

Workers
of the
World
Unite!

THE TRUTH

HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

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

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

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WHOLE No. 143

FIVE CENTS.

CENTRALIA I. W. W. MEMBERS FOUND GUILTY

“Russia Proud Revolution Has Won”

ALL RUSSIANS PROUD REVOLUTION HAS WON

World Correspondent Says Even Anti-Soviets
Rejoice Over Political and Intellectual
Freedom—Destruction Now All Done—
Reconstruction Remains.

By Lincoln Eyre.

PARIS.—One basic conviction emerges out of the turmoil engendered by a sojourn of 10 weeks in Soviet Russia. It is that among the Russian people the period of destruction has reached its end and the period of construction is at hand.

That mighty and merciless steam roller of social revolution, through which the Russian proletariat has won its present unquestioned dictatorship, has completed its truly stupendous work of obliteration. Czarism, capitalism, private ownership of big industrial enterprises and counter revolution within and without have been overthrown and ruthlessly ground under foot. Within the Soviet dominion nothing remains to be destroyed.

Prospective resumption of commercial contact with the outside world heralds the commencement of a creative era. Either the shattered edifice of Russian economic stability will be rebuilt—possibly along lines very different from the original—or Russia will revert to savagery. Reconstruction Will Be Ordeal.

Trotsky himself has used almost these words—that reconstruction will prove an even more severe test than any of the terrible ordeals endured during the two years of agony through which they have fought and toiled. This is clear even to the least realistic and the most idealistic among the Bolsheviks.

Two incontrovertible facts stand out in any impartial survey of the Russian problem. One is that politically the power of the Soviets has never been greater than it is today; the other is that economically the situation confronting the Soviet system, implying, as it does, highly centralized despotic control of all production, never has been more critical.

A commission with full authority to organize the labor power required for this new struggle was formed, with Trotsky at its head. Overnight the 3d Red Army, fresh from victorious drives in the Ural section, was transformed into the first revolutionary army of labor. This act was admittedly a prelude to the general militarization of labor, a policy whose sensational character needs no emphasis.

Trotsky Devised Labor Army.
The author of the new policy is Trotsky, who was inspired by Royal R. Kelly, an American engineer and efficiency expert much to the fore in Russian industrial affairs. Trotsky persuaded all the Russian conventions of economic Soviets to adopt the scheme, despite the misgivings with which it was regarded by the orthodox Communists. By this means he aims to overcome one of the fundamental obstacles in the way of revitalizing the exhausted industrial system, namely, the lack of labor discipline.

But solving the labor problem does not of itself provide a solution for the economic problem. There remain, among other things, the tremendous questions

of food and fuel. Shortage of food and fuel has always been the most formidable difficulty with which the Soviet Government has had to contend. It is indissolubly linked with that other deficiency which it at the root of all of Russia's material evils, namely, deficiency in transport.

There are plenty of food and plenty of fuel in Russia. Russia is not starving in the sense that Germany and Austria starved in the war period. Dwellers in the Russian agricultural districts, indeed, are accumulating double chins and aldermanic paunches.

But food that is abundant in the South and East cannot be brought to the cities in the industrial regions because an overtaxed and always inadequate railroad system is now on the brink of complete collapse.

The transportation problem will be an appalling one, even though America and Great Britain pour into Russia in the near future a steady stream of locomotives, cars, steel rails and supplies for the Russian railways. The number of locomotives in commission is decreasing so fast that many months must elapse before the necessary replacements can be shipped overseas.

Even the most rabid anti-Bolshevik Russian, however, denies that the direct and primary cause of the distress of his country has been the Allied blockade nor can he demonstrate how any other than the Bolshevik regime, faced with the same problems, hedged about with the same problems, hedged about with the same cordon of enemies, could have done much better.

Of this there is in my mind not the faintest shadow of doubt: That nothing the Bolsheviks have done has bred so much bitterness among all classes of the Russian people as has been roused by the attitude toward Russia of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, namely, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States. All Ranks Resent Interference.

The bulk of the people hotly resent any form of foreign political intervention, and they consider the blockade as both criminal and cowardly. Even the insignificant reactionary minority, that has been willing to envisage foreign domination either through foreign troops or Russian counter revolutionary forces has been dissatisfied with the Allies, whose course they stigmatize as wavering and insincere.

I found no one who deemed either the treaty of Versailles or the League of Nations as a structure of lasting stability. Among Reds and Whites alike both are regarded with polite derision or with open scorn, coupled with noteworthy lack of interest.

Universal Faith In Russia.
Save only the Communists, everyone believes that, whatever may be done, the country is in for a prolonged period of suffer

SOVIET RUSSIA--WAIT!

(The following advertisement appeared in the New York Journal of Commerce.)

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And when the first ship sails for Petrograd, we will have on board thousands of pairs of made-in-U. S. A. dependable hosiery.

Slav temperament seems fairly to reveal, there is clearly visible a golden vein of instinctive faith in Russia's ability to survive the crisis and arise prouder than ever from her present bed of pain.

Among all the elements of the body politic, with the exception of an infinitesimal clique of ing and privation. Yet beneath that pessimism, in which the Czarists, pride in the revolution is pronounced. Persons to whom the Bolsheviks are anathema wax lyric in their praise of the political and intellectual liberty resultant from the overthrow of the autocracy.

Freer Than Ever Before.
“Whatever happens, the Russian people will be freer and more enlightened than they have ever been before,” is a common saying.

I heard nowhere any doubts expressed of the Bolsheviks' honesty of purpose, and I talked with many “counter revolutionaries.” The just and complex bureaucracy set up by the Soviets is charged with red tape, stupidity, crass inefficiency, and brazen graft, but the men at its head are recognized, even by their opponents, as sincere if misguided idealists. The Entente attempts to paint Lenin and Trotsky as agents of Germany cause amusement among all intelligent Russians, regardless of class.

Everybody's Doing It

By The Federated Press.
Edmonton, Alberta. — The Bricklayers of Edmonton have

U. S. AND EUROPE HAVE GONE MAD, DARROW STATES

Free Speech Never Brought
Revolutions, but Conditions,
Did, He Says.

By The Federated Press.

Rockford, Ill.—When Clarence Darrow, chief counsel for the ten defendants who are to be prosecuted here for the alleged violation of the Illinois anti-sedition statute, was asked his opinion regarding present conditions in this country, he said that it appeared that this country and Europe have gone mad.

“This, and other countries are now in a condition of hysteria as the result of the world war,” said Mr. Darrow. “The world is passing through the ordeal it has ever known. It appears that no one is quite sane. In times of hysteria no one's judgement can be relied upon. There seems to be a disposition in this country to sweep away the timehonored safeguards of freedom and the individual's right to think, and speak and plan. These conditions always follow as the result of great wars.

Freedom Means Growth.

“The chief thing responsible for the growth and prosperity of this country has been one's freedom to live and think and speak the truth. When speech is suppressed the world is likely to lose many things which are of greatest value.

“No human institution is perfect, nothing is finished. Every institution should be the subject for criticism, to the end that it may be improved, if possible.

“This country has been the asylum for all the peoples of the whole world. This country has been the greatest champion of human freedom. It would be a sad thing if hysteria should destroy this condition.

Worries Bring Revolutions.

“No country can ever reach a point of revolution unless there is something deeply and profoundly wrong. Revolutions do not come from talk, but from conditions. This country is still too rich and there is too great an opportunity here for even the poorest, to cause any possible danger from a revolution.

“The way to meet new theories and ideas is with reason and facts. Improve what needs improving and show the fallacy, thereby, of extreme measures. To subvert the Constitution or the landmarks of public policy can only work harm to all classes of our people.”

“Poppies Grow In Flanders Fields.”

By The Federated Press.

London. — Returned soldiers would literally rather starve than dig graves for a living, it has been discovered. Scores of jobs have been offered the men at a 150 per cent increase in wages, but in spite of the great unemployment in this country, the veterans have refused them.

One London undertaker expressed his verdict of the situation as follows:

“They've seen enough dead men to last them the rest of their lives. They've had enough.”

A Machine-made Song

The crush of the city is in my heart
Like a voice of a long north night,
And fear spent eyes like an icy dart
Chill my own sick heart with fight.
“Tis a fear of the end of flitting years,
Of a time when smiles are few;
When my own spent eyes are a mist of tears,
And all life is bitter rue.
“Tis a dreary fight, 'tis a fight to death,
Yet the heart cries out in a sobbing breath,
“Fight on!”

The crush of the city is in my breast
Like the surge of a turbulent sea;
The hopeless hurry, the white unrest
Bleasts the hope in the heart of me:—
What use to toil with a nerveless hand
In a day so blight with woe?
And may the hope of an Afterland
Steal the sting of the world we know,
When the end so near is fought with death?—
Yet the heart cries out in sobbing breath,
“Fight on!”

The crush of the city is hushed and still,
But the darkness is a glare
With the flashing lights from a tireless mill,
Which hums in the slumorous air.—
Grind on, you wheels, all the remnant soul
Is lost in the rattle and hate!
Toit on, you men, till the funeral toll
Sounds the last cold knell of Fate!
For we're all in the fight, 'tis a fight to death,
And we all will sob in the last short breath.
“FIGHT ON!”

DON'T MOURN. ORGANIZE!

CENTRALIA I. W. W. BOYS FOUND GUILTY

Members of Industrial Workers of the World
Found Guilty Of Murder in Second Degree.
Case To Be Appealed.

MONTESANO, Wash., March 13th.—The jury in the trial of the ten members of the Industrial Workers of the World, brought in a verdict of not guilty in the case of Mike Sheehan and Elmer Smith and a verdict of guilty of murder in the second degree in the case of Britt Smith, Ray Becker, James McInerney, Bert Bland, Eugene Barnett, John Lamb, O. C. Bland.

Immediately after the trial the defendants were served with another warrant again charging with them murder, arising out of the shooting affair on Armistice Day.

EDITOR OF “TRUTH” AGAIN ARRESTED

Further Charged With Attempting To Overthrow The United States Government By Force. Also Charged With Teaching Others To Do The Same.

The Chicago authorities have wired to the Chief of the Police Murphy, of Duluth, to re-arrest Jack Carney, editor of “Truth”.

Carney is out on his own recognisances and will be shortly taken to the Cook County Jail Chicago, Ill. This makes the fourth arrest, in the case of Carney, within the last three months. He is already under sentence of two years, to be spent in Leavenworth Penitentiary.

DEFECTIVE PAGE



THE RED WAR

—By—
Lieutenant Colonel Bek



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WAR IS OVER
BUT PRICES ARE UP
EXCEPT AT
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HARDWARE
WE ARE NOW AT
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The theory of military art always had for its motto: "simplicity of decision". The great strategists contend that strategy as an art cannot be superior to the originality of a military leader, for military art is the art or science of divining the real situation and intention of an enemy and so organizing means of opposing him as to check his advance or thwart his plans.

The "simplicity of decision" during the Russian civil war, now practically at an end, has been throughout on the side of the Soviet General Staff. Its main strategic aim was the annihilation of the invaders; and the original strategy was worked out by Trotsky, recognized even by his enemies as a man with strategic genius. This is a quality to which the anti-Bolshevik leaders and their supporters can lay no claim. Their problems and decisions, however, were far from simple. They had to attain their strategic objective, Moscow, by means of strictly limited forces, and they could not hope to annihilate their enemy. The invaders had to meet, not only the Red army, but an armed nation. Moreover, they had no determinate strategic plan of campaign worked out carefully by a single leader with a gift for strategy, but several plans prepared in different parts of the world by strategists of different nationalities and different schools of strategy, prompted by different political aims. While the strategists of the Soviets knew well the actual situation and clearly defined intention of their enemy, the invaders of Russia were unable even to guess what was happening in Moscow or Petrograd or in any way to foresee the future movement of the Soviet army. Consequently, while the plans of the military operations of the invaders were fully known to the Reds, the intention of the latter remained an enigma to the whole world until its realization in a most dramatic way.

The anti-Bolshevik leaders absolutely neglected this important factor: that the strategic unity of the whole front must always be preferred to the unity of the tactical bodies. The setback of the Red army as far as Orel, for example, was considered by the Allies as a final victory of Denikin over the Soviet army, while it was, in reality, but an incident on the road to his complete failure.

The anti-Bolshevik leadership, too, failed to recognize that, in a modern war, the most skillful maneuvering in the battlefield is secondary to the moral superiority of the army, the nation back of the army, and the equipment and number of troops. The preponderance of men is a most important factor, and here lay the real superiority of the Reds over their enemies.

The Allies fell short, too, in another respect: they failed to understand the real spirit of the population of Soviet Russia, just as they underestimated the strength of its armed forces with their unexhaustible strategic reserves. They started the invasion of Russia with powerful, well organized armies led by experienced generals, well equipped and fully supplied with ammunition and all modern technical weapons, but without reserves strong enough to support the administrative organization in the rear of the armies or in conquered regions, and without the moral support of the population. Certain classes in the various countries gave their moral support to Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich, but the great bulk of the Russian people remained with the Soviet.

It was in the face of this unfavorable situation that the Allies began their undeclared war against Soviet Russia, a war which French strategists refer to as "la guerre à la banque"—a gamble which had to end in a disaster.

The last offensive of the Russian army against the Germans took place during the first weeks of July, 1917. Forty thousand German prisoners were taken by the Russians within three weeks, and the Allies were prepared to believe that Kerensky, the organizer of this offensive, had saved the Russian army for the Allied cause. In reality this victory caused the downfall of the Kerensky government and led to the success of Lenin. In order to prove to the Allies the faithfulness of the Russian government, Kerensky sacrificed all the troops upon whose devotion he could reckon. Many thousands of his admirers volunteered for the offensive he had planned and bravely went to death. But there were no reserves behind them. The bulk of the Russian army, as well as the majority of the people, did not want the war. They were preoccupied with the Revolution and the Revolution could not be made to merge with a war started by the hated Czar's government. The people wanted no more fighting. "Give us peace at any price!" was the cry of all Russia. Neither Kerensky nor the Allies understood, apparently, that a new-born, revolutionary Russia would be unable to continue a war by means of an imperialistic army. The democratization of this army could be accomplished only by a radical reorganization of the whole military machine, an impossibility during the war. The cry for peace did not mean that the Russian people had lost their fighting ability, for the civil war has since proved that. But Russia had suffered staggering losses in the war. Before further struggle was possible, she required a rest in order thoroughly to reorganize her political and military machinery on the new lines.

The Allies did not understand this condition of affairs and began a movement in defiance of elementary principles of strategy. They created their own front in Russia against the will of the Russian people. It was a strategic anomaly, an absurdity beyond any criticism. In a country ablaze with revolution such a front could not stand, constantly in peril as it was of being cut off from its own base by a hostile population. The Russian people saw in this movement of the Allies an attempt to prevent the conclusion of peace with the Central Powers, a peace which would put a stop to their further destructive penetration into Russia. Consequently, when Lenin appeared with his peace program, he was accepted by the majority, the Kerensky government was overthrown, and on January 18, 1918, the all-Russian Constituent Assembly was dissolved by the military force of a new power, the Soviet government, which came to be called Bolshevik.

The Russo-German peace treaty was signed by the Soviet plenipotentiaries on March 3, 1918, but this did not stop the further invasion of Russian territory by the Central Powers. Petrograd was seriously threatened by the Germans who occupied Finland and the Baltic States, Lithuania, White Russia, Poland and Ukraine. The transfer of the Russian capital from Petrograd to Moscow had its effect on the strategy of the enemy. The Germans suddenly arrested their advance on Petrograd and began to march on Moscow from the northwest, and southwest, but halted within 150 miles of that city.

By the end of March the Austro-Germans were already in possession of the whole of Western Ukraine, west of the Dnieper, and practically they were the masters of the cities of Zhitomir, Kiev, Poltava, Ekaterinoslav and Kharkov as well as the Black Sea ports of Nikolaiev, Kherson and Odessa. Thanks to the friendly relations established by Ukrainians through Hetman Skoropadsky, the Kaiser's favorite, the Germans successfully continued their invasion of Russia, and the middle of April they occupied Lvov, a small town situated 130 miles northwest of Kharkov. The further the invaders penetrated into Russia, the more disorderly became their ad-

vance, and finally the invasion lost the military aspect. The vastness of Russia, the lack of communications, were appreciated by the invaders too late. They did not realize during their speedy advance that with the capturing of one town after another, always in the hope of finding rich booty, they were gradually losing their way. Lloyd George has referred to Russia as a country "very easy to go into and very difficult to get out of."

The German army, dispersed throughout Ukraine, South Russia, and even in the Caucasus, was in a deplorable strategic situation. Suddenly the "friendly" Ukrainians deserted, and hostile guerrilla bands threatened their communications. The separate detachments of the original Red militia began their unexpected attack from all sides. The only sympathy the German experienced came from the local landlords, the well-to-do people and reactionary officers who looked to the Germans, as to the Allies, to check the growing danger of Bolshevism.

The old Russian army was officially disbanded. It was a most extraordinary demobilization. Any soldier who did not want to join the Red Guard went home carrying his gun and as many rounds as he thought necessary. In some cases machine guns and even field cannon were brought to the villages by the dismissed men. The officers who had escaped made for the regions occupied by the Germans and it was under German protection that the first counter-revolutionary bands forced their way into the Don and Kuban districts. The Entente powers, instead of cooperating with the Red Guard in order to stop further German advance, withdrew their troops in order to concentrate them at points from which they planned an advance of their own into Russia.

Germany was much too seriously threatened in the west to succeed in any such gigantic campaign as a march on Moscow. That she was really powerless in Russia could be seen by the disorderly movement in different directions without a protected war and without any sign of reserves. Had the Allies listened to the appeals of Chicherin and the Soviet foreign commissaries, and had they supported the Red Guard in South Russia, the Germans would have been heavily beaten and would not have dared to penetrate so deep into Russian territory.

During these days the Soviet government was favorably disposed toward the Allies. Chicherin's dispatches read, for instance: "Russia's relations with the Entente are unchanged." Trotsky approached the American military mission in Moscow, asking assistance in organizing a volunteer army and in improving the country's transportation. On March twenty-seventh the Paris Petit Parisien published a statement to the effect that Trotsky had also asked the French to assist him in organizing military resistance to the Germans. All this was in vain, and the situation in Russia became more and more chaotic. Here and there, throughout the vast territory of the late Russian Empire, from the Baltic to the Pacific and from the Arctic to the Black Sea, as well as in Transcaucasia and Turkestan, unorganized fighting between the Soviet armed forces and counter-revolutionists proceeded with activity.

The Red Army in those early days could not be considered as a properly organized tactical unit. The forces were of a purely revolutionary character, created in a hurry by peasants and workers, and the general aim was simply the destruction of the dispersed reactionary units, that they might be prevented from uniting into a single strong counter-revolutionary body. The forces often suffered reverses, but they struck, too, many heavy blows that were effective enough to give the Soviet government breathing space in which to organize properly its administrative and military center. The diplomatic relation with Germany after the Brest-Litovsk treaty was a new ordeal for the Soviet government. Joffe, the Soviet envoy, arrived in Berlin on April twentieth with his mission to stop further German advance into Russia. Meanwhile Count Mirbach in Moscow was trying to establish control over the Soviet. The situation became still more complicated when this German autocrat was assassinated in Moscow on April twenty-third.

The skirmishes between the invading Germans and the Red Guard became more and more acute. Petrograd was considered to be under a serious menace. Finns and Germans drove into Murmansk territory, and the port of Ino, the key to Petrograd, was in great danger. The enemy continued its advance in Ukraine. Crimea was entirely invaded, and the town of Batsisk, opposite Rostov on the Don, was attacked. At last the Germans entered the southern Caucasus and the Finnish troops began their march in the direction of Baku. Only the Russo-Finnish agreement stopped the Finnish movement.

But these were not all the troubles which the Russian people had to meet. In northern Russia the Germans were still advancing and occupied the town of Tver, northwest of Moscow on the Moscow-Petrograd railway, and the very important railway junction of Vologda, which was on the line of communication between Petrograd, Moscow, Archangel and the Ural district. At such a pass the Soviet began peace negotiations with the Ukrainians at Kiev. The Rada (parliament) was overpowered by Hetman Skoropadsky who, encouraged by the Kaiser, adopted a very aggressive attitude towards the Soviet representatives. The negotiations took place May twenty-second. Germany demanded that the Black Sea navy be returned from Novorossisk to Sebastopol. The Ukrainians claimed fourteen governments, Voronej included. To force the Bolsheviks to accede to these claims, Taganrog and Rostov were occupied by the Germans. Meanwhile the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Armenia had been followed by the invasion of the Turkish armies in the regions evacuated by the Russians. The Turks took Alexandropol and threatened Baku, and at the same time southern Transcaucasia sent an army against the Bolsheviks. On June nineteenth, under German pressure, the Soviet government removed part of its navy from Novorossisk to Sebastopol, sinking another part of it. Four days later the whole of the surrendered navy was returned to Russia, under the armistice with Ukraine.

The Allies, heavily engaged on the western front and overestimating the German strength in Russia, did not risk an important stroke. Kolchak visited London and Paris and there were serious negotiations with Denikin and also with the leaders of newly recognized Czechoslovakia. On April fifth, Japan landed a detachment at Vladivostok simultaneously with fifty British regiments. With the landing of these troops came solemn assurance by the Allies that this step was not meant as an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. Then the English fleet appeared at Murmansk. The Soviet government protested, and in answer to that protest, in June, 1100 British soldiers were landed in north Russia. In July the Czechoslovak movement against the Bolsheviks, which had developed in connection with the original plan of the Czechs to withdraw through Siberia and the port of Vladivostok, became general. This was the signal for a Red war waged by the Russian people against those same allies in whose cause they had already given 7,000,000 lives, the cream of their population.

In order to understand the seriousness of the position

of the new-born Soviet Republic in 1918, it is sufficient to look at economic conditions in which Russia found herself after the forced treaty of Brest-Litovsk. She had lost 300,000 square miles of territory with 55,000,000 inhabitants; 13,000 miles of railways; 89 per cent of her coal output; 75 per cent of her ore; about 4,000 different factories; 288 sugar refineries and many other distilleries and workshops. The war and the revolution had entirely disintegrated her finances. In the face of such staggering blows she had now to meet a new invasion. More than 120,000,000 of the population were under Bolshevik administration, but in war the issue is not decided by the population, but by the number of men actually brought into the firing line. It was necessary to create a new army on new principles, well trained and high spirited. This difficult task was entrusted to Trotsky.

I have often been asked by my American friends how Trotsky, a civilian, a pacifist, succeeded not only in creating a huge and powerful army, but in becoming War Minister and more than that, a great strategist. This is the answer.

Trotsky is gifted with the strategic instinct. As a real revolutionist, he had foreseen his opportunity to appear in his country as a leader of the masses. During his exile abroad he seriously studied military art in France, in England and in Switzerland. The project of the French Socialist, Jaures, who tried to introduce into France a new army based on principles of organization similar to those of the army of Switzerland, was certainly known to Trotsky, as well as the works, taking the same position, of a captain of the French army, Gaston Foch, and those of General Percin, all of which were rejected by the conservative military element of the French General Staff.

This significant factor, ignored by those who planned the invasion of Russia, was very seriously taken into account by Trotsky. He realized that the enemies of Soviet Russia would never be able to oppose him with an army superior in number to the forces which in a few months could be created in Soviet Russia. With a strategic situation, in addition, which allowed him to operate on inner lines, he assured the Soviet government that a victory for the Red army would be inevitable. He was right. While the original Bolshevik forces, known as the Red Guard, were still fighting in a disorderly way in different parts of Russia, Trotsky began the organization of the new Soviet army. The high military leaders of Europe and America nevertheless continued to hold to their firm opinion that Trotsky never would be able to raise a formidable army with which to resist the modern forces of the Allies.

As War Minister Trotsky had to create an army suitable to the new regime. It would have been an absurdity to build an army on the old imperialistic principles. A fighting force such as he planned must be formed gradually according to a plan thought out by trained specialists and developed by means of the general education of the youth of the land. The greatest difficulty lay in the fact that the Soviet Republic needed this army at once. The young government had neither methods of its own for such an organization nor any system for the education and administration of an army designed for regular operations against the modern armies of Europe. There was dire need for skillful instructors of every kind for every branch of the army. Trotsky knew well that if he acted in accordance with the principle included in the program of the Social Democracy, he would be unable to accomplish his great task in time to save the new government. He realized that a temporary compromise was inevitable, and he decided to call the officers of the late Russian army to the Red colors.

It was a risky undertaking, because his compromise might easily, as was the case in France, produce a Russian "Bonapartism". Trotsky took precautions. During the period occupied with the working out of the new method of recruitment, and while the arriving recruits were being drilled by the Revolutionary officers, mostly promoted from the ranks, Trotsky was busy educating the old regime officers. He realized that these officers of the old order could be trained only through a series of misfortunes, physical privations and suffering, and moral depression. He knew that in the bare struggle for existence, the weakest among them would perish, but that the strong-minded, in the moment of a life-and-death struggle for country and liberty, would rally to the support of their own people. And so it happened.

A hard time awaited those of the old Russian army who did not volunteer to serve in the Soviet militia. The aggressive reactionary element was annihilated. The remainder, unable to leave Russia, had to work as common laborers in order to keep from starving. Even senior officers and generals took to selling newspapers or odds and ends in the streets. They became the outcasts of the nation. There was a widely circulated fear that openly to help these unfortunates would bring dire punishment. Thousands perished: a very few succeeded in emigrating. After several months of this bitter experience, the survivors willingly enough passed out of the first stage of the Trotsky "training-school", and entered the Red army, where they were put under the permanent supervision of the Military Commissaries of the Soviet. The strong, thorough discipline introduced by Trotsky enforced even to the point of capital punishment, was fully recognized as an important moral element of military organization, by these officers of another day. In accordance with their position, their economic condition became much better than in the days of their service under the old regime. Their wives and families were now protected by the state and their future insured against misery. They returned to their posts in the old well-organized machinery of the largest general staff in the world, and started to work with real Russian enthusiasm along entirely new lines, under the direction of a new military leader. It was a real miracle, one of the wonders of the war.

While the military machinery was being set in motion Trotsky was busy reorganizing the whole system of military schools. His purpose was speedily to provide young officers drawn from the peasant and working classes. He succeeded. During the first two years of Bolshevik rule 40,000 young men were trained as officers and put into the field. Now almost every considerable village has a military school where special instructors are training young men, and even the girls who are fit for the army. Ten thousand women are serving in the Red army today.

The General Staff of the Red army has been built around men of high military standing, experienced in the Great War. The names of Generals Parensov, Brussloff, Stin, Klembovsky, Plustchik-Plustievsky, Kameneff, Palevsky and many others are familiar to anyone who followed movements of the Russian army from 1914 to 1917. Other leaders in the Red forces who once held important commands in the armies of the Czar are: General Chermisoff, professor in the War College and former commander of the Twelfth Imperial Army; General Zinkovitch, former chief of Staff of the Sixth Army; General Selviathev, former commander of the Fourth division from Finland; General Badouss, former commander of the Sixth division; General Sytine, former Adjutant General on the Rumanian front;

General Egorieff, former army corps commander; General Velitchko, the famous military engineer who introduced concrete turrets in modern fortifications; General Boliaieff, the artillery expert and perhaps the most reactionary of the generals of the old Russia; General Nessimoff, prominent as a professor of the Staff College. The Red commander who crushed Admiral Kolchak in the east is General Evert, the same Evert who won such high praise from the Allies for his skill in directing the successful Russian attacks on the center of the German front in 1914 and 1915. It was General Gouki who recently retook the city of Kieff from General Denikin.

In January, 1919, the first-line Soviet army, numbering 750,000 men, with an equal number of reserves, was already in the field. At the present moment the total Red forces number not less than 4,000,000 men, and sixteen field armies are being maneuvered.

While in 1918 the war office in Moscow was busy creating a new powerful army, and its General Staff was preparing a plan of defense, gradually reinforcing and reorganizing the troops already engaged in different parts of Russia, the Allies were slowly concentrating their forces in North and South Russia as well as in East Siberia.

The Red military operations at the end of 1918 were of a reconnoitering character only, and could not yet develop into a decisive engagement. It was not until the spring of 1919 that the war area in Russia gradually took on a strategic look. The invaders appeared in separate groups, menacing Soviet Russia from the north, west, southwest, southeast and east. Their line extended about 14,000 kilometers, a front that was fifteen or sixteen times as long as was held by the Allies during the European war. The anti-Bolshevist forces and their supporters, of course, were unable to organize an unbroken line along such a front. They would have had to concentrate in Russia twelve or thirteen times more troops than they required in their war against Germany. That, clearly, was impossible.

The early spring of 1919 found the invaders preparing for a general offensive, with Moscow as their strategic objective. The anti-Bolshevist armies presented five main fronts, namely: (1) The Murmansk-Archangel front; (2) the Siberian front; (3) the Turkestan front, along the Persian border; (4) the South-Russian front of General Denikin (Ukraine included); (5) the Western front, which included Polish, as well as the battle-line of the Baltic States, up to the Gulf of Finland. Their strength in North Russia was estimated at 60,000 men; in Siberia, counting the forces under Kolchak and the Czech-Slovaks who had succeeded in joining him, at about 300,000 men with a main base at Vladivostok, protected by Allied troops and naval forces. In addition, the Anglo-American-Japanese forces protected the Trans-Siberian railway and other lines of communication in the rear of the Kolchak army. In Turkestan there was no visible concentration of the invading forces until July, 1919. The Anglo-Persian army was not stronger than 50,000 men. Denikin was prepared to use more than 250,000 men, half of which would be Cossack cavalry. There was no accurate estimate of the strength of the Ukrainians under Petlura because the character of the operation of this army was purely "partisan" or "guerrilla". According to several dispatches their strength was not less than 150,000 men. The Western front did not give the Red command any anxiety because of the unreadiness of the Polish army. For more than a year and a half the Soviets held the Poles with a very weak detachment. The one well-organized Polish military body is the First Polish Musketry army corps of the old Russian army, which is under the command of the former Russian General Dvodor-Musitzky. The Lithuanians declared that they had 30,000 fighting men ready, but they remained only in project. They were never able to mobilize even a half of that number. The Letts, together with the German barons, formed a force of 10,000, and later on were reinforced by the English to meet the aggressive movement of the von der Goltz army under Avaloff-Bermondot. The only well-organized army in the west was that of the Estonians, but it was too small (about 25,000 men) to undertake any offensive operation against the Soviet forces. It remained on the defensive, holding the strongly fortified positions along the lakes of Peipus and Psokoff. Unfortunately for Estonia she became the victim of the famous adventure of General Yudenich. It was absolutely certain that the Finns in no case would operate against the Soviets, this certainly minimizing the strategic importance of the northeastern part of the Western front. There were, then, about 1,000,000 men to invade Russia.

A glance at the map of Russia will reveal that Moscow lies in the center of the railway network of the country. Petrograd and Moscow are connected with Siberia by means of two railway lines, one through Samara-Ufa-Cheliabinsk and another through Volodga-Viatka-Perm-Ekaterinburg-Tiumen. Volodga is directly in rail communication with Archangel and Petrograd and there is a line running northward from Petrograd to Murmansk in the Arctic, and another from Viatka northwest to Kotlas, on the North Dvina river. This river is navigable to Archangel.

It was essential, therefore, that the Allies reach the northern Petrograd-Volodga-Viatka line, in order to establish a junction with the forces advancing from the Ural along the Tiumen-Ekaterinburg-Perm-Viatka-Volodga railway, and to cover the movement of the second army on Moscow along the Trans-Siberian railroad via Cheliabinsk-Ufa. It is essential to note that during his successful campaign of the previous year, Kolchak had captured both towns west of the Urals: Perm and Ufa.

The intention of the enemy was fully realized in Moscow. The Red high command decided to defeat it. On January 20, the City of Ufa fell before the Soviet army and the Russo-Czech-Slovak forces were pursued by the Reds to Zlatoust, 140 miles to the northeast. The city of Orenburg was also threatened by the Reds and the Ataman Dutoff abandoned the town and fell back in a northerly direction. The speedy movement of all the Kolchak reserves inclusive of the Allied forces saved his army from early disaster in the Tobolsk district.

The renewed activity of the Allies on the Murmansk-Archangel front during March and April, 1919, forced the Soviet general staff to act quickly. While the new concentration against Kolchak was in progress, fresh reserves sent from Volodga reached the northern battle lines and defeated the invaders near Onga. The Allies were forced to withdraw completely.

Meanwhile Kolchak once more took the initiative. He started an offensive, advancing an average of seven miles a day, until, in the beginning of May, he had penetrated as far as Bugulma-Bogrosian, in the Samara region. Had Denikin been ready at that moment for a new offensive following the series of defeats which he had suffered, and had the Caucasian population supported him instead of threatening his rear, Kolchak very probably would have reached Moscow. But such solidarity could not be expected.

During this period, in Ukraine and Crimea the separate units of the Reds were in constant struggle with the bands of Petlura and the Don-Kuban Cossacks of Krassnoff, and there was no serious movement of the Soviet armies against Denikin. The revolutionary movement which burst out in Odessa, and serious mutinies in the French fleet, forced the Allies to evacuate Odessa, which fell into the hands of the local Soviets. Denikin still remained inactive, planning a decisive move northward. Toward the end of May, Kolchak was suddenly attacked by the Soviet armies in the Kazan

and Samara regions. The Reds started their offensive in Kolchak's army, which fell back on Ufa, while the right massed formations, directing their main blow at the center of flank of the invaders still threatened Viatka. On June ninth, Ufa fell to the Reds after three days of fighting, and on July second the Soviet troops won a victory in the Viatka region, pushed eastward and captured Perm. The retreat of the beaten forces so swift and the pursuit so vigorous that on July sixteenth the Soviet troops captured Ekaterinburg, 100 miles to the east of Perm. As a direct result of these Red successes, the third Kolchak army, which was moving southward toward Orenburg, was obliged to retire, and was caught in a trap and annihilated. Simultaneously the activity of the Red guerrilla forces in eastern Siberia became more pronounced and constantly threatened the communications in the rear of the Kolchak army. There were more than four hundred local uprisings in Siberia. The goldfields on the Lena were captured by the Reds, 50,000 strong. The most important Ural industrial district had thus fallen into the hands of the Soviets, and Kolchak had been seriously defeated before he could be supported by the Denikin offensive.

While this was transpiring in Siberia Denikin was already on his way in his advance on Moscow. His army had without difficulty taken Kharkov, Tzaritzin, Bielgorod and Yekaterinoslav, and Petlura had captured Kiev. The famous Donetz industrial district was now in the possession of the anti-Bolsheviks. The opinion in Europe and America among the military experts was that the surprising success of Denikin proved the weakness of the Soviet army, which, thanks to the lack of communication, and especially lack of rolling stock, had been unable to accomplish its strategic operation on inner lines by speedy transportation of troops from one front to another. In reality such a supposition was incorrect.

It is evident now that the Soviet General Staff considered the Siberian theater of war as an absolutely separate one from that of European Russia, and used for the Siberian front special reserves, having in view in the future a period of severe fighting and later a long pursuit of the enemy in case of his failure. It was also probable that the Soviet forces after having penetrated in Transbaikalia would meet the Allied and strong, Japanese corps east of Lake Baikal. Therefore the Soviet strategists in no case would have sacrificed in the Siberian army the smallest part of their reserves. They sent against Kolchak about 600,000 men in the first line, and 600,000 men gradually followed them as their reserves. To oppose the Denikin advance it was necessary to send an army almost as strong as for the operation in Siberia, or 1,200,000 men. There were not more than 300,000 men at the disposal of the Reds for the operation in South Russia when Denikin started his offensive. The necessary balance was in formation. Therefore the Soviet General Staff, expecting an attack on Petrograd by the northwestern Yudenich forces, was obliged to take the defensive in South Russia, trying to persuade Petlura to turn against the invaders. There is no question that the Reds were prepared to cede a great deal of territory, retiring with their center and holding in check both extreme flanks of the advancing enemy. At the same time the Reds successfully organized a most vigorous guerrilla war in the rear of the Denikin battle front using for that purpose the original Red Guards and local population. Ignoring this danger Denikin still continued the offensive, undertaking a so-called "concentrated" advance. For such a movement he had to divide his army into three separate groups: one, the western, in the Kiev direction; another, the central column, moving on Orel; and the third, the eastern, advancing along the Volga, on Kamishin. Such an operation is considered risky because, with the failure of one column, the remainder may be separately defeated.

So far as I can understand, Denikin was sure of the proposed Yudenich attack on Petrograd and probably thought that cooperation with the Baltic States and Finland would exhaust the Reds to such an extent that Kolchak again would be able to resume the offensive. It was supposed at this time in Allied headquarters that the total strength of the Soviet army could not be more than 2,000,000 men, only the half of which could be used.

The battle for Orel and the attack on Petrograd, as well as a new counter offensive of Kolchak, took place in the middle of October, after Denikin had succeeded in capturing Voronezh. His cavalry of 15,000 Cossacks under Mamontoff accomplished a most successful raid behind the Red lines about one hundred and fifty miles to the west of Tambov. The towns Kiev, Kursky, Tohernigov, and at last Orel, fell before him and Denikin established his headquarters at Kharkov. The fall of Moscow seemed to be imminent. Denikin's vanguards were already approaching Tula.

Suddenly the entire situation changed. On October eleventh, Petlura betrayed Denikin and the Ukrainians and declared war on the anti-Bolsheviks, thus threatening the rear and the left wing of the invaders. But Denikin still advanced, though his strategic situation became desperate. Meantime the Reds had accomplished the concentration of their fresh reserves at the center, plunged forward in massed formations, defeated Denikin north of Orel, recaptured that town and developed the offensive along all the front from Kiev on the west and Tzaritzin on the east.

It now became clear that the Red army was superior in numbers over a technically stronger enemy, because by the end of October Yudenich in the northwest, Kolchak in Siberia and Denikin in South Russia had been seriously defeated. In the middle of November the Denikin front was broken through in its center over a front of 47 miles and a most vigorous pursuit of the beaten armies began almost simultaneously on all three battle fronts. Mid-December saw Kharkov captured by the Reds. In Siberia, after the fall of Omsk, the Kolchak army was completely annihilated, and in the northwest Yudenich was hopelessly beaten. In South Russia the enemy was partially annihilated by a strategic pursuit and partially put to flight, seeking cover in Rumania, Poland and Caucasus. Denikin himself embarked on a British battleship, thus bringing to an end his importance in Russia. Kolchak, reported sick in Achinsk, a town between Tomsk and Krasnyarsk, was captured by the Soviet army at the end of December. The Socialist-Revolutionaries had established their government at Irkutsk, thus preventing their most dangerous enemy, the head of the "All-Russian" government, from escaping. The year 1919 ended in complete victory for the Red-armies.

So there remains still only one counter-revolutionary leader, Ataman Semonof, who may cause some insignificant troubles in Eastern Siberia. The Japanese will do anything to avoid a direct shock with the Red army and it is possible that they may use Semonof to try to stop the Bolshevik advance east of Irkutsk. This may or may not be, but the development of further events in Siberia depends on the conduct of the Amur and Ussuri, Cassacks. In case they desert their chief, the task of the Japanese army is likely to be complicated. We must not forget that China anxiously watches Japanese movements in Siberia along the whole Mongolian border. Bands of Hunguses (bandits) are raiding in a great number, and above all, the Chinese regular army presents a considerable force in that northern part of China. The distance from Irkutsk to Vladivostok is about 2,000 miles. From Kriminskaya east of Chita the Trans-Siberian railway is divided into two branches: one runs along the northern bank of Amur to Khacarovsk and another south toward Harbin; both of them connect with Vladivostok. In the face of the most unfavorable political situation in that part of Siberia, thinly populated by about 1,000,000 men, mostly Cossacks

and Russian colonists who undoubtedly will not share the feeling of Ataman Semonof toward the Japanese invasion of Siberia, an enormous number of troops will be required for the protection of these railway lines. The Japanese know that a war against Russia in Siberia, with China and Korea, friendly to Russia, in the rear of the Japanese army, will differ from the previous war with an imperialistic Russia in Manchuria. They are, therefore, very careful. There is no doubt that Japan will link with the strongest influence. I doubt that the strongest will prove to be Ataman Semonof.

Any summing up of the military situation in Russia must be connected with the international political situation. The strategy of the Red army is purely defensive. The offensive tactics which the Bolshevik forces have pursued must be regarded as attacks whose chief design has been defense of Soviet Russia against the aggression of outside nations. The Red army is now being attacked by the Poles and Letts. It was not concentrated on this front to meet the new attack, which it had not anticipated. The Soviet government was thus forced to meet a new invasion and a new enemy, and may as a result occupy Poland in case of a Red victory.

Soviet Russia has never fought to increase its territory. Its purpose is to establish peace with its neighbors at the earliest possible moment. And in this it has partially succeeded in Asia as well as in Europe. Turkestan and Afghanistan have openly declared their friendly attitude, and there are many indications, in the Chinese press and in unofficial utterances, that China's position is not hostile. The reason lies in the extreme liberality of the Soviet policy toward the States of Asia as contrasted with the continued imperialistic policy of force of the great European powers. More convincing and persuasive than even the most cleverly conceived propaganda has been the following announcement of policy by Foreign Minister Chicherin:

Imperialism has created in the East a special kind of velle annexations. This is the so-called right of European Concessions and Capitulations, which determines that citizens of imperialistic countries are subject to the administrative powers and not the local laws. The imperialistic governments have been relying upon their armed power to coerce these Oriental countries, consisting partly of their own troops and partly of native elements ambitious for conquest. They have established settlements, within which the natives are slaves, and within which they are sometimes not even allowed to live.

Socialist Russia cannot reconcile itself with such a situation, despite its existence for centuries. Socialist Russia, since the November Revolution, has declared to the Oriental peoples that it is not only willing to abandon these "privileges", but to endeavor with all means at its command, together with the peoples of the East, to demand the abolition of this crying injustice, and to give to the peoples of the East the opportunity to regain their lost liberty. We have abandoned all secret treaties, by which the ruling classes of the Oriental countries, either out of motives of aggrandizement or of fear, allied themselves with the Czarist government, and by so doing enslaved their peoples for centuries. We have recalled our troops from the conquered territory of Persia, and also recalled our military instructors, whose task it was to create an army of the natives to protect the interests of the Russian capitalists and support the Persian absolutism. We have notified China that we relinquish the conquests of the Czarist government in Manchuria, and that we recognize Chinese rights in this territory, where the principal trade-route runs, namely, the Eastern-Siberian Railroad.

Turkestan has joined the Soviet Republic as a federal state. If Afghanistan remains hostile to the British, the cause is to be found in Great Britain, not in Russia. There are no Russian troops in Afghanistan. Russia has returned to the Afghans Kushk and Maerv, taken by Russia in 1885. If the Soviet diplomatic mission is successful in Kabul, it will be because the Afghans and the Soviet government have joined on the common ground of enmity to Great Britain. In Europe a very similar situation is presented. The Baltic States, Finland and Poland have long been disposed to establish peace with the Soviet government, which has guaranteed them self-determination and independence. Estonia is today practically at peace with Soviet Russia, and this fact prevents any real possibility of a coalition of the Baltic States against Moscow. Had England and France not been opposed to peace between Russia and the border States, and had they lifted their blockade, the present acute problem would have disappeared long ago. The facts of the military situation leave little room for doubt that by backing such nations as Poland, Latvia, Persia and Caucasus in attacks on the Soviet republic, the Allies are condemning these States to conquest by the Red armies; for in the event of their defeat invasion must be the natural consequence of a lost war.

With a declaration of war a most remote possibility and with no prospect of any real unity of action in the Baltic States and Poland, the Allies must inevitably face the third alternative of peace as a solution of their Russian problem. They already see that a state of war creates the most favorable opportunity for Bolshevik propaganda. Its spread and effect can be averted neither by force of arms nor the stringing of a barbed-wire fence made up of the border States; for such a barrier could be maintained only by means of a long and bloody war. I am sure today, as I was almost a year ago, that Allied intervention in Russian affairs will be a complete failure, and that should the blockade be lifted and commercial communication with Moscow established, directly with the Soviet government and not through intermediaries, peace will come much sooner than is popularly believed.

If France, England and America agree to a direct peace with the Bolsheviks, there cannot be a question but that demobilization of the Red armies will follow immediately. It seems to me to be just as certain that outside propaganda will stop as promptly. Such propaganda is primarily a new weapon of modern warfare like poison gas, tanks and other destructive instruments of the military machine. It was a most important part of the war between Germany and the Allies and it was a weapon that was abandoned when peace came. The propaganda organizations employed in the Great War were disbanded with peace, and it is logical to suppose that the same will be true when peace is made with Russia. Moreover, the official statements of Lenin and other government leaders and such evidence as is to be found in the testimony of Martens before the Senate and in the documents which have found their way out of Russia, make strong emphasis of the assertion that the Bolshevik government has abandoned all hope of a world revolution and world-wide communism. One cannot read the various statements and official pronouncements coming out of Moscow without gathering the definite impression that the Bolsheviks, disappointed at the failure of labor the world over to expose the doctrines of Red Russia and align itself with the Bolsheviks, are intent now upon setting up a conception of a "perfect state" which shall serve as a model for all peoples; and that their one great purpose is to force a peace that will mean opportunity to devote themselves, without interruption and interference, to the building of the state of which they dream.

I believe this impression to be the fact. And the fact is at the bottom of "The Red War".

THE WHITE TERROR IN HUNGARY

The Call, the organ of the British Socialist party, has received the following letters from the central committee of the Hungarian Communist party, forwarded to the Call by Loriot of the Communist section of the French Socialist party:

Dear Comrade: The Hungarian Communist party after its downfall on August 1, due entirely to the military pressure of the entente, has been reorganized and is once more at work. Its most urgent task is to bring help to the Hungarian Comrades who have fallen into the hands of the blood-thirsty counter-revolutionaries. A very large number of these unfortunates have also been put beyond the reach of human succor by the assassins. In Trans-Danube forests of gibbets mark the passage of the "National and Christian" army under Admiral Horthy. The "officers and gentlemen" have hanged in error hundreds whose innocence is shown by their own official accounts. The mutilated bodies of 120 of these victims have just been exhumed at Keesemet. Their non-partition in the Communist movement was so evident that the official account itself had to describe this hetacomb as simple assassination. The suspects were forcibly seized by a troop of the "National Army," conducted by night to a neighboring wood, shrived by a priest, battered to death with an ax by those Christian officers and gentlemen, and buried on the spot.

It was the discovery of several of the partly buried bodies by peasants living in the neighborhood, and their identification by their families which led to such an outcry for an immediate investigation that the government at last was forced to make an inquiry. The matter had, more over, acted on public opinion in a manner very unfavorable to any similar action on the part of the "White Guards." The Hungarian government had, therefore, to think of other means, apparently less odious but not less sure, for the extermination of the elements which menaced capitalist and feudal domination. Some witnesses, by means of torture or corruption, were induced to offer their evidence in a series of political trials, which ended in 23 condemnations to death, of which 14 were carried out two days after the sentence. The remaining nine victims have obtained a respite of 14 days, as it is against the principles of these Christian executioners to work at Christmas time. It is in the attempt to save these, our unfortunate Comrades, that we address ourselves to you in the name of the world solidarity of the proletariat. We beg our French Comrades to protest to their government by every means in their power against all legal and illegal assassinations.

But besides these direct assassinations, sentences to imprisonment of an incredible ferocity have been passed on those comrades who held any office whatever under the commune. But even this is not enough. The Hungarian government has decided to intern all those suspected of communism, Socialist or even radical sentiments. They are to be interned at Haymasker, an isolation camp during the war for epidemic diseases. In a camp like this are crowded those who have committed no crime, who are not even charged with any although the authorities have the birched and tortured witnesses of the White Inquisition always at their service. They have been shut up with their wives and children, condemned by a ministerial order to a slavery worse than that of the most barbarous times.

These excesses have not satisfied the hate of the White Terror executioners. They are constantly trying to get hold of our comrades who have sought safety under the Austrian government. Demands for extradition—vain up to the present—have been followed by attempts against our comrades—unfortunately, too often successful. Seven of them have already been seized by the counter-revolutionary agents. The bodies of three (among them that of a young proletarian poet of great promise) have been found in a wood bordering the road from Vienna to Buda Pesh. Four other are

in the hands of the butchers of Buda Pesh.

A few days ago at the outskirts of Karlstein—a place of internment for Hungarian communists—three individuals were arrested who, when questioned admitted being paid by the Hungarian government to organize the forcible seizure of Bela Kun.

In the face of these facts, the position of the Social Democrats who are in the government does not appear enviable. In coalition with the petit bourgeois element and the reactionaries it is impossible for them to take the necessary energetic action against the insolence of the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries. The Austrian Communist party is at present too weak to exercise a decisive influence over events of vital importance to the proletarian movement of all Eastern Europe.

The world proletariat is then imperatively obliged to give its powerful support to the efforts of the Austrian Social Democrats—unfortunately very feeble—to prevent the extradition of Bela Kun and other comrades. It must bring that support to those who are struggling against the assassinations, the imprisonments, internments, in fact, against all the machinations of the White Executioners of Buda Pesh and Vienna.

The Austrian Socialist party has published a manifesto against the "White Terror" in Hungary, although we are not in agreement either with the tone or the point of view of the manifesto. We ask the Comrades of the Entente countries to come at once to the aid of the unfortunate vanguard of the world revolution, to save those that can still be saved, to protest against the extermination of the conscious proletariat of Hungary by all the means in their power. To allow men like Otto Korvin to perish is to deprive the international proletariat of one of its truest and most heroic defenders. Otto Korvin is one of those condemned, but not yet executed, and it is only the immediate energetic action of the Entente proletariat that can save him.

With Communist greetings,

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

II.

Dear Comrade Loriot: In our last letter, which we hope you received, we stated the position of the Hungarian Communist movement.

The excesses of the "White Terror" continues Comrade Otto Korvin, with eight other comrades, has been executed. The political "trials" still go on, and there is reason to fear that all those who have taken or could take a prominent part in the Hungarian workers' movement will be assassinated. It is only the proletarians of every country—especially those of the Entente countries—that can prevent these massacres, by forcing their respective governments to intervene at Buda-Pesh, or by bringing home to these "butchers" the horror provoked in the mind of the masses by their crimes.

The protests of Longuet and his comrades have been too feeble.

It is not an appeal on the grounds of humanity and justice that is needed (the Government of Buda Pesh will declare its action both just and human) but a protest against all the death penalties—against all assassinations in Hungary, legal or illegal.

In January the Hungarian delegates will be in Paris. If the French Comrades receive these assassinations with a demonstration worthy of them, the lives of hundreds or thousands of Comrades in the vanguard of the Hungarian movement may be saved.

We beg the French Comrades to make known this letter to our British Comrades, with whom we are not in direct communications in Hungary, a united protest by the British proletariat might have a decisive effect.

With Communist salutations.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

TRUTH--Duluth, Minn.

EDITORIALS

18th March, 1871 The Paris Commune

"It is time people understood the true meaning of this Revolution: and this can be summed up in a few words. It meant the government of the people by the people. It was the first attempt of the proletariat to govern itself. The workers of Paris expressed this when in their first manifesto they declared they 'understood it was their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies seizing upon governmental power. The establishment of the Commune meant not the replacing of one form of class-rule by another but the abolishing of all class-rule. It meant the substitution of true co-operation, i. e., communistic for capitalistic production, and the participation in this Revolution of workers of all countries meant the internationalizing, not only the nationalizing, of the land and of private property."

"And the same men who now cry out against the use of force used force—and what force!—to vanquish the people of Paris. Those who denounce Socialists as mere firebrands and dynamitards used fire and sword to crush the people into submission." So wrote Eleanor Marx, fifteen years after the Paris Commune.

The Commune is a sacred and glorious memory. It will live in our hearts until the end of time. May the world soon witness the birth of the new social order—Communism!

THE WORK OF A REAL UNION

Duluth is possessed of a wonderful Trades Assembly. Besides organizing the workingclass they even go out of their way to get the industries, so that they can bring more workers here and organize them. Truly an "up-to-date" Assembly!

We believe that the rank and file of the Duluth Labor movement is sound. They are real men and women and they do believe in the labor movement. But no matter how good a crew a ship may have, if the man who is at the steering wheel does not know his business, then look out for the rocks. There are a few in the Trades Assembly who really believe that they are destined to lead the workingclass to the giddy heights of contentment and they also believe that by acting "nice" towards those who are responsible for the degradation and poverty of today, that they will succeed. That is the most charitable construction that we can place upon their conduct. There are others, whom we have criticised in this paper, who are really honest conservatives with them we have no quarrel. What they fail to learn to-day, a cramped stomach will teach them tomorrow.

The business interests of the North-West are agitating for a waterway that will extend to the Ocean, from Duluth. It is a good idea. An admirable idea. But what time has the labor movement of this city to waste, that it should concern itself with such a scheme? Are we to assume that everything is O. K. in regard to labor conditions in this city and that there is 100% organization within the ranks of labor? What else can we assume?

When the molders of the Clyde and National Iron Works were out on strike, what did the Assembly do, that really amounted to anything? When the cost of living was soaring higher and higher and for that matter it is still soaring, what did the Trades Assembly do? What did they do with the Seattle scheme that would have promoted more efficient industrial organization? The columns of this paper are open to any delegate who wishes to enlighten our readers.

There is plenty of work to be done in the Steel Plant. There are thousands of men who need organizing and need it bad. If the Assembly cannot organize the industries that are here then in the name of commonsense how do they expect to organize the men who will be brought here by new industries?

There are a few labor leaders looking anxiously forward for the elections. They are now trying to make good in the eyes of the PUBLIC, so that they may obtain votes. Rest assured that these selfsame labor leaders are doomed for a bitter disappointment. Every energy will be expended to keep them out of political office. They are dangerous enough out of an assembly, they will be far more dangerous in an assembly that has to deal with the workers problems. There will be no pussyfooting and certain aspirants for political office have occasion to regret making political capital out of the radicals. We have withheld comment upon many matters that have happened within labor circles of this city, but you can depend upon it that if certain parasitical labor leaders put up for office, that they will be smashed. Even if we go to prison before election, their defeat is assured. We know the reactionary, who admits he is a reactionary, but it is a hard task to discover the labor leader who masquerades as a liberal and is even more reactionary than the reactionaries.

Let me introduce you to a real live union, the Irish Transport Union and if there is any union in this city that can show better results than these outlined, then we shall be pleased to give it the same publicity. The following account of the Irish Transport Union was written by its general secretary Jim Larkin:—

From the days of Solon down to the era of Communism the wise and unwise have given speech, written learned tomes, sung in undying numbers of the Underman. Some have been more than generous enough to name him the Bottom Dog. Admitting that there has been something dog-like in his slavishness, namely, his meekness under the lash of and his fidelity and trust in the Master Class, yet, again and again, has the divine spark of discontent burst into flame and the Underman given good proof of his quality.

In every epoch of the world's history he has given the exploiting class cause to remember his resentment. "Not for nothing" died Spartacus and his fellow worker rebels, and the age-long struggle of the Plebs proved they, too, realized within themselves what their place in the Roman polity should have been.

And so along down the weary years the monotony and degradation of their lives has been illumined by the glorious if somewhat unsuccessful attempts of the slave class to break their fetters. If they failed to achieve all they aimed at there is some satisfaction in knowing that though the shackles still bind their limbs, they have arisen from their knees and now stand erect. That position has been reached not by trusting to redeemers, leaders or intellectuals. Every advance won, every advantage gained, every measure of improvement enjoyed has been gotten by mass action.

The redeemers, so-called, have advised on all occasions respect for constituted authority. Leader after leader has used the work-weary, degraded bodies of his class as a ladder whereby he might ascend to and become one with

the oppressing, dominant class of Overmen. The self-styled intellectuals have used our moans, miseries and movements as subject matter for their mental gymnastics and to their own social and economic aggrandizement. I don't care to be unfair, but it is too true that all down the ages the redeemers and intellectuals, under the guise of altruism, ethics, brotherhood, but in reality for egotistical reasons and with malice aforethought, have deliberately obscured the vision of the Underman with their word-spinning, phrase-mongering, law of logic, political economy, and heaven-when-you-die philosophies.

Many of these would-be saviors of mankind warned us in terrifying tones, that the realization of our hopes of material and social betterment would destroy our character, our love of home, respect for our betters, "Igoranorder", the constitution, and unfit us for our "station in life". The immutable laws has decreed our place in the cosmic scheme—obedience and willingness to serve, prayer, abstinence (and plenty of it) was our portion, our sole concern—individual salvation. They told us to take and pause; that our idea for a class movement, for a collective uplift, was subversive of authority and tended to disrupt society. They hesitated not to insult our intelligence by telling us that we were designed to be a necessary evil, but a useful class, our duty to slave and breed, breed and slave, to the end that a useless and unnecessary class should live in idleness and luxury on our labor.

Our leaders, with few exceptions, appointed or elected to articulate our grievances, desires and demands, have abused our confidence and their tendency to compromise with the Overman has assisted in, consciously or unconsciously, welding more firmly the shackles that scar our limbs. Right down the ages this cursed game of compromise has been to our detriment. In this day we have our leaders advocating state control of labor, arbitration boards, wages boards, conciliation schemes, health and unemployment insurance, to scientifically explain the cause of industrial unrest and why the many are poor. It is enough to make Marx and his predecessors turn over in their graves.

The workers in the industrial and economic fields should get the full social value of the product of their labor and such a result can only be brought about by the abolition of the present capitalist system and the taking over by the workers of the machinery of production and means of distribution. Thus control of the job would carry with it control of all the forces in the social organism. Such a simple solution is characterized as blasphemy, heresy, revolution.

Then we have the spectacle of the intellectuals rushing to the rescue of the leaders. These mental prostitutes, owing to their position in society, are the most dangerous of all the undermen. Their viewpoint of the problem of life is determined, like all other sections and classes in society, by their economic status. They have always in the past, are now in the present, and if allowed, will be in the future, the most subtle foe to the advance of the Underman. Well might the Overman—the Carnegies, Rockefellers, Morgans and Sages—take control of the thought-forming sources of the community through subsidized foundations. Full well they know that control of those who are privileged in training the minds of the people means an extended lease of power for them (the exploiters) over the slave class.

We cannot afford to halt or join battle with the intellectuals in their own sphere. When we assume complete control of the economic basis of society we will in that hour free all classes, and the educated intellect of the future will be free and in return for services rendered to them they will give of their best to the advancement of humanity. Our duty, therefore, is to be true and loyal to our own class, waste no time on those respectable busy-bodies who are always deploring and condemning our insistence on class conflict. Be not led astray by praise or prayer, press or party. The fundamental line of advance is industrial organization. All other activities are of secondary importance, and you have to remember that the Underman is the main factor in the problem. Without his labor the work of the world comes to a stop.

And now may I, as one of the Undermen, recount briefly what has been accomplished by what Wolfe Tone, one of the leaders of the Irish revolutionary movement of the eighteenth century, termed "That large but respectable body of citizens—the men of no property." Within the last seven years in Ireland, not by political effort or under the guidance of redeemers, leaders or by the instruction and teaching of the intellectuals, but of themselves and by themselves. I do so because I believe their achievements will be of service in guiding and stimulating the great uprising of the Underman, particularly that section which is termed in derision the unskilled worker, which I venture to predict will take place throughout this continent within the year.

Previous to the year 1907 in Ireland the unskilled workers of that country had time and again risen in revolt, but all their efforts proved in vain because of their method of organization. They, like the unskilled workers of this country, had been bossed by leaders who used them as a means to gain political power for themselves.

Each section, of course, docker, teamster, factory worker, builders' laborer, shipyard laborer, farm laborer, railway worker, etc., was enrolled in separate unions. When one section went out on strike the other sections scabbed on them. They had high initiation fees, some unions charging as high as five dollars, or one pound in English money. Their officials as a rule when not advocating political action were always advising their members not to strike, but to petition or submit their claims to arbitration or conciliation boards and were ever active telling their dupes of the "dignity of labor" and the identity of interest between the master class and the wage slave! One of these so-called unions set forth in the preamble to its constitution the following noble sentiments:

"The General Laborers' Union is organized for the glory of God, the support of the king by divine right and his heirs and the royal family; loyalty to the constitution and to establish a brotherly understanding between our employers and the members of said union," etc., etc.

Their motto: "Organized to defend, not to attack."

It reads like a report of some of the sectional unions of this "Home of the free and the land of the brave."

The founders of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, vulgar persons, determined within themselves that that kind of organized scabbery should cease, and so we started an Industrial Union for all workers, not interfering of course with the aristocrat of labor—the skilled worker. We knew from our own experience in the struggle that when we had the unskilled workers properly organized, especially the men who matter—the transport workers—we could make the skilled workers fall in line. That opinion has been verified.

Within seven short years these few common, vulgar coal-porters dockers, teamsters, factory hands, taught the Federated Employers of Ireland who controlled industry. And it is to be remembered that we did not allow our organization to be exploited by any and every philosophical freak who wanted a platform to air his or her views about "killing God," limitation of families, eugenics, sex license or twilight sleep. Obliterating the scab, limiting the power of the boss to rob us at the point of production, insisting upon decent homes, good grub, good clothing, a chance to live, absorbed our energies. Wherever a woman or child of our class was degraded or oppressed we rallied to their assistance. Our motto was and will be to the end of time: "An injury to one is the concern of all."

We make no apologies to or agreement with the boss. As soon as we succeed in organizing 70 per cent of the workers in any industrial undertaking the others must join or get out. "He who is not with us is against us," and although every branch of our union has full autonomy, we make it plain to them that they cannot jeopardize the whole army for the benefit of a section; that the class uplift and not the betterment of the individual is our concern. We have our own union halls, which are not used only for dues-paying purposes. Our whole life functions around our union halls.

All forms of social relaxation, dancing, instrumental and vocal music, billiards, chess; all forms of athletic effort are encouraged, boxing, swimming, etc. Educational facilities of all kinds are provided. We teach the Gaelic, French and German languages. We have our dramatic and choral societies. Our dramatic company, composed of members of the Irish Women Workers' Union and the Transport Workers' Union, toured England on 1914 for four months and brought back, in addition to paying all expenses, \$3,500, which was used in setting up a productive co-operative factory wherein members of our Women Workers' Union who are discharged for their activity in organizing their fellow slaves are employed in making up underclothing, etc., which is sold to the union members. We are also shareholders in the Industrial Co-operative Distributing Society, from which we buy practically all our foodstuffs. Our women run a co-operative restaurant.

In Dublin which is the headquarters of our union, we have our own park of sixteen acres whereon we hold sports and gatherings every week-end. We have a co-operative hotel or guest house, where our members or friends can rent for nominal charge for week-ends. On Saturdays and Sundays we forget there. We have three and a half acres of gardens. Any member on application will be allotted a portion of the garden that he or she may learn something under skilled tuition of the beauty and bounty of mother earth. We make a special feature of looking to the benefit of our kiddies. We have swing boats, hobby horses and sand gardens. We have hammocks swung from the trees so that the tired mother slaves may hand over her baby to the volunteer girl nurses, who will look after baby while mother can go and trip the "light fantastic" with her husband. We have tents for camping out, and in the summer months our army camps there every night after their work. All their drill is carried on there.

The citizen army is not confined to our own union but is open to any union man, the conditions of membership are that each applicant engage not to join any army controlled by the government and undertakes at all cost to defend his class and to assist if need be in establishing a co-operative commonwealth.

With all these many activities proceeding apace, we never forget our principal work—to gain control of the job, keen and ever ready to take advantage of any opportunity that presents itself demand a greater share of the results of our labor. Needless to say, the employing class does not allow us to rest. Ever and always he is on the attack. During 1913 and 1914 they made concerted attack. They locked us out for eight months. The condition they laid down was that no member of the Irish Transport Union would be permitted to work in or about Dublin city or county. Thanks to our comrades of the rank and file in Great Britain and Australia, who sent us \$500,000 in two months, and the Wholesale Co-operative Society, which forwarded thirteen of their own steamers filled to the coamings with food, the first vessel being rightly named "Fraternity", we beat off their attack and we are now concerting our forces to resume the attack.

From this brief and hurried account you will at least appreciate the spirit of our movement. Now, if such a work can be accomplished in the most backward and oppressed country in western Europe what might be accomplished in this great continent if the harassed wage slaves would combine, stop wasting their time in theoretical discussion and get to work.

HOW DO THEY DO IT?

When war was declared the Government needed many things, so they let out contracts.

When a person received a contract from the Government he went to the Federal Reserve Bank and loaned the amount of the contract. The war suddenly came to an end in November 1918. Many contractors who had borrowed money on their contracts found that their goods were not required. The result being that the contractors owe the Government over \$15,000,000.00.

How can the Government obtain that \$15,000,000? How will the contractor be able to pay the Government back money if he has the goods left on his hands? It is a great life! FOR SOME PEOPLE.

THE SITUATION IN GERMANY

The press has been fooling the people with the idea that the Kaiser and the war-lords of Germany were to be tried for the offences in war-time. Now we know the truth.

The Allies no more wanted to try the Kaiser for his crimes, than the Commercial Club of Duluth wanted to try John D. Rockefeller for his crimes in Ludlow. The Allies feared the rise of the working-class of Germany. They knew that if the German workingclass made common cause with the Soviets of Russia that there was no power on earth could destroy such a combination. Hence the "demands" that were made for the heads of the war-lords and the Kaiser. They knew that the pushing of the demands for the Kaiser and the rest of the junk element would be the means of arousing the nationalist sentiment of the Germany. With the result that the majority Socialists of Germany have been overthrown and the junker element have regained power. It suits the Allies game. They have a kind of a feeling that this junker element will prove of valuable assistance in case of war upon Soviet Russia.

Mark well what you do, gentlemen of the Allied governments! The LAST revolution has NOT taken place in Germany. The next revolution will be the final one. When the German people revolt a second time they will not make the mistakes they made in November 1918. They will not fool themselves with playing your game of politics. Gentlemen of the Allied Governments mark well what you do!

RATS DESERT A SINKING SHIP.

The good ship ANTI-BOLSHEVIK is stranded. The rats are leaving. All the papers are now talking about the truth about Russia. After the "respectable and sane" labor papers had printed every dirty and foul lie about Russia, they have the unmitigated gall to ask for the truth about Russia. Thus implying that we have not had the truth about Russia. Which means that the stuff that they printed was all lies.

Read last week's "Duluth Labor Whirl" and remember that rats ALWAYS DESERT A SINKING SHIP.

TRAGEDY OR COMEDY.

Duluth Trades Assembly endorses the Duluth-to-the-Ocean waterway scheme.

Builders' Exchange declares for the open shop.

JACK CARNEY

at BRICKLAYERS HALL

Sunday Eve., March 21st

ALLIED LEADERS PRECIPITATING CRISIS

Demand German War Leaders To Bring On Reaction.

MORE DIPLOMATIC INTRIGUE.

(Unavoidably omitted from our last issue.)

By The Federated Press.

London.—The allies are deliberately provoking a crisis which will lead to a reaction in Germany, by their demand for every man prominent in the government during the last five years, is the statement of the Berlin correspondent of The Labor Leader.

"Never at any hour in history were the exploiting classes in all countries more in need of that militarism which has been, throughout the ages, the method by which their privileged position has been maintained—never have they more openly called its forces into action in dealing with the awakening masses of the people," he says.

"The Black List is only the latest move by which, consciously or subconsciously, militarist reaction in the allied countries has come to the aid of its temporarily dethroned spiritual brother in Germany."

"To understand the position, it must be stated that, according to the confession of government Socialists (Social Democrats) themselves there is a distinct movement of the people towards the reactionary right. Numbers of supporters of the government Socialists have already indicated that in their despair of all justice they will vote for the bourgeois parties at the coming elections, which are expected to take place in the spring."

"The position of the government is admittedly weak. On the other hand, the old Conservatives and the National Liberals (we need not trouble to call them by their new democratic titles of People's party etc.) are openly monarchist. They hold about 100 seats in the reichstag, and expect a considerable increase at the next elections."

"The leaders of these parties propose to establish a military dictatorship. They have already named their candidate for the monarchy, Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm to be crowned Wilhelm III."

"They are both united, whereas the present Socialist-Capitalist Coalition government is not."

united, having no common economic basis.

"On the other hand, the Independent Socialists and Communists, who both stand upon the basis of the Third International, i. e., the soviet republic, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the arming of the workers, are increasing their following in spite of—or perhaps because of—the ruthless persecution under which they are suffering. It is stated that they already number as many adherents as the Government Socialists."

"Into this atmosphere of doubt and despair is thrust the note of the allies demanding the bodies of almost every man prominent in Germany during the last five years for a series of mock trials before courts than can make no pretention of legal impartiality."

"What the Revolutionary Socialists fear more than anything else at the present time is the political situation that would be created if the allied governments actually demanded the delivery of the officers."

"It was pointed out, though indeed it is obvious, that the wave of sympathy that would undoubtedly sweep over the country would strengthen the hands of the old military bourgeois parties as could nothing else on earth."

"It is no secret that the present coalition government only remains in power by virtue of the fact that it is supported largely by the officers and by the very people whose delivery is demanded by the allies."

"If that support is withdrawn, the government will fall, and the reins of power will be seized either by the reactionary right or the revolutionary left."

"Now Germany is swarming with allied subjects, not only business men taking advantage of the fall of the mark and feeding carnivorously upon the body of fallen colleagues, but also swarms of allied officials. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the allied governments are well informed as to the probable effect of their latest demarche."

"If in the premature struggle between right and left that this crisis will probably bring forth, the Communists succeed in establishing themselves in power, we may expect this demand for the delivery of 'war criminals' to be put into force in full rigor, backed, as Millerand has threatened, by all available force, military and economic."

"If on the other hand, the reactionaries triumph, I venture the prophecy that the Black List will be whittled down to nani-shing point, if not altogether withdrawn."

ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCE

Given by the Four Leaf Clover Company of Minneapolis at—

Woodman Hall, Sun. Eve. March 21st
Eveleth March 19th
Virginia, March 20th
Two Harbors March 22nd

The Company consists of the following well known talent:

Eric Lund from New York, who plays 7 instrument and is well known actor. — Elsa Meyer Soloist and East. — Elna Liljequist, singer and Harry Thorstenson, Swedish Actor, Comedian and Singer.

This is a first class entertainment and you should all attend.