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RAYMOND ROBBINS ON RUSSIA

and lies concerning the Soviet government of Russia and struggle against Germany. Yet upon the request of the Bolsheviki, erected by the capitalist press, the truth Robbins, Trotzky not only permitted these supplies to be about the workers' government of that country is begin-

No. 62

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 Robbins of the American Red Cross, who was in Russia from June of

Colonel Robbins spoke before an audience at the 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 pound of the goods.

> 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 suggestion from him.

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?

ment and urging its acceptance. He told how, when the comes merely a shadow. day for the meeting of the All-Russian Soviet, which was to act upon the treaty arrived, at Lenin's personal request how, after the All-Russian Soviet had begun its session 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 the facts are against the ruling class here as they were 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 Robbins did not only affirm that it was true, but, through ideas. The revolutionary ideals took hold of sent out of Petrograd, where they were badly needed, but dramatically, he took from his portfolio and held before the people and as they swept across the country the power furnished an armed guard to accompany the train, and the audience a photographic reproduction of the written of the autocracy, the power of bourgeois government that they were delivered at Jassy without the loss of a single offer made by Trotzky and approved by Lenin, which was succeeded, the power of Kerensky, vanished into thin air. cabled to the American State Department. He showed These governments became corpses because the masses 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 was inspiring because he proved so conclusively that after to accept the offer. He offered in evidence photographic all real power lies in the masses of the people and when reproduction of cables sent by others in authority vouch- the hypnotic spell which holds the people in subjection is ng of the genuineness of the offer of the Soviet govern- broken, the most powerful government of exploiters be-

> Robbins is opposed to bolshevism, but he says neither the meeting was delayed for two days in order to give England, France and Italy can stop it. "The government more time for the allied government to reply. He told of Lloyd George rests upon a narrow ledge of social sanction; though Clemenceau lives in spite of the assassin's and before the treaty had been ratified, Lenin called him bullet, his government is already dead; the Italian government rests upon a volcano, which may burst at any

> > '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 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

Government Has Accomplished

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

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:

taneous uprising of the toiling masses who employed the most unscrupulous of Russia. Its government, the Coun- methods in their fight against the cil of the People's Commissars, is a government controlled by and responsible to all such members of the population of Russia are willing to perform useful work, physical or mental. Those who, while not being unable to Only in sparsely populated outlying work, deliberately refuse to exercise their productive abilities, choosing to 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 con-trolled by the Soviets. All such people have full political and civic rights. More People Participate in Govern-ment 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 person engaged in useful social labor is bound to participate in public affairs, the percentage of people directly participating in the management of society in Soviet Russia is higher than has been the case anywhere in the world hitherto. The Russian Soviet argue for acquittal. If it is good law Republic affords thereby the widest to use motive for the purpose of suspossible field for a real expression of a conscious popu'ar will. While the Soviet government is a government of the working class, the abolition of exploitation of labor and the elemination thereby of class division creates a productive community in which all able inhabitants are bound to become useful workers who have full political rights. My government thus hundred per cent. of the people. should also be noted that political inhabitant engaged in useful work, though he be not a citizen of Russia, but only temporarily working there, and intent are clearly distinguish. Baker entered a waiting automobile alized that things were beyond their and the crowd at the station formed control, for no sooner had the last

own accord organize any noticeable Continued on Page Four

Debs Case Again Before Court

a petition for a rehearing. The court recently affirmed Debs' conviction,

son for an undisclosed state of mind," said Debs' petition. "The court errontaining a conviction, then it should

reply for the purpose of an acquittal." Debs declared that "opposition to war stated as a conclusion does not political rights. My government thus crime, then opposition to peace, opposition to peace, opposition to a tariff, opposition to an implementation of the people. It post tax, opposition to an inheritance of the people is to the police state of the people it post tax, opposition to an inheritance of the people it post tax opposition to an inheritance of the people it post tax opposition to an inheritance of the people it post tax opposition to an inheritance of the people it post tax opposition to an inheritance of the people it post tax opposition to an inheritance of the people it post tax opposition to an inheritance of the people it post tax opposition to an inheritance of the people it post tax opposition to an inheritance of the people it post tax opposition to an inheritance of the people it post tax opposition to an inheritance of the people it post t rights are granted in Russia to every equally be interpreted as elements of Charles Baker, state organizer of the were in for a rough time. criminality. Opposition to war is a motive, it is not an intent. Motive

refused the rehearing and that the it is maintained itself of manifold plots and op-will be issued in about ten days).

When Debs came into the nail, when the ponce chief appeared to hear the difference of the to beg M. H. Toohey, Thomas Devine, and op-will be issued in about ten days).

When Debs came into the nail, constitutional rights, as guaranteed to mandate for imprisonment of Debs in our American constitution, stration broke out anew. It lasted automobile, but another man quickly Charles Baker and others to go back are respected, without any penalty for fully five minutes and during in the face of manifold plots and op- will be issued in about ten days).

Memorandum Submitted to State Department Toledo Crowd Compels Manifesto of Hungarian Socialists Tells of Wonderful Work New 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 Soverity Republic was established on the 6th of November, 1917, by a spon-many cases enlisted foreign help and who cases enlisted foreign help and who can be considered to the former ruling classes who in many cases enlisted foreign help and who can be considered to the former ruling classes who in many cases enlisted foreign help and who can be considered to the former ruling classes who in many cases enlisted foreign help and who can be considered to the former ruling classes who in many cases enlisted foreign help and who can be considered to the former ruling classes who in many cases enlisted foreign help and who can be considered to the former ruling classes who in many cases enlisted foreign help and who can be considered to the former ruling classes who in many cases enlisted foreign help and who can be considered to the former ruling classes who in many cases enlisted foreign help and who can be considered to the former ruling classes who in many cases enlisted foreign help and who can be considered to the foreign help and who can be considered to the foreign help and who can be considered to the foreign help and who can be considered to the foreign help and who can be considered to the foreign help and the considered to the foreign help and the considered to the foreign help and the considered to the

districts and in such of those districts hands and not only holding meetings the building.

Washington.—Eugene V. Debs, Men they endeavored to segan to talk.

March 17, filed in the Supreme Court a petition for a rehearing. The court of the control of the segan to talk.

By this time the crowd was begin-position from which Toohey and Baker of the Hungarian People's Republic to be dewould be turned over to some patriotic where they were.

organization. have been equally good law, upon which the defendant was entitled to have Debs speak under their auspices. then returned to the scene of the

meet Debs at the station when he ar- other fifty, who attempted to speak 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 opposition to war is an element of lice tried in vain to disperse. When were taken to the police station. tax, and opposition to prohibition can and was unable to speak and that threatening and it looked as if they

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

When the procession arrived at Me-Soviet institutions. Yet, nowhere in Russia could such elements of their a crisis they were obliged to ask the the hall had been rented, the use of that never again must be interfered. assistance of the workers' representa- the hall for a Debs' meeting. A crowd resistance to the popular will, as expressed by the Soviet government. increased by the Soviet government. ing people taking matters in their own in the streets in the neighborhood of

as they pleased, but opening the M. H. Toohey, secretary of the Toprison doors for release of those who ledo Socialist local, mounted the top toward the station. Filling the street WORKERS OF THE WORLD. of an automobile and began to speak from building to building the mass 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 ers address themselves to the worked to pay their tribute to Eugene V. each being arrested as soon as he be- intent upon freeing the arrested men. ers of the world and urge them not

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 neighclearly amounts to the trial of a per- of the Socialists. When this was ex- bothood. While this was going on an plained to the city authorities who appeal to members of the Socialist control the hall they refused to per- Party was made to immediately admotive of the defendant. In the trial mit the transfer, stating that if the journ to the party headquarters, while court we were denied the privilege of metal workers gave up the hall it the audience was asked to remain

At the headquarters two hundred In order to meet this situation the party members were organized to fol-Arrangements had been made to meeting. In a half hour's time an-

Evidently the city authorities re-

to disperse the crowd.

After some negotiations, during authorities had locked the doors and arrested should be freed at once and agreed that the Socialists would endeavor to restore order.

Hardly had they left the station when they met the vast crowd coming | ERS OF HUNGARY TO THE

they found it had been rented to the ning to get beyond the control of the addressed the crowd, explaining that stroyed under the pretext of occupaunder the Espionage law, under which Metal Workers' Council. They went police, although the whole Toledo all the arrested men and women had tion. 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

> After a half hour of speech making the crowd was calmed and after a of the world. We shall utilize every number of other brief speeches the method and all mediums in order that audience was dispersed.

Socialists believe that the city authorities have learned what a mass garian socialism, and the Hungarian public alone effectively created liberty movement means from their experi- labor movement, and to secure their here. But the entente, which promence Sunday and that they will hesi tate a long time before they again expose themselves to the wrath of a 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 authorities had locked the doors and rested should be freed at once and refused the metal workers, to whom it was impressed upon the police chief

The manifesto throws a great deal of light upon the conditions in Hungary since the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the 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:

The workers' congress has taken a

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.

the proletariat of Europe especially may understand the situation which troops of occupation cannot carry lib-

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

AN APPEAL FROM THE WORK- garian People's Republic was born. The people's republic, which is rapidly wiping out the last vestiges of feudalism, which is creating in Hungary the most complete democracy and laying the foundations for the development of socialism.

ENTENTE TROOPS AGAINST HUNGARIAN LIBERTIES. The territory of the vanished mon-archy is now inundated by the troops

The liberty of the small nations and the safety of democracy were written upon the banners of the en-Our delegates are going to all parts tinued and before the war was terminated victoriously for them. Victorious, the entente floods Hungary with the troops of occupation. But the effective assistance in this crisis. ised to liberate the world from the What is happening in Hungary voke of German absolutism, has subjected Hungary to the greedy clutch

Debs Gets Great Ovation at Youngstown

viet Republic was rapidly acclaimed by the vast majority of the laboring ington announces that the court has people throughout the former empire refused the rehearing and that the

sand throats of the disciples of Eugene V. Debs last night, March 26, in Diamond half: "If you go to jail, rived. Those not standing jumped to that bore the words, "From a Russian" we go with you!" two thousand more stormed the door trying to get into the hall.

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

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The expression came following the but a thousand managed to crowd in Said: "I love you, Comrade Debs." reading of a resolution in which it and the overflow of 2,000 had to be Debs was visibly affected. He hung was unanimously voted "that not a addressed in Public Square."

Cheers Debs Five Minutes.
When Debs came into the hall, some thirty minutes later, a demon-

While the cry leaped from a thou- whatsoever for exercising his rights." | that time a spray of red carnations eyes and when he raised his head to speak, for a moment, he could not find words. Tears glistened in his It lasted eyes and then began

What Capitalists Hate Worst Is What Workers Need Most

AMERICANISM AND THE SOVIET

Little attempt has been made to describe what we know of the present in Russia in language. Americans can understand and in the perspective of American making it practically impossible to amend the constitution under ordinate revolution in the language of the revolutionsists. But "Bolshevik" and "Menshevik," "proletariat" and "bourgeoisie" are not words to clarify the situation for Republicans and Democrats. They merely aggravate does not rest, an autocracy of death, the irritation against the revolution set up by chronic journalistic and congressional mis-statement.

No one can deny that the American No one can deny that the American in the present day, the recall has made to the present day, the recall has made in the present day, the recall has made or the present day, the recall has made or the present day, the recall has made in the present day, the recall has made or the constitutions of two the under the constitutions of the present day, the recall has made or the present day, the recall has made or the constitutions of two hundred municipality. It is made of the present day, the recall has made or the constitutions of the present day, the recall has made or the cons

democracy. No slogan of the wai cil is at all times under the control of aroused more genuine response from the American public than Mr. Wilson's appeal to "make the world safe for democracy." These words strike the whole structure from peak to base is the power of popular control.

One of the many divergences between American democratic ideals and American political of the will of the people, but we know an argument, that appeals to the American public. American political life has naturally found expression in such phrases as "the will of the people," is more often the will of the boss that control of the boss of the boss of the boss that control of the people, by the charge that the of the boss of the boss that control of the people, by the charge that the life has naturally found expression in such phrases as "the will of the people," is more often the will of the boss of the boss that controls our political life. The manner of election of our legislatures is in large measure responsible for this anomaly. There is no intimacy between a representative and his constituency. In his nomination, his election either of the property or of the owner himself. Newspaper reports owned the policy of the So-deep into the American political ethics.

The words "dictatorship of the property of the so-deep into the American public. The mortan that binds the whole structure from peak to base the whole structure from peak to base is the political ethic body that elected it. Thus is the pyramid built. The mortan that binds the whole structure from peak to base is the political ethic body that elected it. Thus is the pyramid built. The mortan that binds the whole structure from peak to base is the political ethic body that elected it. Thus is the pyramid built. The mortan that binds the whole structure from peak to base is the political ethic body that elected it. Thus is the pyramid built. The mortan that binds the whole structure from peak to base is the political ethic control.

One of the many divergences between American pe

letariat" cut across these sentiments resent. For years forward-looking with a ruthlessness that stirs to its American political scientists have recise of supreme authority without responsibility. 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 lead in its concrete political 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 American politics of as divergent views as Burgess and Beard have emphasized in the same factory or organization this particularly glaring inconsistency. There is a fundamental antagonism between our democratic pretensions between our democratic pretensions between the same factory or organization only workers in Russia. Such is the place of the Russian revolutionist. In the place of the Russian Constant contact with them, and is unconstant contact with them. The American nation is lusty and growing, but clothed in a straitjacket. The change and expansion of our national life must in the elections as these, would leave an especial weakness in the pyramid of 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 dvision into property that there are the change and expansion, nowever, even such establishment of a dicagnorship of the purpose of the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men" and of insuring that there are the change and expansion in the property of the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men" and of insuring that there are the change and expansion of the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men" and of insuring that there are the change and expansion of the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men" and of insuring that there are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men and of insuring that there are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men and of insuring that there are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men and of insuring that there are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men and of insuring that there are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men are the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of the purpose of abolishing the exploitation analogies stretched the constitution this for years. Merely to elect a classes nor a state of autocacy.

To accomplish this purpose analogies stretched the constitution ers, the break would long since have out, does not insure his responsibilowners of capital have been excluded population of 700,000 souls. Just how occurred. Constrained by a constitutive. The threat of the next election from the franchise. Every inhabitant many of these persons live in Matation written by men dead a century ago, and under the courts pledged to maintain its integ-out a continuing control a represen-

No one can deny that the American and can re-fashion them at will to fit his constituents, then the consti-No one can deny that the American ideal is the democratic ideal. Born ideal is the democratic ideal. Born ideal is the democratic ideal. Born in England or the United of revolt against autocracy, our Declaration of Independence itself proclaimed to the world that "governments are instituted among men deriving their powers from the consent of the government becomes destructive any government becomes destructive of these replacements are instituted and that "whenever any government becomes destructive of the property owning of those rends it is the right to recall him and elect another in his place," This portion of the population is entitled to vote today in Russia than in any jurisdiction of the present government becomes destructive of the structure, are the local Societs; representatives of the property-owning is responsible by election and recall him and elect another in his place," This portion of the population is entitled to vote today in Russia than in any jurisdiction of the present government of Russia. Leon Trotzky, for instance, as Commissar of the Army, is responsible by election and recall him and elect another in his place," This applies to every Soviet and every committee of every Soviet under the jurisdiction of the present government becomes destructive in the structure, are the local Societs; representatives of the Russian population is entitled to vote today in Russia than in England or the United States. It is probable that a larger portion of the population is entitled to vote today in Russia than in England or the United States. It is probable that a larger portion of the proportion sections. Elected by them, and former of the governed, and that whenever any government becomes destructive of those each 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 Justice Maryland, made more specific this ideal of democracy:

The government proceeds directly from the people; it is ordained and established in the name of the people. The provincial Soviets, which is responsible to the local Soviets, which is responsible to the local Soviets, which is responsible to the local Soviet, which, in turn, is responsible to the local Soviets, which is responsible to the local Soviets, which is responsible to the local Soviets, which is responsible to the local Soviet, which, in turn, is responsible to the local Soviets, which is responsible to the local Soviets, which is responsible to the local Soviet, which, in turn, is responsible to the local Soviets, which is responsible to the local Soviet, which is responsible to the local Soviet, which, in turn, is responsible to the local Soviet, which is r The public declaration of eminent Americans from that time to the present day agree in their praise of democracy. In Sologan of the war aroused more genuine response from the American public than Mr. Wil
The public declaration of eminent to councils composed of the heads of rule, the control by one caste of the destinies of another, the tyranny of labor over capital. While it may well apply to a period of transition in the apply to a period of transition in the looky that elected it. Thus is the pyramid built. The mortar that binds the world are the control by one caste of the they vote. Only 9,000,000 out of 45, 100,000,000 persons in England voted apply to a period of transition in the Russian revolution, it cannot correctly be used to describe the unit.

tical ethics.

The words "dictatorship of the pro-than with those he is supposed to represent. For years forward-looking depths 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 could be found of the ill effects of a representation as the only reasonable foreign and Socialist terminology. Russia, in purpose and form, said, are essentially economic. People at least, does not appear upon examination to be "a dictatorship," nor is it, strictly speaking, "of the proletariat." And yet this phrase, for the literaction of the proletariat." And yet this phrase, for the literaction of the proletariat." And yet this phrase, for the literaction of the proletariate with the december of the property of the prope average American, is both a description and a damnation of the present terests, instead of districts arbitrarily regime in Russia. The term "dictatorship" connotes a government un- adequate expression of public opinion controlled by the governed—an exer- and would bring the legislator into

at every turn to those that elected application.

Elections in Russia are, so to speak, One of the most characteristic fea- by the shop, and not by the map. economic organusual divergence between our political ization, in proportion to the numerical cal ideals and our political reality. strength of the croup, elects its own delegates to the Soviet. The assembly is made up of representatives, not of districts, but of economic interests. sie" nor and the rigidity of our constitution. der their continuous instructions; his of the Russian Federated Soviet resympathies are their sympathies, his public involves, in view of the present

would lead us to suspect that the latter method is the policy of the Soviets. Such is emphatically not the

case. One need have no illusions about the by-products of a revolutionary upheaval when individuals and mobs run riot, and may yet be convinced by the evidence at hand that the policy of the present Russian government is to eliminate the property owner only by nationalizing The present Russian government

has taken over, one by one, the ownership of the great resources of the nation. Capital, in the sense of property, remains, but in the hands perspective. It proves anew our of the people through the state. In ideals of self-government. The Sothis way the private owner of capitals, unified, responsible, controlled tal who exploits it for his personal advantage is rapidly being eliminated 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 factory to the same end? The nobility already has been expropriated; the capitalist soon will be. When the change has been accom-When the change has been accomplished, the nobles and the capitalist will still live, but they will be work ers, and not owners, for a living. There will remain neither "bourgeoi "proletariat"; there will be Every member of the Soviet works only workers in Russia. Such is the loyalty is their loyalty.

Elections alone, however, even such establishment of a dictatorship of the four claimants to the land. There were establishment of a dictatorship of the

franchise is more democratic in Russia than in England or the United

Ultimately, however, age will be 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 continualcapital each month sees fewer and 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 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 democracy of the unclassed.

Soviet Russia, thus, throws our American institutions into a novel

More Self-Determination

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 as the British empire is concerned.

To accomplish this purpose the Southern Rhodesia has a native owners of capital have been excluded population of 700,000 souls. Just how is oftentimes far less powerful than of Soviet Russia, male or female, of belaland is not clear. One thing, domination of immediate political advantage. With- 18 years or over, who has "acquired however, is certain that the 500,000 the means of living through labor or so of men and women whose fate rity, not even the representatives of tative is, for the time being, irrethe people in congress assembled can sponsible. For the past 20 years 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 capi-talists can feel their realms crumb-ling, and now breath the dust of decay 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 valley 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. One 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 masters 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

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 ly works to eliminate itself. The her bosom, I grew to what I am. I 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 you. I am not going to attempt to excite your passions tonight—but—possibly, possibly later.
Will Go Together.

"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 know what is wrong in Europe, in down trodden Europe. I know why the people of Russia have come into their own. Isn't it strange, that there s so much concern about Russia now that they, the peasants, have worked out a successful government, have 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 ioil to not

Doesn't Fear Courts. "Do you think I fear the courts? They can go to hell with their courts." A demonstration of several minutes followed the statement. And then Debs continued: has said, I was worth \$150,000. Com-rades, if I wanted to sell out this cause for which I stand, I wouldn't New Era Dawning. fool with a paltry and detestable \$150,000; I could get \$150,000,000—I could sell out your cause for that amount easily

Says Bolshevism Misrepresented.

they vote. Only 9,000,000 out of 45, 000,000 persons in England voted in 1918, and only 18,000,000 out of over 100,000,000 in the United States. In Soviet Rusia there are no residence requirements, while all men and women over 18, including aliens, can vote. The lack of other limitations in Russia propably will outbalance the exclusion of the property owners in a comparison of the proportion of the propor rades, they're liars and hypocrites. When the czar lived it was a crime to whisper freedom. They rotted in jail, they died in Siberia when they

> "But in what I have to say, I do not want to excite or incite you. I am opposed to bloodshep in any form. A revolution is coming, but it must be peaceful. That is the reason I am opposed to war, to making men soldiers. A soldier is a human being trained to kill other human beings. I don't believe in killing, I am opMeeting in Square. posed to it. I met several soldiers cause they have treated us cruelly and like cattle that is not the spirit in which we must treat with them. We will be speakers followed Debs, including Frank Midney. must be gentle and ask God to forgive them. They speak of Americanizing the foreigners-why then Debs continued: "I'm not skid-strike breakers of them? Gor forgive ding along the edge tonight, I am them! When I am gone, the richest speaking my heart. Some capitalist gift I ask, is that some child will lay

> > New Era Dawning. "The sun is arising upon our cause. A new and beautiful world is ap-

1.983

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

fail, they died in Siberia when they thought against despotism. They're illiterate, yes. But they can think. The Soviet government is a government of, by and for the people. For sixteen months they have stood without a quiver. There is no prospect of their government falling. They have stood their ground.

Wants No Bloodshed.

"But in what I have to say, I do old shell of mine. My years and my days are numbered, would be God that I had another life to give. I ask from you no sympathy, no compassion, just you no love and the realization of your hearts' desire. I would rather go to prison a thousand times for you, than

Meeting in Square.

Margaret Prevey of Akron, who 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 sent to Siberia to die a slow and miserable death? There was no concern in Russia by Ingland on other countries when atrocities worse than death were committed by the czar. No armies were sent into Russia them! Probably you think I am talking rather plain tonight? I am.

Doesn't Fare Courts

posed to it. I met several soldiers at my home recently. They were hungry and hunting jobs. One said he was sorry he had been a soldier. He had awakened and seen the light. It cam go to the gallows with a smile on my face, without a quive, but I'll never have the stain of any man's blood upon my hands. I'm opposed to all forms of murder. We must do our work, comrades, peacefully. We are slowly but surely welding the iron ring about our exploiters. But, because they have treated us cruelly and finished several hundred followed him into the lobby of the Tod house. Several content of the municipal flag pole. When he had finished several hundred followed him into the lobby of the Tod house. Several content in the spoke briefly emphasizing some of the briefly emphasizing some of the briefly emphasizing some of the came from the hall. He spoke briefly emphasizing some of the came from the hall. He spoke briefly emphasizing some of the came from the hall. He spoke briefly emphasizing some of the came from the hall. He spoke briefly emphasizing some of the came from the hall. He spoke briefly emphasizing some of the came from the hall. He spoke briefly emphasizing some of the came from the hall. He spoke briefly emphasizing some of the came from the hall. He spoke briefly emphasizing some of the came from the hall. He spoke briefly emphasizing some of the came from the hall. He spoke briefly emphasizing some of the came from the hall. He spoke briefly emphasizing some of the came from the hall. He spoke briefly emphasizing some of the came from the hall. He spoke briefly

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 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 nount easily.

Says Bolshevism Misrepresented.

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

A new and beautiful world is approaching. The day is dawning when we shall take possession of the world that is ours. It may be your lot to express his appreciation and affection.

Youngstown Vindicator. him and choking with tears kissed

CHARGES ENTENTE WITH STRANGLING LIBERTIES Continued From Page One.

REVOLUTIONARY LIBERTIES STRANKLED BY ENTENTE

These imperialisms represent a deree of development inferiod to that of the Hungarian democracy. people's republic established the most Italy consent, will the proletariat of sociation and of assemblage. troops of occupation suppress the taken under the pretext of establishing order, shall by its effect be equiv blage and impose a censorship of the alent to the counter-revolution? press. The people's republic has a social policy—the liberty of association and freedom of labor. The troops of occupation destroy our social policy shackle our private associations and in the place of liberty of labor established a new serfdom.

INDUSTRIAL LIFE KILLED BY BLOCKADE.

But the occupation of Hungary ignifies more than the suppression of the rights gained by the revolution, more than the strangling of the developed labor movement. The occupation signifies the suppression of the possibility of work itself.

Where there is no coal there is no work. It appears that the troops of occupation consider seriously the ronical remark of General Franchet d'Espery, who said: "If our mills large industries, the bankruptcy of our trade, our villages in rags, fam-

HUNGARIAN WORKERS OPPOSED THE WAR.

And all this takes place because the former monarchial rulers, today driven from the country, declared war against the entente in 1914—a war opposed bitterly to the last moment, a war into which we were driven simthe monarchial rulers gary as victors, and who now trample

ENTENTE OCCUPATION SUP-PORTS COUNTER-REVOLUTION. We ask the proletariat of the world

this question: Will the workers of France consent, will the workers of England consent, will the workers of complete liberty of the press, of as- the world consent that in Hungary the entente policy of occupation, undering order, shall by its effect be equiv-

SELF-DETERMINATION DEMANDED.

We are not pleading for integrity of territory. What we demand is the 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 before the democracies of the world that in the future violence shall unite this state. We only demand that by the right of violence they shall not dismember this state. We demand the reign of right against all forms peoples. of violence, and not the reign of violence against the right of the peoples. COUNTER-REVOLUTIONISTS

OPPOSE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

The counter-revolutionary elements in Hungary, who were stunned at first have regained consciousness. The reactionary press unanimously opposes the new regime. It attacks principally the national policy of the people's government. It condemns not only the right of self-determination, but exhibits extreme bitterness becouse the non-Hungarian nations living in

What do these reactioneries mean? Is it possible that they imagine that vanquished Hungary shall maintain the brutal domination which it has in Hungary and the realization of exercised in the past? The chiefs of the veritable rights of nations to disthe Hungarian reaction, the leaders pose of themselves. of the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries, know very well that that is not live in peace with one another possible. They well know that they demand an impossible thing. They down the first fruits of the revolu- well know that they are directly in- most complete liberty and the most juring the interests of Hungary be- complete democracy,

cause they give proof of Hungarian oppression and of its savage chauvin-These men, who now oppose the national policy of the government, are conscious traitors of the country. INTEND TO SMOTHER SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

But what does this treason matter to them? They intend, in fact, by this method to save their dead domination. 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. now strongly developed. SACIALISTS ALONE ABLE TO

ESTABLISH HARMONY IN HUNGARY.

But the Hungarian Socialist movement cannot be vanquished by such methods. Why? 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 is in Hungary, unless they wish to prolong the world war. And the people of Europe should

understand that unless they wish that Hungary shall be a center of European conflagration, unless they that this corner of Europe shall start the clouds of the tempest which menaces the tranquility of Europe, then they should not protect the greedy nationalistic and usurping elements here which are manifesting themselves coincidently with the troops of occupation. They should, on the contrary, assure the reign of democracy

For the nations of Hungary car however, under the empire of abso-

FRANZ MEHRING

By JOHN BRAHTIN.

Continued From Last Week. Edits Marx and Engel's Writings. 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 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 Nachlass" would remain a sealed book to

to of the Corman Social-Democracy letter to the Bolshevik organ Prayda. about and how they are won.

Hungary abominated from the very the non-Hungarian nations depths of its heart, a war which we Hungary receive autonomy. ments, "Aus Dem Literarischen Nachedge of Mehring, who studied philosophy from the same sources and as deeply as Marx himself, to explain modern socialism

Takes Active Part in Movement.

of Marx and Engels did not prevent that there is not the slightest doubt Mehring, very bitterly attacks Kaut- class emancipation, will be among us

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. Mehrsuch pseudo Marxists as Ed Bernstein fell into the hands of their enemies 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 endeavtion in Dietzgen's philosophy. Mehr- Mehring collaborated and which has

Under Mehring's editorship the Leipziger Volkszeitung became the stronghold of the left wing of the German Socialists. All the polemics and glorify the success of the prole-knowledge of history, convincing him which the conscious found space in that paper. The sharp- he viewed the Russian revolution as The fruitful life of Mehring is beness of Mehring's polemical articles, the hope of the German working class. fore us like a guiding star. A man, ply because made many Socialists view them as Bitterly he condemns the lukewarm- who, to the last minute, did not lose menaced the Hungarians with other against the non-Hungarian nations the trend of thought of the father of personal attacks and not defenses of ness of the Independent Socialists of his courage and remained faithful to nationalities. In fact, the Czechonzine of the Independent Socialists of his courage and remained faithful to nationalities. In fact, the Czechonzine of the Independent Socialists of his courage 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 developments prove so emphatically Russia, but do nothing to arouse the but the memory of him and the work the Hungarian workers to battle Editing the unpublished writings the correctness of Mehring's position revolutionary spirit in Germany, of this untiring fighter for working against those who now occupy Hun-

class, did not heed that warning but Mehring passed away, but his life's

Mehring's Attitude During War.

Mehring was the first one to express ored to prove the superiority of Dietz- his indignation when, the Socialists gen over Marx in the field of philos- went over to the government in supophy. Mehring pointed out to Mr. port of the war. To see the way that Unterman that his knowledge of the Mehring fought against the betrayers subject, about which he wrote and of the proletariat, it suffices to read 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 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. augment Marx with Dietzgen, is a All through the war Mehring was the bitterest enemy of the Prussian Junkerdom, bourgeoisie and the semi-Socialists of Germany.

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

work remains with us and will live forever. Those who wish to study the outcome of modern socialism, can be referred to the inexhaustible

sources of Mehring, where they will find the theory and tactics of the labor movement, outlined clearly, convincingly and forcefully.

When Liebknecht was sent to prison Mehring was elected to take his place in the reichstag; a respectable succestate 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 and Liebknecht have passed away, but also the old order, against which they fought, in Germany, is dead. They saw the dawning of the new day. They know it will not come easy. The example, of the Russian revolution Mehring was the first one to voice was before Mehring and his broad

principles. All such accusations Mehr- Germany who view with a smile on his life's work and devotion. Franz

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EDITORS

Alfred Wagenknecht

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QUICKSANDS AND PEACE CONFERENCE

It is not generally conceded in thoughtful circles that the Peace Conference will propagate 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 light 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. belong to a dead order.

Capitalism, it seems, is to be hereft 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 resource- bert G. Storck, secretary of Local Local and agile in its support. But he falls far short of the demands that cap- rain, states that the local has been ful and agile in its support. But he falls far short of the demands that capitalism 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 the evening. All the comrades and their flames.

While the diplomats of the greatest capitalist nations are seeking to thereby, in other words, dividing the loot of conquest, the peoples of the Proceeds went to help the local's establish their sovereignty over all the world and to extend their powers world are setting about the establishment of their own world, completely work in getting new members and 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 reputation 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 proletarian 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 of 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

neck. 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

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. 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 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.

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.

Charles Baker Tour. After April 1 Comrade Baker will work in the southern part of the state among the miners. In this district we have a large number of one-time locals. 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; Cuy-

ahoga Falls, April 1; Barberton, 2; Canton, 3; Dover, 4; Dennison, 5; Midvale, 6; E. Liverpool, 7; Leetonia, 8; Youngstown, 9; Hubbard, 10; Girard, 11; Warren 12;

NEW BREMEN SUGGESTS

Local New Bremen at its meeting, 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 release of Comrade Debs.

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 Van Buren writes that this local is holding more interesting meetings each week and many new members are coming in.

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

NEARING AT KALAMAZOO

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

LOCAL LORAIN IN ACTION

A recent letter from Comrade Alfully reorganized and all officers elected. 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 many friends were present. We had special music and speaking by the local comrades. Everyone enjoyed 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 direction of the newly elected local litera-ture 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 aplications were received and our memhis sojourn here we have found Comrade Knecht and his estimable wife

You will receive many new subscrip-

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 Debs, 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 with your state organization to take the necessary steps in this direction. Our representatives are now organizing this One-Day General Strike in of Philadelphia thus far visited. A conference has been called to unify all the forces of labor. Philadelphia and New York are preparing to act

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO? 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 of your action in this matter.

Fraternally yours, SAMUEL SKLAROFF,

General Secretary.

NOTICE OF MEETING Local Columbus had Comrade

local that fails or neglects to have Comrade Lilith Martin, State Or- After the lecture was over a commit- the ladies of the local placed a fourganizer will be with them for two tee reported that Local Columbus course luncheon before the highlymeetings to be held April 7th and would hold a convention on Thurselated winners. day, April 10th, at 8 P. M. for the purpose of nominating candidates as

One for Mayor, four for Council, one for clerk of the city court and Menace to the Farmers," was staged, three for members of school board, ending in the judges deciding the conwill be addressed by Comrade C. E. The committee requests all members test a draw, and suggesting the con-Ruthenberg of Cleveland, Ohio.

Their slogan will be "Eugene V. to be present and participate in the bate the question March 26.

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 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 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 nom-

ination petitions 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) and the majority party in Russia, the

6. Captains and distributors should have a meting once a month for the 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 outline. Each local must modify it according to local needs. The main thing is to get busy teaching socialism to the Recently the city of Mansfield and sheviki are dividing the landed estates 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 putally added right away.

Method Number Two

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

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 party members.

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 lead the proletarian movement in this country. This question demands bership is enjoying a sturdy growth.

Serious thought and consideration of every party member.

Our secretary, Herbert Knecht, has to be asked to join the party. That's the business of the Advance Guard resigned his position, having secured We talk about reorganizing society. Let's first learn to re-organize our local secured 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 we talk about reorganizing society. Let's first learn to re-organize our local secured with the membership books. to be asked to join the party. That's the business of the Advance Guard. cals for real work. Get busy: Elect that Advance Guard right away and 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

Method Number Three

(Plan of local Norwood, Ohio) Here is the method that is being followed by local Norwood. At all propaganda meetings which pay a surplus into the local treasury the profit the messenger from where, no one ferentiate between moderate actions the meeting is immediately turned into Ohio Socialist subscriptions. Local 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 pay. 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 imative 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 method is this. Two captains are elected. Each side contests for new members and Ohio Socialist theory. We've done some detective the membership. Each side contests for new members and Ohio Socialist theory. We've done some detective work in our past and we think we 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 groundthe 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 over Europe. So, why not in Mansinto 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

Local Tiffin is soon to start upon 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 lecturer comrades can arouse the workers to the true state of affairs we are sure COLUMBUS NOTES Comrade Baker will and be a great aid in our compaign.

Friday evening the members of Thurber Lewis for a meeting Thursday evening, March 27th and had a losing side in a recent membership fairly good crowd. After a few talks on the good of socialism, the hall was cleared and

> On Wednesday, March 13, a debate between Comrades W. C. McClurey and Nellie Loescher on "Bolshevism,

After the regular business meeting E. B. EUBANKS, Wednesday evening County Organizer a twice-a-week paper in the vechairman of Committee Comrade Wm. P. McClurey made a near future.

short talk before the local, his subject being "Cossack Government and Federal Court."

Comrade McClurey showed the way this government and Federal court were established and maintained and their procedure compared with that of the People's Council of the Russian our deductions. The fact is, that every EDGAR, MYLER, Corresponding Sec'y.

LOCAL ROBINS IN CLASS 1.

From Comrade Alex Allison of Local Robins, comes good news. Comrade Allison gives a glowing account of Comrade H. L. A. Holman's meeting on the first week in March. Although the meeting was not well advertised, it proved a huge success in every way. A large amount of liter- a series of five lectures in Columbus scriptions to the best working class aken into the organization. Local Robins had but 13 members Feb. 1, 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 con sidering organizing a series of Hol-

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. a twice-a-week paper in the very

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 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.

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

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 AMERICA, 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 Headquarters,

Bolshevik Flyer Visits Mansfield

Did a Bolshevik flyer hit about Mansfield, O., recently in the small hours of the night and scatter upon the door steps of every worker's home a conv of a little booklet entitled. Did a Bolshevik flyer hit about a copy of a little booklet entitled, Bolsheviks and Soviets?'

getting a satisfactory answer. It's

all radical labor movements and expressions of solidarity of the workis a scoundrel, Debs should be in prison, hanging is too good for every worker who would substitute democ-The method:

The Ohio Socialist has many, many names of readers on its lists who trol. The whole labor movement was discredited in the foulest manner. No one had any doubts as to the source of this pamphlet. When the workers trol of the German government. These in Mansfield smell a skunk, they majority Socialists believe in compressions. know one is near.

morning when 3,000 workers found jority Socialists of Germany, then the upon their door step a copy of Rhys Spartacans will become the Bolsheviki Williams' "Bolsheviks and Soviets." or majority party of Germany. Hundreds of workers wonderingly carried them to work for perusal durknew.

probabilities were settled upon as phasis upon reforms but wants an immost likely. It is with these two mediate and complete change from 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 pampflet distributed by the Chamber of Commerce (and robbery) 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 are efficient in that line. Here's our 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 of all the working class homes of Mansfield!

Now, that's our theory. But we shall not quarrel with those who doubt 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 "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 pleased with them, writes Comrade paper

Debate and social every Sun-day, 7:30 p. m. MASONIC HALL, 164 N. Chestnut St. *******

Bolsheviki? Inquiries are being received from Bolsheviki-This word means "ma-

Who Are The

jority." The Bolsheviki party in Rus-That's the question the local sia is therefore the majority party, s putting to its members-and not party which now controls Russia is the communist or Socialist Party. the live question in Mansfield and as radical Socialist party-which believes the Onio Socialist deals with live is in absolute workers control and resues, we feel called upon to deal with fuses to make alliances with the capital accordingly and to help solve a tallist. The Bolsheviki of Russia are mystery that but deepens as time being slandered by the capitalist press of this country because the Bol-

the workers. Spartacans-This is the name of the radical Socialist party of Germany and the German Spartacans desire to bring about the same kind of workers and peasants control as the Bolsheviki established in Russia. The Spartacans of Germany are opposed by what are known as the majority mising with the German capitalists Ten days (or nights rather) an an-swer appeared to this denunciation of industrial and state affairs. If the Mooney, Debs, socialism and bolshevism. Spartacans, who believe in absolute ism. Strange as it may seem came a workers' control, overthrow the ma-

Soviet-This word means "council." carried them to work for perusal dur-councils, in which matters of localing the noon hour. There they found and national importance are decided. that every shopmate also had a copy. Radical—The term "radical" as apple to political parties of factions seen discussing and reading this litnew.

Many conjectures were offered as to program which demands immediate promiscuously over the city. Two is one who does not place much em-

FEBRUARY, 1919, FINANCIAL Receipts.

I	Initiation Stamps	TENTAN
İ	Members at large	16.75
ŀ	Foreign branch dues	138,97
١	Organization fund	55.71
Ì		154.04
-	Literature sales	
1	Local supplies	51.55
I	Propaganda meeting	131.45
ļ	Industrial Freedom Certificate	e 6.0 0
	Denotions	29.25
	Donations	5.00
1	Sustaining Fund Stamps	5:00
	Debs' defense	260.90
	Miscellaneous Ohio Socialist	2.00
	Ohio Socialist	1 181 72
-	Omo Sucianse	1,10,1,0,4
		O FOF OO
1	Total Expenditures. Dues regular Foreign branch	2,585.09
	Expenditures.	1. Mil 187
·	Dues regular	\$400.00
į	Pausian hyanah	49 77
	roreign branch	4.4.0
	Laterature	44:00
	Propaganda meetings	411.38
1	Sustaining fund	72.42
	Salaries	300.00
į	Malantes tolograph	15.96
	Telephone and telegraph	
	Auto expenses	47.17
	Unclassified	53.55
١	Miscellaneous	79.35
1	Miscellaneous	676.63
	Onto Socialist	110.46
ě	Purchase of mailing list	
	Organizers salary	44.35
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
•	Total	\$2.299.89
	Polones Foly 1	14 090 44
	Darance Teb. 1	0 505 60
	February receipts	2,000/03
	Total	
1	Total	55,614.50
į	February expenditures	2.299.89
	Tebruary expenditures	-7-
	Balance	90 014 64
,	Balance	53,314.01
	in the Funds.	1.5
	Mileage	\$243.84
3	Organization	789.48
5	Compant fund	1 981 90
	In the Funds. Mileage Organization General fund	1,601.60
	Balance on hand March 1	\$3,314 .61
l		2.00
-	"Enclosed find a list of two	alva suh-
;	Introsect that a mot VI ow	OF A STANKE

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 Social-WM. M. BROWN, Sec. ist movement of America.

months campaign that will be the starter of a continuous one. They

8th. Don't fail to hear her.

WATCH THEM

Local Portsmouth is starting to work. They are beginning a four are awakening from long months of inactivity and are hoping that this campaign will develop into big things in Portsmouth. They are going to be

Watch them. Join with them in 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.

heard.

ism that Portsmouth has ever had. him for a date is missing a treat.

Remember also that on Sunday, April 13th the big gun will be fired. On that date the local is preparing for a big Deb's Protest Meeting that

THURBER LEWIS MEETINGS | Debs shall not go to jail." Their nomination and assist in starting a Tiffin, April 3rd; Mansfield 4th; motto: "We're going to win." Join fall campaign.

Zanesville 5; Cambridge 6-7; Belwith them in the chorus comrades and work, for our day is dawning.

E. B. EUBANKS, Chairman of Committee

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

that 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 ago. He admitted shooting Jaures. His attorney 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 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 man. 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 freethinking 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

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 Bel-

gians 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 the bayonet?

What Holds Them Back?

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 gentlemen to send their armies to crush bolshevism cumulated the economic structure at home is in under the iron heel of the Allied armies, even as danger of collapse. Germany was crushed. They urge the statesmen at fore it is too late.

Paris would be only too glad to follow this advice, ces on all fronts; Hungary takes its place under the if it were feasible to do so.

ing 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.

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.

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 above sentence is from a dispatch in regard

The Outlook Is Blue

Peace Conference grows more pessimistic daily. 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 Japanese 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 recogshift part of the great burden of debt they have ac-

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 advannew standard; Besserbia follows, and all the coun-But they know it is not. They know that send- tries of Central Europe, Bulgaria, Serbia, Roumania,

follow Hungary in establishing a Soviet Republic. The difference exists in the fact that in every | 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 It is no lack of desire to drown the proletarian of the mines be deferred until the parliamentary 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 British Government. Those brief lines tell more Reports from Paris concerning the work of the discussions of the details of the present negotiaabout the situation in England than many lengthly

> "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 something 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 capitalist society during the past fifty years, with which most Socialists will agree:

The framers of our Federal Constitution could not foresee the development of modern 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. They could not foresee banker control of credits and industry, and hence of education 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 grad-ual 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-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 stockholrs, 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 kept 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 ne 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 activ-

ities 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-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 proposed 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 and agree. 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 Swedish Workers Oppose Intervention Soviet Representative Publishes Record of Achievements

The capitalist government of Sweden is reported to have definitely abandoned its project to send a volunlabor 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 Association to protest against the recruiting of volunteers in Sweden for the benefit of the capitalists and landlords of Esthonia.

A committee of the Swedish Socialist Party interviewed the president of the council, M. Eden, relative to the proposed intervention on January The committee demanded the im mediate cessation of the recruiting of the volunteers; otherwise it would organize on its own account a campaign to recruit soldiers determined to support and defend the armies of Socialist workers fighting for their rights and their liberty.

President Eden received the committee "coldly." The committee responded by organizing the protest meeting the following day. The mass front the Ukrainian Soviet troops threaten the army of Krasnov from the ukraine instructed the "committee of threaten the army of Krasnov from the ukraine internal situation of Soviet Russia appears from the negotiations which throughout Sweden. Another committee was mandated to study the possibilities of recruiting a Red Guard possibilities for use in the Baltic provinces. The uania the Soviet power has been exstreet manifestation took place on

any official connection with prepara- the Soviet. tions for the volunteer expedition into of the interventionists, and upon a evacuation by the German armies of understanding whereby, these well 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 during the war and by the peace the peace their opponents have ceased their opposition and declared them-

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 their own people has evinced itself sheviki forces, was speedily duplicated of the Soviet government, even among

these volunteers will meet with defeat, which would compel the Swedish government, under the pressure of public opinion, to intervene. The national council believes the matter to be so grave that it demands immediate 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.

(Continued from Page One)

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, 1919, the Soviet troops on the northern front had retaken the city of Shenkursk and adjoining territory. On the eastern front they have lost Perm, out they have regained Pereufa, Ufa Sterlitamak, Bellbey, Orenburg and Uralsk. The railroad connection with Central Asia is at present in the hands of the Soviet government. On the southern front they have taken the railroad stations of Payorino, Alexikovo, Polovaya, Kalstsk and Begutchar, which have assured them of tended over a great part of the terwith the large cities of Minsk, Vilna, Shortly after these protests the Riga, Mitau, Dvinsk, Windau and government, which had denied having others in the control of adherents of

These last mentioned successes are Esthonia, frowned upon the eagerness largely due to the fact that after the stations. (Paris Populaire is authority for the facts given in the above under duress, the workers in such the entente intervention in Russia. territories everywherre are rising to support the ideals and the social or- ernment's relations with the elements der represented by the Soviet republic

Workers Rally to Government. The resentment against the former ruling classes, who did not hesitate tested against the entente intervento invite foreign military help against tion.

Estates vast, and game preserves, 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?

where our opponents had access to realizing that in the support of the foreign military help, has it been possible for them to maintain any organsible for them to maintain any organsible for them to maintain any organforeign military help, has it been possible for them to maintain any organized opposition and to wrest from the control of Soviet Russia any terriform their former oppressors. The control of Soviet Russia any terriform their former oppressors. The control of Puscia which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The control of Russia which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The all economic obstacles, efficiently to control of Russia which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The all economic obstacles, efficiently to control of Russia which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The all economic obstacles, efficiently to control of Russia which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The all economic obstacles, efficiently to control of Russia which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The all economic obstacles, efficiently to control of Russia which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The all economic obstacles, efficiently to control of Russia which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The all economic obstacles, efficiently to control of Russia which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The all economic obstacles, efficiently to control of Russia which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The all economic obstacles, efficiently to control of Russia which they have wrested from their former oppressors. The all economic obstacles, efficiently to control of Russia which they have wrested from their former oppressors. existence the Russian Soviet Republic so far has prevented the Soviet gov- supplies. finds itself more securely established ernment from adequately supplying the peasants with implements that they so badly need, is of course causing hardship among the peasantry, yet the peasants generally do not place the blame for this privation at the door of the Soviet government. well realizing that it is due to the dethe Russian people by hostile groups

liberate interference in the affairs of 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 tyran-

ent assembly have begun with the Soviet government. Representatives former constituent assembly, 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 view of giving support to our repub-This conference has led to an

An improvement of the Soviet govformerly hostile to it in Russian society is also indicated by the change of the attitude of the Mensheviki, whose conference has likewise pro-

The army of the Russian Socialist in an ever increasing popular support Federal Soviet Republic has been of the Soviet government, even among successfully organized and numbers by the Socialist Party of Norway. The executive committee of the party passed the following resolution:

"The organization at Stockholm of volunteer troops (to intervene in Esthonia) constitutes, in the judgment of the executive committee, a menace of the executive committee, a menace of the soviet government, even among successfully organized and numbers of the demobilization of the population and constructive ability of the demobilization of the population and constructive ability of the demobilization of the population and constructive ability of the demobilization of the observation of the demobilization the Soviet government and co-operate with it in all administrative branches. The peasantry of Russia, the great of the former Russian armies who leads to build and to complete the building of about 2.000 versts of new leads to building of about 2.000 versts of The peasantry of Russia, the great majority of which from the very outmajority of whic set was in support of the workers' Soviet government, and partly by ofrevolution, has become more conficers developed from the rank and
means of communication, such as on starvation."

Inace proved their angular are proved their angular and inace and in the most terrible privation bordering ful in any part of Russia, temporary establishment of a starvation." file by the military educational institutions established by my government. The Commissariat of War has lines on a large scale, which will also
been successful in establishing and offer great opportunities for foreign sented always a line of communication, such as on starvation."

on starvation."

temporary establishment of a bloody, monarchical autocracy, which is so maintain itself and even the temporary existence of which will lead to maintaining a strict discipline within trade. the ranks of the army, a discipline not based on fear of punishment or 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-

sciously attached to our social system, achievements against encroachments popular education. In this respect extensive work has been carried on when the working people themselves, other countries, and especially

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 economic system represented by my government, necessitated a complete reorganization of the financial institutions on the basis of common prop-erty 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 of Soviet government, in as far as financial relations with and obligations to other countries are concerned, is prepared to offer modes of 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 con-January 18, and was a remarkable ritory formerly occupied by Germans, all of whom are also members of the trol 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 raw material and lack of machinery. The needs of such industries offer a wide field for business transactions with Russia by other countries.

tions at the outset of the Soviet re- peration and gave vent to their wrath ernment has been given all gime was very unsatisfactory. The and bitter feelings against their for proofs of stability, permanence, popular support and constructive ability been successful in establishing and offer great opportunities for foreign

pense on the part of the Soviet gov-ernment and the field of the educa-In another pa

to include the making of the treasabatement of opposition. Inasmuch would not think of such a possibility as opposition has ceased in the form if they could not reckon on assistof active resistance to the Soviet gov- ance from abroad." ernment it has become possible to Intervention Halted Work of Recon-

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

Much prejudice has been created against the Soviet government by the people's will has been hampered by United States. The Soviet government by the people's will have been hampered by United States. The Soviet government by the people's will have been hampered by United States. against the Soviet government by the circulation of false reports about the nature of the institutions of and the measures undertaken by Soviet Rus
measures undertaken by Soviet Rus
lic, and by the economic isolation of for peaceful pursuit of opportunity, sia. One of the most frequent allegations has been that the rule of the Soviets is one of violence and murder.

Soviets is one of violence and murder.

Soviets is one of violence and murder. In this connection I want to call your means of communications with im- prosperity in Russia—and elsewhere, attention to the following passages in the note sent to the president of the struction of food stores—and all this affects other countries—may be at-United States on the 24th of Decem- has greatly increased the suffering tained by the cessation of the presber, 1918, by Maxim Litvinoff, on be- of our people. By tremendous efforts half of the Soviet government of Rus- and by efficient consolidation of all

majority of Russian people economic tion. The fact that economic disrupliberty 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 realize their aims by peaceful methods in such parts of the former Russian without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishing the capital punishing to the abolition of capital punishing to the abolition of capital punishing the capital punish ment which abolition had been part republic and which have had contact of 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 Russian people, took to terroristic capable of insuring means of exist acts against popular members of the ence to the people than any pretend government and invoked the help of ers to the power in Russia. Build New Railroads.

The state of railroad communicaforeign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasI venture to say that the Soviet gov.

sented abroad, was not the cause but bloodshed and misery. The people of Russia, kept for the direct outcome and result of allied intervention. The Russian workers and peasants fail to understand how foreign countries, which never prosperity of the world at large, indreamed of interfering with Russian

been carried on when the working people themselves, other countries, and especially with courses, especially courses offering hands, aiming at nothing but their agricultural institution, have been esown happiness and international 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 ures of the arts and sciences as easily termination of violence in Russia accessible to the people as possible. would be to reach a settlement which All these efforts, incomplete as they would include the withdrawal of all Russian people sufficient evidence of cessation of direct or indirect assist they have greatly contributed to the ment but who by themselves alone

struction.

The great work of social reconstruction inaugurated by the Soviet economic means at its disposal, my of material and intellectual inter-Soviets is to secure for the toiling off the worst features of this situathan any pretend-

rary existence of which will lead to

Desire to Establish Commercial Relations.

Fully realizing that the economic at the earliest opportunity.

the United States. The Soviet government 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 peasstill are, have nevertheless given the foreign troops from Russia and the ants, as Mr. Litvinoff stated in the above quoted note, "Are prepared to the earnestness of the desire and of the ability of the Soviet government indulge in futile hopes of an armed as the real interests of other countries to fill the needs of the population and revolt against the workers' governare concerned, of course with the understanding that no agreements entered into should impair the sovereignty of the Russian people, as expressed by the Russian Socialist Fed-

ral Soviet Republic. On the part of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic there thus exists no obstacles to the estabent policy of non-intercourse with Soviet Russia, and by the establishment

course. Russia is now prepared to purchase n the American market great quantities 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 supolies, automobiles and trucks, chemi-

cals, 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 nillion 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

(Signed) A. L. Martens, Representwhose 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. that it is their privilege as well as with the view of the greatest post militarism ruled supreme, and which between various countries, the Soviet (Signed) S. Nuorteva, Secretary of their duty to defend their social sible achievements in the field of even supported that regime, feel just government of Russia desires to est the Bureau of the Representative.