsheviks, write Federals. The dear lady whose death so harrowed the novelist is Mrs. Frank Hampton, painted as Ethel Newcome, and loved by Thackeray as Sally Baxter.

Having made the few trifling corrections, you will have pages 130 and 131 of "The Education of Henry Adams", one of the great books of the century, where Henry Adams, son and private secretary to Charles Francis Adams, American minister to England during the Civil War, describes some of the difficulties Lincoln's representatives had to face in the "friendly" land that was doing its illegal best to safeguard slavery rights in America.

This doesn't mean that Lenin is a Lincoln, and that Trotsky is another William H. Seward. It does mean, however, that wherever great things are doing, wherever men strive for a better world, the pinheads, the sycophants, the trucklers to the supporters of things-as-they-are invariably do the same thing.

Sometimes they lampoon, and they think that they can crush with lampoon. Sometimes they persecute and jail and murder. Sometimes they crucify. But the cause the lampoon and persecute and crucify, goes on forever, while they, poor fools, serve today only as the model for the insufferable snobs of tomorrow. And so, undoubtedly, it will go so long as man strives for freedom and liberty.