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ALLIED INTERVENTION CAUSED "RED TERROR" IN RUSSIA

Insult Added to Injury

The reported reduction of the sentence of A. L. Hitchcock, former Cleveland School Board member, from ten years to two years, on the recommendation of former Attorney General Gregory, is a confession that Hitchcock was unjustly dealt with.

The facts in the Hitchcock case show this conclusively.

Hitchcock was elected a member of the Cleveland School Board in November, 1917. As a member of that body he made an aggressive fight against the reactionaries and reactionary ideas that controlled that body.

His first resolution called for rescinding of the rule which barred teachers from organizing a union for their own protection. He followed this up with other working class measures and injected the working class viewpoint in all the debates on measures which came before the board.

Through these and similar activities Hitchcock became a thorn in the flesh of the school board reactionaries and the business interests which they served. Again and again the two men who are particularly active in serving the ruling class of Cleveland in shaping the work of the schools to its liking—the pompous president of the board, Mark Thompson, and the slick Mr. Williams—tried to squelch Hitchcock, but without success.

When in the spring of 1918 the board took up the question of assisting in the Liberty Loan Campaign then under way, Hitchcock in a pointed and outspoken speech protested against any coercion to compel underpaid school teachers to purchase Liberty Bonds.

Hitchcock had been elected a member of the Cleveland School Board to represent the workers of the city. He personally knew of scores of instances in which working men had lost their jobs because they had refused to purchase Liberty Bonds. As a representative of the workers he refused to commit himself to similar treatment of workers toward whom he, as a member of the school board, stood in the position of employer. Hence his outspoken protest.

This protest, which hit the entire employing class of the city as well as the capitalist representatives on the school board, brought down upon him the anger and enmity of the entire capitalist class of the city and through the tools of this class in public places and newspaper offices the hue and cry against him was raised and the plan to oust him from the school board got under way.

As has been pointed out before, Assistant District Attorney Breitenstein said, after Hitchcock's protest before the school board and before his arrest:

"Means can be found to remove him from the board. This is no time to dilly dally over the niceties of legal technicalities," Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 11, 1918.

There was nothing in Hitchcock's protest before the school board that was illegal, or otherwise the district attorney's office would have proceeded against him on the basis of that speech, and yet because he made that protest he was incarcerated without removal from the school board.

Later Hitchcock was indicted for some chance remark made in a conversation with an old friend—a renegade Socialist—at Sandusky. For making this remark, which had to do with the use of the money derived from the sale of Liberty Bonds, Hitchcock was sentenced to serve ten years in the Atlanta federal prison. **AND WAS REMOVED FROM THE SCHOOL BOARD.**

It is not to be wondered at that the attorney general's office is ashamed of this record and recommended the reduction of Hitchcock's sentence from ten years to two years. But reduction of the sentence will not wipe out the infamy of action against Hitchcock.

In our opinion and the facts bear out this view—the prosecution against Hitchcock was begun for the sole purpose of removing him from the school board. It was the brutal use of its power by a class dominating the machinery of prosecution to rid itself of a workers' representative whose criticisms was making things unpleasant for that class.

Reduction of Hitchcock's sentence will not wipe out the disgrace of this persecution. What is due Hitchcock is immediate freedom and reparation for the financial loss and suffering which has been his lot while in prison.

The attorney general has confessed that Hitchcock was unjustly treated by his recommendation for reduction of his sentence. It is for the workers whose fight he made to win freedom for him by making a united demand that not only Hitchcock, but every man and woman imprisoned under the anti-free speech and free press section of the Espionage law, be released at once.

British Workers Firm In Making Demands

London.—Failure to grant the miners' demands will result in a general strike of the "triple alliance," which would paralyze British industries and probably force a change in the government. Robert Williams, general secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, declared today.

The "triple alliance" is the common term for the transport workers, railway men and miners. Williams' organization alone numbers close to 300,000.

Williams, who, next to J. H. Thomas and Robert Smillie, is the most influential Laborite in Great Britain, is not optimistic regarding the result of the inquiry being conducted into the mining situation by the government.

To Meet Socialists Of Other Countries

Chicago.—James Onal, member of the Socialist Party National Executive Committee, leaves for Europe this month, to re-establish relations between the organized Socialists of the United States and those on the other side of the Atlantic.

Onal secured passports to attend the International Socialist and Labor Conference at Berne, Switzerland, after the conference had adjourned. He will make use of these passports, however, to visit Europe and get in touch with the officials of the various National Socialist Parties and with the International Socialist Bureau.

Dan Hogan, member of the party executive, has made application for passports to attend the Pan-American Socialist Conference to be held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, April 26.

James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, was originally selected for this service, but pressing duties will keep him at home. Hogan will therefore act as alternate.

The Buenos Aires' conference will be the first gathering of representatives of the various Socialist Parties on the western hemisphere.



SETTING THE PACE

DEBS GOES TO PRISON

The machinery of capitalism has completed its work and ground out the decision that Eugene V. Debs must go to prison.

No one who has studied the class character of the governmental institutions of this country expected a different verdict than that which has just been rendered by the United States Supreme Court.

It was inconceivable that the Supreme Court would declare the Espionage law unconstitutional.

The interpretation of the constitution follows the needs of the ruling class. Only unsophisticated persons with a ludicrously naive belief in the "democracy" of modern capitalist government could imagine such a contingency as the Supreme Court declaring a law in the interest of the capitalist class unconstitutional in the hour of capitalism's greatest need.

"Nationalization of all natural monopolies, with the workers participating in the management, is the only solution to the present labor unrest," said Williams. "It would go long way toward preventing profiteering and decreasing the cost of living."

"I do not see any possibility of averting a strike of the triple alliance (the alliance is pledged to act together), unless the government, summing up investigations, the miners' demands, nationalization of the mines, a 6-hour day and a 30 per cent. wage increase."

"As long as the workers read newspaper stories of discharged soldiers and sailors returning to their old jobs as footmen and butlers, as long as they see carriages equipped with two coachmen and two footmen, as long as they read of Lady So-and-So's

Continued on Page Four.

Capitalism in this country is resting upon a slumbering volcano—the volcano of a suppressed, oppressed and exploited working class.

In Russia and Germany the volcano has burst and is flinging the debris of capitalism to the four winds.

England, France and Italy the rumbling which forecasts a similar activity can be distinctly heard.

Even here the warning signals are not wanting. Unemployment, strikes, discontent, Seattle's and Lawrence's, all suggest a growing bitterness that is the sign of a coming eruption.

Well might the ruling class hesitate before adding another grievance, a grievance that will deepen and make more bitter the hatred of the working class of the system that holds them under its iron heel.

That is what the sending of Eugene V. Debs will mean to the ruling class of this country.

Millions of men and women of the working

class of this country know Debs. For thirty years he has fought for better things for the workers. For thirty years his voice has been constantly raised in appeal for the workers. Millions have heard his speeches; millions have read his writings; a million men cast their ballots for him for the high office of president of the United States.

These millions know that there is not a man with a clearer heart or a greater purpose in the United States than Eugene V. Debs. They know that he has given his all and sacrificed all in order to make this country a better place to live in for those who are now condemned to empty lives of misery, poverty and suffering.

Now the ruling class puts this man in jail. At the age of sixty-three there is laid upon him the savage sentence of ten years in prison—the death sentence.

And for what?

For publicly stating the truth as he saw it. For voicing his conscientious beliefs. For this he is condemned to ten years behind iron walls and iron bars; ten years behind the walls of a prison where everything that is cruel and dark and gruesome grows, where humankind is warped out of all recognition as human beings, where foul words fill the air and foul deeds are committed. This for Debs who desired nothing but to make the world a brighter place to live in for those who toil!

Will the American workers permit this?

There is still time to call a halt. A united protest, a united demand for Debs' freedom and the powers that be will change their minds before Debs goes to prison. Let the capitalist class hear the rumbling of the volcano and Debs will not go to jail.

Are the minds of the American workers enslaved as well as their bodies? Are they such craven cowards that nothing will arouse their resentment? Is there none of that rebellious spirit which is ridding Europe, not only of czars and kaisers, but of the plutocrats who rob and oppress the workers, among the American workers?

Their action to win freedom for Debs will tell.

Note to President Wilson Kept From American People Made Peace Offer and Gives Facts About Violence

The Allied governments and the United States, by sending troops into Russia compelled the Soviet government to use force against the counter-revolution. This is the charge made by Maxim Litvinoff, former representative of the Russian Federated Soviet Republic in England, in a note offering to enter into peace negotiations, addressed to President Wilson.

The fact that this note, which throws much light on the actions of the Soviet government, although an official communication from the Soviet government to the President of the United States, has been, up to this time, kept from the people of the United States, indicates the kind of tactics that are being used to discredit the workers government of Russia.

The note, which reached this country through the Bureau of Information on Soviet Russia, conducted by Santeri Nuorteva, who is the representative of the Finnish Workers Republic in this country, says that "for eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment which abolition had been part of their program," and that "it was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terroristic acts against the popular members of the government and invoked the help of foreign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their wrath and bitter feelings, against their former oppressors."

Note Sent Dec. 24.

The note was transmitted to President Wilson at London from Stockholm, on Dec. 24. The full text follows:

Mr. Woodrow Wilson,
President of the United States,
At the Embassy, London.
My President: In addition to general peace offer recently addressed by the Soviet government to the allies I formally informed today the Stockholm ministers of the United States and of allied countries that I am authorized to enter into negotiations for a peaceful settlement of all questions making for hostilities against Russia.

The principles proclaimed by us as possible basis for settling European questions, and your avowed efforts and intentions of making settlement conform to demands of justice and humanity, induce and justify me to send you this statement, inasmuch as most points of your peace program are included into the more extensive aspirations of the Russian workers and peasants now rulers of their country. It was they who first proclaimed and actually carried to nations right of self-determination, who sacrificed their lives fighting imperialism and defending both at home and abroad, who dealt with a bloody peasant democracy and inaugurated open diplomacy. And it was partly for these innovations in politics that they have been fiercely attacked by the former ruling classes of Russia and their counterparts in other countries.

SOVIET LIED ABOUT.

To justify this attack a network of lies and calumnies has been woven round the activities of the Soviets and forged documents put into circulation. Unfortunately allied statesmen accepted monstrous accusations against Soviets at face value without taking trouble to check them. While agents of anti-Soviet parties are allowed and encouraged to move freely in allied countries and disseminate untruthful representations of the accused side, never been allowed to put fully their case and to answer charges made against them.

Continued on Page Four.

Deported for Holding Opinion Contrary To Interest of Ruling Class

In spite of the protests from labor in all parts of the country, the government is going ahead with the deportation of the aliens held at Ellis Island and for shipment abroad as undesirables. According to a letter from one of the victims of the action of the government, five men were shipped to England last week, and others are to follow soon.

This letter clearly presents the issue involved in the action of the government and the danger which threatens the workers of this country. The letter in full follows:

Immigration Station,
Ellis Island, New York Harbor,
New York, Feb. 27, 1919.
Editor of The Call:
Five men were shipped to England yesterday.

This was the first contingent to be deported of the forty-odd members of the I. W. W. held here for deportation. However, they were not shipped to the United States. However, it does not specifically mention the capitalist class; it does prove by its wording that it is aimed only at the worker and his class opinions.

It is up to every liberty-loving person, especially of the working class, in America to uphold his right, to hold an opinion and to express that opinion.

Only through criticism of the acts of those men who represent the people in public office can good government, justice for all and the greatest possible amount of liberty consistent with justice be obtained and maintained.

It is for trying to extend and maintain American liberty and justice that many will be deported, unless this law is repealed.

It is possible under this law to "frame up" on any alien, or even an American who does not know his birthplace, and through the connivance of a corrupt official, obtain his or her deportation.

THE ONLY ALIEN WHO, IN MY OPINION, SHOULD BE DEPORTED FROM ANY COUNTRY IS THE ALIEN WHO WILL NOT TRY TO EXTEND THE LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY WHERE HE RESIDES, OR AT LEAST, MAINTAIN THOSE LIBERTIES AT ALL COSTS.

Yours for industrial freedom,
E. E. McDONALD.

DARROW'S VIEW on BOLSHEVISM

What is "Bolshevism"? Is it as horrible as it is pictures in the capitalist press? This is a question that is agitating the minds of many people. Here are Clarence Darrow's views on the matter. While Mr. Darrow is not in complete accord with the Bolsheviks nor the Socialists of America either this article tends to clarify in a broad-minded manner some mooted questions concerning this new force in the world affairs.

It is quite evident that Bolshevism has alarmed and terrified the world. There is Bolshevism everywhere, we are told, and even the United States senate is to investigate its alleged activities in this country. Irish strikes of an unusual character have been ascribed to Russian Bolshevik agitators. Ministers of state are sitting up nights ruminating over the new phenomenon.

But what is Bolshevism? What is the meaning of the word, to begin with, and what the nature, essence, and quality of the thing so named—and certain idealistic, radical, Americans are known to say that unfortunately the term itself has a sinister, dark, forbidding sound.

Well, as to the name, the story is simple and prosaic. Bolshevik means an adherent of a majority wing of a party or school. The Russian Social Democratic Party is divided into two factions, as is the German Social Democracy, as is the French Socialist Party, and as is the British. In Germany we hear of the Majority Socialists and the Minority, or Independent, Socialists. The word majority alarms none. Bolshevik means the majority party—neither more nor less. Menshevik means the minority party. We have Republican Bolsheviks and Republican Mensheviks—and at one time the standpatters were the Bolsheviks—and perhaps they are even now, despite insurgency.

At any rate the word Bolshevik has no terrors for any one who has a smattering of Russian or of radical and reform literature. As to the thing—that's another story.

To comprehend the phenomenon of Bolshevism it is necessary to know something about Russian political and revolutionary history. There are, or there were at the last general election, eighteen political parties in Russia. The Social Democrats are one of the few major and really important parties. They are, for Russia, an "old" party. To this party, roughly speaking, belong all those who follow

the German Social Democracy and revolutionary Socialism, and who regard "Das Kapital" as their Bible. There are other Socialist factions and schools of thought in Russia; these holding, again roughly, that Marxism does not apply to the Slav

empire—backward, undeveloped, dark, and with traditions of its own—or, as some Russians say, a lack of binding and galling traditions. The Socialist Revolutionists (to whom "Grandmother" Catherine Breshkovsky, Tschaikovsky, Bourstoff, and many other famous Russian radicals belong) are not Marxists, but mild, national Socialists, "peasants," so to speak, a form of Socialism based on certain supposed typical Russian institutions, the Village Mir, or Commune, the Artel, or Workers' Industrial Union, and the like.

Perhaps it is well to explain that in Russia the radical or revolutionary is usually a Socialist of one kind or another. Even non-Socialist writers have said that "in Russia one is born a Socialist," and in Prof. Paul Millyukov's book on "Russia and Her Crisis"—a standard work, I am told, there is a long chapter of Russia's Socialist tendencies and Socialistic seed, as it were, that is planted in a favorable soil. In Russia the non-Socialist radical is a rare bird. He is sneered and scoffed at. He is dubbed a reactionary. This has been the case for forty years or more. Individualism or philosophical anarchism as a philosophy has never flourished in Russia, although communistic anarchism had a considerable following at one time.

If, then, the great majority of Russian radicals are, and long have been, Socialists, nothing is more natural for Russia—than a split in each of the major Socialist parties. Russians are theoretical, academic, garrulous, disputatious, uncompromising. They have not had sufficient contact with real affairs to learn to practice give and take. They split when they can't agree on points of theory or of method. They do not feel bound by decisions of majorities at conventions or other gatherings.

Years ago, then, the Social Democrats, or Marxists, of Russia disagreed and parted company. The differences were not very important. They concerned questions of method, of control of the party and its organ. After the split the majority called them selves Bolsheviks and the minority Mensheviks. Nothing serious happened after the split, for neither faction had much chance under the czar. It was indeed a crime to belong to the Social Democratic Party. Members of the duma were again and again indicted for that offense, tried, and exiled to Siberia.

After the revolution of March, 1917, the conditions in Russia, economic, political, moral, were such that the purely academic differences among Russian Socialists, at home or abroad, were inevitably precipitated into the thousand.

But peace was not enough. What of bread? What of the land question? What of liberty and self-government? The Bolshevik cabinet turned at once to these internal ques-

burning practical differences. The autocracy was gone and dead. The people of Russia were sick of the war and determined to have peace. They could not and would not fight for territory, money, prestige, or honor. They needed peace and expected the free government to secure it for them.

The Lvov or bourgeois government could not secure peace. They were too gentlemanly and diplomatic and honorable to talk of a separate peace. The Kerensky government was more "leftist," and had several Socialists in the leading departments, but it, too, hesitated, waited, argued, pleaded, and counseled patience and moderation. The masses were in no mood to wait and suffer, to starve and die. The Soviets, spontaneously formed all over Russia, because the old governmental bodies lacked authority and were not democratic or representative, insistently demanded peace and fundamental reforms. In Russia the most fundamental of all reforms was that of the tenure of land. The peasants—80 or more per cent. of the population—wanted land; they had wanted it for generations and had hoped the czar would break away from the barons and landlords and give them the land. To them the revolution, freedom, the new life, meant primarily the land and secondarily plenty of home rule, village autonomy, plus light taxation and the abolition of conscription.

The Kerensky stop-gap government could not give the masses, the peasants and wage workers, the few basic things they wanted and demanded. It had to go. It went. It fell just as czarism fell, without a struggle. The only party that was ready to promise the people the reforms and blessings they demanded—the land, peace, self-government, etc.—were the Majority Social Democrats, led by Lenin and Trotsky. Those men had audacity, faith, courage, fanaticism and revolutionary fervor. They were not diplomats and cared nothing for conventions and manners. They seized the reins of power with the acquiescence of the masses. There was no effective opposition to them. Then they proceeded to make peace—the best peace they could get from Germany. They sacrificed much, they gave up much, they most reluctantly yielded to the German militarists.

This is not the place to discuss their mistakes or their fallacies. They got the peace, they had promised to the masses, and the fighting stopped. The soldiers and sailors could go home—they had already been deserting by the thousand.

The Bolshevik leaders asked and are still asking these questions, and their answers are given in deeds and in words. Their task is colossal—to establish Socialism after Karl Marx in Russia, or in such parts as they

now control. They believe that they can succeed in spite of the bourgeoisie, the nobility, the mild revolutionaries, the non-Socialist reformer, the richer peasants, the "reactionary" workmen. They believe that the masses, though ignorant and "unconscious" politically, feel instinctively that the Bolshevik program alone can give Russia freedom, prosperity, local self-government, culture, and human brotherhood. To educate the peasants is a task of decades and generations. Meantime the few really class conscious, intelligent supporters of the Bolshevik leaders must rule Russia and introduce Socialist changes as fast as possible.

In other words, they made it quite plain that they were not mere revolutionary reformers, but untutored, resolute revolutionists. They had, they said, a great, a historic opportunity to establish Marxist social democracy in Russia. They had the right and the duty, they contended, to make the effort and to make it at any cost. They were prepared to resist opposition and to give it no quarter. He who was not with them was against them. They had to act quickly and decisively, they said, or else fritter away their chance and prove themselves weaklings and cowards.

They established a dictatorship of the proletariat. They made their appeal, not to the "dark masses," the peasants, but the class conscious, advanced, and literate or half-literate wage workers. They abolished everything of the old, or new-old, Lvov-Kerensky order that stood in their way. They repealed the universal and democratic suffrage act. They declared themselves enemies of "bourgeois democracy" and all its machinery and works. They were not democrats, or liberals, or evolutionists. The familiar tests and yardsticks of the "free countries" they laughed at as stage tricks designed to delude and fool the average person.

They were revolutionary, international Socialists. They knew exactly what they wanted. They had their own philosophy of history. The argued that revolution was as legitimate as evolution. Why shrink from a little violence, tyranny, bloodshed?

Why make a fuss about free speech and free assembly? If political revolution is justifiable, and if dictatorships might be created in time of such revolutions to prevent reaction and treachery, why were not strong measures, a dictatorship, disfranchisement of counter-revolutionists, fully justified at a critical time of social and economic upheaval?

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News From State Locals

RESOLUTIONS FROM CANTON

Canton, O., Feb. 27, 1919.

The following resolutions were

adopted by Local Canton of the So-

cialist Party, at their regular session,

Thursday, Feb. 27, 1919.

Whereas, Numerous resolutions

have been formulated by Socialist

Party members throughout the

country, demanding that a National

Emergency Convention be arranged

by the National Executive Com-

mittee, and the committee declines to

call such convention, and

Whereas, To initiate a referendum

under constitutional provisions would

defeat the holding of such a convention

for at least several months, and fur-

ther that the American Socialist is

not yet published, the provisions of

the constitution in regard to calling

a convention by a referendum cannot

be adhered to, therefore,

Be it Resolved, That the National

Executive Committee be hereby in-

structed to arrange for the holding of

a National Emergency Convention, in

the City of Chicago, on May 1, 1919,

and that all Socialist locals through-

out the country be hereby requested

to endorse this resolution, and to at-

Once notify the National Executive

Secretary of the results of their ac-

tions.

Be it Further Resolved, That copies

of this resolution be sent to all

State Secretaries, who are hereby re-

quested to lay the matter before the

members of their respective states,

and that copies also be sent to all

Socialist publications.

(Signed) ERNEST SYKES, Sec.

LORAIN REORGANIZES

"Revolutionary Socialism will not down," writes Comrade Carl Gladning of Lorain. The comrades have reorganized under a new charter and feel very enthusiastic over the prospects of a greater and more active local in Lorain.

BOLSHEVISM AMONG THE FARMERS

Local Ti-n reports a successful meeting March 5. Three new members were admitted. Seneca county is keeping up its record for activity as was shown at this meeting when a debate was staged upon the question, "Bolshevism a Menace to the Farmers." Reports from many parts of the country seem to indicate that many sections of the farming communities are as ready to support the industrial workers in their demands for a new deal—even to the extent of furnishing the necessary food in time of stress.

ROCKFORD MAY ORGANIZE

From Rockford, O., comes the word that there are Socialists there abouts and the chances of organizing a local are good. This word comes from Comrade Mrs. Myrtle King, at present a M. A. L. from Ind.

NEW LOCALS IN BELMONT COUNTY

The comrades of Belmont Co. are up and doing these days as the following account will show. Comrade J. J. Hoge, member of Bellaire branch, has been secured for organization work in that county. An English speaking branch has been organized in the county with ten members. Since organizing they have added four more. A Polish branch was organized at Shady-side with seven members. Local Belmont Co. is disposing of considerable literature concerning the truth about Russia. The Yipsels have organized with ten members and prospects are good for a growing organization among the boys and girls.

MEETINGS AT HUBBARD

NEARING 100%

EFFICIENCY

Local Hubbard has arranged a series of meetings which will place that local far along in its work of organization and propaganda. The series of meetings will consist of about four. The speakers will be Comrades Tom Lewis, C. J. E. Rutherford, Thurber Lewis and Charles Baker. Local Hubbard is alive to the needs and the opportunities of the hour.

INCREASE THEIR GAIT

"Ever since Comrade Baker was here, we have been moving along at a splendid pace. Have sold Woodmen's hall every evening in the month and have arranged tentatively for entertainment to be held probably on March 19. Last meeting was the most encouraging we have had for a year," C. J. E. Rutherford, Steubenville, says. Comrade Lewis says for it to be placed on the Red map of Socialism.

STUDY CLASS FOR MANSFIELD

An order for 20 copies of the Comrade Manifesto from Comrade E. C. Showers of Mansfield and a letter stating that the comrades have organized a Study Class in Scientific Socialism. "Keep your eye on Local Mansfield," says Comrade Showers for it to be placed on the Red map of Socialism.

LOCAL COSHOCOTON GROWS

An increase of three new members local Coshocton's proof of growing business. This newly reorganized local is among the live ones now as this increase shows.

The Dead Hand

By SCOTT NEARING

A little group of old men, spokesmen for the five great powers, were born between 1770 and 1880. The latest phase of capitalist financial imperialism has come into being during the years when these men, educated in a previous age, were so busy with the many details of public life, that they could not see and understand the changes that were taking place about them. They speak the language and think the thoughts of the Nineteenth century.

Today these old men sit around the green table—spokesmen of a dead epoch; representatives of a by-gone era. About their heads the lightning of revolution is playing. Russia, Germany, Austria, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Italy, England, Luxembourg and Poland are in open revolt against the capitalism and imperialism for which they speak. The old men fidget, speculate, grow excited, make propositions and counter propositions. They talk and act as though they were still directing the world. They do not know that their day has passed, and that the darkness is settling around them. With childish simplicity they speak to one another as though it were the dawn.

The dawn is breaking, but not around the Peace Table.

The Michigan Convention

By W. E. REYNOLDS

The Socialist Party of Michigan held its convention in Grand Rapids February 24th, with 51 delegates present.

State-Secretary Bloomberg resigned. John Keracher of Detroit was elected at the convention to serve the unexpired term of the former secretary or until such time as the locals can elect a new State Secretary.

A resolution endorsing the study class idea was unanimously adopted. The work of the Proletarian University of Detroit endorsed and all locals and individuals were urged to work for circulation for the Proletarian Ohio Socialist, Revolutionary Age.

The convention adopted a part of the Left Wing program in its centering the attention of the abolition of Capitalism instead of working for petty reform—but it did not adopt the Left Wing program of urging economic organization amongst the workers.

The ladies of Local Grand Rapids served an exceptionally well prepared banquet which was enjoyed by all during the noon recess.

Convention finished its labors and adjourned at six o'clock.

GET OFFICIAL BULLETIN.

The minutes of the recent meeting of the National Executive committee appear in the monthly Bulletin, published by the National Office, Socialist Party, just out.

One Bulletin only is sent to each local secretary. Comrades interested in the party work and desire to read the minutes of the National Executive Committee, as well as the officers' reports, can secure a copy of the Bulletin by addressing the Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

A resolution on religion was adopted to the effect that religion was a social phenomena and as such required explanation, and all agitators and speakers were called upon to avail

ment of its demand. So confident is it of obtaining its end, indeed, that violence, the weapon of the weak, has been everywhere avoided. The recent strikes have exhibited the most unusual phenomenon of a high degree of order.

In Butte miners, apparently decimal, have again taken to picket shovels. The textile workers of the East are on the whole ready to accept the forty-eight hour week with forty-eight hours pay, and many mills have begun operation, though there is still unrest in Paterson and Lawrence. Throughout the garment industry of New York the shorter day is being generally accepted. The building trades are in conference with employers and Government officials in a serious effort to avoid a strike. With these peaceful negotiations in progress, it is a good time to note certain tendencies that have been displayed with astonishing regularity in recent disputes.

Apparently labor is becoming increasingly interested in organization on industrial rather than trade lines, and is moving toward the one big union. In England the latter stage has been all but reached in the triple alliance of miners, railway men and transport workers, in the United States the tendency is clearly visible in the Northwest, where tailors and stage hands join a strike in favor of boilermakers. F. G. Reinke, secretary of the Brotherhood of Metal Workers, says: "The old form of craft unionism, with its 'boss-benefiting' tactic of labor separation is a thing of the past and is no longer the ideal of the leaders of the F. G. L. I know this to be so." The American Federation of Labor, in its determined efforts to organize the steel industry, has found it necessary to combine twenty-four different trades. The threatened strike of building trades began with dissatisfaction among a handful of carpenters on a Brooklyn Government job, but the negotiations for the avoidance of sympathetic walkouts now involve thirty trades.

More conclusive evidence of this trend toward a new type of organization is found in the inability of the old international union heads to hold the allegiance of their followers. No A. F. of L. leader approved the Seattle and Tacoma demonstrations. In Lawrence, the United Textile Workers

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THE BIGGEST DOLLARS WORTH YOU EVER BOUGHT—AN INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

You have spent many a dollar, but the dollar you are going to spend for an INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE will be the best investment you have ever made.

This world and this nation needs doctoring badly. In our mad scramble to make the world safe for democracy, a good deal of that favorite tonic was lost in the shuffle. Free speech now carries with it a penitentiary sentence. Free press and a tyrannical thought controller, are not soul mates. Free assemblage went to smash when hundreds of halls were closed to us.

**FREE SPEECH—FREE PRESS—FREE ASSEMBLAGE MUST
BE RE-ESTABLISHED.**

And Your DOLLAR Will Help.

Political prisoners MUST be given their freedom. Already, through pressure brought to bear by a general demand made by Socialist and labor union bodies, President Wilson has granted amnesty to several Socialist and other prisoners. A. L. Hitchcock, formerly Socialist member of the Cleveland school board, and who is now serving sentence in Atlanta, has had his term of imprisonment reduced from ten years to two years. Frederick Kraft, a New Jersey Socialist, and member of the National Executive Committee, has had his five-year sentence reduced and he will walk forth from the Atlanta penitentiary a free man on April 1.

Our constant AGITATION for the release of political prisoners has accomplished this. It has brought the injustice of these extreme sentences to the attention of the chief executive of this nation, and has induced him to act. We want him to ACT again. We want him to release ALL political prisoners.

**FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS MUST BE
SECURED.**

Your DOLLAR Will Help.

Prisoners' families must be sustained while the bread earners of these families are serving sentences for being true to their convictions. In Ohio the Socialist Party State Office has contributed on an average of \$20 a month to families of imprisoned Socialists. We must continue to assist these families—all families of imprisoned Socialists. In many instances the mother can not go out to work, having children to take care of. These children must not want for food.

**WE MUST HAVE A SUSTAINING FUND FOR PRISONERS'
FAMILIES**

Your DOLLAR Will Help.

Comforts for Socialists in prison must be provided for. The Socialists of Ohio, through the State Office, have remitted regular sums to Socialists in prison. These sums averaged \$2 a week for each prisoner. This money is used by our comrades in jail to buy tobacco, fruit and other eatables. Prison fare is, at best, a poor excuse for a meal. In time, prison fare becomes nauseating. Our comrades in prison must be given an opportunity to secure a variety of food stuffs.

HELP BUY COMFORTS FOR SOCIALISTS IN PRISON

Your DOLLAR Will Help

YOUR DOLLAR—The dollar you are going to invest in an Industrial Freedom Certificate will be most judiciously spent by us. Literature and leaflets must be printed. Meetings must be held. All these cost money. Speakers must be toured. In Ohio from four to six speakers are constantly in the field agitating for free utterance and the release of political prisoners. Your dollar will help place more speakers in the field. Your dollar will help pay for leaflets which will convince others that what we demand is just and right.

SEND YOUR DOLLAR TODAY

BUY AN INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

NOTE: Socialists who hold membership in Ohio locals are requested to buy their Industrial Freedom Certificate direct from their local secretary, who has a supply on hand. Others should address The Socialist Party of Ohio, R. D. 2, Box 55, Brecksville, Ohio.

Hard and Fast the Blows are Falling

Swiftly they fall, the blows for freedom. Hundreds of willing comrades are putting into these death blows to capitalism the energy and spirit that brings victory. The drive for twenty thousand subscribers and a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist is but in the first days of its successful course, but already the comrades have shown a response and a willingness to help reach the goal that is truly astounding. Letters reach the State Office from enthusiastic comrades in all parts of the country encouraging us to keep up the fight until the goal is reached and pledging their support until it is accomplished.

These letters bring the wherewithal to do it, too. Subscriptions, they bring, and many of them. And that is indeed what is needed. Subscriptions alone will make it possible to make the Ohio Socialist fulfill its mission as an aggressive factor in the battle for Industrial Democracy. Therefore, comrades, let our work be to get more and more subscriptions for upon this foundation alone is it possible to fulfill our object.

Below are names of comrades who have this week answered our call for 20,000 subscribers by sending in subscriptions to the number opposite their names. Let every comrade who has not yet joined the Red Army of Ohio Socialist workers follow their example and help boost our subscription list to 20,000 before Sept. 1.

FIRST HONORS

The honors for securing the first subscriptions on the lists sent to readers in the big drive for 20,000 subscribers and a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist go to Comrade Thomas C. Devine, Socialist Councilman of Toledo. Two half yearlies Comrade Thomas Devine sends us and to prove that he lost no time in getting them he has made a notation on the list to wit: Received 2-25-19, returned 2-25-19. Quick work, we say. But we want to remind Comrade Devine that there are still ten vacant lines on his list. Now that he has secured the first honors we shall expect him to keep right on until he has secured a full list.

Hard A. Counts 1
J. Forel Potts 1
Oscar Bloomberg 1
V. W. Merritt 1
Lawrence Dean (yearlies) 1
H. T. Auckerman 1
Ralph W. Headley 1
Jerry H. Shipman 1
J. Rehm 1
J. P. Baker 1
E. C. Wolfe 1
J. H. Chastain 1
J. A. Feldhaus 1
W. L. Garver 1
H. Hein 1
Lewis Yarnell 1
H. L. Ricker 1
R. P. Rinck 1
Frank B. Hamilton 1
S. C. Stair 1
E. L. Rodgers 1

Piqua News Meetings in Ohio

By ROBERT JOHNSON

A Piquad asks this question, "Who will do the dirty work under Socialism?" We hate to bawl them out publicly but we think that the republi- and democratic politicians will get the job. They're used to doing dirty work. See!

It is surprising to some people how the Socialist movement is growing in Piqua. They rub their glasses and pinch themselves to see if they are awake. Later they will be kicking themselves for letting the other fellow get into the movement ahead of them. Investigate. Subscribe for the Ohio Socialist—there is no better working class paper published. Buy a book on Socialism. The literature agent will supply you with the best.

Comrade Katterfeld spent five days in Piqua during the second week of February. The meetings were a success from the opening on Monday evening to the closing Friday with a free oyster supper served by the women comrades of the local. All the meetings were held in our newly remodeled headquarters which holds in the neighborhood of 300 people.

Some workingmen of Piqua are still obsessed with the idea that while Socialism is very beautiful and desirable thing, yet it is a dream that will never come true. This view is not new, of course. It has been advanced against every good thing we have. The charge against Cyrus Field, who laid the Atlantic cable, was that he was chasing rainbows. Marconi proposed to telegraph without wires and was laughed at as a visionary, yet his dream is a practical reality in the world today. Professor Rontgen (?) announced his discovery of a light ray that would penetrate solid substances and was jeered at for his pains, yet the X-ray is part of the essential equipment of all modern hospitals and up-to-date medical men. It is but a few years ago that people sneered when the Wright brothers announced the invention of a flying machine that would fly, yet the human bird has flown millions of miles since. Everything in human progress that is desirable was once a dream. Thank God for the dreamers. The scriptures declare that "where there is no vision the people perish" and it is true. An Edison dreams, and lo, the electric light turns night into day; a slave of man but time fails us to tell of all dreams that come true. Now upon the scene steps the Socialist, hard-headed, practical, scientific, able to give a reason for the hope that is in him and the old, old charge is thrown at him; dreamer, visionary, rainbow chaser, idealist, impossibilist, pro-German, etc. Is he daunted? No, indeed. He is filled with the vision, glorious, soul-thrilling vision of the Co-operative Commonwealth, where justice, love and truth abide. And, the electric light turns night into day; a slave of man but time fails us to tell of all dreams that come true. 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NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

(Edited By C. E. Ruthenberg)

The Senate and the League

Opposition to the League of Nations plan on the part of the reactionary Republican senators should deceive no one as to the character of the proposed league.

The League of Nations, as outlined in the constitution tentatively adopted at Paris, is an organization of the capitalists of the five great powers to conduct the exploitation of the rest of the world through international capitalism rather than through national capitalism.

It may be well asked, if this is true, why do the senators who are the representatives of the great capitalists of the United States oppose this international organization?

The usual explanation given in answer to this question is that it is the desire to gain a partisan advantage that determines their attitude.

This explanation overlooks the fact that party politics are determined by the economic interests of the class the partisans represent, and it is necessary to go deeper to find the real reason for the attitude of Senator Lodge and those who support him.

It is generally acknowledged that the United States has gained a dominant position in the world as a result of the war. It has not suffered at all economically. Whereas the countries of Europe have sacrificed their man-power by the hundreds of thousands and their industries have been disorganized, the United States has improved and made its productive machinery more efficient during the last four years. In comparison with the mountain of debt accumulated by the European countries the United States owes very little. Its resources are intact and are many times greater than those of any other country.

The senators of the Lodge variety are for taking advantage of the dominant economic position of the United States to the limit. They want the United States to enter the world arena unfettered by any ties and to grab everything that its present position will enable it to take. They stand for the selfish policy of economic nationalism. The chairman of the Republican National Committee said in a speech in Chicago a few days ago that the issue of the next campaign would be nationalism and by nationalism, it is to be understood, of course, he means economic nationalism.

These senators represent that section of the capitalist class which has learned nothing from the world war. They see a great opportunity and they propose to take advantage of it to the limit.

The Wilson program is the program of the capitalists who see that their only hope of saving the capitalist system is an international organization of capitalism. They realize that the whole structure of capitalism has been shaken and is ready to topple to the ground. They are not sure that they can save it now, but they are going to try. They are certain that another such as capitalism received will shatter it forever, and hence their effort to replace the economic nationalism of the Lodge variety with an international organization, which they hope will at least minimize the danger of the recurrence of what happened during the past four years.

Mother of Humanity

By LAURA JIM REYNOLDS.

During the darkening days of civil strife, while the women were immersed in merciful errands to relieve the suffering, the politicians, who then as now, represented the business interests, seized the opportunity to rescind all legislation favorable to progress. Consternation, despair and horror went thru the little camp of suffrage workers. The results of the almost superhuman labors of Miss Anthony were wiped out.

The little Quaker woman showed an indomitable courage in the winter of 1854-5 as she tramped in New York from house to house, gathering recruits to help get ten thousand signatures to petitions demanding equal property rights and suffrage for women, organized clubs, and held innumerable lectures. Added to all this work she helped organize and attended fifty-four conventions that winter.

Heathless rooms, buckboard wagons, frozen roads, all manner of food, bearing her own expenses, relying on collections to finance the suffrage cause, figuring ways and means to keep out of debt so as to be on with the next venture, arousing the unthinking women to the danger of one set of people making regulations for another, were all part of the hardships and work that she encountered in the task she had voluntarily undertaken.

When the north and south clashed a small band of women, including Miss Anthony, refused to be swayed from their self-appointed task of advocating woman suffrage. The politicians crying, "This is the negro's hour," induced many women to relax their efforts.

"The negro's hour." The republican party needed votes and was it not logical if they passed a law giving the male negro the vote that in gratitude the negro would vote the republican ticket.

The negro woman's right to suffrage was eliminated as that meant that the white woman would demand political recognition and there was no telling what these women would do with the vote. At home the politician did not always succeed in getting his wife and daughters to see things his way, so how could he hope to line up the woman vote and keep it in line?

When the northern politicians needed help they thankfully accepted the services of women orators. It was the eloquence of Anna Dickinson that turned the tide in favor of the union that gave the republican party the election of 1862. Her gift of words the logic and plea for the union and abolition of slavery, brot forth such enthusiasm that wherever she went men listened and joined the party whose spokesman she was. The clever politicians led the women to believe that when the negro question was settled, they would champion woman suffrage.

Miss Anthony warned the women against the smooth words and when

The contest which is agitating Washington and the capitalist press is the contest between national capitalism and international capitalism. The workers can afford to look on and smile while the capitalists fight, and—continue to build the organization of working class that will wipe out all of the capitalist system.

Raymond Robbins Speaks Out

Colonel Raymond Robbins, American Red Cross representative in Russia, appeared before the senate committee which is investigating Bolshevism the other day, and in two days knocked into a cocked hat all the lies that the capitalist press have been spreading about the Soviet government.

Colonel Robbins said:

That the Soviet government offered not to ratify the Brest Litovsk treaty if the United States and England would furnish certain assistance in the war against Germany, but that neither the government of the United States or that of England made any reply to this offer.

That the Bolshevik propaganda undermined the morale of the German soldiers and that Germany financed anarchist campaigns to hamper the Bolsheviks.

That until Allied intervention took place there was more disorder reported in the average American newspaper than there was in Russia.

That Czechoslovakia were the agents of French Imperialism with designs that had not been laid upon the table and that they committed many atrocities against the Bolsheviks and people of Russia.

That there had not been any general suppression of opposition newspapers under the Bolsheviks and added, "during the war many papers in this country were suppressed without apparent reason."

He said that the Russian masses were in control and could get rid of Lenin and Trotsky and the Bolsheviks in general whenever they desired.

Colonel Robbins has personal knowledge. He was in intimate contact with the affairs of Russia. His statements are in direct contradiction to the stories given to the American people by the capitalist press and stamp these stories as lies. Will the capitalist press stop lying about Russia now that a man who was an official representative of capitalism in Russia has told them that they lie? Nothing of the kind. Tomorrow they will repeat the same old lies or newly invented lies to slander the workers' government of Russia.

The history of the world does not contain a record of degradation and prostitution to equal that of the men and women who write the capitalist lies about Russia.

Solving the Problem

Covington, Pa., has discovered a new method of solving the problem of unemployment.

During the four years of mass murder in Europe, northern manufacturers, in need of labor to enable them to reap the big profits of war-time production, induced tens of thousands of southern Negroes to come north and go to work in the war industries. Glowing promises describing "land of milk and honey" were held out to these Negroes to get them

Who could do this work? All agreed that Miss Anthony, who for nearly three decades had been petitioning, The born American, because she was a female, all she had been able to do was to petition.

Heartsick at seeing her former co-workers forget the woman problem, she helped them petition for the negro. When they assured her that after the war, they would get the franchise because of their services, she sadly shook her head because she knew that the woman question would be lost sight of in the problems of reconstruction. So it came about that Miss Anthony planned getting the greatest petition that any congress up to her time had ever received.

Without a cent she opened headquarters in Cooper Institute. Thousands of dollars were needed for sending out the petitions. She sent a call to the former workers for the franchise and sent out the petitions. Each signer was requested to give a penny. In those days a penny was a considerable coin. In this way over three hundred thousand dollars was gathered. Lectures were given to arouse the people's interest.

Every mail brought huge petitions to encourage statesmen to take up the negro's cause. Public opinion was tangibly known and the women were showered with praises but when they later petitioned for themselves they were jeered.

The civil strife was over. Congress was debating the MALE negro suffrage question.

Worn, weary and worried Miss Anthony went to Kansas to rest. Tired little woman! She had fought to keep the organization together. It had dissolved before the fair promises of the politicians that "after the war" they would get justice.

There was no rest for her as the newspaper brot her tidings that the word "male" was to be inserted in the Fourteenth amendment. The old vitality, the old fighting strength returned to her as she read. She must go. She must warn the women. The battle with the statesmen of a "free nation" the women lost.

NO COMPROMISE!

The new labor party will again separate the wheat from the chaff within our midst and it will be the test of the development of our class-consciousness.

The new party may temporarily mislead some workers, now led up in blind alley from time to time by the two capitalist parties.

There is but one labor party—the Socialist Party, and we, as uncompromisers, must assert our position to the bitter end.

Our party has stood the test of war and what's more, we shall survive the new attempt of the capitalist class to split the forces of the workers, by giving birth to this reformist labor party, which is led by those same millionaires who hired the plutonic class.

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Government Ownership Will Curb Packers, Says Hene

Declaring that the entire food supply of the country would be under control ten and possibly five years, Francis J. Hene, former counsel for the Federal Trade Commission, testifying before the House Interstate Commerce Committee at Washington last week, came out flat-footed for government control of refrigerator cars and stockyards as the only remedy in sight. Lecturers were sent out to urge all people to work against the word "male" being in the amendment. With fiery words they attacked the obnoxious wording of the proposed amendment that would bar women from getting the vote. They wanted this to be submitted to the people.

to leave their homes. When they reached their destination they found, as a rule, that they were condemned to live in quail and misery, because, although they received higher wages, it cost them much more to live.

Now that the war is over and the employing class has an over supply of labor on its hands it finds these southern Negroes a serious burden. This was the situation in Coatsville, but Coatsville found a way to solve the problem, a way that will undoubtedly command itself to the employers elsewhere. Coatsville rounded up all the unemployed southern Negroes in the city, escorted them to the city limits under armed guard, and told them to "head south and keep on going."

That is a fair example of capitalism. The capitalist class uses the workers as part of the machinery of production which yields them big profits. It pays them just enough to keep them working. Some times it wrecks their bodies and throws them into the discard. When it cannot use them profitably it washes its hands of them and tells them to go—"south and keep on going."

The workers will remain slaves until they follow the example of the workers of Russia and establish an industrial republic in which the capitalists will have to go to work and all the workers will control the industries and enjoy the product of those industries.

In an article, reprinted by the Civil Federation, Samuel Gompers endeavors to draw a damning indictment against the French Socialist Party. Among the evidence he submits is the following resolution, adopted by the French Socialists three days after the signing of the armistice:

The Swiss Socialist Democratic party decided by a vote of 238 to 147 not to participate in the Berne International Conference. The following quotations, which typify the dominant spirit of the convention, are taken from a report of the convention which has just reached this country:

While the cry of the blood of millions of workers is still ringing in our ears, we sit here and consider whether we should attend a conference with those who were responsible for the war. We have damned and cursed the betrayers, because they abandoned the cause of the proletariat. But what has changed since A. Thomas clasped the bloody hand of the czar?

As in the Russia of the Soviets, Socialism has appeared in all Central Europe as the proper liquidator of the political and social situation left by the war.

The party thus sees justified the confidence which it has always had in the action of the people.

Considering that certain of the conditions of the armistice leave the sharply defined fear that the Allied governments have the intention of further extending the criminal military intervention against revolutionary Russia, the party declares that it will appeal to all the forces of the French proletariat to prevent the Socialism which is being born in Russia, as well as in Germany and Austria, from being crushed by coalitions of foreign capitalisms.

The party urges the French working people most vigorously to rally to the support of their unions and the Socialist groups, to sustain their class journals, and to keep themselves ready to make Socialism triumph in France as it has in the other countries of Europe.

We are not surprised that this declaration of working class solidarity against international capitalism gave "Sammy" the cold shivers. It threatens the thing which he is fighting so hard to protect from the onslaught of the workers that he has so long misled.

Why compose a new formula of principles, when our own constitution of the United States contains every good principle now put forth by the more intelligent among the radical element?" asks an apologist for capitalism in a diatribe about the red flag and what it stands for. Among the good principles that the constitution contains is that which forbids the congress of the United States from passing a law forbidding the employment of children of tender age in the factories of the country. It also contains a section guaranteeing the rights of free speech and a free press, but still the writer of this paragraph risks being sent to prison for twenty years if he expresses his conscientious opinion about the quotation above. What this writer has to learn is that

The capitalists of Canada are very much aroused over what they call Bolshevik propaganda among the soldiers and workers of that country. One of the manifestos issued by the Provisional Council of Soldiers and Workers' Deputies, makes the following appeal to the workers and soldiers:

Comrades, Soldiers, in camps and barracks, form your councils at once. Hold secret meetings and appoint your delegates, so that you will be ready when the time comes when you have to conduct the business of society; make an end of the tyranny of your officers; down with your officers; down with the court-martial; you can use the army for your freedom and you must do it now!

Comrade Workmen in the factories, mines and railroads, form your councils immediately! Organize councils to take over each industry to be run for the benefit of the workers only. You must do this, nobody else will do it for you. Seize each factory, each mine, each railroad for the working class. Your committees can conduct the policy of production and distribution.

The circular goes on to urge the soldiers and workers to demand the withdrawal of troops from Russia and points out that in the latter country the workers and soldiers have swept away the capitalists and set up their own government and their own control of industry.

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We refuse to be represented at a conference where those morally responsible for the murder of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will sit beside comrades who even in the next few weeks will new socialist ideas that are causing them trouble, and there are no bars that will keep these ideas from spreading.

The Paris conference has found a reason for calling the Prinkipo conference off. Andre Tardieu, one of the French delegates to the peace conference, states that the Bolsheviks have failed to comply with the conditions laid down, because they have not stopped in their effort to drive the invaders out of Russia, and therefore the conference will not be held.

He added that new methods would have to be devised by the peace conference to deal with Russia. Everybody knows the kind of methods the French holders of Russian bonds would like to employ.

The Central Labor Council of Seattle is considering a resolution calling upon the American Federation of Labor to reorganize the workers in that body in twelve industrial unions. The resolution was referred to a committee for study after a heated debate.

According to Washington advices, foreign exchange transactions between the United States and Russia have been stopped in order to prevent the financing of Bolshevik propaganda in this country.

But how will that prevent the workers here who have caught a vision of the new world for which the Bolsheviks are fighting from financing the same propaganda through their nickels and dimes and dollars. It is not the money of the Bolsheviks that capitalism here need fear; it is the Bolshevik ideas that are causing them trouble, and there are no bars that will keep these ideas from spreading.

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