

THE RED PERIL WHICH THREATENS FREE AMERICA

Senator Lusk Explains Dangers Imperiling Church, Home and Government as Revealed by His Famous Committee.

Manitou Beach, N. Y., August 21.—The really perilous social and industrial conditions existing in this country were epitomized in a speech here today by the one man who knows them better than any other—Senator Clayton Lusk at Cortland, N. Y.

In this address at the annual field day and picnic of the Monroe County Pioneers' Association, many new revelations were made by the now nationally famous head of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities. This body, known the world over now as the Lusk Committee, already has revealed extraordinary and startling facts with regard to organized disorder during its sessions in New York City, and has by no means finished its work.

"If six years ago," said Senator Lusk, "any man had stood here and told you that within the next few years that all the great nations of the world would be engaged in war, that millions of men would be killed, that great numbers of women and children would be destroyed, that large areas of populous lands would be wantonly devastated, that our own country would be forced to take up arms to insure its existence as an independent nation, you would have called that man a lunatic."

"If three years ago any man had stood here and told you that within the next three years organized government would break down and constitutional and legal protection to life and property would be withdrawn in over half the civilized world, you would have called that man a lunatic; yet these events have occurred."

"Little do we know what the near future has in store for us. This we do know; that the American people are today in a condition of discontent and unrest which is increasing and which is causing grave apprehension to men who are giving serious consideration to the future.

"Unmistakable evidence exists in different parts of the world of lost arts and civilization of a high order; of the overthrow and complete destruction of highly organized and efficient governments.

"Is this history to be repeated in our own country and in our own day? It seems to me that the time has come for an appeal to the sound common sense and patriotism of the American people for the preservation of representative government and free institutions.

"Information was laid before the state legislature last winter that there were many disloyal elements in the state, and that these different elements were organizing and combining and were extensively circulating propaganda calculated to set in motion forces to overthrow the government of the state and nation.

"To Search Out Treason and Sedition. "In order that the extent of this seditious movement might be known and necessary steps taken for the protection of the citizens of our state, a joint committee of the legislature was appointed and has been engaged in the active investigation of this subject. The difficulties confronting this committee are obvious. The activities of this disloyal element are criminal in their nature and necessarily largely carried on in secret. The usual method of subpoena would mean the destruction rather than the production of the evidence necessary to make a real investigation of the matter.

"For this reason the committee adopted a method of first obtaining evidence enough to indicate that criminal anarchy was being committed by an organization; then placing this evidence before a magistrate and having all material of the organization of a seditious nature taken under a search warrant, so that it would be in the custody of the court where it could be used in criminal prosecutions, would be protected from destruction, and would be accessible to the committee.

"It is not the purpose of the committee to investigate or interfere in any way with social reforms or with political reforms, however radical these may be and however much they may disagree with the individual views of the members of the committee. We are only concerned with the organizations which advocate the forcible and violent overthrow of our established form of government.

"The different disloyal elements in this country have been uniting and working for a common purpose. Their purpose is to establish an 'International Socialist State' of which the United States of America shall be a part. The status of the Soviets in Russia is entirely different from the status of a nation. The nations of the world send their representatives to the United States to promote the interests of the citizens of these different countries at home and here.

"Soviet Russia sends its representa-

tives here for the purpose of circulating propaganda intended to convert American citizens to the International Socialist State and to cause them to renounce their allegiance to the American Government and the American flag and give their allegiance to the International Socialist State and the red flag. This was clearly proven by the documents seized in the raid upon the Russian Soviet Bureau operating in New York City. The Russian Soviet Ambassador and one of his representatives swore that their purpose was solely to establish trade relations with the United States. It was admitted that they had purchased nothing and the evidence was conclusive that the Soviet Ambassador and a large number of employees were actively engaged in circulating and promoting propaganda of the International Socialist State.

"Among the documents seized were lists of radicals in the District of Columbia and the different states of the Union and a large quantity of messages addressed from Lenin 'To the Workers of Europe and America,' in which he said, 'Only the overthrow of the bourgeois parliaments, only Soviet rule and proletarian dictatorship, can put an end to imperialism and safeguard the victory of socialism.'

"It was evident from correspondence seized at their headquarters that the people in this country to whom their propaganda was addressed understood well its import. The evidence obtained by the committee under the dif-



HON. CLAYTON R. LUSK, Chairman of the New York State Legislative Committee.

ferent search warrants clearly proved that it is not the intention of these disloyal agitators to bring about reforms in our country by means of the ballot, but that the International Socialist State is to be accomplished by violence and bloodshed and by the revolutionary overthrow of our government.

With as Little Bloodshed as Possible.

"Among the papers seized at the so-called Rand School was a copy of the New York Communist of June 14, 1919. It declared as follows: 'The Left Wing hopes that the proletariat will conquer its enemy, the capitalist class, with as little bloodshed as possible.' The same article explained why it was impracticable to accomplish this by the ballot, giving among other reasons that the people might vote one way one election and the other the next and that such instability could not be tolerated.

"Another paper seized in a raid upon one of the radical organizations said: 'To help with the peaceful teaching of revolution. The only possible seizure of power by the working class is bloody, because as long as our enemy is able to raise even one sword a bloodless fight is a day dream.'

"Copies of a form letter which were taken out of the files of the Rand School said: 'There is only one thing to do; take over the state.' Are you ready to meet the militia when the powers of the state and courts are against you? In a large part of their propaganda, the advocacy of force and bloodshed is thinly veiled for the purpose of avoiding the statute against criminal anarchy. Its meaning is, however, too obvious to be mistaken.

"The documents seized under the search warrants set forth the conditions which are to exist under the 'International Socialist State. The state is to be run by the so-called proletariat in their interests. The Bolsheviks are to be armed. The bourgeoisie and the rich are to be disarmed. Property is to be confiscated. Not only the property of the rich, but the farm, the stock and tools accumulated by a lifetime of toil are to be confiscated.

Hate Religion, Scorn Marriage.

"The attitude of these radicals towards religion and the institution of marriage is set forth in many articles. Clergymen of all kinds are condemned as tools of the capitalists. It is no longer to be taught that there is any reward for virtue or punishment for sin. Moral conduct is to be guided by passions and desires. Marriage ties are no longer to be sacred. The advent of the International Socialist State would sound the doom of the Church and of all the finer rules of moral conduct which are the product of a high civilization.

"The propaganda of the radicals is largely conducted by men and women whose activities for years have been inimical to our government. We find

that many of these leaders were, before the World War, organizing societies to promote the so-called German kultur. Between the time that the World War began and the participation of our own country, these same persons were engaged in organizing so-called peace societies for the purpose of stopping the shipping of munitions and supplies to the enemies of Germany. When our country entered the war, they busied themselves in forming other organizations for the purpose of defeating the enactment of a conscription law and for the purpose of creating and defending conscientious objectors and other traitors to our country.

"It is easy to distinguish between the loyal and the disloyal. In the month of April, 1917, two organizations adopted resolutions in reference to the war. One was an organization of radicals at St. Louis. They deplored the war and said: 'We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars.' * * * The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression, and we particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of the so-called defensive warfare.'

Sets Working Class at Enmity Against All Others.

"As against the false doctrine of national patriotism we uphold the ideal of international working class solidarity.

"The other was the American Federation of Labor at Washington.

"They also deplored the war and expressed the hope that it might be avoided and said: 'But despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declare as the indispensable basis for national politics, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of labor, justice, freedom and humanity, to devotedly and patriotically give like service.'

"Last but not least, conditions which make possible plausible arguments against our institutions should be remedied. The President, who has the benefit of access to all data of all departments, recently said that the present cost of living is not justified and is in many cases artificially and deliberately created by vicious practices. It is clear that, if this is so, necessary laws should be enacted and summary action should be taken on the part of the federal government. The people of the country are in no mood for protracted litigation with the meat packers or any profiteers. Measures should be adopted which are summary in their execution. The federal laws should be promptly supplemented by state laws of a similar character.

"Another matter which should receive prompt attention is the question of the decent division of the dollar. Has labor received its fair share of the earnings of the combined efforts of capital and labor? In the early days of our country when labor conditions were simple, many problems would solve themselves. The complications arising out of the combinations of capital and the employment of labor in a large way in the different branches of industry has created a situation which apparently requires the adoption of new relations between employers and employees.

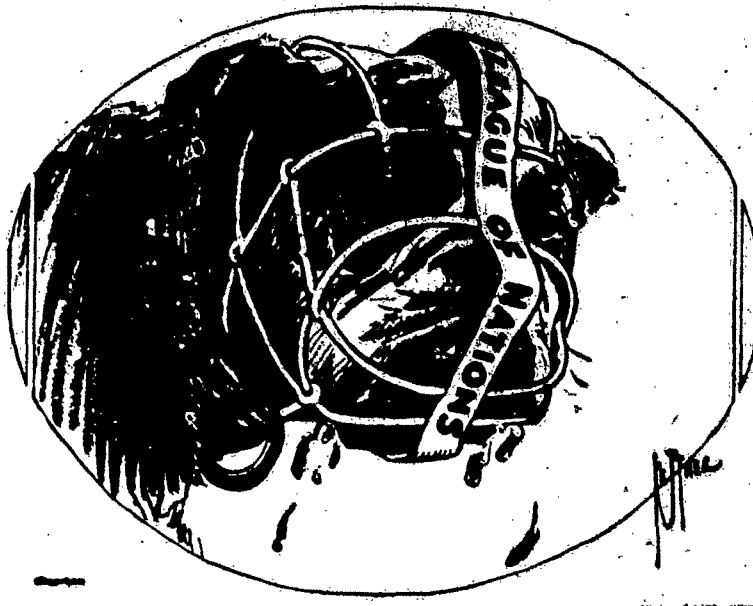
Progressive Employer.

"As chairman of the committee, I have recently been in conference with some of the large employers in the country who have been trying to work out this problem. Some of them have adopted a system of profit sharing. Others have given labor representation in their industries by selling stock to the employees on favorable terms. Many believe that the time has come when labor should have some representation in the management of the different industries to the end that it may know whether it is receiving its fair share of the earnings of the industry in which it is employed and to the end that mutual interests and endeavors will promote the harmony between capital and labor which seems to be lacking under present conditions. We have drifted far away from the conditions of equality upon which our nation was founded. The problem of the proper adjustment of the relations and earnings of capital and labor is one beset with difficulties. If, however, it is essential to the perpetuation of representative government and free institutions that this problem be solved, it must and ultimately will be solved in a legal and orderly way.

"It is the purpose of the committee to hear representatives of all classes and by means of publicity and by such legislation as may be effective to give its assistance in an effort to do away with profiteering and bring about a just and friendly relation between capital and labor. We are fully aware of our limitations; but we feel that as a representative public body we would render every possible assistance in the solution of these questions which are of such vital importance to our country. A solution which clearly lies in the active and unselfish co-operation of public and private leaders and organizations. It is easy to criticize the efforts of the committee. Loyal citizens should appreciate the difficulties which confront us and give us the benefit of their full support.

"Above all, we should not lose faith in the ultimate justice of our government."

He Has Had His Day



LEAGUE FULFILLS AMERICAN IDEAL

Herbert Hoover Says Democracies Replaced Autocracies at Our Bidding.

FOOD ADMINISTRATION CHIEF.

Urges Ratification on Ground That Peace Treaty Will Collapse Without League of Nations.

Herbert Hoover is so deeply concerned over the opposition to the League of Nations in the United States that he has let himself be interviewed at length on the League situation. In a talk with the New York Times correspondent in Paris, the Food Administration Chief asserts that having caused the League idea to prevail America cannot abandon it. We cannot withdraw, he says, and leave Europe to chaos. "To abandon the League Covenant now means that the treaty itself will collapse."

Mr. Hoover's wide acquaintance with conditions both here and abroad, his reputation as an administrator, a man of great affairs who deals with facts, not theories, make his statement one of the most important contributions to the recent League discussions.

"There are one or two points in connection with the present treaty," said Mr. Hoover, "that need careful consideration by the American public. We need to digest the fact that we have for a century and a half been advocating democracy not only as a remedy for the internal ills of all societies, but also as the only real safeguard against war. We have believed and proclaimed, in season and out, that a world in which there was a free expression and enforcement of the will of the majority was the real basis of government, was essential for the advancement of civilization, and that we have proved its enormous human benefits in our country.

American Ideas Have Prevailed.

"We went into the war to destroy autocracy as a menace to our own and all other democracies. If we had not come into the war every inch of European soil today would be under autocratic government. We have imposed our will on the world. Out of this victory has come the destruction of the four great autocracies in Germany, Russia, Turkey and Austria and the little autocracy in Greece. New democracies have sprung into being in Poland, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Greater Serbia, Greece, Siberia, and even Germany and Austria have established democratic governments. Beyond these a host of small republics, such as Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and others, have sprung up, and again as a result of this great world movement the constitutions of Spain, Rumania, and even England, have made a final ascent to complete franchise and democracy, although they still maintain a symbol of royalty.

"We have been the living spring for this last century and half from which these ideas have sprung, and we have triumphed. The world today, except for a comparatively few reactionary and communistic autocracies, is democratic, and we did it.

"A man who takes a wife and blesses the world with several infants cannot go away and leave them on the claim that there was no legal marriage.

"These infant democracies all have political, social and economic problems involving their neighbors that are fraught with the most intense friction. There are no natural boundaries in Europe. Races are not compact; they blend at every border. They need railway communication and sea outlets through their neighbors' territory.

"Many of these states must for the next few years struggle almost for bare bones to maintain their very existence. Every one of them is going to do its best; to protect its own interests, even to the prejudice of its neighbors.

Governments Lack Experience.

"We in America should realize that

democracy, as a stable form of government as we know it, is possible only with highly educated populations and a large force of men who are capable of government. Few of the men who compose these governments have had any actual experience at governing and their populations are woefully illiterate.

"They will require a generation of actual national life in peace to develop free education and skill in government.

"Unless these countries have a guiding hand and referee in their quarrels, a court of appeals for their wrongs, this Europe will go back to chaos. If there is such an institution, representing the public opinion of the world, and able to exert its authority, they will grow into stability. We cannot turn back now.

"There is another point which also needs emphasis. World treaties hitherto have always been based on the theory of a balance of power. Stronger races have been set up to dominate the weaker, partly with a view to maintaining stability and to a greater degree with a view to maintaining occupations and positions for the reactionaries of the world.

"The balance of power is born of armies and navies, aristocracies, autocracies, and reactionaries generally, who can find employment and domination in these institutions, and treaties founded on this basis have established stability after each great war for a shorter or longer time, but never more than a generation.

"America came forward with a new idea, and we insisted upon its inclusion into this peace conference. We claimed that it was possible to set up such a piece of machinery with such authority that the balance of power could be abandoned as a relic of the middle ages. We compiled an entire construction of this treaty and every word and line in it to bend to this idea.

"Outside of the League of Nations the treaty itself has many deficiencies. It represents compromises between many men and between many selfish interests, and these very compromises and deficiencies are multiplied by the many new nations that have entered upon its signature, and the very safety of the treaty itself lies in a court of appeal for the remedy of wrongs in the treaty.

Benefits of the League.

"One thing is certain. There is no body of human beings so wise that a treaty could be made that would not develop injustice and prove to have been wrong in some particulars. As the covenant stands today there is a place at which redress can be found and through which the good-will of the world can be enforced. The very machinery by which the treaty is to be executed, and scores of points yet to be solved, which have been referred to the League of Nations as a method of securing more mature judgment in a less heated atmosphere, justifies the creation of the League.

"To abandon the covenant now means that the treaty itself will collapse.

"It would take the exposure of but a few documents at my hand to prove that I had been the most reluctant of Americans to become involved in this situation in Europe. But having gone in with our eyes open and with a determination to free ourselves and the rest of the world from the dangers that surrounded us, we cannot now pull back from the job. It is no use to hold a great revival and then go away leaving a church for continued services half done.

"We have succeeded in a most extraordinary degree in imposing upon Europe the complete conviction that we are absolutely disinterested. The consequence is that there is scarcely a man, woman or child who can read in Europe that does not look to the United States as the ultimate source from which they must receive assurance and guardianship in the liberties which they have now secured after so many generations of struggle.

"This is not a problem of protecting the big nations, for the few that remain can well look after themselves. What we have done is to set up a score of little democracies, and if the American people could visualize their handwork they would insist with the same determination that they did in 1917 that our government proceed."

THE A B C OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By DR. FRANK CRANE.

1. What is the League of Nations?
 - A. A union of the strongest civilized nations formed at the conclusion of the great war.
2. What is its object?
 - A. First, to promote the Peace of the World by agreeing not to resort to war. Second, to deal openly with each other, not by secret treaties. Third, to improve international law. Fourth, to co-operate in all matters of common concern.
3. Does it presume to end war?
 - A. No more than any government can end crime. It claims to reduce the liability of war.
4. What will be done to any nation that makes war?
 - A. It will be boycotted and otherwise penalized.
5. How else will the probability of war be lessened?
 - A. By voluntary, mutual and proportionate disarmament; by exchanging military information; by providing for arbitration; by protecting each nation's territorial integrity and by educating public opinion to see the folly of war.
6. What else does the League propose to do for mankind?
 - A. (1) Secure fair treatment for labor.
 - (2) suppress the White Slave Traffic, the sale of dangerous Drugs, and the traffic in War Munitions.
 - (3) control and prevent Disease.
 - (4) promote the work of the Red Cross, and
 - (5) establish International Bureaus for other Causes that concern the human race.
7. Who are to be Charter Members of the League?
 - A. The United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, China, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Spain, Uruguay, and the following states which are invited to accede to the covenant: Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela.
8. What other nations may join?
 - A. Any self-governing State which will agree to the rules of the League provided the League accepts it.
9. What Agencies will the League have?
 - A. (1) An Assembly, composed of representatives of all member Nations.
 - (2) a Council of Nine.
 - (3) a Secretary-General.
 - (4) a Mandatory Commission, to look after colonies, etc.
 - (5) a Permanent Commission, for military questions.
 - (6) various International Bureaus; such as the Postal Union, etc.
 - (7) Mandatories.
10. What is a Mandatory?
 - A. Some one nation designated by the League to attend to the welfare of "backward peoples residing in colonies of the Central Empires, or in territories taken from them." This is to be a "sacred trust," and in selecting a mandatory the wishes of the people of the area in question shall be the principal consideration.
11. Does the League mean a Super-nation?
 - A. No. It interferes in no way with any Nation's Sovereignty, except to limit its power to attack other nations.
12. Can any Nation withdraw from it?
 - A. Yes. The League is Advisory and Co-operative, not coercive.
13. Does the League put Peace above Justice and National Honor?
 - A. No. It puts Reason before Violence.
14. Does not the League take away the Constitutional right of Congress to declare war?
 - A. No. The League can advise only. Congress alone can Declare war.
15. Does it destroy the Monroe Doctrine?
 - A. Exactly the contrary. For the first time in history the other nations recognize the Monroe Doctrine; and extend it to all the world.
16. Does it not interfere with Treaty Making Powers of the United States?
 - A. No. It is a Treaty. We can make any Treaty we please.
17. Would we have had the Great War if we had had this League?
 - A. No. That War cost the lives of over 7,000,000 lives and 200,000,000 dollars.
18. Of what importance is the League?
 - A. It is the greatest deed of mankind in the history of the world.
19. Has not anyone a right to object to the League?
 - A. Yes. This is a free country, and one has a right to any opinion he chooses.
20. Why is the League so widely opposed by a few?
 - A. Because, unfortunately, the Treaty or League must be made by the President, and a President is chosen by a political party and many members of the opposite Party must deny whatever he says.