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# RAYMOND ROBBINS ON RUSSIA

No. 62

American people is Colonel Raymond Robbins of the American Red Cross, who was in Russia from June of 1917 to May of 1918.

Colonel Robbins spoke before an audience at the suggestion from him. City Club of Cleveland last week. It was a typical middle class audience that he addressed. Doctors, lawyers, preachers, salaried business executives, newspaper editors and a sprinkling of local politicians, composed the audience that crowded the ball room of the Hollenden Hotel. For two and a half hours Colonel Robbins talked to this audience about Russia and his interpretation of Russian events and although most of the audience had come for the usual luncheon hour address, hardly a person stirred during the two and a half hours and many remained for another two hours of questions that followed.

Colonel Robbins is not a partisan of the Bolsheviki; he is bitterly opposed to bolshevism. But he evidently believes that the American people are entitled to know the truth and he presented the truth as he saw it develop in Petrograd and Moscow and elsewhere in Russia.

One thing that stands out in Colonel Robbins' statement is the utter repudiation of the charges made and constantly reiterated by the kept press, that Lenin and Trotzky were agents of German imperialism, bent upon wrecking Russia for the benefit of their imperial masters. He did not do this through a direct denial of the charge, but through a presentation of the story of his negotiations with Lenin and Trotzky, which furnished a more conclusive answer than any denial could be.

Opening his discussion of the subject with the statement: "I don't believe it is necessary to libel or slander courageous men with whose ideas I do not agree," he told the story of his relations with the Soviet government after Lenin and Trotzky came into power.

The first incident had to do with the movement of thirty-two cars of Red Cross supplies from Petrograd to Jassy in Roumania. The German armies were getting dangerously near to Petrograd when Robbins made his request to move these stupplies. At Jassy the supplies

Despite the barrage of untruth, misrepresentations would be delivered to one of the allies and used in the and lies concerning the Soviet government of Russia and struggle against Germany. Yet upon the request of

Robbins did not ask the question, why a German agent should help save supplies from the German army, but it arose in the minds of his audience without any

His second point was to the effect that Trotzky had agreed, in December of 1917, after the armistice had been signed between Germany and Russia, to permit the allies to station officers of the American, French or British armies at the Russian frontier to prevent any raw materials from leaving Russia for Germany. He pointed out that a number of cars of copper, and other materials badly needed by Germany were discovered in Petrograd, which under cover of false billing were to reach Germany by the way of Finland and Sweden, and that Trotzky promptly ordered the cars confiscated when the matter was brought to his attention.

But the strongest argument made by Colonel Robbins was his presentation of the facts in regard to the attitude of Lenin and Trotzky toward the signing of the Brest treaty of peace.

Senator Johnson, of California, some months ago, asked upon the floor of the senate:

Is it true that the administration knew, at the time of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, that the Soviet government, represented by Lenin and Trotzky, was opposed to the projected treaty, and looked forward to signing it only because of the physical impossibility of resisting German demands unless the allies, or some of them, came to its aid?

Is it true that Lenin and Trotzky, a week or more previous to the signing of the treaty, handed to Raymond Robbins, at that time a representative in Russia of the American Red Cress, a communication to President Wilson declaring their opposition to the treaty, and stating that they would refuse to sign it if the United States would assure them of its moral support in breaking off the negotiations and would send to Russia food and arms?

ing of the genuineness of the offer of the Soviet government and urging its acceptance. He told how, when the day for the meeting of the All-Russian Soviet, which was to act upon the treaty arrived, at Lenin's personal request the meeting was delayed for two days in order to give more time for the allied government to reply. He told how, after the All-Russian Soviet had begun its session and before the treaty had been ratified, Lenin called him to the platform and asked:

'Have you heard anything from America?" The only answer Robbins could make was that he had received no answer. And Lenin added:

The allies would rather see Germany triumph than help the social revolution."

What shall we say about the Wilson administration that knew these facts and still permitted the lies about the attitude of Lenin and Trotzky to circulate in this country undenied? What shall we say about an administration, which, in spite of knowledge of these facts, permitted an official government bureau to poison the minds of the American people with those damnable forgeries the Sisson documents? What other conclusion is possible than Lenin's "The allies would rather see Germany triumph than help the social revolution?"

Robbins indirectly answered another charge against the Soviet government when he told how a letter from Lenin to the local Soviets was sufficient guarantee to give him free passage across six thousand miles of Russian territory and that in those six thousand miles of travel he did not hear a single shot fired.

revolutionary culture" swept over all of Russia. It was not through force that the Bolsheviki conquered, but through ideas. The revolutionary ideals took hold of ning to appear.

One of the men who is contributing a great deal to the work of getting the facts about Russia to the American people is Colonel Raymond Debbins of the goods.

The revolutionary ideals took hold of the people and as they swept across the country the power of the auticracy, the power of bourgeois government that they were delivered at Jassy without the loss of a single cabled to the American people is Colonel Raymond Debbins of the goods. photographic copies of the cable sent by Bruce Lockhardt, had accepted a new idea and moved from under them. It the British High Commissioner, urging his government to accept the offer. He offered in evidence photographic reproduction of cables sent by others in authority vouchthe hypnotic spell which holds the people in subjection is broken, the most powerful government of exploiters becomes merely a shadow.

> Robbins is opposed to bolshevism, but he says neither England, France and Italy can stop it. "The government of Lloyd George rests upon a narrow ledge of social sanction; though Clemenceau lives in spite of the assassin's bullet, his government is already dead; the Italian government rests upon a volcano, which may burst at any moment."

> "Bolshevism is the most fundamental menace of the time," Colonel Robbins said in closing. "But it will have no power in America unless by ristricting freedom of speech and the freedom of the press and other acts of oppression, we create bitterness that will not be satisfied with less than the overthrow of our democratic insti-

And if Colonel Robbins were to consider the fact about conditions in this country he would find that the very conditions which he said would lead to the triumph of bolshevism here have already been created. Debs is under ten years' sentence, Haywood has begun his twenty years in prison, thousands of others are in prison or awaiting sentence; at Seattle the federal troops are called when the workers use their industrial power to secure better things for themselves; hundreds of thousands are out of work and the government and the industrial masters coolly wait until industry adjusts itself, while the workers starve. Colonel Robbins may hope and wish but the facts are against the ruling class here as they were against the ruling class in Russia. The day is coming when the "revolutionary, Marxian culture" will sweep away the power of the industrial autocracy and its po-The inspiring part of Robbins' address to the Social-litical expression here and prepare the way for a Soviet ists was his picture of how, what he called, "the new republic."

# Soviet Representative Publishes Record of Achievement

Through the Bureau of Information on Soviet Russia we are in receipt of a copy of the memorandum submitted to the state department together with the credentials of L. A. Martens, the representative of the Soviet Republic of Russia. This memorandum describes what has been achieved in Russia since the Soviet government has been in power and the present situation in that

The facts presented tell a story of wonderful achievements allied bayonets from the outside. The memorandum is a complete answer to the kept press and its misrepresentations and lies

about Russia. Following we print the complete text of the memorandum as presented to the state department:

Before Court

March 17, filed in the Supreme Court

clearly amounts to the trial of a per-

son for an undisclosed state of mind,"

said Debs' petition. "The court erron-eously bases its judgement upon the

motive of the defendant. In the trial

tentiary.

of Russia. Its government, the Coun- methods in their fight against the cil of the People's Commissars, is a Soviet institutions. government controlled by and responsible to all such members of the population of Russia are willing to perform useful work, physical or mental. pressed by the Soviet government. Those who, while not being unable to Only in sparsely populated outlying live on the fruits of the labor of other people, are eliminated from participation in the control of my gov-

Under present conditions those who are willing to work for the common good, number at least 90 per cent. of the adult population in the area controlled by the Soviets. All such people have full political and civic rights.

More People Participate in Government Than Anywhere in World.

The basis for citizenship in Russia being industrial and economic rather than political, and the social system being of such a nature that every per-son engaged in useful social labor is bound to participate in public affairs, the percentage of people directly par-ticipating in the management of society in Soviet Russia is higher than has been the case anywhere in the world hitherto. The Russian Soviet Republic affords thereby the widest to use moute to use m Republic affords thereby the widest ates a productive community in which all able inhabitants are bound to become useful workers who have full political rights. My government thus crime, then opposition to peace, oppopecomes the expression of fully one hundred per cent. of the people. It should also be noted that political rights are granted in Russia to every inhabitant engaged in useful work, criminality. Opposition to war is a though he be not a citizen of Russia, motive, it is not an intent. Motive but only temporarily working there. and The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was rapidly acclaimed (A

# Memorandum Submitted to State Department Toledo Crowd Compels Manifesto of Hungarian Socialists Tells of Wonderful Work New Government Has Accomplished Toledo Crowd Compels Manifesto of Hungarian Socialists Charge Entente With Release of Socialist Speakers

made in the face of counter-revolution within and the attack by Audience Aroused Because Denied Freedom of Speech Disarm Policeman and Marches on Police Station

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was established on the
6th of November, 1917, by a sponmany cases enlisted foreign help and taneous uprising of the toiling masses who employed the most unscrupulous ference with the right of freedom of speech and freedom of assemblage. In

Russia could such elements of their a crisis they were obliged to ask the resistance to the popular will, as ex- tive to prevent a great mass of work- of ten thousand people was assembled agreed that the Socialists would enwork, deliberately refuse to exercise districts and in such of those districts hands and not only holding meetings the building.

Continued on Page Four as they pleased, but opening the M. H. Toche

Debs Case Again had been arrested.

Washington.—Eugene V. Debs, Debs. When they endeavored to se- gan to talk. cure Memorial hall for this meeting | By this time the crowd was begin- position from which Toohey and Baker a petition for a rehearing. The court recently affirmed Debs' conviction, they found it had been rented to the under the Espionage law, under which Metal Workers' Council. They went police, although the whole Toledo all the arrested men and women had he was sentenced to the federal peni- to the Metal Workers' Council and force was present. One policeman been freed and the agreement that BIRTH OF HUNGARIAN stated the case to them and the latter was stripped of his badge, club and had been reached. pressed upon the sentence of Debs agreed to give up the hall in favor revolver and chased out of the neighof the Socialists. When this was ex- boshood. While this was going on an plained to the city authorities who appeal to members of the Socialist number of other brief speeches the method and all mediums in order that ious, the entente floods Hungary with control the hall they refused to per- Party was made to immediately admit the transfer, stating that if the journ to the party headquarters, while court we were denied the privilege of showing a good motive that would would be turned over to some patriotic where they were organization.

argue for acquittal. If it is good law Metal Workers' Council agreed to low each other as speakers and they expose themselves to the wrath of a

war stated as a conclusion does not constitute an admission of obstructing rived. A crowd of some five hundred were arrested, one after the other, recruiting. If this court decides that people assembled there, whom the po- among them Organizer Baker, and people assembled there, whom the poopposition to war is an element of
crime, then opposition to peace, opposition to a tariff, opposition to an impost tax, opposition to an inheritance
tax, and opposition to prohibition can
tax, and opposition to prohibition can
equally be interpreted as elements of
criminality. Opposition to war is a

While the cry leaped from a thouwas presented in vain to disperse. When
the train arrived it was found that
Meanwhile the attitude of the
sand throats of the disciples of Euthe train arrived it was found that
Debs had been taken ill in Cleveland
and was unable to speak and that
threatening and it looked as if they
were taken to the police station.

Meanwhile the attitude of the
sand throats of the disciples of Euthe stage. There was a small spray
threatening and it looked as if they
were in for a rough time.

Charles Baker, state organizer of the
criminality. Opposition to war is a

Charles Baker, state organizer of the
Char

and intent are clearly distinguish- Baker entered a waiting automobile spublic was rapidly acclaimed (A later press dispatch from Washington announces that the court has throughout the former empire refused the rehearing and that the

Toledo, O.—City authorities here took his place and the procession proto the scene of the meeting and try

When the procession arrived at Meing people taking matters in their own in the streets in the neighborhood of deavor to restore order.

prison doors for release of those who ledo Socialist local, mounted the top toward the station. Filling the street The situation grew out of a meet- and was immediately arrested. Seven- of people swept everything before grave decision. The Hungarian working at which Toledo Socialists intend- teen other Socialists followed him, them and advanced toward the station ed to pay their tribute to Eugene V. | each being arrested as soon as he be- | intent upon freeing the arrested men.

ning to get beyond the control of the addressed the crowd, explaining that stroyed under the pretext of occupa-

In order to meet this situation the party members were organized to fol- tate a long time before they again

Evidently the city authorities re- the hall. alized that things were beyond their

to disperse the crowd.

After some negotiations, during authorities had locked the doors and arrested should be freed at once and refused the metal workers, to whom it was impressed upon the police chief the hall had been rented, the use of that never again must be interfere

Hardly had they left the station AN APPEAL FROM THE WORK- garian People's Republic was born. M. H. Toohey, secretary of the To- when they met the vast crowd coming | ERS OF HUNGARY TO THE of an automobile and began to speak from building to building the mass

An automobile was hastily placed in

After a half hour of speech makaudience was dispersed.

Socialists believe that the city au-At the headquarters two hundred ence Sunday and that they will hesi mass of working men, as they did

# Strangling Liberties

Appeal To Workers Of World Made Before Soviet Government Was Established Explain Conditions That Led To Workers Revolt

The resignation of the cabinet of the Hungarian People's government and the assumption of power by the Revolutionary Socialist government gives added interest to the appeal to the workers of the world recently issued by the Socialists and workers of Hungary, urging them to exert pressure on the governments of the allies to bring to an end the open alliance between morial hall it was found that the city which it was agreed that every man the entente troops of occupation in Hungary and the counter-revolutionary elements bent on overthrowing the people's government and restoring the old regime of the monarchists and capitalist and landowners.

The manifesto throws a great deal of light upon the conditions in Hungary since the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the own accord organize any noticeable assistance of the workers' representative ball for a Debs' meeting. A crowd with a Socialist meeting, it was Hungarian People's government, and is especially interesting in its portrayal of the activities of the entente troops of occupation in opposition to the fundamental liberties of the Hungarian peoples. The text follows:

WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

ers address themselves to the workers of the world and urge them not ENTENTE TROOPS AGAINST to permit the rights of liberty now acquired by the conquests of the Hungarian People's Republic to be de-

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.

effective assistance in this crisis.

The revolution, almost without the shedding of blood, overthrew the rot-ten system of tyranny. The Hun-

The people's republic, which is rapidly wiping out the last vestiges of feudalism, which is creating in Hun-The workers' congress has taken a gary the most complete democracy and laying the foundations for the development of socialism.

> HUNGARIAN LIBERTIES. The territory of the vanished mon-

> archy is now inundated by the troops of occupation. The liberty of the small nations

and the safety of democracy were written upon the banners of the entente as long as actual fighting coning the crowd was calmed and after a of the world. We shall utilize every nated victoriously for them. Victorthe proletariat of Europe especially the troops of occupation. But the may understand the situation which troops of occupation cannot carry libthorities have learned what a mass movement means from their experiment may understand the States of the Hungary, Hungarian public alone effectively created liberty here. But the entente, which promites the states of the state ised to liberate the world from the What is happening in Hungary yoke of German absolutism, has subjected Hungary to the greedy clutch of Roumania, Siberian and Czecho-Continued on Page Two.

# Debs Gets Great Ovation at Youngstown

people throughout the former empire in the face of manifold plots and op-will be issued in about ten days).

Cheers Debs Five Minutes.

Wheel shall be turned in this valley by us on or after July 4, unless the two us on or after July 4, unless the two us on or after July 4, unless the two us on or after July 4, unless the two us on or after July 4, unless the two us on or after July 4, unless the two us on or after July 4, unless the two us on or after July 4, unless the two us on or after July 4, unless the two us on or after July 4, unless the two us on or after July 4, unless the two us on or after July 4, unless the two us on or after July 4, unless the two us on or after July 4, unless the two us of t

The expression came following the but a thousand managed to crowd in said: "I love you, Comrade Debs,"

Cheers Debs Five Minutes.

Diamond hall is snugly filled by 500, threw her arms about Debs' neck and and the crowd at the station formed control, for no sooner had the last was unanimously voted "that not a addressed in Public Square."

The station formed control, for no sooner had the last was unanimously voted "that not a addressed in Public Square.

The station formed control is a resolution in which it was unanimously voted that not a addressed in Public Square. his head, while tears sprang to his eyes and when he raised his head to

# What Capitalists Hate Worst Is What Workers Need Most

# AMERICANISM AND THE SOVIET

Little attempt has been made to ed out, "the extraordinary majorities ted officials. From its inclusion in and to be elected to the Soviets. describe what we know of the present required for the initiation and ratificative of government in Russia in tion of amendments have resulted in the present day, the recall has made order to obtain from it an increase language. Americans can understand making it practically impossible to its way into the constitutions of two in profits," and those "who have an and in the perspective of American amend the constitution under ordior three states, into the general laws income without doing any work," are ideals. A great deal has been told nary circumstances." of the revolution in the language of revolutionists. But "Bolshevik" "Menshevik," "proletariat" and bourgeoisie" are not words to clarify the situation for Republicans and ment machine. The hand of the past Democrats. They merely aggravate does not rest, an autocracy of death, the irritation against the revolution upon the institutions of the Soviet set up by chronic journalistic and

congressional mis-statement. ideal is the democratic ideal. Born the circumstance of change. The the trents have the right to recall him States. It is probable that a larger of revolt against autocracy, our Declaration of Independence itself probe described as a pyramid of responsible to every Soviet and every to vote today in Russian fram in any claimed to the world that "goveinments are instituted among men dethe cities, towns, villages, and rural
ments are instituted among men dethe cities, towns, villages, and rural
jurisdiction of the present government of Russia. Leon Trotzky, for
the Russian population ever has been of the governed," and that "whenever of the government becomes destructive of those ends it is the right of the people to abolish it." The constitution of the United States begins with the words: "We, the people \* \* \* do ordain and establish." Chief Justine May have a see of Soviets similar bodies with the formula are of the people in the structure, are instance, as Commissar of the Army, included in the property-owning instance, as Commissar of the Army, is responsible by election and recall the executive committee of the all-the executive committee of the executive committee of the executive committee of the executive committee of the exe

the American public than Mr. Wilson's appeal to "make the world safe
for democracy." These words strike
is the power of popular control.

One of the many divergences beviets is a casteless and a classless the American public than Mr. Wilson's appeal to "make the world safe for democracy." These words strike is the power of popular control.

deep into the roots of American revolution. Opponents of Russian revolution have gained their best effect in this country by the charge that the world safe in our electoral machinery. We talk

sponsibility. A careful examination of the evidence, "at "hand, however, discloses the fact that not only the form of government itself, but the officials of the Soviets are responsible take the lea at every turn to those that elected application.

Nowhere is this more marked than in the form and structure of our national government. Students of Amerthis particularly glaring inconsistency. and the rigidity of our constitution. The American nation is a youth, lusty and growing, but clothed in a The change and expansion of our national life must in the end either bend our constitution or break it. If the Supreme Court had occurred. Constrained by a constitution written by men dead a century ago, and under the domination of

No such restrictions now bind the people of Russia. As in England, the national legislature itself is the de-"more shevik," "proletariat" and national legislature itself is the depourgeoisie" are not words to clarify signer and repairer of the government of Republicans and ment machine. The hand of the past does not rest, an autocracy of death, upon the institutions of the Soviet state. The All-Russian Soviet fashions the instruments of government viet deviates from the instructions of his constituents, then the constituents have the vient to program to viet deviates from the instructions of his constituents, then the constituents have the vient to program the pour proposed in the constituents. ing the next tier in the structure, are instance, as Commissar of the Army, tice Marshall, in the famous case of gresses of Soviets, similar bodies with elected them. Besides this, Mr. Trot-limitations of the franchise that McCulloch vs. Maryland, made more jurisdiction over wider areas. At the specific this ideal of democracy:

tree Marshall, in the famous case of gresses of Soviets, similar bodies with elected them. Besides this, Mr. Trot-limitations of the franchise that the purisdiction over wider areas. At the specific this ideal of democracy:

tree Marshall, in the famous case of gresses of Soviets, similar bodies with elected them. Besides this, Mr. Trot-limitations of the franchise that the purisdiction over wider areas. At the specific this ideal of democracy: The government proceeds directly from the people; it is ordained and established in the name of the people.

\* \* The government of the Union \* \* is emphatically and truly a government of the people. In form and of the Russian Social-is supreme power of the Russian Social-is suprement of the people. In form and Social-is suprement of the people is the suprement of the local Soviet of his own district. Whatever else Mr. Trotzky may be, he cannot be called a dicta-tor. Whatever else the Soviet may be, it cannot be classed as an autoc-remember of the all-Russian Soviet and of the local Soviet of his own district. Whatever else Mr. Trotzky may be, he cannot be called a dicta-tor. Whatever else the Soviet may be, it cannot be classed as an autoc-remember of the local soviet of his own district. substance it emanates from them. Its Soviet from the lowest to the highest substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them and care powers are granted by them and care acts as a general legislative and poltobe exercised directly on them and icy-determining body; but it delegates of the proletariat." The term has been used to be exercised directly on them and icy-determining body; but it delegates administrative and even legislative and poltobe exercised directly on them and care icy-determining body; but it delegates administrative and even legislative and poltobe exercised directly on them and care icy-determining body; but it delegates icy-determining body; but it delegates administrative and even legislative and poltobe exercised directly on them and care icy-determining body; but it delegates icy-determ gated by all; it represents all and acts for all.

The public declaration of eminent Americans from that time to the present day agree in their praise of democracy in the several executive committee and coundemocracy in the several executive committee, which, and those who have not lived a certain time in the district from which they vote. Only 9,000,000 persons in England voted apply to a period of transition in the labor over capital. While it may well apply to a period of transition in the logical executive committee, which, and those who have not lived a certain time in the district from which they vote. Only 9,000,000 persons in England voted apply to a period of transition in the logical executive committee and coundemocracy. The public describe what it was never meant to describe what it was never meant to describe. The phrase connotes class the control by one caste of the control by one caste of the destribution.

In the public declaration of eminent to councils composed of the heads of the several executive control by one caste of the control by one caste of the control by one caste of the describe. The phrase connotes class the control by one caste of the control by one caste of the control by one caste of the control of the several executive connotes class the control of the several executive control of the several executive control of the several executive control of the seve

this country by the charge that the in our electoral machinery. We talk new Russia is undemocratic. That is of the will of the people, but we know an argument that appeals to the it is more often the will of the boss American public. American political and the boss of the boss that conlife has naturally found expression in such phrases as "the will of the people," "majority rule," and the "sover-large measure responsible for this eignty of public opinion." Lincoln's anomaly. There is no intimacy be-"government of the people," by the tween a representative and his conpeople and for the people," is more stituency. In his nomination, his electhan a hackneyed phrase; it is the tion, and his service as a law maker, "summum Bonum" of American po- the American legislator has closer touch with the professional politician The words "dictatorship of the pro-letariat" cut across these sentiments resent. For years forward-looking with a ruthlessness that stirs to its American political scientists have redepths the antagonism of the average alized this and have talked of the American. No better illustration value of economic over geographical could be found of the ill effects of a representation as the only reasonable convinced by the evidence at hand foreign and Socialist terminology. Remedy. Men's interests, they have that the policy of the present Rusforeign and Socialist terminology, remedy. Men's interests, they have Soviet Russia, in purpose and form, said, are essentially economic. People at least, does not appear upon exam- are bound together more clasely by ination to be "a dictatorship," nor is their occupation than by the neigh-it, strictly speaking, "of the projeta-borhood in which they happen to live. right." And yet this phrase, for the It might well be that legislative bodaverage American, is both a descrip- ies representing different economic intion and a damnation of the present terests, instead of districts arbitrarily nation. Capital, in the sense of American institutions into a novel regime in Russia. The term "dicta-assigned on a map, would give more property, remains, but in the hands perspective. It proves an ew our torship" connotes a government un-adequate expression of public opinion of the people through the state. In ideals of self-government. The Soterests, instead of districts arbitrarily torship" connotes a government un-controlled by the governed—an exer-cise of supreme authority without re-more constant and intimate relations with those he represents. No definite program has ever been worked out in America to put such a plan into effect. It has remained for Russia to take the lead in its concrete political

Elections in Russia are, so to speak, tures of American culture is the un- Each factory, each economic organ- When the change has been accomusual divergence between our politi- ization, in proportion to the numerical plished, the nobles and the capitalist strength of the croup, elects its own will still live, but they will be workdelegates to the Soviet. The assembly ers, and not owners, for a living is made up of representatives, not of There will remain neither "bourgeoidistricts, but of economic interests, sie" nor "proletariat"; there will be ican politics of as divergent views as Every member of the Soviet works only workers in Russia. Such is the Burgess and Beard have emphasized in the same factory or organization logic of the Russian revolutionist. In with those who elected him. He is the phraseology of the Russian Con-There is a fundamental antagonism known to them personally; he is in stitution (Section 9): "The fundabetween our democratic pretensions constant contact with them, and is un-mental problem of the Constitution der their continuous instructions; his of the Russian Federated Soviet resympathies are their sympathies, his public involves, in view of the present loyalty is their loyalty. transition period (black mine). the

elections as these, would leave an esproletariat . . . for the purpose sential weakness in the pyramid of of abolishing the exploitation of men break it. If the Supreme Court had not by the main force of constructive cy in the United States have realized shall be "neither a division in Privy Council settles the issue so far analogies stretched the constitution this for years. Merely to elect a classes nor a state of autocacy."

To accomplish this purpose the Southern Rhodesia has a native far beyond the intentions of its mak-ers, the break would long since have out, does not insure his responsibilis oftentimes far less powerful than of Soviet Russia, male or female, of belaland is not clear. One thing immediate political advantage. With- 18 years or over, who has "acquired however, is certain that the 500,000

The Soviet is not a dictatorship. Russian revolution, it cannot correctly be used to describe the ultithe present antagonism between la-the population even now entitled to bor and capital in the only way which to the Russian is possible—by the elimination of the party of the second part. It is of the greatest importance to note, however, that there are two ways in which this can be accomplished. The property owner can be eliminated by the elimination either of the property or of the owner himself. Newspaper reports would lead us to suspect that the lat-ter method is the policy of the So-viets. Such is emphatically not the case. One need have no illusions: about the by-products of a revolu-

sian government is to eliminate the property owner only by nationalizing nis property. The present Russian government has taken over, one by one, the own-ership of the great resources of the tne capitalist soon will be. When the change has been accom-

tionary upheaval when individuals

and mobs run riot, and may yet be

The threat of the next election from the franchise: Every inhabitant

so, however, it is the majority that has willed it,

Were the figures evailable, they probably would show that, even with the property owners excluded," the franchise is more democratic in Russia than in England or the United first place, only a small proportion of included in the property-owning class. Russia is and always has been ly retains property as the qualification for suffrage, excludes women under 30, men under 21 and aliens. About one-half of the Ameri-Whatever else the Soviet may can states exclude women from the transport to cannot be classed as an autoctional tests, and many also demand a poll tax; Southern states in practice exclude the Negro, and most

Ultimately, however, age will the only limitation upon the suffrage of Soviet Russia. Like the physician whose highest function it is to make himself unnecessary, the temporary domination of the majority continually works to eliminate itself. The fewer in the property-owning class. The property-owners become workers and entitled to the franchise; the disfranchised rapidly approach complete absorption as the limit they will ultimately reach. Each month limit they makes the electorate more nearly all-inclusive more completely demo-cratic. What has been called the "dictatorship of the proletariat" proves upon analysis to be ultimately a democracy of the unclassed.

Soviet Russia, thus, throws our

# More Self-

By SCOTT NEARING.

Matabelaland, comprising some 48 million acres in Rhodesia, is to remain under the British crown by decision of the Privy Council. There were valty is their loyalty.

transition period (black mine), the of the Privy Council. There were Elections alone, however, even such establishment of a dicknowledge of the four claimants to the land. The Imthe purpose perial Government, the Legislative Council, the British South Africa Co

many of these persons live in Mataago, and under the domination of indicatate political advantage. With the people in control in the people in congress assembled can recast the American machinery of there has been a campaign in the state. As Professor Beard has point- United Etates for the recall of elec-

# **RUSSIA**

Years when my pain and anguish Awoke no answering sound: When o'er the Steppes, my kindred wept Lip-gagged and muscle-bound; When the trails to the snow-bound silence Were marked with the blood of mine own, And through the travail of that awful night

I traveled my way alone.

Now you sit in your smug contentment, Heaping on me your scorn; Twisting the strands that binds my hands On this-my awakening morn. To me you have sent your couriers-Blind that they could not see-Your pen-valets in my borning days Fashioned a travesty.

Barren of all that is noble, Wanting in all that is just, All things are kind that you would grind In the grip of your money-lust. You with your vampire vision Seeking to make me prey, But I shall hold, for all my fold, For a thousand years and a day.

Mine is the land unexploited; Mine is the song of the dawn, Of a world in birth that will shadow the earth, Till the fetters of all are gone. Of hate. I have none to render. Of joy, I have world's to give, And follow or fall, I shall share with you all That MAN and not MAMMON shall live.

### A VISION OF

TO-MORROW

Labor unrest throughout the world has grown into a mammoth mountain of trouble for the capitalist class and they are endeavoring to draft measures to suppress it. The capitalists can feel their realms crumbling, and now breath the dust of de-cay of the system that has long ruled the worker with a rod of iron.

Through their effort to suppress the exposure of extortion they but make visible the grey smoke winding towards the heaven from a giant volcano, now ready to burst into ac-

The toilers must be kept in the val-ley of ignorance. Their brains must clouded with the shadow of doubt. They must not realize their true value lest they choose to be their own apraisers. They must surrender their liberties without the slighest emotion and succumb to the capitalistic element or they are branded as bolshevists.

But nevertheless socialism goes on triumphantly. It has emerged from the channel of suppression in Russia, and other European countries. can see the day not far distant when the toilers of the world, the all important class will come to the realization that socialism furnishes the melting pot into which they can throw their support and mould their influence into power and cross the river of progress over the bridge of knowledge constructed by themselves and wreck the tower of autocratic force and declare themselves mas-ters of masters and say to their comrades, "Go and sit under the shade of your own vine and fig tree and we will build a tower of brotherhood that will stand for all time to to come.

A comrade of local Lima, O.

# DEBS' OVATION AT YOUNGSTOWN

listened to your proletarian heart beats. All that I have and can give, I lay on the altar of the revolution for you. It was my good fortune to have a good mother. At a tender age she was pushed into wage slavery and in wage slavery I was born. From her bosom, I grew to what I am. I know where bolshevikism, sprang property-owner is excluded, but with know where bolshevikism sprang an ever-increasing nationalization of from and if you don't know I can tell capital each month sees fewer and you. I am not going to attempt to out a cuiver. The soviet government is a government of the same thing happened when sixteen months they have stood withpossibly, possibly later. Will Go Together.

Doesn't Fear Courts. "Do you think I fear the courts? They can go to hell with their courts." A demonstration of several minding along the edge tonight, I am has said, I was worth \$150.000. Comrades, if I wanted to sell out this cause for which I stand, I wouldn't fool with a paltry and detestable \$150,000; I could get \$150,000,000-I

Continued From Page One.

Debs Visibly Affected.

"If only words could speak my love for all of you. But, comrades, my heart is full and words are cold and plurposeless. The warm greeting has touched every red drop of blood in my body. If it were not for you working people, you proletarians, I would be unknown. The little I have I grew from your hearts. The little I have belongs to you. Long I have listened to your proletarian heart beats. All that I have and can give.

Wants No Bloodshed. "And when I do we'll go together, I shall not say to you, go, but come on, for I'll be at the head of you. I am opposed to bloodshep in any form, know what is wrong in Europe, in down trodden Europe. I know why the neglect of Russin have come into the neglect of the down trodden Europe. I know why be peaceful. That is the reason I am the people of Russia have come into opposed to war, to making men soltheir own. Isn't it strange, that there diers. A soldier is a human being once to the White House as a hypothat they concern about Russia now trained to kill other human beings, that they, the peasants, have worked I don't believe in killing, I am opout a successful government, have posed to it. I met several soldiers thrown off the yoke of the czar, are able to realize a real democracy, are able to think and act with freedom without being thrown into jail to rot, without being thrown into jail to rot, without being thrown into jail to rot, without being the sent to Sibasia to disk. ause they have treated us a and

which we must treat with them. must be gentle and ask God to forgive them. They speak of Americanutes followed the statement. And izing the foreigners—why? To make then Debs continued: "I'm not skid-strike-breakers of them? Gor forgive Determination speaking my heart. Some capitalist gift I ask, is that some child will lay a flower upon my grave and say 'Gene did something for me.' New Era Dawning.

"The sun is arising upon our cause. A new and beautiful world is ap- him and choking with tears kissed

Debs Mentions Penitentiary. "I'm about to go to the penitentiary for the rest of my days"-

" split the air for fully five min-The same thing happened when you. I am not going to attempt to excite your passions tonight—but— of their government falling. They have stood their ground.

out a quiver. There is no prospect the Soldiers monument. When finally the listeners were quieted, he went have stood their ground.

"There's not much left of this old shell of mine. My years and my days are numbered, would be God that hearts' desire. I would rather go to prison a thousand times for you, than

Margaret Preyey of Akron, who had been addressing the crowd in the square gave up her place to Debs as he came from the hall. He spoke of the people through the state. In the spoke with this way the private owner of capital who exploits it for his personal advantage is rapidly being eliminated the from Russian society. If the Czar should not own and operate the government for his personal benefit, why should the capitalist own and operate the operate the factory to the same end? The society and the responsible to think and act with Irector in the hall and ac peared. He spoke upon a box beside the municipal flag pole. When he had finished several hundred followed him the lobby of the Tod house. Sev cattle that is not the spirit in eral speakers followed Debs, including Frank Midney.

Kissed Goodbye at Depot. Talks were listened to until after 11 o'clock. At the B. & O. station, 200 gathered to give Debs a parting When I am gone, the richest | farewell as he boarded a train for Akron. They sang songs and men and women alike kissed him goodbye. It was a tearful farewell.

In the hall following the address horry handed workmen crowded about could sell out your cause for that amount easily.

Says Bolshevism Misrepresented.

"If bolshevism were what they tell carry on. This may be the last time of the country of the last time."

A new and beautiful world is approaching the world scheeks. By it all he was overtown that is ours. It may be your lot to express his appreciation and affection.

Youngstown Vindicator.

# CHARGES ENTENTE WITH STRANGLING LIBERTIES Continued From Page One.

REVOLUTIONARY LIBERTIES STRANKLED BY ENTENTE TROOPS.

These imperialisms represent a deof the Hungarian democracy. The people's republic established the most complete liberty of the press, of association and of assemblage. The press. The people's republic has a social policy—the liberty of associa-tion and freedom of labor. The troops of occupation destroy our social policy shackle our private associations and in the place of liberty of labor estabished a new serfdom.

INDUSTRIAL LIFE KILLED BY BLOCKADE.

But the occupation of Hungary signifies more than the suppression of the rights gained by the revolution, possibility of work itself.

Where there is no coal there is no It appears that the troops of occupation consider seriously the ironical remark of General Franchets d'Espery, who said: "If our mills the right of violence they shall not dismember this state. We demand war of the reign of right against all forms peoples. cannot operate by steam power, operate them with wind mills." The lack sor to that younger and fearless fight- of coal means the destruction of our er of the working class. Mehring large industries, the bankruptcy of and Liebknecht have passed away, but ine in our cities.

HUNGARIAN WORKERS OPPOSED THE WAR.

And all this takes place because Hungary abominated from the very the non-Hungarian nations living in they should not protect the greedy depths of its heart, a war which we Hungary receive autonomy. opposed bitterly to the last moment, ments did menace us. By this terror- the Hungarian reaction, the leaders pose of themselves.

this question: Will the workers of England consent, will the workers of INTEND TO SMOTHER

ENTENTE OCCUPATION SUP-

Italy consent, will the proletariat of the world consent that in Hungary the entente policy of occupation, undertroops of occupation suppress the taken under the pretext of establishight of association and of asseming order, shall by its effect be equivblage and impose a censorship of the alent to the counter-revolution? taken under the pretext of establish-SELF-DETERMINATION DEMANDED.

We are not pleading for integrity of territory. What we demand is the now strongly developed.
integrity of democracy. We do not say that we will refuse to cede a morsel of Hungarian territory; but we do say that they cannot cut Hungary up into pieces against the will of the people and without a referendum to secure an expression of the peoples'

We know very well that, in the interests of a state kept together in the past by violence, we cannot contend pefore the democracies of the world that in the future violence shall unite this state. We only demand that by of violence, and not the reign of violence against the right of the peoples.

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONISTS OPPOSE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

have regained consciousness. The reactionary press unanimously opposes understand that unless they wish that the new regime. It attacks principal- Hungary shall be a center of Euro-ly the national policy of the people's pean conflagration, unless they wish

What do these reactioneries mean? here which are manifesting them-

cause they give proof of Hungarian PORTS COUNTER REVOLUTION. oppression and of its sayage chauvin-We ask the proletariat of the world ism. These men, who now oppose the national policy of the government, gree of development inferiod to that France consent, will the workers of are conscious traitors of the country. SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

> But what does this treason matter to them? They intend, in fact, by this method to save their dead domina tion. By their treasonable actions they wish to excite chauvinistic passions, and they believe that in resurrecting chauvinism they will be able to smother the Socialist movement,

ESTABLISH HARMONY IN HUNGARY.

But the Hungarian Socialist movement cannot be vanguished by such methods. Why? Because in Hun-Because in Hungary now the Socialists alone represent the idea of social progress. Only through socialism, only through the mutual understanding of the peoples, only with the assistance of the proletariat of the world, is it possible to establish here a country of concord and of productive labor instead of a war of races and disputes of the

A WARNING TO EUROPE.

The Hungarian people should understand that it is necessary to live in peace with the nations whose home The counter-revolutionary elements is in Hungary, unless they wish to in Hungary, who were stunned at first prolong the world war.

And the people of Europe should nationalistic and usurping elements

For the nations of Hungary can Editing the unpublished writings the correctness of Mehring's position revolutionary spirit in Germany, of this untiring fighter for working damped an impossible thing. They lutism and oppression, but only in the down the first fruits of the revolutionary spirit in Germany, of this untiring fighter for working gary as victors, and who now trample demand an impossible thing. They lutism and oppression, but only in the down the first fruits of the revolutionary spirit in Germany. juring the interests of Hungary be- complete democracy.

# FRANZ MEHRING

By JOHN BRAHTIN.

Continued From Last Week.

Edits Marx and Engel's Writings. ing and publishing of the unpublished manuscripts of Marx and Engels. This task Mehring fulfilled in a masterful way. The Socialist Internationale has before it all that Marx wrote. Under the general title, "Aus Dem Literarischen Nachlass," Mehring gathered and published all those writings, which Marx and Engels did not live long enough to see in print. The first volume contains an introduction of about 80 pages, in which Mehring, in concise form, gives the biography of Marx and how Marx developed his philosophy. All separate articles and treaties of Marx are accompanied with introductions and explanatory notes by Mehring, which makes them clear for present day students of socialism. Without these notes and comments, "Aus Dem Literarischen Nachmany of us. It took the broad knowl-

modern socialism.

Mehring from taking an active part left. He pointed out the danger, sky, as a man who knows every word forever.

in the latter day development of the toward which the German workers that Marx wrote, but who lacks the Marxian thought of the world. His were heading; he did it without pity, revolutionary spirit of Marx. Mehr-The second great work that Mehring sharp pen was busily at work against without mercy, but the workers as a ing, truly, had that spirit and courage. undertook to accomplish, was the editing and publishing of the unpublished such pseudo Marxists as Ed Bernstein fell into the hands of their enemies work remains with us and will live and Conrad Schmide of Germany and and misleaders. Ernest Unterman of the U.S. It was Mehring who knocked Mr. Unterman on the head when the latter endeavored to prove the superiority of Dietz-

Under Mehring's editorship the Leipziger Volkszeitung became the cialists of Germany. stronghold of the left wing of the

Mehring's Attitude During War. Mehring was the first one to express his indignation when the Socialists find the theory and tactics of the labor gen over Marx in the field of philos- went over to the government in sup- movement, outlined clearly, convincophy. Mehring pointed out to Mr. port of the war. To see the way that Unterman that his knowledge of the Mehring fought against the betravers subject, about which he wrote and of the proletariat, it suffices to read Mehring was elected to take his place talked so much, was too shallow. Un- the "Crisis in the German Social Determan did not discover the contradic- mocracy," in the preparation of which tion in Dietzgen's philosophy. Mehr- Mehring collaborated and which has ing did find it and therefore was able sharp style and clearness and thorto prove that to comment upon and oughness in outline of the subject. also the old order, against which they augment Marx with Dietzgen, is a All through the war Mehring was the fought, in Germany, is dead. They bitterest enemy of the Prussian Jun- saw the dawning of the new day. kerdom, bourgeoisie and the semi-So- They know it will not come easy. The

German Socialists. All the polemics and glorify the success of the prole-knowledge of history, convincing him which the conscious proletariat of exhibits extreme bitterness becouse aces the tranquility of Europe, then lass" would remain a sealed book to against the right wing and the cen- tarian revolution in Russia. In his what revolutions are, how they came ter of the German Social-Democracy letter to the Bolshevik organ, Pravda, about and how they are won. edge of Mehring, who studied philos- found space in that paper. The sharp- he viewed the Russian revolution as | The fruitful life of Mehring is beprinciples. All such accusations Mehr- Germany who view with a smile on his life's work and devotion. Franz Takes Active Part in Movement.

Editing the unpublished writings the correctness of Mehring's position revolutionary spirit in Germany. of this untiring fighter for working carry as victors and who now trample demand on impressible thing. They have the unpublished writings the correctness of Mehring's position revolutionary spirit in Germany.

forever. Those who wish to study the outcome of modern socialism, can the outcome of modern socialism, can more than the strangling of the de-be referred to the inexhaustible veloped labor movement. The occusources of Mehring, where they will pation signifies the suppression of the

ingly and forcefully. When Liebknecht was sent to prison in the reichstag; a respectable succes-

example of the Russian revolution the former monarchial rulers, today Mehring was the first one to voice was before Mehring and his broad against the entente in 1914—a war the right of self-determination, but the clouds of the tempest which men-

edge of Mehring, who studied philosophy from the same sources and as
deeply as Marx himself, to explain

The fruitful life of Mehring is bea war into which we were driven simbet which are manifesting them
a war into which we were driven simbet a war into which we were deeply as Marx himself, to explain made many Socialists view them as Bitterly ne condemns the lukewarm- who, to the last limite, and not defenses of the trend of thought of the father of the father of the trend of thought of the father of the chiefs of the veritable rights of nations to discourage and remained faithful to Slovak, Roumanian and Siberian regi- exercised in the past? The chiefs of the veritable rights of nations to discourage and remained faithful to Slovak, Roumanian and Siberian regiing bitterly denied and the present their lips the things transpiring in Mehring is not among us any more, ism the chiefs of the monarchy drove of the Hungarian counter-revolution-

### THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 2, 1919

# QUICKSANDS AND PEACE CONFERENCE

It is not generally conceded in thoughtful circles that the Peace Conference will spropagate any plans that will effect radically the future of the world, nor that the so-called League of Nations, which Lenin characterizes as a "League to Strangle the Nations," will ever prove a powerful instrument for world peace or betterment.

Basing all their plans upon an unchanging economic system, it is not conceivable by the dight of recent events in Europe that their deliberations can bring forth anything of value to a world that has come into being since the conference assembled at Paris.

It is holdly claimed by some outspoken lookers on at the conference that the handful of idealists sitting around the peace table are totally out of touch with new world movements nor have they a conception of the needs and potentialities of this new world. They are dealing in terms of a dead era hear a lecture that will make you and attempting to solve present and future problems by the methods that glad you came,

Capitalism, it seems, is to be bereft in the hour of its decline of the support of even a strong hand to uphold its reign and toppling powers. Of all the minds at the Peace Conference, that of President Wilson is probably most keenly alive to the needs of capitalism, and is certainly most resourceful and agile in its support. But he falls far short of the demands that cap frain, states that the local has been italism is making upon its adherents.

Nothing could prove more conclusively how out of touch, how deeply imbedded in the mire of the past is the Peace Conference, as the recent revolutionary unrisings in Hungary and the strengthening of the proletarian COMRADESHIP AT ASHTABULA. revolution in all parts of the world. While our precious diplomats are attempting to adjust the world's affairs according to the dim lights of a dying order, the peoples of the world are lighting world fires of revolution and laying new foundations of economic and political life in the light of

While the diplomats of the greatest capitalist nations are seeking to establish their sovereignty over all the world and to extend their powers thereby, in other words, dividing the loot of conquest, the peoples of the world are setting about the establishment of their own world, completely work ignoring the sedate, philanthropic and presumptions apostles of capitalism.

The quicksands of revolution are beneath the feet of the agents of capitalism in Paris. They and all their specious plans for capitalist rule will be sumberged completely in its enveloping folds, without leaving so much as a trace behind of their weighty deliberations in the interest of a decaying. system. The new world is being molded by the hands of the world proletariat, not by the hands of the dead.

## TACTICS AND THE REVOLUTION

The question as to whether the Socialist Party can best effect the realizations of Industrial Democracy and hasten its coming by the tactics of reform or of revolution is engaging the attention of every party member at this time, as well as of many others who look upon the Socialist movement as. the means by which the social revolution must be accomplished.

The present agitation along this line has been accentuated by the revolutions engulfing capitalism in Europe and its results upon the economic and political life of America. Many units of the Socialist party, among them some this month. with a negatation for staidness and reformistic tactics in the past have proclaimed their attitude upon this question of tactics and openly taken a standfor more revolutionary policies in the future.

It is a serious question and to our minds is one upon which the well being of the future of the movement depends. The solving of this question is to prove the crucial test of the integrity of the American Socialist Movement to lead the projectarian movement in this country. This question demands the serious thought and consideration of every party member.

effect upon the proletariat except to shift the center of gravity of capitalism, employment in another city. During so to speak, leaving the proletariat still under the iron heel. The pressure his sojourn here we have found Comof capitalism upon the workers may be lessened in some particular spot, both ardent workers in freedom's but by and large his condition remains unchanged. The iron heel is on his cause, and we shall miss them very

Aside from this, the capitalist class itself through its political parties tions for the Ohio Socialist from this is going in strongly for reforms. They are outdoing each other in promises section at an early date. All comrades of reform to the workers. Why should we seek our emancipation by the very think it the best propaganda that we tactics outlined by our masters? Does the master free the slave? Does can get at the present time.

the exploiter turn benefactor? The shell of capitalism is bursting asunder the world over, throwing the debris to the four winds. Rent asunder by the very forces inherent in it shall the proletariat attempt to bind these cracking parts together? To do so is folly. It would be well for the reformers in the Socialist Party to look well to their safety that a fragment of the bursting shell does not bing them on the bean and put them to sleep forever and a day. We can't think of anything more dead than a dead reformer.

# HURRAH-THE CZAR LIVES!!

Within the last week the former Czar of all the Russians has been reported alive two times. One report had him living contentedly and happily in some small Siberian village. The latest report has him residing in San Francisco.

However, we are glad to find him alive twice more. Kaiser Bill needs company, now that he is about to be granted an unconditional pardon by those who feel for him. Kaiser Bill and Czar Nick, brothers in misery, will make as good a pair as ever decorated a parlor on Fifth avenue, New York. with your state organization to take We say this because we look forward to the day when they will be "lionized" as no other celebrities ever have, by our best society.

"Tag Day" for the relief of discharged sailors and soldiers was an eration of all the unions in the city event in Seattle. Having won the war for democracy they may now wear the rags purchased with charity tags.

"No one can be perfectly free till all are free; no one can be perfectly on that day.

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO? moral till all are moral; no one can be perfectly happy till all are happy."-Herbert Spencer.

"The poverty of the poor shall be at an end when they shall LEARN to minister to the wants of each other."-Proverb of the Cingalese.

WATCH THEM

Local Portsmouth is starting to

work. They are beginning a four

months campaign that will be the

starter of a continuous one. They

8th. Don't fail to hear her.

Ruthenberg of Cleveland, Ohio.

and work, for our day is dawning.

with them in the chorus comrades

# With our Organizers

Lilith Martin Tour. April, 1, at New Bremen; April 2, and 3 she speaks at Piqua; Troy, 4; Dayton, 5; Hamilton, 6; Portsmouth, 7 and 8; Columbus, 9; Mt. Vernon, 10.

among the miners. In this district we have a large number of one-time lo-cals. Comrade Baker's work will be to reorganize them. From reports in this district we judge that the time is ripe for organization work on a

H. L. A. Holman Meetings. Cleveland, March 30; Lorain, 31; Cuyahoga Falls, April 1; Barberton, 2; Canton, 3; Dover, 4; Urichsville or Dennison, 5; Midvale, 6; E. Liverpool, 7; Lectonia, 8; Youngstown, 9; Hubbard, 10; Girard, 11; Warren 12;

THURBER LEWIS MEETINGS Tiffin, April 3rd; Mansfield 4th; motto: nesville 5; Cambridge 6-7; Bel- with the laire 8-9-10-11; Steubenville 12-13.

# by motion, instructed the secretary to write to the State Office in regard to Comrade Debs' release. Labor must not allow capitalism to send Comrade Debs to prison, as a man of his age may be the death sentence. We therefore suggest that all locals petition their congressmen for the re-lease of Comrade Debs.

**NEW BREMEN** 

SUGGESTS

Local New Bremen at its meeting.

Yours for the revolution, CLARENCE HEIL, Sec. Local Marietta orders 1000 of the 'Great and Growing Fear" leaflets. Locals which have not yet ordered this splendid leaflet for distribution should do so at once. See advt.

Comrade C. A. McClelland of Local an Buren writes that this local is holding more interesting meetings each week and many new members are coming in.

Eleven dollars from Comrade Alex Sherbin of Kempton, W. Va., this week. What for, you ask? Industrial Freedom Certificates, of course. Have you bought yours?

### NEARING AT KALAMAZ00

Prof. Scott Nearing will lecture in Kalamazoo, Mich., Tuesday, April 8 p. m. All comrades are earnestly invited to be present and to BRING SOME ONE WITH THEM. You will

# LOCAL LORAIN IN

A recent letter from Comrade Albert G. Storck, secretary of Local Lofully reorganized and all officers They are now negotiating for a hall for regular meetings.

March 24, 1919. Dear Editor: Local Ashtabula held an entertainment and luncheon at the home of E. J. Hewit on March 21, in the evening. All the comrades and many friends were present. We had special music and speaking by the local comrades. Everyone enjoyed themselves and the east were great. The proceeds went to help the local's work in getting new members and subscriptions to the Ohio Socialist.

Yours in comradeship, E. J. HEWIT, Sec.

### GOOD NEWS FROM CAMBRIDGE

I feel positive that Local Cambridge will continue with its work of organization and education, 1.250 copies of The Great and Growing Fear-No. Work," have been received from the National Office, and under the direcion of the newly elected local literature agent, Comrade Martin Yedica, a systematic distribution of these pamphlets will be made next week. There is one feature about my own personal work which greatly pleases me and that is: I can now call my wife also Comrade. A new member

Yours for socialism. KERBERT KNECHT.

## WORDS OF APPRECIA-TION

At our last meeting seven new applications were received and our mem-bership is enjoying a sturdy growth. Our secretary, Herbert Knecht, has

Yours in the cause, L. B. SKINNER.

### ORGANIZE GENERAL STRIKE

Socialist Party, Local Philadelphia,

At a regular meeting of the county committee of Local Philadelphia, a resolution has been unanimously adopted calling upon the organized and unorganized workers of the United States to express their protest against the sentence of ten years imprisonment imposed upon Eugene V ebs, the veteran and revered labor leader of America, by going on a One-Day General Strike on the day he begins serving his sentence.

In order to assure the success of this move, it is imperative that you notify, at once, all locals affiliated the necessary steps in this direction. Our representatives are now organizing this One-Day General Strike in of Philadelphia thus far visited. conference has been called to unify all the forces of labor. Philadelphia and New York are preparing to act

It would be advisable that the children of the strikers shall stay away from the schools on that day in order to emphasize that the children of the working class whom Debs has loved so well, acknowledge his service and reciprocate his affection.

Kindly notify us immediately your action in this matter. Fraternally yours, SAMUEL SKLAROFF,

# General Secretary.

COLUMBUS NOTES are awakening from long months of NOTICE OF MEETING inactivity and are hoping that this After April 1 Comrade Baker will in Portsmouth. They are going to be day evening. March 27th and heard the state heard fairly good crowd. Watch them. Join with them in

ism that Portsmouth has ever had. him for a date is missing a treat. meetings to be held April 7th and would hold a convention on Thurs-8th Don't fail to heav her purpose of nominating candidates as

Remember also that on Sunday, follows: April 13th the big gun will be fired. One for Mayor, four for Council, On that date the local is preparing one for clerk of the city court and for a big Deb's Protest Meeting that three for members of school board. will be addressed by Comrade C. E. The committee requests all members Their slogan will be "Eugene V. to be present and participate in the Debs shall not go to jail." Their nomination and assist in starting a in the city of Columbus and vicinity hall not go to jail." Their nomination and assist in starting a "We're going to win." Join fall campaign.

E. B. EUBANKS,

# Four Ways To Make Socialism Grow In Your Town

An open letter to every Comrade and Local Secretary:

We are going to outline in this issue of the Ohio Socialist four separate ways in which every local in Ohio and the United States as well can make socialism a greater power in every city and town where a socialist lo-

We want every comrade and especially every local secretary to read carefully these FOUR WAYS TO MAKE SOCIALISM GROW and to bring them up before his local at the next business meeting. This is a letter to every Ohio local from the State Secretary and is official. It should be brought before your local just as the it came to you under postage.

Method Number One

But before we tell you the method, let us explain WHY this method. The success of the socialist movement depends upon the education of the working class. When the working class realizes what socialism is they will want it. As long as they remain in ignorance of the meaning of socialism they will naturally be against it. The capitalist press is the greatest misinformation bureau that any ruling class has ever been able to establish for the purpose of keeping the masses enslaved. The capitalist press is what we have to combat every minute from now on. We have got to counter their lies with truth. We have to prove them the liars they are and we have to show the workers why it is to the interest of capital that lies are told to them. In short we must create a bigger machine for carrying the truth to the worker. That's our job.

The municipal campaigns will be on soon. There are dozens of towns and cities in Ohio that can be carried for socialism this fall if the campaign is started now and carried on vigorously until election. Never before in this state was socialist sentiment so strong and virile as at this moment. Never before had we such opportunites for telling our message to such willing ears. The workers are ready for socialism. The question is: are you ready to do your part in carrying the message? You can prove you are ready to help by putting this method into instant operation in your city.

The method: 1. Organize an Ohio Socialist Distribution Squad in each working class ward and precinct of your city, with a captain in charge Elect a comrade who will work and will encourage others to do so. Ohio Socialists in

<del>-</del> bundle lots 50c per hundred. 2. Ask for volunteers to distribute Ohio Socialists each week. 3. Lay out the boundries of each district. Ascertain the quantity of Bolshevik Flyer papers needed to cover each territory and order them sent to some central point. After one trial the needed number can be ascertained exactly. Impress upon the mind of each disribtutor the necessity of being on hand at

the appointed hour of distribution. 4. Each distributor should keep tab on his district. Keep a list of names of prospects for future reference and use in securing names for nomination netitions etc.

5. Set aside at least one day a month for the purpose of securing subscriptions. Carry a receipt book with you. Be courteous. Keep the good Chamber of Commerce (and robbery)

will of your people. 6. Captains and distributors should have a meting once a month for getting a satisfactory answer. It's purpose of comparing notes, taking stock of progress, etc. the Ohio Socialist deals with live isthe purpose of comparing notes, taking stock of progress, etc. Copies of all names and valuable information should be given in care of captains for use when needed.

The above is merely an autline. Each local must modify it according to local needs. The main thing is to get busy teaching socialism to the workers of your city IMMEDIATELY. This is no time to sit around and other cities of Ohio were flooded with of the former Russian royalty among dream. Action is what counts from now on. Organize that Distribution a pamphlet which dealt in the most the poor farmers, the peasants; and misinforming manner possible with also, because the Bolsheviki are put-all radical labor movements and ex- ting all industries into the hands of

### Method Number Two

Method Number Two

Every reader of socialist papers is a prospective Party member. Often ers. According to this pamphlet, Spartacans the reason he is not a full fledged member is because he has not been asked every radical is a traitor, Tom Mooney radical Socialist party of Germany to join. We are now going to show you how to get more members into your local.

The Ohio Socialist has many, many names of readers on its lists who are not part members. Many of them may be unacquainted with the Socialists of the city and community in which they live. They may be unable to attend meetings. But they MAY be willing, even anxious to become par-

Every local should AT ONCE elect an Advance Guard. The business of the Advance Guard is to take the names of Ohio Socialist readers in each town. Verify it with the membership books. Those not on the books are to be asked to join the party. That's the business of the Advance Guard. In our opinion, the effect of reforms under capitalism can have little resigned his position, having secured We talk about reorganizing society. Let's first learn to re-organize our 10cals for real work. Get busy: Elect that Advance Guard right away and Hundreds of workers wonderingly Soviet—This word means council, write for a list of Ohio Socialist readers in your city or county. We will thrust them into their pockets and The Soviets of Russia are the people. cals for real work. Get busy: Elect that Advance Guard right away and gladly send it.

# Method Number Three

propaganda meetings which pay a surplus into the local treasury the profit the messenger from where, no one ferentiate between moderate actions on the meeting is immediately turned into Ohio Socialist subscriptions. Lo- knew cal members furnish the names of acquaintances. An indexer is elected to do how the books came to be scattered so and total changes. A radical Socialist this and to keep count of expirations. At their expiration the names are turned over to the organizer who visits the reader and secures a renewal;

possibly an applicant for membership. This method is a good one providing the comrades keep their propaganda meeting humming and make them pays. The main thing is to keep adding to the list of readers in every city. Results will follow. It's a good plan and we compliment the Norwood comrades upon their intative in swinging it into line.

# Method Number Four

(Plan of local Ashtabula, Ohio) Another plan that is being executed in great shape is that of local Ashtabula. Results are coming fast as this plan develops. It's a sure winner. The method is this. Two captains are elected. Each chooses a crew from the membership. Each side contests for new members and Ohio Socialist subscriptions. Each applicant joins the side which secured his application. This method certainly creates some keen competition as the warfare waxes theory. You've all heard of the feats hotter. Added zest may be given the battle by agreeing upon a banquet for of the Bolsheviki in spreading gropathe winners to be furnished by the losers.

So comrades, here are four methods that will make your city hum with socialist sentiment in a very short while if you will put one or all of them into instant practice. And when we say that there is no time to lose we mean field. Since they have done such wonit. The workers are ready for socialism. Let's be ready to be real socialists. Now, is the time!

HORTENSE WAGENKNECHT, State Secretary, P. T.

# TIFFIN NEWS NOTES

an intensive campaign for O. S. subs and new members. A series of lectures and speeches throughout Seneca county will be presented to the public by our most able comrade, Charles

Comrade Baker will be with us from May 5 to May 18, inclusive, alternating between Tiffin, Fostoria and surrounding Seneca county locals.

If any of our traveling lectures comrades can arouse the workers to

the true state of affairs we are sure Comrade Baker will and be a great aid in our compaign.

ganizer will be with them for two fee reported that Local Columbus course luncheon before the highly-

### LOCAL AKRON Socialist Party of Ohio Meets Every Friday Evening at 50 South Howard St.

LOCAL CINCINNATI. Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M. Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M. SOCIALIST HALL,

1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall, E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio

.......

Local Kenmore SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P.M. BITTIKOFFERS HALL, Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY Socialist Party of Ohio Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.

FUCHS HALL Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

# Your Local-Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of \$2.50 for One Year.

> LOCAL COLUMBUS. Socialist Party of Ohio Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M. Lectures every 2d and 4th Sun-day of the month, 2:30 p. m. Hall, 501/2 W. Gay Street.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AM-ERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O., Meets every Friday, 8:00 P.M., at Bushnell Hall. 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON Meets Every Friday Evening, 8 P. M. Lectures Every Sunday, 2:30 P. M. SOCIALIST HALL, 38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquatters, 328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES Socialist Party of Ohio Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m. Study Class every Sunday, 10

Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.

MASONIC HALL,

164 N. Chestnut St.

# Visits Mansfield

the door steps of every worker's home copy of a little booklet entitled, Bolsheviks and Soviets?"

That's the question the local is putting to its members-and not mystery that but deepens as time

Recently the city of Mansfield and racy in industry for plutocratic con- sheviki established in Russia. know one is near.

Williams' "Bolsheviks and Soviets."

that we must deal and render our our present industrial system. opinion as to which is the true one. One theory is that the anti-working class pampillet distributed by the Chamber of Commerce (and robbery) aroused the organized workers of Mansfield to such a pitch of wrath Initiation stamps that they at once decided to do some propaganda upon their own hook and proceeded to raise a fund of nearly \$200 to put it across.

That's one theory, but honestly folks, we haven't much faith in that We've done some detective theory. work in our past and we think we are efficient in that line. ganda among those it wishes to convert. Millions and millions of leaflets they have printed and distributed ders in the past, why not now? Yes, folks its our conviction that immediately the C. of C. and robbery pamphlet appeared, an agent of Lenine and Trotzky got busy on a wireless and sent a message into Bolsheviki headquarters at Moscow. Result-in just ten days 3,000 little pamphlets appear as if by magic upon the front door the working class homes of

Now, that's our theory. But we shall not quarrel with those who doubt our deductions. The fact is, that every worker in Mansfield has a "Bolsheviki and Soviets" in their home and many of them are wearing them out learning more than they ever knew before and eagerly awaiting another visit

from "headquarters." By the way, have YOU read that little booklet? If not you need not wait for a visit of a flyer from Moscow, but can order a copy from the State Office for 10c. Address this

Comrade H. L. A. Holman delivered a series of five lectures in Columbus and the comrades were especially scriptions to the best working class pleased with them, writes Comrade paper in Ohio."—Chas. Litz, Sanpleased with them, writes Comrade

# Who Are The Bolsheviki?

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

Inquiries are being received from Did a Bolshevik flyer hit about Mansfield, O., recently in the small hours of the night and scatter upon cans," "Soviet." To satisfy these inquivies we here give brief definitions. Bolsheviki-This word means "ma jority." The Bolsheviki party in Rus-

sia is therefore the majority party, and the majority party in Russia, the the communist or Socialist Party, the radical Socialist party—which believes in absolute workers control and resues, we feel called upon to deal with fuses to make alliances with the capita accordingly and to help solve a talists. The Bolsheviki of Russia are being slandered by the capitalist press of this country because the Bol-sheviki are dividing the landed estates

Spartacans-This is the name of the is a scoundrel, Debs should be in and the German Spartacans desire to prison, hanging is too good for every bring about the same kind of work worker who would substitute democ- ers and peasants control as the Bol-The whole labor movement was Spartacans of Germany are opposed discredited in the foulest manner. No one had any doubts as to the source of this pamphlet. When the workers in Mansfeld smell a skunk, they majority Socialists believe in compromising with the German capitalists Ten days (or nights rather) an an- and giving them a certain nower in swer appeared to this denunciation of industrial and state affairs. If the Mooney, Debs, socialism and bolshev- Spartacans, who believe in absolute ism. Strange as it may seem came a workers' control, overthrow the ma-morning when 3,000 workers found jointy Socialists of Germany, then the upon their door step a copy of Rhys Spartacans will become the Bolsheviki or majority party of Germany.
Soviet—This word means "council."

carried them to work for perusal dur- councils, in which matters of local ing the noon hour. There they found and national importance are decided. (Plan of local Norwood, Ohio)

Here is the method that is being followed by local Norwood. At all seen discussing and reading this litand program and such actions and Many conjectures were offered as to program which demands immediate promiscuously over the city. Two is one who does not place much emprobabilities were settled upon as phasis upon reforms but wants an immost likely. It is with these two mediate and complete change from

#### FEBRUARY, 1919, FINANCIAL REPORT. Receipts.

initiation stamps	. Ladino
Members at large	16.75
Foreign branch dues	138.97
Organization fund	55.71
Literature sales	. 154.04
Local supplies	. 51.55
Propaganda meeting	131.45
Industrial Freedom Certific	ate 6.00
Donations	29.25
Sustaining Fund Stamps	5200
Debs' defense	. 260.90
Miscellaneous	
Ohio Socialist	
_	***************************************
Total	\$2,585.09
Expenditures.	40,00
Dues regular	
Foreign branch	
Literature	
Propaganda meetings	411.38
Sustaining fund	. 72.42
Salaries	. 300.00
Telephone and telegraph	15.96
Auto expenses	
Unclassified	58.55
Miscellaneous	79.35
Ohio Socialist	
Purchase of mailing list	
Organizers salary	
organizatio malary	· FWW,CyPz
Total	\$2.299.89
Total	\$3 029 44
February receipts	2 585 69
	2,000,00
Total	\$5.614.FA
Total February expenditures	0.000.00
Balance In the Funds.	60 014 C
Dalance	. \$3,314.01
in the runds.	100

Balance on hand March 1..\$3,314.61 "Enclosed find a list of twelve sub-

Organization .....

Mileage ..... \$243.84

Resolution Supports Left Wing

Whereas, from long experience we have learned that only by a revolutionary economic organization will it be possible to gain for the working class the final phase of the class struggle. And inasmuch as the manifesto and program of the Left Wing

of the Socialist movement appealed to us, as the proper course to pursue; therefore, Be it Resolved, That Local Galion shall go on record as being in full sympathy with, and pledge our uniform support to the program and immediate demands of the Left Wing of the Socialist movement of America. WM. M. BROWN, Sec.

campaign, the local was divided into The boy gave us as fine a lecture two campaign divisions, the winning this campaign and help them make as we have heard for a long time, side being the guests of the ones rethis the greatest revival for Social and we are of the opinion that the ceiving the least rubs and members. local that fails or neglects to have After a few talks on the good of After a few talks on the good of socialism, the hall was cleared and Comrade Lilith Martin, State Or- After the lecture was over a committathe ladies of the local placed a four-

> On Wednesday, March 13, a debate between Comrades W. C. McClurey and Nellie Loescher on "Bolshevism, Menace to the Farmers," was staged, ending in the judges deciding the contest a draw, and suggesting the contestants to exchange sides and rede-bate the question March 26.

After the regular business meeting

short talk before the local, his subject

Local Tiffin is soon to start upon eral Court." Comrade McClurey showed the way this government and Federal court Mansfield! were established and maintained and their procedure compared with that of the People's Council of the Russian Soviet. EDGAR, MYLER, Corresponding Sec'y.

# LOCAL ROBINS IN CLASS 1.

From Comrade Alex Allison of Lo-

cal Robins, comes good news. Comrade Allison gives a glowing account of Comrade H. L. A. Holman's meeting on the first week in March. though the meeting was not well advertised, it proved a huge success in every way. A large amount of literature was sold and 43 new members taken into the organization. Local pleased w Robins had but 13 members Feb. 1, E. Gerlac. now it has 71, and is still growing. Comrade Allison gives the credit for this large measure of success to Comrades Holman, Martin and Organizer Chas. C. Rogers. The local is considering organizing a series of Holman meetings.

# A FIVE DOLLAR BOOST

The English Branch of Neffs sends through Comrade Anton Hain, secretary, a donation of five dollars to the Ohio Socialist. Thanks, comrades. This five will help to make the O. S. Wednesday evening County Organizer a twice-a-week paper in the very Comrade Wm. P. McClurey made a near future.

# NEWS AND VIEWS-A WEEKLY SURVEY

Edited by C. E. Ruthenberg

### Class Justice

Socialists, in analysing the institutions of present day society, have contended that the administration of justice was not governed by any abstract principles of right and wrong, nor even by the provisions of existing laws, although most often they are class laws, but by the interest of the dominant economic class. For this materialistic and cynical attitude toward judges, courts and laws, they have been roundly condemned by those who make the apologies for the existing ruling class.

From France there has just come the clearest demonstration of the truth of the Socialist position 4that it is possible to make.

In August 1914, Raoul Villain assasinated Jean Jaures. Jaures was the leader of the French Socialists. He had fought against militarism in France. A few days before his death he had gone to Brussels and in mighty words had called upon the workers of Europe to prevent their rulers from sending them forth to kill each other; in the name of civilization and humanity he demanded that the crime about to be perpretated be prevented by organized workers.

Because of this,—because he at its very beginning raised his voice against the war in which more than seven million human beings were slaughtered, he was killed.

His slayer was not brought to trial until ten days appealed in his behalf on the ground that the motive for his crime was "misguided, ardent, patriotism." He was freed.

A few weeks ago a French anarchist attempted to kill Clemenceau. He failed, succeeding only in inflicting a wound from which the French premier Germany was crushed. They urge the statesmen at has already recovered.

He was tried immediately. He gave as a reason for his crime:

I wanted to kill the man instigating a new war. I am an anarchist, a friend of the people, Germans not excluded, a friend of mankind and brotherhood. These words deeply penetrate into the heart of every Clemenceau is a tyrant, and a tyrant of the highest degree. Clemenceau is making the fighters for the popular cause rot in the prisons of France. Clemenceau is the greatest enemy of the great free-thinking people. No wonder he is called

Cottin was found guilty and condemned to death. Thus the record stands: It is right to kill a man who opposes the mass slaughter of human beings, for the slayer goes free. It is a crime, punished by death, to wound a prime minister whom the assasin believes a tyrant and an emeny of freedom.

## The Slaves

newspapres foamed at the mouth when discusing the result of such action in their own countries. | to the negotiations between the miners union and

the crime perpetrated by the German in compelling Belgians and French workmen to labor for them through the compulsion of the bayonet. The enslaving of the population of conquered territory was one of the crimes held before us for our exe-

Now, this country is in the position of the victor holding conquered territory. And what do we do?

Last Sunday's papers carried a dispatch from one of the cities held by American soldiers telling with great gusto, how the army of occupation had arrested German workmen who had gone on strike, and compelled them, at the point of the bayonet, to do work necessary in handling the supplies for the

Are we enslaving the German workmen even as the German Imperial Government enslaved the Belgians and French in the territory it conquered?

Or is it possible that with some glib, idealistic phrase President Wilson can make, compelling German workmen to labor for us at the point of the bayonet something different than compelling French and Belgians to labor for Germany at the point of

# What Holds Them Back?

under the iron heel of the Allied armies, even as danger of collapse. fore it is too late.

Paris would be only too glad to follow this advice,if it were feasible to do so.

But they know it is not. They know that sending armies to crush Soviet Russia or Soviet Hun- Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, the storm is brewing and gary is quite a different thing than using armies to each and very one of these countries may any day crush Imperial Germany.

The difference exists in the fact that in every country of Europe, and to a lesser extent in this impossible task of harmonizing the conflicts and country, there are large sections of the workers who contradictions of capitalism. Peace will not come are in hearty sympathy with the workers in revolt out of Paris; it cannot come out of the present conand who themselves threaten to revolt if armies ference. The real peace of the world will come when are sent against their brothers in other lands.

When the French regiments at Odessa sent word viet Republic. to their officers "We are ready to fight for France but we will not shoot down our brothers," they forcibly expressed the position of the masses in France, Italy and England.

It is no lack of desire to drown the proletarian of the mines be deferred until the parliamentary revolt in the blood of the workers that deters the commission can conduct a further investigation." During the progress of the war our capitalist statesmen at Paris from acting. It is the fear of

### The Outlook Is Blue

Peace Conference grows more pessimistic daily. tions, Conflicting claims and demands hold up the agreement between the five great powers and at the same time the new force of working class revolt grows more threatening.

The situation has grown so dark that one wellknown newspaper writer, now in Paris, ventured the opinion in an article published here a few days ago, that the Peace Conference would not make peace.

While the war on all of the belligerent nations expressed their enthusiastic adherence to Presdent Wilson's idealistic phrases in regard to what the war was being fought for, but in the peace making each is pushing forward its own selfish interests to the limit of its power.

The result is that one day we hear that the Japmese threaten to withdraw if they are not conceded certain islands in the Pacific and the next that the Italians will leave if they cannot have their own way about the eastern coast of the Adriatic. France, which posed before the world as a despoiled nation because the Germans held Alsace-Lorraine, demands the she be permitted to in turn despoil Germany by taking the Saar Valley.

At the same time there are presented bills for 'reparation" amounting to so many billions that The jingo press is becoming impatient because even the members of the Peace Conference recogago. He admitted shooting Jaures. His attorney the gentlemen who are meting in Paris do not take nize that it would be impossible for Germany to exdrastic action against the revolting workingmen ist under such a burden. On the other hand the who are sweeping everything before them in East-, "victorious" nations realize that unless they can ern and Central Europe. They are urging these shift part of the great burden of debt they have acgentlemen to send their armies to crush bolshevism cumulated the economic structure at home is in

> While the statesmen bicker and barter and en-Faris to end their dilatory tactics and act, -act be deavor to harmonize conflicting claims, the revolt against them and the system they represent grows No doubt the representatives of capitalism at stronger and sweeps wider. Soviet Russia advances on all fronts; Hungary takes its place under the new standard; Besserbia follows, and all the countries of Central Europe, Bulgaria, Serbia, Roumania, follow Hungary in establishing a Soviet Republic.

Pity the poor statesmen. They are essaying the the workers of the world unite in the universal So-

## Power

"The government has asked that nationalization The above sentence is from a dispatch in regard

the British Government. Those brief lines tell more about the situation in England than many lengthly Reports from Paris concerning the work of the discussions of the details of the present negotia-

> "The government has asked;.....,", no. not the workers, but the government has asked. What a topsy-turvy world it must be for the former rulers of society to find the government asking the workers to please defer certain action in place of the workers begging the government to do some-

thing for them. It is not the Lloyd George government that is ruling England today.

# Evolution and Industrialism

The following quotation from an article in the Nation" presents a picture of the evolution of captalist society during the past fifty years, with which nost Socialists will agree:

The framers of our Federal Constitution could not foresee the development of mod-ern industrialized society. They could not foresee the shifting of the actual seat of government from the executive chambers and legislative halls to banks, stock exchanges, schools, and newspaper offices. could not foresee banker control of credits and industry, and hence of educa-tion and the news, and hence of public opinion, and hence of the political machinery of the government itself. They provided against political autocracy; but they could not foresee the gradual decay of the old forms of political power and the gradual rise of a new economic power; hence they could not provide against industrial autocracy. The decay of the old forms of political power is written in a tacit but binding surrender. The real rule of the modern world-the power which makes or breaks a nation, which directs the creative energies of a culture, which determines the development and destiny of a people-is vested in forms economic rather than po-litical. These constitute the invisible government which lies behind the visible government of the old political forms; they rule the world for profit, without a social sense; they rule the world for a benefit of a special class of investors and stockholders, rather than in the interests of the whole community. The old political forms remain fundamentally unchanged. From time to time they have suffered modification, under the pressure of drastic events; but never have they failed to resist the trend of society, never have they disclosed a spirit of cooperation with human endeavor, never have they kent pace with the swift development of the new business sys-

Over against these new economic forms, exercising the real governmental functions of modern society, has grown in the industrial field a system of organized check and protest, the invisible opposition, as it were. This is the political significance of the organization of workers everywhere during the rapid rise of industrialism; they recognized the necessity of an economic opposi-

tion, the inadequacy of the old political forms to furnish a proper check upon the new governmental functions; and the action was a healthy sign of man's political sagacity. For the past fifty years these lines have been deepening. If the old political forms could have been flexible enough to encompass the new economic order, to ride the tidal wave of industrialism, all would have been well; the channels of political activities would have run smoothly, the workers would have been satisfied with adequate voice and representation in the new industrial functions of government, the community instead of a special class would have been profited, and the great economic war would not have descended up-on our civilization. But those in control were too selfish or too blind to render the political machinery flexible, to make the invisible and responsible government, or to conduct the economic system with any degree of social sense; and thus they forced the workers to organize, and brought about a fatal division between our political activities and the life processes of our society.

Then came the great war in Europe, as a direct result of this fatal division—as a direct result of the inability of a decadent system to control the predatory economic forces that actually ruled the world. And then, caught in the toils of its own blindness and irresponsibility, civilization was driven forward to the point of economic exhaustion-was driven far beyond that point, in fact, under the emphasis of war emo-tionalism—while the Governments that had brought on the holocaust were equally incapable of stopping it. The Russian revolution raised a flaming sign, but it was not heeded. The war went on; and the economic structure of society has been ruined past any redemption in terms of the old or-der. The bills are too staggering to be The whole world is trembling on the brink of revolution. America is not im-

The new organization of city editors which preposed to smash bolshevism forever in this country, is reported to have actually collected \$700.00 for that purpose. They have still a long road to travel.

The New York legislature has appropriated \$50,-000 to investigate bolshevism. While the bill was under consideration one of the Socialist members rose to suggest that the legislators better save the money of the state, for he was a bolshevist and would gladly give them all the information they de-

According to the press dispatches, President Wilson is threatening an expose of the Peace Conference if his fellow statesmen do not hurry up andagree. We hope he will have the opportunity of doing it, for then he will have made good on one point at least,-the abolition of secret diplomacy.

The Chicago Labor Party has joined in the demand that the Soviet Republic be recognized and American troops withdrawn from Russia.

# Swedish Workers

The capitalist government of Sweden is reported to have definitely abandoned its project to send a volunteer army to the assistance of the labor exploiters of Esthonia, hard pressed by the Bolsheviki forces. The abandonment of intervention was caused largely by the vigorous campaign against it put up by the Socialists of Sweden.

According to information which has just reached the United States, a mass meeting was held in Stockholm on January 12 by the Workers' and Soldiers' Association to protest against the recruiting of volunteers Sweden for the benefit of the capitalists and landlords of Esthonia. A committee of the Swedish Social-

of the council, M. Eden, relative to the proposed intervention on January the eastern front they have lost Perm, mediate cessation of the recruiting of the volunteers; otherwise it would Uralsk. The railroad connection with organize on its own account a cam | Central Asia is at present in the paign to recruit soldiers determined hands of the Soviet government. On to support and defend the armies of the southern front they have taken Socialist workers fighting for their the railroad stations of Pavorino, rights and their liberty.

mittee "coldly." The committee responded by organizing the protest meeting the following day. The mass meeting instructed the "committee of threaten the army of Krasnov from the unit of the army of Krasnov from the unit of the army of the unit of action to arrange street demonstra- Ugansk in the rear. In the Ukraine appears from the negotiations which tions and organize protest meetings the Soviet troops have acquired Khar- the members of the former constituthroughout Sweden. Another committee was mandated to study the possibilities of recruiting a Red Guard. In the Baltic provinces and in Lith-of the former constituent assembly. for use in the Baltic provinces. The uania the Soviet power has been exstreet manifestation took place on tended over a great part of the ter-January 18, and was a remarkable ritory formerly occupied by Germans, all of whom are also members of the

government, which had denied having others in the control of adherents of any official connection with preparathe Soviet.

tions for the volunteer expedition into These last mentioned successes are Esthonia, frowned upon the eagerness largely due to the fact that after the lic. This conference has led to an of the interventionists, and upon a evacuation by the German armies of of the interventionists, and upon a evacuation by the German armies of report made by a military mission of the territories wrested from Russia known Social Revolutionists and for-Swedish army officers to Esthonia during the war and by the peace the government closed the recruiting treaty of Brest Litovsk, which the stations. (Paris Populaire is authority for the facts given in the above

#### NORWAY FOLLOWS EXAMPLE OF SOCIALIST WORKERS.

The prompt and radical action of the Socialists of Sweden to check the plans of the Swedish capitalists to raise a volunteer army to go to the assistance of the bourgeoisie of the Baltic provinces, menaced by the Bolsheviki forces, was speedily duplicated by the Socialist Party of Norway. The executive committee of the party hostile or indifferent to the Soviet

passed the following resolution:
"The organization at Stockholm of volunteer troops (to intervene in Es- accomplishments are now in great volunteer troops (to intervene in Esthonia) constitutes, in the judgment of the executive committee, a menace of the executive committee, a menace of the support of the su to peace. It is quite possible that these volunteers will meet with defeat, which would compel the Swedish majority of which from the very outhave proved their allegiance to the peasanty of the workers of the peasanty of the peasanty of the peasanty of the former Russian armies who have proved their allegiance to the railroads. It has also paid great atthe Soviet government and co-operate three million men. The possible that with it in all administrative branches. The peasantry of Russia, the great of the former Russian armies who have proved their allegiance to the railroads. It has also paid great atthe soviet government are led partly by officers aged to build and to complete the building of about 2.000 versts of new have proved their allegiance to the railroads. It has also paid great atthe soviet government are led partly by officers aged to build and to complete the building of about 2.000 versts of new have proved their allegiance to the railroads. It has also paid great atthree million men. The forces of the country, but also cut off the efforts to overthrow the Soviet govhave proved their allegiance to the railroads. It has also paid great atpublic opinion, to intervene. The national council believes the matter to be so grave that it demands imme- Estates vast, and game preserves, diate and speedy action throughout Scandinavia to convene a conference of all the Social Labor parties."

# VICTORY!

Ladies swathed in shimmering silk Babies dead for want of milk. Jewels in ears and garter bags, Wretched women clad in rags

# Swedish Workers Oppose Intervention Soviet Representative Publishes Record of Achievements

than at any previous time. Retake Vast Territory.

During the current year the Soviet government has been particularly successful in retaking vast territories wrested from its control during the preceding months. By February, committee of the Swedish Social-Party interviewed the president ern front had retaken the city of Shenkursk and adjoining territory. On The committee demanded the im- but they have regained Pereufa, Ufa Sterlitamak, Bellbey, Orenburg and Alexikovo, Polovaya, Kalstsk and Be-President Eden received the com- gutchar, which have assured them of shortly after these protests the Riga, Mitau, Dvinsk, Windau and

Soviet republic was forced to sign duress, the workers in such the entente intervention in Russia. territories everywherre are rising to support the ideals and the social or-

Workers Rally to Government. to invite foreign military help against

Hovel that as dwelling serves. Week-end jaunts in power boats. Mothers' sons in gory moats. Banquets for democracy, Famine per autocracy. European junket trips, Breaking hearts and trembling lips And a dozen million dead! Serfs or peers, or free-born red?

existence the Russian Soviet Republic so far has prevented the Soviet gov-finds itself more securely established ernment from adequately supplying the peasants with implements that they so badly need, is of course caus-

ing hardship among the peasantry, generally do not yet the peasants place the blame for this privation at the door of the Soviet government, well realizing that it is due to the deliberate interference in the affairs of the Russian people by hostile groups and that a remedy for this privation is not a weakening but a strengthening of the Soviet power. They fully realized-and their experience in such instances where counter-revolutionary forces temporarily succeed in over throwing Soviet institutions clearly demonstrated the correctness of this realization—that an overthrow of the Soviet rule, if possible at all, would lead to the establishment of a tyrannical, reactionary, bloody autocracy. All Parties Oppose Intervention.

The remarkable improvement in the internal situation of Soviet Russia Soviet government. Representatives at Chernov, Rakitnikov, Svatizki, Volski, Bourevoy, Chernenkov, Antonov, Central Committee of the Sorial Revolutionary Party, recently arrived in Moscow to participate in a conference with the Soviet government with the selves with great emphasis against

An improvement of the Soviet gov ernment's relations with the elements represented by the Soviet re- formerly hostile to it in Russian society is also indicated by the change of the attitude of the Mensheviki, The resentment against the former whose conference has likewise proruling classes, who did not hesitate tested against the entente intervention.

> have proved their allegiance to the Soviet government, and partly by officers developed from the rank and file by the military educational institutions established by my government. The Commissariat of War has been successful in establishing and been successful in establishing and partly by officers developed from the construction of other means of communication, such as canals, reads, etc., and is at the present time planning work along these lines on a large scale, which will also offer great opportunities for foreign that the direct outcome and result of all material, exposing the population to the most terrible privation bordering on starvation."
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> —— "I wish to emphasibe that the so-called red terror, which is so grossly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause but the direct outcome and result of all partly provided and it successful in any part of Russia, lead to the most terrible privation bordering on starvation."
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> —— "I wish to emphasibe that the most terrible privation bordering on starvation."
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> —— "I wish to emphasibe that the most terrible privation because the most terrible privation." the ranks of the army, a discipline on docile submission, but on the ar- of popular education, have made it dent conviction of the workers from one of the main tasks of my govern-

(Continued from Page One) sciously attached to our social system, achievements against encroachments popular education. In this respect extified in intervening in Russia where our opponents had access to realizing that in the support of the from any sources. This same convictions when the working neonly themselves the support of the s where our opponents had access to foreign military help, has it been possible for them to maintain any organsible for them to maintain any organincluded expectation and to which they have wrested and access to foreign military help, has it been possible for the maintain any organincluded expectation and to which they have wrested and access to form any sources. This same conviction of the defence of the defence of our revolutionary achievements has achievements has a convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction of the defence of our revolutionary achievements has a convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction of the defence of our revolutionary achievements has a convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction of the defence of our revolutionary achievements has a convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction of the defence of our revolutionary achievements has a convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction of the defence of our revolutionary achievements has a convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction of the defence of our revolutionary achievements has a convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction of the defence of our revolutionary achievements has a convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction are convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction are convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction are convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction are convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction are convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction are convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction are convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction are convicted and access to form any sources. This same conviction are convicted and access to form any sources. The conviction are convicted and access to form any sources. The conviction are convicted and acc

# Inherited Disruption.

The Soviet government inherited a legacy of utter financial disruption created by four years of war and a year of revolution. This state of affairs, and also the necessity of co-ordinating the financial system of Russia with the new industrial and eco nomic system represented by my government, necessitated a complete reorganization of the financial institutions on the basis of common property rights. This reorganization which aims at exchanging the money system for a system representing labor value is still in the state of formation. Regardless thereof Soviet government, in as far as financial relations with and obligations to other countries are concerned, is prepared to offer modes of financial transactions adapted to the financial system of other countries.

The period preceding the establishment of the Soviet government also badly disrupted the machinery for producing and distributing. The Soviet government inaugurated a system of public control and ownership of industries. It has actually taken over many important branches of industry, and has established the control of the Supreme Council of National Economy over all industries. Great handicaps have been faced because of the obstructionist methods of our opponents, lack of raw material and machinery, and because of the general confusion unavoidably coincident with the gigantic reorganization of the industrial life. In spite of these handicaps, various branches of industry have been re-established, even with an increase of productive efficiency. Many branches of industry, however, have not so far been able to recuperate, because of lack of

with Russia by other countries. their own people has evinced itself in an ever increasing popular support of the Soviet government, even among such people as at first were either such people as at first were either hostile or indifferent to the Soviet of universal military training has a socialist counter-revoluhostile or indifferent to the Soviet of universal military training has operations against counter-revolu-rule. Men and women of literary or been inaugurated which steadily supplies the army with accessions with our railroads and left little opportun- and to divert their energies and re- cial intercourse. I am confident that

pense on the part of the Soviet gov- to other nations." ernment and the field of the educa-

as opposition has ceased in the form if they could not reckon on assistof active resistance to the Soviet govance from abroad." ernment it has become possible to Intervention Halted Work of Reconlighten such extraordinary measures

as censorship, martial law, etc. False Reports Circulated.

Much prejudice has been created government as the executors of the other countries, especially with the against the Soviet government by the people's will has been hampered by United States. The Soviet governcirculation of false reports about the the necessity of military defense ment of Russia is willing to open its nature of the institutions of and the against the opponents of our repubmeasures undertaken by Soviet Rus- lic, and by the economic isolation of for peaceful pursuit of opportunity, measures undertaken by Soviet Rus-sia. One of the most frequent allega-tions has been that the rule of the with deliberate disruption of our lead of the research and in-Soviets is one of violence and murder. with deliberate disruption of our I feel sure will prove that peace and In this connection I want to call your means of communications with imattention to the following passages in portant food centers, as well as de-

liberty without which political liberty tion together with starvation and lack is of no avail to them. For eight even the bare necessities of life premonths the Soviets endeavored to re- vails so poignantly, and all the more alize their aims by peaceful methods in such parts of the former Russian without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punish- in the hands of the opponents of our ment which abolition had been part republic and which have had contact raw material and lack of machinery their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terroristic ence to the people than any pretendof their program. It was only when with the outside world, clearly testitheir adversaries, the minority of the fies that the Soviet rule is much more acts against popular members of the ence to the people than any pretendgovernment and invoked the help of ers to the power in Russia. Buld New Railroads.

The state of railroad communication makes were driven to acts of exasting the state of railroad communication makes were driven to acts of exasting the power in trussia.

In view of all that is stated above, makes were driven to acts of exasting the power in trussia. reconstruction of Russia, exhausted by four years of war, to the defense of the country, but also cut off the efforts to overthrow the Soviet govthe most terrible privation bordering ful in any part of Russia, lead to

trade.

The people of Russia, kept for lied intervention. The Russian worknot based on fear of punishment or hundreds of years away from sources ers and peasants fail to understand how foreign countries, which never dreamed of interfering with Russian cluding Soviet Russia, depends on unwhose ranks the army is recruited ment to reorganize the school system affairs when czarist barbarism and interrupted interchange of products sian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

ized opposition and to wrest from the control of Soviet Russia any territory. Today, after sixteen months of the land which they have wrested tory. Today, after sixteen months of the land which they have wrested to control of Soviet Russia any territory. Today, after sixteen months of the land which they have wrested to control of Soviet Russia any territory. Today, after sixteen months of the land which they have wrested to control of Soviet Russia any territory. Today, after sixteen months of the land which they have wrested to control of Soviet Russia any territory. Today, after sixteen months of the land which they have wrested to control of Soviet Russia any territory. Today, after sixteen months of the land which they have wrested to control of Soviet Russia any territory. Today, after sixteen months of the land which they have wrested to control of Soviet Russia any territory. Today, after sixteen months of the land which they have wrested to control of Soviet Russia any territory. Today, after sixteen months of the land which they have wrested to control of Soviet Russia any territory. Today, after sixteen months of the land which they have wrested to control of Soviet Russia any territory. Today, after sixteen months of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control of the land which they have wrested to control o agricultural institution, have been es- own happiness and international tablished and maintained at great ex- brotherhood, constituting no menace

In another passage of the same tional activities has been extended note Mr. Litvinoff states as follows:

——— "The best means for the - - "The best means for the ures of the arts and sciences as easily accessible to the people as possible. All these efforts, incomplete as they would include the withdrawal of all still are, have nevertheless given the foreign troops from Russia and the Russian people sufficient evidence of cessation of direct or indirect assistthe earnestness of the desire and of ance to such groups in Russia as still the ability of the Soviet government indulge in futile hopes of an armed to fill the needs of the population and revolt against the workers' govern-they have greatly contributed to the ment but who by themselves alone abatement of opposition. Inasmuch would not think of such a possibility

### struction. The great work of social recon-

struction inaugurated by the Soviet the note sent to the president of the United States on the 24th of December, 1918, by Maxim Litvinoff, on behalf of the Soviet government of Rus-half of the So half of the Soviet government of Rus- and by efficient consolidation of all viet Russia, and by the establishment economic means at its disposal, my of material and intellectual inter-"The chief aim of the government has been able to stave course. Soviets is to secure for the toiling off the worst features of this situa-majority of Russian people economic tion. The fact that economic disrup-

Desire to Establish Commercial

Relations.
Fully realizing that the economic prosperity of the world at large, in-

ablish commercial relations other countries, and especially with the United States. The Soviet goveinment is prepared at once to buy from the United States vast amounts of finished products, on terms of payment fully satisfectory to the parties concerned. My government also desires to reach an agreement in respect to exports from Russia of raw material needed by other countries and of which considerable surplusses exist in Russia. In order to re-establish the economic integrity of Russia and to insure uninterrupted commercial relations, the Russian workers and peasants, as Mr. Litvinoff stated in the above quoted note, "Are prepared to go any length of concessions as far as the real interests of other countries are concerned, of course with the understanding that no agreements en-tered into should impair the sovereignty of the Russian people, as expressed by the Russian Socialist Fed-

eral Soviet Republic. On the part of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic there thus exists no obstacles to the establishment of proper relations with prosperity in Russia-and elsewhere,

Russia is now prepared to purchase in the American market great quanti-ties of the following commodities commensurate with the needs of 150,000,000 people: Railroad supplies, agricultural implements and machinery, factory machinery, tools, mining machinery and supplies, electrical supplies, printing machinery, textile manufactures, shoes and clothing, fats and canned meats, rubber goods, typewriters and office supplies, automobiles and trucks, chemicals, medical supplies, etc.

Russia is prepared to sell the following commodities: Flax, hemp, hides, bristles, furs, lumber, grain, platinum, metals and minerals.

The Russian government, in the event of trade being opened with the United States, is prepared to place at once in banks in Europe and America, gold to the amount of two hundred million dollars (\$200,000,000) to cover the price of initial purchases.

To insure a basis for credits for additional Russian purchases in the United States, I suggest that detailed negotiations with my government will evolve propositions fully acceptable for this purpose.

I am empowered by my government to negotiate for the speedy opening of commercial relations for the mutual benefit of Russia and America, and I shall be glad to discuss details at the earliest opportunity.

(Signed) A. L. Martens, Representative in the United States of the Rusthat it is their privilege as well as with the view of the greatest pos-their duty to defend their social sible achievements in the field of even supported that regime, feel jus-