SOVIET RUSSIA

ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

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An Address Delivered
BY
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SOVIET RUSSIA

Mr. Chairman, citizens, comrades, tovarkie: A member of the Root Mission has said that to the last syllable of recorded history, mankind will have cause to regret that the people of America and the people of Russia did not understand one another during the great revolution.

Yet we cannot say that the Root Mission did very much toward such an understanding, because being in Russia does not necessarily qualify one to understand Russia. The Root Mission, as Arthur Ruhl says, knew about as much about the habits, customs and ideals of the Russian people as a submarine commander knows about the habits, customs and ideals of a fish.

At the first All-Russian Congress of Soviets, James Duncan addressed them. The next day the leading paper of Petrograd said, "Last night the Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor addressed the All-Russian Congress. Evidently when he came over the Pacific he prepared two speeches, one for the Eskimos and the other for the Russian people; and apparently he thought he was addressing the Eskimos last night." (Laughter.)
So any one has a big job to tackle, who attempts to tell the truth about Russia.

**We Can Prevent Violence Here**

I know I am going to be very disappointing tonight to many of the good comrades, because, after all, I am going to give you simply an explanatory talk of what I saw there, but it will be the same simple, explanatory talk which jarred so harshly on the senate when I was in Washington the other day.

I am giving these things here mostly to people who do not know what the Russian Revolution is, and who are inimical to it; and I think they are inimical to it, because they do not understand it.

I am not asking any good American here to approve what happened in Russia, but I am merely trying to make him understand why it happened; and if he understands why it happened, then maybe we all can apply our experience to our big problems over here, and we can perhaps quiet this hurricane that seems to be moving over the world; and instead of bringing in our new order by violence, we can bring it in by common sense, brains and reasoning.

**Tells Story for Conservatives**

For that reason, I have spent my time
largely in addressing Socialist audiences, and such organizations as the Economic Club of Boston, the Academy of Political Science in Philadelphia, and a great many others of that same kind.

So this address is not particularly meant for those of you who know about the revolution; but it is meant for those who do not.

Now, first of all, we must remember that in any revolution there are losers and winners. In Russia those who have lost out are the Czarists, the Black Hundred, the Monarchists, and the great land holders. Those represent five per cent of the people.

**The Five Per Cent Suffer**

I am not so devoid of imagination as not to know they have suffered a great deal, because when you have lived on the roof garden and then you have to roll up your sleeves and go to work, you have suffered indeed. When you have had all of the good things of life, and then you have to get down and work as a common man, you suffer. So I know what those people have suffered, and I can understand their dismay. You know, too, what they have suffered, because the papers in this country have largely dealt with, over and over again, the reflection of
the attitude of that five per cent of the population who have lost out in this revolution.

We have heard nothing at all of the joy and satisfaction of the great masses of the peasants and workers who have won out in the revolution. But I, because I have spent my time largely with those masses, with the soldiers in the army, with the workmen in the factory, and with the peasants on the land, think I can reflect their attitude here tonight.

**Viewpoint of the Majority**

So this, if you please, is a pioneer reflection of the viewpoint toward the Russian revolution of those great masses of the population, and their attitude, which hitherto has not been represented in any of our papers, or in our common opinion about the revolution.

Now, the first thing to do in the way of understanding Russia is to try to get the proper background and perspective. Otherwise, everything will be out of focus. You remember that Buckle said of Edmund Burke, who had been so much against the French Revolution, that it was because his sympathy for the sufferings of the peasants was so powerful, that it simply obliterated all memory of the sufferings which had
evoked them. So it came home to me how much the Russian people had suffered.

**All Had Lost Kinfolk**

Once I made a trip on the zemstvo wagon out over the steppes, of which one of the Russian poets says, "You steppes, how grand and wonderful you are!" I came to a little Ukrainian village, and in that little village I stood up on the wagon, surrounded by about 300 women, about 40 old men and boys, and a dozen crippled soldiers, and I began to ask them questions. I said, "How many here ever heard of George Washington?" One boy had. Five had heard of Abraham Lincoln. About 115 had heard of Lenine and of Kerensky. About 250 had heard of Tolstoi.

Then I made a terrible blunder. They had been laughing, along with the foreigner, at his funny accent, but when I asked them this question:

"How many here have lost any one in the war?"

Nearly every hand went up before my face; and then, just like a wind sighing through the wan trees, there swept over that crowd a sobbing moan.
They Wept Bitter Tears

It was a terrible blunder, to ask such a question. A boy ran out of the crowd crying:

"My brother! They killed my brother!"

Then I felt the wagon trembling beneath me. It was an old man, an old peasant, who had fallen under it, almost swooning with grief. And those women, 300 of them, wept as I never saw anybody weep in all my life. I wondered where all the tears could come from. I wondered what grief lay back of all those placid, almost stupid looking faces.

Then I realized what Russia had suffered. And that was only one of thousands of such towns and villages that lay scattered over the Ukrainian Steppes, and along the Volga, and through the Siberian steppes, to which never would return those millions and millions of men who lay out there in the greatest graveyard in all the world. I refer to the former Russian front, that ran from Riga to the Black Sea, where those peasants went out, with nothing but clubs in their hands, and were mown down by the machine guns of the Germans as grain is mown by the sickle.

No Arms for Soldiers

Where were their weapons, their muni-
tions? They were lying in the snow at Archangel, because cars were very scarce, you know, and prices were very high, and profits were very large, and the bribery of officials was very easy; so the cars were dumped outside of Archangel, and were shunted back into the city, reloaded with champagne, Parisian dresses, and that sort of thing, and then transferred to Moscow.

In Moscow life was very pleasant, and in the trenches life was very bloody; but in those tens of thousands of villages life was a dark and fearsome thing, because those millions of men were never to return to the hearts and the arms that were waiting and aching for them.

All governments are based upon this long-suffering patience of the poor; but you know, there is an end to it, and in Russia the end came when finally the people could stand it no longer; when they began to realize that a more cruel and vicious despotism than even the Kaiser’s despotism in Potsdam, was their own despotism at home.

**The Revolution Starts**

Then they moved out from the Viborg session, those thousands of working men, carrying the message to the people. When Milyukov, the great cadet, saw them with
their red flag, he said, "There goes the Russian Revolution. It will be crushed in 15 minutes." But those men came out of the Workmen's Session, despite the Cossack patrols upon the Nevsky, despite the drum fire of the machine guns, until the streets were littered with their bodies.

Still they came on, and on, singing, pleading with the Cossacks and soldiers; until finally the Czar tumbled from his throne, and the revolution was accomplished—accomplished as it always is accomplished, by the blood of the working men.

It was the first revolution in human history where the working man not only made the revolution, but cashed in upon the revolution which they had made.

Now, as soon as they made the revolution, you know how the thrill went all around the world, and how people kissed one another upon the street. It was a momentous time. Everybody congratulated the Russians. We sent missions to them.

Come the Lawyers

Then after the revolution had been safely made, there came before the people the lawyers and the politicians, and the men in high places; and they turned to the Russian people and said:
"Noble people, you have done a great thing. You have accomplished a vast thing for humanity. But it is also a vast thing to run a Government, so we, who are the wise, educated and intelligent, will take that tremendous undertaking upon our own shoulders, and let the noble working men go back to the machines, and the peasants go back to the land, and the soldiers go back to the trenches."

Now, the Russian people are a very tractable and kindly people, so they went back. But the Russian people are also a very intelligent people. Fifty per cent of them cannot read nor write, but they can think; and before they went back, they gathered together in little groups.

The Soviets Assemble

In every munitions works, for example, in Petrograd, they appointed a delegate and sent him to a central place, one for every 500 of the workers. The same thing was done in the shoe factories, in the brick yards, in the glass works, and everywhere. They all sent their delegates there. Then they asked the Teachers' Union to send teachers, and the engineers' organization to send engineers, and then they called this little organization a Soviet.
These Soviets are all organizations like that, and they were organized in every mine, on every ship, in every little hamlet and village, as well as in the big towns and cities. Those little group organizations were organized according to the trades, and according to the man's job; so the Soviets were composed of teachers who knew about teaching, miners who knew about mining, engineers who knew about engineering, etc. They were organized all over that vast country. Then each one of them sent a delegate to Petrograd, where they formed the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

**Action Was Spontaneous**

Now, this is one of the most remarkable phenomena in all human history, that one-sixth of the surface of the globe should wake up, so to speak, dotted over with these new organizations, just as soon as the old Czarist organization had gone into the scrap heap.

The commander of the battleship Prievus told me that when the revolution was on, the news came to him in Italian waters, where the ship was; and immediately that ship organized itself into a Soviet, which was exactly like the Soviet at Petrograd, although the men had no connection with it at all. I say that was a most striking phenomenon.
When I came out over the Trans-Siberian railroad the peasants had their Soviet, the miners theirs, the trainmen theirs; and there was the Far East Soviet, of which Tobinson was president; and when I stepped off the train at Vladivostock, I found a Soviet there which was the exact replica of the Soviet I had left at Petrograd, seven thousand miles away, at the other end of the line.

**Everybody Talked**

When those Soviets opened up, the restrained speech of ages burst loose. As Root said, Russia became a nation of one hundred million orators. They discussed every conceivable subject. They were just like the old New England town meetings.

One of the things they discussed, of course, was the land. The peasants over in Russia never recognized the right of the old landlords to the land. There was always the cry, "The land belongs to God and the people"; and that old cry re-echoed over the land, and so, when the Soviet was first formulated, its first demand was that the land should go to the peasants.

The workmen also began to talk their problems out, and they said, "After all, the object of a man is to live a free man, and a free man has control over his own life. Most
of our lives we spend in the factories. Therefore, we want control over the factories.” And there was the second demand of the Soviets, “The factories to the workers.”

They Wanted Peace

In the third place, the soldiers began to talk about war. It is one thing to talk about war when your stomach is full, and you are thousands of miles away from the battle front. But it is another thing to talk about war to those soldiers, whom I have seen so hungry that they fell upon a field of turnips and devoured them raw; whom I have seen with my own eyes walking through the freezing mud barefooted.

When the politicians came to those men and said, “Brave soldiers, for the noble cause of old Russia, fight on until we take Constantinople”, they replied, “We do not want Constantinople. We want peace.” The soldiers said, “We do not want other people to take away our land, and neither do we want to take other people’s land away from them.”

Then those stupid men began in their minds to reason this way:

“If our government is imperialistic and land-grabbing, it may be that not only is Germany imperialistic and land-grabbing,
but that some of the allies are land-grabbers and imperialists. We will ask them to state whether they are or not.”

Secret Treaties Disclosed
Then there arose the other demand of peace to all the world, with the declaration of what the secret treaties were. That was the condition of affairs which they wrote upon their banners, those three slogans; and finally they presented their demands to the Kerensky government.

They came asking for land for the peasants, the factories to the workers, and peace to all the world. The Kerensky government put them off with nice words, saying, “Wait until the end of the war.” But the end of the war seemed far, far away, and then they said, “Wait until the constituent assembly.” “Ah, but when is that?”

Well, month after month it was postponed, and month by month the anger of the people increased, until finally the people began to reason this way, saying, “That thing that calls itself a Government, if it cannot give us the desires of our heart, we will take them ourselves.”

Peasants Seize the Land
Then, in the summer of 1917—I am trying to explain these things for the average Amer-
ican to understand, so he may exactly under-
stand what happened in Russia—the people of their own accord began to say that the people would take the land themselves; and so in the summer of 1917, we saw the skies reddened with burning hayricks and manor houses of the landlords.

It was the peasants seizing the land. In the same way, we found the workmen, growing disgusted, and taking over the factories, and spoiling a great deal of material and machinery.

We saw the soldiers throwing down their guns and walking away from the trenches by the thousands. Remember, they had never even heard the word "bolshevik", as Y. M. C. A. men have told me, on that particular front.

So, to stop this thing, the Kerensky govern- ment came before them and sent down its ablest people like Breshkovskaya and Tschaikowsky; but they had absolutely lost all influence over the masses. Then they sent their best orators, men like Tseretelli, and others, who were flaming orators, but they might just as well have tried to stop a tidal wave with eloquence. The tremendous upheaval of the masses was on. There was the firm demand for peace, land, and the factories, and everything seemed about to rush
over the precipice of chaos into anarchy and black night. That was a very unfortunate situation, but it was a fact.

**Men of Brains Appear**

There was only one fortunate thing about the situation, and that was, that there was in Russia at that particular time a group of men who had brains enough to face the facts as they were. They were a group of men who understood the people, and they understood how to take this great elemental force that was moving among them, and direct it into proper channels.

That group of men had the confidence of the people, and therefore they were eminently fitted to direct the activities of the people into the right channels. Those men made up the party which I believe prevented Russia from going actually over the precipice into chaos and night. By that I mean the party of the bolsheviki. (Prolonged applause.)

I say, with all calmness and all certainty, that the verdict of history, when we get through this period of passion, will be that instead of being disorganizers and destroyers, those men were the men who had the only constructive program, and were the only men who understood that for an ultra
radical movement among the masses of the people, the only thing you can do is to have an ultra-radical program.

It is not fair to say that they were a political party which had the confidence of the people, and understood the people. They were the people. They were the working classes. They were the vanguard of the intelligent workers of Russia.

Letts and Sailors

The bolshevik party was recruited, first of all, from the sailors and from the Letts, and of the sailors and the Letts, 95 per cent could read and write. They spoke the language of the people, this party did, and they understood the thoughts of the people, and they understood exactly how to deal with them.

There was a bolshevik intelligenzia there, men who had brains, training and education. The difference between the bolshevik intelligenzia and the average intelligenzia of other political parties was this: their intelligenzia were those who said, "Let the people rule, but let them rule through us". While the intelligenzia of the bolsheviki said, "Let the people rule themselves".

The other intelligenzia said, "We will find out what is good for the people, and then
we will superimpose it upon them”. The bolshevik intelligenzia said, “Let the people state what they want themselves, and let them think what they want themselves, through their own minds”. (Prolonged applause.)

Of course, the most familiar names in this country are those of Lenine and Trotsky, but there was a remarkable group of people there in that cabinet, making it the most educated and cultured cabinet that ever sat in a seat of government at any time in the history of the world.

Soviet Cabinet Learned

I wish I had time to elaborate every one of these rather startling statements, for the benefit of the average American who may be here. As a matter of fact, almost any member of that cabinet speaks anywhere from three to twelve languages, and has written anywhere from three to thirty books. I wonder how the future historian will look back upon the newspapers of today and see how the tory press in particular tried to make out that Lenine, for example, was a superhuman being.

A superhuman being is a god, and the attributes of a god are omnipotence, omniscience and omnipresence. Read the press
of today and you will see what is said there. The man who looks back 100 years from now will find that Lenine was omnipresent; that in one and the same day he leaped from a train in Siberia, was put in a cell in Moscow, and was seen on the streets of Barcelona, Spain.

He is omnipotent, which means "all powerful", because they say that this man, staying in Germany, hatched up the scheme of bolshevism in his mind, and came over and implanted it in and superimposed it upon 180 million people, and disorganized an army of 15 million men. That is certainly omnipotence, to expect a man to do a big job like that.

Faith in the People

But I think the characteristics of the bolshevik intelligenzia are, first of all, that they have a tremendous faith in the people, and that they really believe that the emancipation of the working class can only come from the workers themselves, and not from some scheme that is worked up in somebody's brain.

You will find, for example, that people came to Lenine and said, "How can we run a factory?", and he held up his hands in horror and said, "I do not know how to run
a factory. You go back and run a factory, and then come back and tell me how you did it, and I will write a book about it". (Laughter.)

But they really have a sublime faith in the people, which, after all, is why the intelligenzia has made the progress it has. I am trying to speak to people who may have prejudice. I just want to talk to them, and ask them to just drop prejudice for a while, and ask why the working people of the world, after all, should put any confidence in the educated and cultured ruling and governing classes of the world, when they have had the power in their hands all this time, and in spite of that, have brought the world to this particular pass, including this terrible holocaust in Europe.

That is exactly the attitude of the bolshevik intelligenzia over there. They said, "Well, after all, why should we figure out that we have got something so much more wonderful than anything else, when we have made such ghastly failures in the past? Let us resort to the people and find out what they want, and decide that that is the thing we ought to have".

So they have this sublime faith in the workers themselves.
Find Joy in Service

They have a great deal of life left. Vолодарский was the man who fell a victim to the Franco-British plot to assassinate the bolsheviki; and this man, working eighteen hours a day, told me, when he was so nearly exhausted, “Well, I have had more joy in the last three months than any 50 men ever did in all their lives”.

So this party of the bolsheviki, as I say, could see the situation in Russia, because they came from the people, nineteen out of twenty of them, right from the heart of the people themselves. Their solution of the problem was very simple.

They said, “Now, this Kerensky Government”—which was being hypodermically kept alive by promises from the allies, which was in the midst of a situation which called for the strength of a giant, and it was as weak as a baby—“It cannot do anything at all. It has lost all power and lost all authority”; and the whole situation pointed to the exercise of power and authority by the Soviets and the Soviets, by the end of the summer of 1917, had gathered to themselves all of the vital revolutionary forces that there were in Russia.

They had been linked up and correlated, as it were, through all this vast territory, and
so, when they raised the cry, “All power to the Soviets”, the people understood exactly what they meant.

They meant, “All power to the revolutionary soldiers and sailors; all power to the workers; all power to the peasants”. And so, when they sent out that cry, it went to the Black Sea, the White Sea and the Yellow Sea, and came re-echoing back again.

**Bolsheviki Take Government**

Then they walked down one morning in November, one Thursday morning, to the Maryinsky palace, where the self-appointed men who called themselves the government of Russia were seated, doing nothing but talking, talking, talking, while the country was going to the dogs, to the devil; and they told those people to go home and do something useful. (Prolonged laughter.) And they went home.

They surrounded the winter palace, where the Kerensky cabinet sat. You can always tell the vitality of any institution by the forces which rally to its support.

All the Kerensky Government had was a few junkers and the women’s battalion; and after one junker had been wounded, and one woman had fainted in the woman’s battalion, that government passed over into the hands
of the Soviets, and the most tremendous revolution in all human history was accomplished without the killing of one in one thousand of the population. (Prolonged applause.)

**Remarkably Little Bloodshed**

I would like to dwell for a great deal of time upon this matter of violence in Russia, because a good many people in this country are apparently obsessed with the idea that all Russia is one vast hotbed of violence.

I do not see why we, who have just gone through this great era of violence, in which we have killed seven million of the flower of youth of all humanity, and reduced civilization almost to a heap of ruins, should raise our hands in this pious attitude of horror at the alleged violence of the Russian revolution.

The answer that any American here would make to that proposition would be this: “Well, by our violence we overthrew the Kaiser, and wiped out Prussian militarism, and Prussian autocracy, and the Prussian imperialists; and that was very good.”

The Russian workers and peasants would answer, “By our violence we overthrew the Czar, and we cleaned out our Russian imperialism and Russian militarism, and Rus-
sian landlordism, and Russian capitalism”. (Prolonged applause.)

We ask you, is it not true that, just as now, we look back 100 years, and we remember, not the Napoleonic wars, but the French Revolution, with all its terrors and all its horrors, it may be, 100 years from now, we will look back upon this period and remember, not the results that flowed from the great war, but the benefit that came from the Russian Revolution. For every victim of the Russian Revolution, there have been 100 victims of the great war.

**Kill Only One in 1,000.**

Now, you must get a perspective, get a background, for the Russian Revolution. Take the most exaggerated estimates as to the killings over there, those that occurred in all the street fighting in Irkutsk and Kiev, the executions of the Red Terror, so-called, in Moscow and Petrograd, and the peasant outbreaks in the provinces; and when you add them all up, and divide the result, not into the three millions of the American Revolution, and not into the 23 millions of the French Revolution, but into the 180 millions of the Russian Revolution, you will find, even with the most exaggerated estimate of all the killings that have gone on in Russia,
that the result does not amount to one in one thousand of the population.

Again, think of the provocation to violence. I do not know as it is necessary to remind you of those thousands who were cut down when they made their petition to the Little Father, the Czar, for ordinary rights.

I do not have to remind you of the tens of thousands who rotted in the jails and in the mines. I do not have to remind you of the hundreds of thousands of the noblest and best of the sons of Russia who walked with their chains across the snows of Siberia.

But I saw men tottering as they came out of the stone sacks of Schluesselberg, and I saw women who had been scarred deep by the lash of the Cossacks; and I remembered those words of Lincoln, "For every drop of blood drawn by the lash, if there are ten drawn by the sword, the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether".

I looked again at another tragic sight, a memento, as it were, of the old autocracy of the Czar. It was a peasant who stood before a village sign, with hands clenched, and teeth clenched, and he was saying, "The old Czar did not want us to read. All he wanted us to do was to plow the fields, pay our taxes, go to church, and work. Our new
government wants to tell us about our new freedom and liberty, and wants to educate us, but we can not read nor write. The old Czar gouged out our eyes, so we cannot see”.

**Good for Evil**

Now, these men took the government in their power, and with the government in their power, they took their old tyrants and masters, those old murderers, the men who had jailed them, and lashed them, and abused them, and ground them down; and what did they do?

Instead of turning upon them with vengeance, the first law which was passed in the Soviet government was a law which lifts their course of conduct to a higher ethical plane than anything we have yet in human history. The first decree of all that was passed by the Soviet government was a decree abolishing capital punishment. (Protracted applause.)

Now, please do not say that I am trying to minimize the violence of the revolution. I do not want to minimize it. I want to paint it in all its black and in all its lurid colors, because I want people to realize, and I want particularly the officials to realize, just what a dreadful thing a social revolution that is achieved by violence is, so that they may
make up their minds to avoid such a revolution by using a little common sense, and not by using the repression, idiocy and insanity which finally created that violent revolution over in Russia.

I do not want to minimize its violence at all. There is no reason why we should minimize it. But as a reporter, stating the facts as they are found, I challenge any one to take all of the biggest figures he can pile up, one on top of the other, of the numbers who have been slain in the Russian revolution, and to find, even with the most exaggerated figures, to exceed one in one thousand, or perhaps one in five thousand, although I do not think it will be even one in one thousand.

**Struck in Self-Defense**

We hear a great deal about the Red Terror. That Red Terror, remember, never came into Russia until, under the protection of the Allied Powers, there came into Russia the old Black Hundred, the Czarists, the Monarchists, who let loose upon the people the most terrible savageries and barbarities.

Then, and only then, did the Government of peasants and workmen strike back with the so-called Red Terror. But have you ever thought about the White Terror, you who
have allowed your minds to get focused upon the Red?

Ackerman, in the New York Times, lets some things slip through. He told us recently of a train of prisoners that left the Ural Mountains to come to Nikolaievsk. It left with 2,100, and arrived with 1,300.

You ask, “What became of the other 800?”

The answer is: That train had no sanitation and no provisions and those 800 men either committed suicide, through insanity or through hunger, or they leaped or were pushed from the train and were shot as they were trying to escape from the hell that they were in.” That is what Ackerman says.

And he says, “This is only one of several such trains of human freight, that came creeping across the Trans-Siberian railroad.”

**Cossack's Machine Gun**

Then again, Ackerman, this same correspondent of the New York Times, told us that Kalimikoff, the Cossack, was allowed to go ahead by the Allies, burning towns, and so terrorized the people that the corpses were left upon the streets, to be eaten by the dogs; and when he came to Simbirsk, angered by the fact that the commissioners had escaped, he took 16 men and women, whose
only crime was that they had educated the children, and he lined them up along a wall, and there, by the very flower beds that they had taught the children to make, they were mown down by machine guns.

Some day there will appear before the bar of history the workmen and peasants of Russia, charged with the Red Terror of the revolution, and on the other side will appear the Czarists, Monarchists, and Black Hundred, charged with the White Terror of the counter-revolution; and when they are asked to raise hands, I know that the gnarled, calloused and toil worn hands of the workmen and peasants of Russia will be white, compared with the crimson stained hands of the gentlemen and ladies of leisure upon the other side. (Prolonged applause.)

How Are Your Customs?

Once in a while it was interesting to get a little slant at life away back in the villages. I went out in a little village on the Volga with a man named Yanishev, and we went right into a peasant’s home, on a holiday, and were served with a meal there, sitting around there together.

I was noting the queer customs, because when you are in another country, you always think that those other people are queer.
I said: "Now, here is the great common bowl"—turning to Ivan Ivanoff, whose guest I was—"out of which we all eat together"—and I usually got my spoon in first, by the way (laughter)—"that is a queer custom."

He nodded: "Yes."

Then I said: "This great stove, and the little window, are very queer customs."

He said: "Yes, we are a queer people."

Then I felt something on my foot, which I thought was a dog, but when I looked down, I looked into the eyes of a pig. I said: "Allowing the pigs and chickens to come into the room is a very queer custom."

He said: "Yes, we are a very queer people."

And as he was saying that, the baby, in the arms of its mother, in baby fashion, put its feet upon the table, and the mother, looking me straight in the eyes, said: "Why, baby, take your feet off the table. Remember, you are not in America. Very queer customs you have there." (Laughter.)

Some way or other, they had heard that an American custom was to put your feet upon the table. I suppose some do, but it is no more characteristic of America to put the feet upon the table, than all those stories
that are told about Russia at the present time are characteristic of the Russian people.

So I could tell you many queer things that happened over there. I could tell you, although I did not see them myself, some of the lunatic and insane things that naturally follow in a revolution, because there is this fringe of lunacy that always touches the edge of a new movement. I could tell you of the mistakes and blunders that, after all, lie around the edges of a revolution.

We should not clutter our minds with that sort of thing, so as not to see the real Russian revolution, and the wonder and glory of it, seeing 150 millions of people breaking the fetters of the past, and staggering out into the light, blinded a while by the suddenness of it, but at last growing conscious of their power and clear as to their purpose, and seeing those 150 millions of people reaching out and taking power in their own hands, and for the first time in human history founding a government of the workers, by the workers, and for the workers. (Prolonged applause.)

Demobilize Vast Army

Now, let me tell you, briefly, a few of the things that they have done. First of all, Americans ought to sympathize with the
first task that the Soviet government had to perform.

We are staggered at the job of demobilizing four millions of soldiers, but under the new state apparatus of the Soviet, there were twelve millions of soldiers; and their demobilization was accomplished without any more than the shooting up of two railway stations, I believe. Some one may say: "Well, the Soviet did not demobilize them. They demobilized themselves."

That is just exactly true. The Soviet is an organization which brings automatically out of the people the inherent forces which lie dormant there, unutilized, as a usual thing; and so they demobilized this great Czar's army, which came back clogging all the way. And while they were demobilizing that army of twelve million men, they had to organize a new Red army. They made many mistakes, and they made many blunders, but finally they forged out of it all this great new army, with its "Iron Battalions of the Proletariat", as Lenine calls them. (Applause.)

**Discipline of Red Army**

The "World" reporter, as he says, saw that army the other day moving into Minsk, with perfect discipline, just like clock work, a marvelous piece of new machinery; and
the bystanders remarked to him: "That is the only army in the world that is free from the possibility of turning bolshevik." (Prolonged laughter.)

But however much the Russian people glorify this new, strong army of theirs, with all its power, they will never forget those first ragged groups of Red guards, just as we here in this country will never forget those tattered and torn troops who, in the early days, left their blood stains upon the stones at Valley Forge.

Just so with the Russian people; the memory of the future will be for those ragged groups of Red guards, who grasped their guns and went out and fought for the protection of the Soviet Republic.

Create New Culture

The second great thing that Russia has done, besides demobilizing one army and building up another, is the creation of a new cultural life. We find that even in Russia the truth will make men free; it liberates new forces and new energies.

So the Slavic soul, so long cribbed, cabined, and confined, has shown a wonderful flowering forth; and all over Russia today there are thousands of new schools, thou-
sands of theaters, thousands of recreation centers, all organized to satisfy this long hunger and thirst of the people for a new higher life.

In Siberia, where Tobinson had charge, there were many beautiful things happened. For example, the teachers there worked out a whole Montessori system, without ever having heard of the original at all. They wanted to learn more about music, so they requisitioned a few pianos, and put them into a hall, and within three months they had a conservatory of music with 500 students in it.

An old peasant came there, and he said to the children: "Children, look at these hands. They cannot write, because all the old Czar wanted them for was to plow. Oh, if I could only be with you, a child in the new Soviet Republic of Russia!"

I could tell you also about Lunacharski, the great commissar of education, who said: "Whatever other budgets are put down, the budget for public education must stay, because it is the honor and the glory of the people"; and this was the motto that ran over the doors of the Soviet schools: "The children are the hope of the world." (Prolonged applause.)
What Gorky Said

Now, just a word to the man who wants the proof of it all. I want to turn particularly to the reporters, and give this word of Maxim Gorky as to what is happening in Russia.

In the last dispatch that we got from Russia, this man, who has now gone over to the Soviet Government, says:

"The cultural and creative work of the Russian Soviet Government, which is going on under most difficult conditions, and requires heroic exertions, is now about to have a scope and a form which has hitherto been unknown in the history of mankind. This is no exaggeration. A short time ago I was still an opponent of the Soviet Government, and I am still in many ways in disagreement with its methods of work; but I know that the historians of the future, when they come to estimate the value of the work that has been done by the Russian workers in the course of a year, will be unable to avoid admiring the magnificence of their creative work in the realms of culture." (Prolonged applause.)

Lloyd-George on Intervention

I just want to submit that word of Maxim Gorky in reference to the cultural develop-
ment of the Russian people, and then I want to submit this word of Lloyd-George. Just the other day Lloyd-George said:

“If you would see the figures, if any sane man would see the figures that are involved in any program of intervention in Russia, he would be a fool who would ask it, because the bolsheviki have not only military power, but they are growing stronger day by day.”

That is not an exact quotation, but that is the substance of it. It is not a perfect quotation, like that from Maxim Gorky, but most of you read it, I think.

I submit this as the best answer to those people who say that there is nothing but chaos, assassination, and anarchistic outbreaks all over Russia.

I submit that a great and growing cultural power, as Gorky says, is going on in Russia at the present time, and along with it a great and growing military power. Whoever says to the contrary, cannot possibly be posted on facts, especially as they are given in the ordinary newspaper and the ordinary reports of the present time.

**Increased Production**

Then I want to show you a little bit of the economic reorganization that has been effected by the Soviets. First of all, you see
it in the decrees, which are the blueprints of reconstruction.

It is easy enough, I know, to lay this thing out on paper, but it is another thing altogether to translate it into life. Now, almost anything that any one says about the demands of the working men and what they did in the factories at the beginning, is true.

They did some of the most wild things, just exactly what they would be expected to do. But when the factories really passed over under Soviet control, and there came a change in ownership, there also came a change in their minds. Instead of putting in men who would give easy discipline, they began to put in men who would turn out a big product.

In that connection, I talked with Tobin-son, who was the head of the Far East Soviet, and he told me in May that for every word that he spoke against the bourgeoisie, he spoke ten words to the working class against their shiftlessness.

A great psychological change came about in the minds of the workers, and at the end of June, in six factories, where they had put in new ownerships and new methods, they were actually making a larger production than they did under the old regime.
A New Kind of Music

I stood on the hill up there at Vladivostock, over the so-called American works, which was then run by a Soviet Committee, and as the clanging of machinery and the sound of hammers came ringing up from the valley, I said to Sukanov: "This seems to be sweet music to your ears." He said: "Yes, it is. The noise of the old revolutionists was made by bombs and such things; but this is the noise that is made by the new revolutionists, who are hammering out a new social order." (Laughter and applause.)

Last of all, the revolution was a great thing and a good thing to the Russian people, and they wanted to pass it along. So when they found out that it was not possible to wage a military offensive against Germany and Austria, they said: "If we cannot do that, we can at least carry on a propaganda offensive."

I worked in the Soviet Government for about two months, helping with the propaganda that went into Germany. There were millions of copies of papers printed in Czech, Slavic, Ukrainian, and particularly in the German language.

I have files and copies of all those papers, because John Reed and myself co-operated
in putting a little American spirit into it, by getting out a beautiful, large, illustrated propaganda sheet, showing just how the Russian revolution was made, and explaining to the German soldiers how they could likewise accomplish a successful revolution. (Prolonged applause.)

**Propaganda Helped Win War**

Now, the whole question is as to the effectiveness of this propaganda that went into Germany and Austria. Archibald Young, British Consul at Archangel, just said that undoubtedly that bolshevik propaganda was just as essential, and played as big a part in the blowing up of Germany as the military offensive of the Allies.

Just see how the situation stood. Our own military experts were saying that it would take six months or a year to reach the Rhine, and that it would take more than half a million American lives. And then, suddenly, there came a stoppage of the war; and that came because the revolution blew Germany up from the inside.

The hammering on the western front played its part, and so did hunger, also, but so also did the tremendous propaganda campaign that was shot in by millions of copies. Some of that matter was smuggled
through with prisoners. Some of it was dropped from aeroplanes. Sometimes, when a strong wind was blowing in the right direction, it was thrown up into the air and blown over into the enemy lines. But at any event, it got over onto the other side, and then the war suddenly stopped, and peace came.

So I ask the people who are working themselves up into a frenzy against the bolsheviks, to remember that, after all, these terrible people played a very important part in saving half a million American lives.

**What Did Soviet Do?**

Now, when the matter of the Soviet is brought up, people say: “Well, what did the Soviet accomplish?” I saw that brought up in the Vladivostock Soviet. Remember, in the bolsheviki there is only one party, but in the Soviet government of Russia, there are members of all political parties, as well as the bolsheviki.

Now, then, when that was brought up, a man got up, one of the members of the “right”, and turning to the bolsheviks, he said: “The bolsheviki promised lots of things. They promised bread. Where is the bread they promised?”

They had just cut the ration of bread down one-half a pound, and what he said was true.
But when he spoke, the whole crowd hissed him, and a storm of hises and whistles broke out, and he had to sit down. Why?

Because the judgment of the people was that even though the Soviets had not given them bread, it had given them certain other great things that they needed.

“Man does not live by bread alone”, and neither do the Soviets of Russia live simply by the bread that they furnish to the people.

At the present time, it is true that while the masses of people believe that the Soviets have made good, it is not a millenium over there by any means. Things are not all beautiful and fine. The people are suffering. But the Soviet gives the people certain things to the satisfaction of their souls.

The Soviet is an organization like a great family, in which the people can understand each other, in which the lowest man feels his human worth, in which all men may share power. That is one reason why the people feel that with this organization, for the first time, they have power; and they do not want to give up that power, once they have tasted it.

All men crave adventure, and through the Soviets these vast masses of workmen and peasants are united in one of the greatest ad-
ventures of social life, the building of a new world order, the building of new economics and new justice in the world, so that all men may have a spiritual purpose in life.

**Conscripts of a Dream**

They crave the satisfaction of it; and over in Russia now those peasants and workers, blundering, stolid, stupid, if you please, still, after all, are conscripts of a mighty dream. They have the dream that they are going to build, out of their tears, blood and suffering, a new order of society in Russia, which shall be an example for and an inspiration to all the suffering people of the whole world. (Prolonged applause.)

Do you know what Arthur Ransome, the great correspondent of the London Daily News, says? There were three great correspondents in Russia. One of them is a man named Harold Williams, who was very bitterly anti-Soviet—a very able man. Another man was the correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, Price. When the English troops landed at Archangel, he went to the Soviet Government and asked permission to write their propaganda, their English propaganda, to throw over to the English troops, to explain to them that they were simply murderers, and enemies of the Russian Revolution.
Ransome on Soviets

The third man was Arthur Ransome. He has written that wonderful document called "On Behalf of Russia", a letter to the American people. He is a man who has written almost thirty books. His letter is my own reaction to the Russian situation, and he ends it with this appeal:

"I do not say that these Soviet men are angels. I only say that through this fog of libel and slander that is surrounding them, let us break through to the truth, and we will find that these young men are striving for an ideal in the only way that they can strive. At any rate, they are writing a page in history more thrilling than any I know of in human history. They are writing it amidst showers of mud from the venal press in your country and in mine.

"But the time is coming when that mud will vanish like black magic at noon, and those pages shall be as white as the snow of Siberia, and the writing thereon shall be as the gold that glistens upon the dome; because future history will judge your race and my race, your nation and mine, by the help or the hindrance we gave in the writing of that page." (Prolonged applause.)
Bolshevik Leaders Honest

What he says about the men who are making history over there is my own reaction towards them. I lived with them very intimately, and I believe in them, as do all men who know them.

Every American who has been over there, Raymond Robbins, or Thompson, or Gregory Yarros of the Associated Press, or Davis and Hinkel, who got into the Y. M. C. A., but still, in some way or another, retained enough integrity and honesty to stand for their convictions, or the Friends' Society, the Quakers, who played the game fairest of all in Russia—all these men, who happen not to be Socialists, but who tried to help the Russian people, who lived with the Soviets, and know the men who worked there, will stand up and acclaim those men as being absolutely honest, and of unqualified integrity; and they will have every respect for the plans and programs that they are working out in Russia. That is my own reflection and attitude toward it.

I was in Vladivostock when the Czecho-Slovaks pulled down the flag of the Russian Republic, and sent up the old flag of Russian autocracy. I saw those longshoremen, who used to live like animals, and who had now been raised to the status of men through the
Soviets, knowing only that the Soviet was in danger, rush down to the big Red Staff Building and bar and bolt the doors.

There they fought, armed only with rifles, against machine guns, and with revolvers against artillery. There were only 200 of them against 20,000 Czecho-Slovak, English and Japanese troops, but they refused to surrender until this building was fired by an incendiary bomb, and they were driven out in the street and massacred.

**Big Red Funeral**

Three days later, on the Fourth of July, they gathered the corpses together in coffins, and they painted the coffins red. The women made wreaths for the coffins; 17,000 of them came pouring down the hill, unarmed and inoffensive.

They were singing the Internationale, "Arise, ye prisoners of starvation; arise ye wretched of the earth. For justice thunders condemnation. A better world's in birth." (Tremendous applause.) They came down through the streets of the city until they got in front of the English consulate, set away back in the great square, and there those 17,000 people stopped and held their meeting. They had no one to speak for them, but out of the crowd there came, here a peasant,
there a student, here a woman, and there a worker, until finally Sukanov came, the young fellow who was the idol of their hearts.

The Russians in this revolution were not idol worshipers; they have no heroes; but he was loved by them as very few men are loved in all their lives. He was only 24 years of age. He stood up before them, and then for the first time he saw the red coffins below him, and he burst into tears. Then, recovering himself, he turned to the great throng, massed there before him, the workers and peasants of the far east, and he said:

"Here, in the name of these red coffins which hold our men, by the flags that float over them, by these wreaths that we bring in honor of them, by their mothers, wives and children who wait for them, we pledge ourselves to live for the Soviet, and, if needs be, like them, die.

"They have taken the guns from our hands, but some day we will take sticks, and if we have not sticks, we will take our bare hands and our bare hearts; but now we can only fight with our minds and with our spirit. But some day we will fight for the Soviet. This Soviet, they say, is dead. That is what they say. But we say here today, 'Long live
the Soviet’! It lives in our hearts, and will always live in our lives.”

**Hail American Flag**

I could not picture the sadness, sorrow and despair of that crowd; but I am talking particularly to American patriots now, when I say that in the midst of their sorrow and grief, there suddenly came a man running down the hill, a sailor, who said:

“Comrades, cheer up, we are not alone. The Americans are with us.”

He pointed over to the great American warship Brooklyn over in the harbor, which was strung with the flags of all nations of the world. They thought it was in honor of their martyrs, instead of being in honor of our day of independence.

When they saw it, the whole crowd cried out: “The Americans are with us”, and they raised again their red coffins upon their shoulders, and they raised their wreaths, and then, through the heat and the dust, they made a long detour, and walked up the side hill until they came to the great flagstaff, where the Stars and Stripes was.

And there, below the Stars and Stripes, they laid their coffins down, held out their hands, sang their songs, and asked for just a word of compassion from this great democ-
racy, as they thought, in the West—a word to them for the democracy that they were making in the East. I never heard of any greater tribute that was ever paid to the American people.

**Shots Their Reward**

Remember, they had no leaders. Their leaders had always said that America was like all the other nations, more or less imperialistic; but the working people did not think that we were. They thought that, in some way or other, we, of all the nations of the world, could understand what they were driving at, and we could give them some help and some sympathy.

The only help and sympathy we did give them was a few weeks later, when American troops were sent ashore, and American boys joined the Japanese, and brought down the Soviets, and brought down the workingmen and peasants of Russia.

What a scene that was in Vladivostock after that landing!

A few days after it came, and law and order was established in the city—that is, the loosing of all those oppressors, monarchists, etc., on the city—the Allies declared an election.
Bolsheviki Win Election

On the last Sunday in July an election was held. There were seventeen political parties, because you know they say in Russia, wherever three people are together, there are four political parties represented. There were seventeen political parties in the field, and they allowed the bolsheviki to have ticket number 17. And although they put their leaders in prison, and suppressed the papers, when they counted the votes, they found that ticket number seventeen, the bolsheviki—and, mind you, it was under Allied auspices, and a fair election, they said—had more votes than all the other sixteen put together. (Prolonged laughter and applause.)

Then the election was declared irregular, and since then there have been no more elections in Russia. All you hear about is the tyranny of those who have set themselves up over the people.

A Canadian officer who has just come back says that even in Omsk, where they have had all the benefits of Czecho-Slovak and Kolchak dictatorship, seventy-five per cent of those benighted people are bolsheviks. They still remain benighted enough so that seventy-five per cent of them are bolshevik.
Work or Don't Eat

But what I want to bring home to you is this: this thing is in the hearts of the people. It is the greatest upheaval that has ever happened in human history, and it came with dramatic spontaneity. The iron has entered into their blood, and it is there to stay; and out of all their mistakes and blunders, which any fool can point to, there is coming a new social order which is based upon the two fundamental principles of the Soviet Republic.

The first is: “If a man shall not work, neither shall he eat”; and the second is: “No man shall have cake until everybody has bread”.

When they threw those fellows into prison in Vladivostock, in order to wear down the people, and take the heart, life, soul and energy out of them, do you think they accomplished their purpose? Those fellows had steel in their souls, and the last thing I heard echoing out of that prison up there on top of the hill, where they all were, was the English transport workers’ song, which they had learned. One-quarter of them at least talk English. They had come from Australia, England and other places, and they knew the song. And there rang out from that prison, over the Golden Horn, where the Allies’ bat-
attleships were lying, across the Pacific, and over to America, these words:

"Hold the fort, for we are coming;
Union men be strong.
Side by side we battle onward;
Victory will come."

(Tremendous applause.)

The day after the big meeting in the Ashland Auditorium, Mr. Williams gave nearly the same speech at the City Club of Chicago to a dining room crowded with listeners. After his talk questions were invited and responded to, one of the queries being as to whether or not Mr. Williams was a paid agent of the Bolsheviki. The answer was as follows:

Mr. Lobdell: I would like to ask one question. I have heard it stated that Mr. Williams is here in the employ of Lenine and Trotsky, and I would like to know whether he is, or whether he represents any faction of the Russian government over here in America?

Mr. Williams: I was going to read from the New York Times a much more acute question that has been put to me. I do not know how to answer categorically yes or no, and perhaps I can answer it in three minutes, if you will allow me to. I believe I could do
better that way, instead of answering categorically yes or no.

I worked, as I said, in the Soviet government. The way I happened to work in the Soviet government was this: Raymond Robins, the President of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia, asked me to see Trotsky about getting propaganda into Germany. I went to see Trotsky, and came very near being arrested as an agent of American capitalists. Happily, that was avoided, and the result was we were able to form this bureau for the purpose of sending propaganda into Germany.

I had part, as I said, in the work of these different papers. I received from the Soviet Government nothing for doing this particular piece of work, but last year, when the Germans made their drive toward Petrograd, I organized the International legion, which was more of a moral force than a very big force, though we did get about fifty English-speaking fellows to join together to fight the Germans.

For this I received 300 rubles as a guard in the Red army. Now, having done that, I established my identity with the Soviet government. When I started to leave Russia the idea was proposed that the Soviet government should establish publicity bureaus
in the other countries, and they thought it would be a good thing to establish a bureau in America, to give the true news of what was going on over there.

I consulted with Mr. Bullard, head of the American Bureau of Public Information in Russia, and he said he thought it would be allowed in America. Then I consulted with Mr. Robins of the American Red Cross, and told him about it. Then I came to Vladivostock, having these credentials for forming a bureau for public information about the Russian Soviet Government. I presented them to the Consul in Vladivostock, who immediately telegraphed them to the State Department in Washington. The State Department in Washington, after six weeks' delay in the matter, telegraphed me to come on.

When I arrived in Washington, they talked the matter over, and said the Soviet government is not recognized and therefore there can be no bureau of public information of that government in America. Therefore, I acted, as an American citizen, simply stating the facts over the country as truly as I could, largely to organizations like this.

Now, the Overman committee is examining what it is pleased to call bolshevik propaganda in America. When it gets the results
all in, and it could have these at the beginning just as well as at the last, it will find this fact, which will be very interesting to you here; that is, the Soviet government only fought those who were its enemies and were fighting it.

It fought Germany in the most terrible way, spending millions and millions of rubles. It never regarded America as its enemy. It never regarded America as a field for its particular propaganda, because it never regarded America as being a party in the attacks upon the Soviet government, and, therefore, there has never come to America any money, except some $10,000, which was sent to the Finnish Information bureau, and which Secretary Polk of the State Department, I think, never allowed Mr. Nuorteva, representative of the Finnish Workmen's bureau, to have. But the total of the money—that was sent to America in any guise as far as any one is concerned, and I ought to know about as much about it as any one else, is negligible.

Now, whether I am in the employ of the Soviet government of Russia ought to be decided by the State Department, and only by the State department. Because the minute they say I am an official accredited by the Soviet government, then I shall be, because
I was so given papers at Moscow, but until they officially tell me I am such, I shall consider that my status is as an American citizen and only as an American citizen.

Of course, most people always are interested in where a man gets his income. When I appear before the Overman committee, that is if I can get them to hear my case, and when the case is all in, they will find that at the present time my total receipts that I have received from the Soviet government in any form whatever was something like $63, which I received for having organized the International legion in Petrograd at the time of the invasion of the Germans. I don't know whether I shall elaborate any more one way or the other. (Applause.)

Now, you have been good enough to give me that hand, let me just state a few things else. I will state, unequivocally and positively, that when I left Moscow I talked with Tchetcherin and Lenin, and the whole crowd—I know them intimately—and they said positively that if a Russian bureau of public information was ever established in America for the Soviet government, that in no case whatsoever should it have the least semblance of being a propaganda bureau, that in no case at all should it in any way have
any alliance or any touch with anything that might savor of being in touch with the Socialists and other organizations; that the only thing they wanted to do was to present to the American people the idea of what the Soviet government was doing in a constructive way.

To do this, the actors of the Moscow Art Theater engaged in making a great picture, which cost something like two million rubles, showing the course of the Russian Revolution, and showing what they are striving to accomplish now.

Now, they have sent by the Newspaper Enterprise association to America some of these reels, showing the new schools, the new post offices, and all the other things. These reels are in the possession of the Naval Intelligence bureau, and if they were allowed to be liberated in America, I think they would be a corrective to some of the impressions now being passed out by the other side.

Of course, the people of the old order have a great information bureau in America, and it has unlimited funds, and it is loosing thousands and thousands of articles upon the public all the time, what Mr. Lomonossoff, the anti-bolshevik, what Mr. Robins, Mr. Thompson, what Mr. Henkel, what Mr. Davis of the Y. M. C. A., what all these and
other men say is absolute misinformation upon the Russian situation.

The reason why a man like Mr. Thompson of Wall street is not particularly frightened by the red specter of the Soviet is this: He realizes the Soviet is not going to put a damper upon brains and genius. He realizes the Soviet organization is the first organization that has ever called forth the most enthusiastic co-operation in Russia, enthusiastic co-operation on the part of the workmen in doing their work. The average American workman is interested in nothing but high wages and low hours. In Russia, at least in some places, you have an enthusiastic labor force for the first time.

Now, if the Soviet, through a man like Lenin, is not going to put a handicap upon genius and brains, and you have the creative forces of genius and brains in the arts working in one direction and the creative forces of genius and brains in labor working in the other, then you will have the greatest thing in the industrial order.

You know what killed Harriman on the Southern Pacific was not the fact of doing his great work, but he had to finance it. Under the Soviet plan, Lenin has already appropriated millions and millions of rubles for American technicians, etc. Under the
Soviet plan, these men will be delegated wealth, as we have been delegating political power on some men. They will be given this money and this vast machinery and told not to bother about their incomes or finances, but to do a big job in a big way; and that is precisely the reason why men of big brains and big vision are not frightened by the specter of the Soviet organization in Russia.

On the other hand, at a club like this—knowing you are interested—I do not see what we could do, because I think I am an honest American, who has wanted—even though I have my own particular partisan slant—who has wanted the best relations between America and Russia.

It is not because the Soviet government thinks America is any less militaristic than any other country, but they know America is far away and less dangerous, and therefore they are willing to make America the most favored government, and I cannot see for the moment—now that even Tchernoff, leader of the social revolutionists, Chairman of the Constituent Assembly, has gone over with Maxim Gorky and Markoff—I cannot see for the moment how it is possible there is going to be any other government in Russia than the Soviet government.
I know it will become more modern, more reasonable, and I know this, that unless America begins to come in co-operation with the Soviet government, that Soviet government, which wants capitalists, engineers, and architects, will turn to Germany and get them from there, but I know that most of the Russian people, as well as the leaders, look to America primarily as the place for their greatest help and as their greatest chance of co-operation.
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