"Muddling Through" in Russia

The story of how we came to intervene, told by Col. Raymond Robins, commander of the American Red Cross in Russia.

(The president says we are to remain in Russia indefinitely; congress has not yet spoken. Our policy in Russia is the most important foreign question before us today. These articles, with original documents are drawn from the experiences of Col. Raymond Robins, a man who went in his youth as a miner to the Klondike, struck it rich, devoted his money to humanity, first came into prominence in the fight for civic decency in Chicago, later in the Men in Religion Forward Movement, and then as one of the leaders in the progressive party and the personal friend of Theodore Roosevelt. He was selected by our government as a member of the Red Cross mission to Russia, and later on, with the withdrawal of his chief, Col. William Thompson, he became the commander of that mission. He was for six months unofficial representative of the United States government with the soviet government of Russia, with credentials from our ambassador.)—Editor's note.

IX. THE IDEA OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

"'The idea in the Russian revolution,' said Lenin to me, 'will overthrow every political social control in the world.'

"I want you to get that picture of Lenin as he sat in the Kremlin, in a room just off the high court of the old czar, in a chair still bearing the old czar's crest.

"There are other great figures in Soviet Russia beside Lenin. History will record George Chicherin as one of the great personalities of the day in Russia. Radek, the brilliant editorial writer, master of the use of proclamations, will also be accounted great. So will Trotsky, the fiery orator, the voice of the revolution. So will other figures in this most highly educated cabinet of commissars.

"But Lenin is head and shoulders over any man in Russia. A little, bald-headed man of 48 years, son of a star general of the old regime, a revolutionist converted by his brother's execution, a suspect condemned to death and reprieved through family influence, sent as exile to Siberia, escaping to Switzerland, becoming the foremost radical economist of Europe. He is a student of languages, speaks English better than I do, and speaks also Russian, Ukrainian, Yiddish, French and German with equal fluency.

"He is a patient, deliberate person, giving forth a sense of extraordinary power, practical, not caring for words.

"'The revolution may fail in Russia,' he said to me, 'for we are a primitive land, forced to progress beyond our natural pace. But the idea in the Russian revolution will overthrow every political social control in the world.'

"'Isn't that a rather large order?' I asked.

"'They are all outgrown, all old,' he said.

"'I can believe your statement about the governments of most of Europe,' I answered, 'but not America.'

"'America,' he said, 'is thoroughly corrupt.'

"At this I grew somewhat angry. 'Not so,' I said, 'I know my America. She has her grafters, it is true. She has her men who buy and sell offices. She has her lazy good citizens who do not take the trouble to vote. But when the citizenship of America is aroused, they have one man, one vote, a democratic system, and they put into office whom they choose. They do not put in socialists, as perhaps you think they should; they may prefer the good-natured corrupt boss to the snobbish reformer, but after all it is their choice. Their government is no better and no worse than the people make it; it represents them truly and that is all that can be asked of any government.'

"'You did not understand me,' said Lenin. 'I am not acusing you of having grafting individuals in your government. That is an incident in all countries. It is your whole system of representation that lacks integrity.

"'The supreme purpose of the modern social system is economic. The social system may once have had a military significance, for mutual protection. It may once have had a political significance, for representation of districts of country. But its purpose today is economic—for the production and distribution of goods.

"'An efficient and honest state must recognize this fact. Your government deals continuously with economic questions. Since you have a capitalistic system of industry, you should sent to your government Gary to represent steel, or Morgan or Rockefeller to handle efficiently and finally the questions that come under their jurisdiction.

"'During the war you recognized the need of an economic control and you sent for men like this to handle your government. But you should have this during peace times also, if you are to handle your economic questions efficiently. You should have your real masters of industry set free to manage industry.

"'Why do you not do this? Because you dare not be honest with yourselves. So you elect men from districts which have nothing in common except certain general ideas common to most men. You thus get representatives who are fluent talkers, but who have no power in the control of industry. What they say concerning industry is not the final word. The final word comes from elsewhere—from your economic control which you refuse to recognize.

"'Now the idea in the Russian revolution is the producers' economic social control. The great economic fact in Baku is oil; therefore the oil workers in Baku choose the man who can speak for oil. He has the authority to tell what the oil workers want and what they can promise in return.

"'From the Donetz coal basin we get men who handle coal, either by hand or brain—miners, engineers—but persons chosen to say what the coal industry can offer and what it desires of the rest of Russia.

"'From the agricultural districts the men who come are farmers; they know the needs of the farmers in their section of Russia.

"'The control of society by the economic organizations of producers—this is the creative idea in the soviets. This is the heart of the Russian revolution. This is the idea which will overthrow in the end all political forms of control. For it will create the most effective producing and distributing social control in the world for economic goods, and food, clothing and shelter for the people are the first realities of social concern among men.'"

"What do you think yourself of the idea?" I asked Colonel Robins.

"I think it should have its chance to develop. I think it is the creative idea of this generation. I do not believe we shall see in America the socialistic application of it which Russia is attempting, and I believe that Russia's socialistic formula will be modified.

"But our war labor board, the Whiteley councils of England, and the industrial districts of Australia—what are these but confessions that our political control needs at least to be supplemented by some form of economic control—distant and partial applications of Lenin's great idea?

"Meantime, of course, all the suppressions we practice toward Russia merely strengthen her most radical and belligerent elements and make it more difficult for her to try out her great experiment under sound conditions."

Have you any definite recommendations as to what we should do at the present time, aside from the fact that our military intervention is a crime?

"Yes," said Colonel Robins, "very definite recommendations:

"1. Lift the embargo at once on all Russian fronts.

"2. Enter into direct negotiations for an armistice on all fronts where allied or Czech forces are engaged.

"3. Insist in armistice negotiations upon general political amnesty to be declared and guaranteed by both sides, allied forces to be retained in Russia solely for the purpose of enforcing such guarantees, and to be used after signing of armistice in reorganizing and operating Russian railways primarily for transport of food supplies throughout Russia.

"4. Send relief through American Red Cross to Petrograd and Moscow immediately upon signing of armistice.

"5. Send commission of inquiry, with industrial and trade experts, to Moscow, to ascertain and report on present situation in Soviet Russia and best means of bringing social peace, economic reorganization and relief to all the people of Russia."

DEMOCRATS HELP CAUSE BY PHONOGRAPH RECORDS

Washington, Aug. 23.—Phonographs are now actively engaged in politics.

Announcement has been made by the democratic national committee that thousands of phonographs in the United States are to be mobilized by the committee to educate the public along political lines and to help win votes to the democratic cause during the next presidential campaign.

It is proposed to have speeches, by leading members of the national administration and other distinguished democrats, reproduced on phonographic records and disseminated for use in political gatherings and in private homes. These "talks" will be upon important public issues and of five minutes duration

One record containing a short speech by Chairman Homer S. Cummings has already been distributed, and another, by Attorney General Palmer, it is stated, will be ready by Sept. 1.

President Wilson, Vice President Marshall, Secretary of War Baker, Secretary of the Navy Daniels, Champ Clark, William G. McAdoo, James Hamilton Lewis and William J. Bryan, are among others who are expected to address their countrymen through the medium of these records, the committee said.

SENTENCED TO LIFE.

Ukiah, Calif., Aug. 23.—Herman Knaesche, the returned soldier who confessed to murdering his bride of two weeks, was sentenced to life imprisonment.

WORKERS WILL HOLD 2 MASS MEETINGS

E. F. Doree, Class War Prisoner, to Talk Tonight and He and Dunn Will Be Speakers Sunday Night.

Mass meetings will be held tonight and again tomorrow night by members of Metal Mine Workers' Industrial union, No. 800, at which several speakers, including E. F. Doree, who was among those convicted at the Chicago espionage trials, Doree, who is said to be an eloquent speaker, was sentenced to serve 10 years at Leavenworth prison, but is now at liberty under bonds pending the result of an appeal.

The meeting tonight will take place at 318 North Wyoming street. Doree's subject will be "Class War Prisoners." Tomorrow night's meeting will be held at Hebgen ball park beginning at 7 o'clock. Tonight's meeting will begin at 8 o'clock. Among the speakers at the ball park meeting will be Representative W. F. Dunn, who will speak on the local strike situation.

WESSON USES COSSACK METHODS ON BLIND MAN

About 7 o'clock last evening a blind man, T. E. Greenwell, was playing his violin on the south side of East Park street about the middle of the block between Main and Wyoming streets. He was accompanied by his wife, a small, middle-aged woman, who also plays. Their son, a pretty blackeyed child of 4 years, sat between the couple, watching the passersby.

Many citizens have noticed the little group upon the streets the last few days. Many citizens have dropped a coin in the cup as they passed. Last evening a considerable number of people had gathered about the musicians. Several eyewitnesses admit that there were perhaps 40 people in the crowd.

Officer Jack Wesson approached the blind man. The officer said in a peremptory, affronting tone: "Where did you get your authority to play here?"

The old man replied: "I have a permit from the mayor."

In still louder and more insulting tones Wesson demanded to see the permit. The blind man explained that having carried it about for several days without being asked for it, he had carelessly left it at home. Then, although a blind man, Greenwell began to feel the insult in the officer's manner; and Greenwell turned sharply to him and remarked that the officer "wanted to show his authority."

Whereupon Officer Wesson grabbed the blind man by the shoulder, whirled him around and started toward the jail in the city hall. Greenwell asked to be allowed to put his violin away, but was hustled right along, his wife succeeding in grasping the instrument from his hand.

Wesson turned his prisoner over to the jailor and returned to the place where the old lady and the child waited. He said to the woman, and said it roughly: "Now, you get away from here."

The little old woman, who may or may not be Irish, replied that she would not go. That she would stick right there. She was roughly seized and, too, was hustled to jail. The child was left to the care of the crowd. Later a man brought the baby to the jail and turned it over to the mother.

Mrs. Greenwell resisted arrest and separation from her child, with both fist and tongue, it is claimed. She says that Wesson spoke to them "like dogs" in the first place and it made her "mad."

In police court this morning Mr. and Mrs. Greenwell and their baby told the story of the copper. Wesson's rough actions. However, Judge Grimes, with his characteristically imperious manner, waved aside all explanations and, in rasping tones, ordered the blind man, his wife and their baby to "beat it."

Greenwell stated his willingness to leave, but said that he could not arrange his affairs to depart before Tuesday.

"You'll go if I say you will," rasped Grimes, who fixed the date of the departure of the Greenwells at Monday afternoon. No fine was imposed and no sentence was imposed or suspended.

WILL STRIKE UNLESS MONEY IS FORTHCOMING

Kalispell, Aug. 23.—Claiming that the increase in wages granted them by the railroad administration last spring never has been received, the section hands and those allied with them on the Kalispell division, have unanimously decided to strike Aug. 30, unless increased wages are given them.

MUST ANSWER TO VIOLATING MANN ACT

Helena, Aug. 23.—John D. Hill of Logan and Missoula will appear before the federal grand jury in Butte in October to answer to charges of violating the Mann act. It is alleged that Hill transported Mae Dahl from Minneapolis to Logan last April for immoral purposes. The couple were alleged to have lived as man and wife at Logan and Missoula.

Phone 52 If You Want to Rent That Furnished House

KONIG PUBLISHES DEUTSCHLAND TALE

By CARL D. GROAT
(United Press Staff Correspondent.)

Berlin.—(By Mail.)—Though allied warships lingered outside Norfolk, Va., and fishing boats with nets sought to entangle him, Capt. Paul Konig, master of the U-boat Deutschland, made his escape safely on his first journey to America.

He has just written an account of the outward voyage in the Bremen Nachrichten.

"About two or three days after our arrival in Baltimore (August, 1916) came news that three cruisers were plying at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay," he wrote. "A few days later we had information that two English and two French cruisers were operating at the entrance, in the daytime, but withdrew further out at night. These cruisers apparently knew the path we took in and were anxious to catch us on the outward journey. We learned, too, that some fishing boats, that ordinarily did not remain in the channel, had stopped there and put out a very long net, hoping to entangle our gears therein. I ascertained, too, that a firm in Boston had supplied a dozen microphone to English account. What a triumph it would have been for the English if they could have captured us."

Konig declared that he was a bit skeptical about American neutrality and fearful lest the Americans should not prevent the British from coming within the three-mile limit.

On the 1st of August, the Deutschland took its departure. Konig said that he had hoped to be able to avoid press boats but had not been able to do so. However, he rejoiced as night came on, and he lost his press pursuers. However, when he reached Newport News he was hailed by a press boat.

That night he made for the three-mile limit, submerging and emerging several times. He spied fishing boats in the distance, and altered his course. Also an American destroyer passed overhead. Having taken a new course when he spied the fishing boats, he turned on his electrical engines, and when he ascertained that there were no sounds of enemy craft, he headed out to sea at some distance from where the fishing boats were stationed.

"In the little messroom of the Deutschland, I drank a bottle of wine with the officers and engineers, which had been given us by German-American friends," he concluded. "We drank to a safe journey. Twenty-two days later we came into the port of Bremen safely."

Konig's plan for outwitting the press boats at Baltimore is believed to have been an attempt to get the Baltimore city officials to hold up the boats on the plea that they had not had proper inspection. The Washington administration, however, notified the Baltimore authorities not to halt the press boats.

REMOVE KAISER'S PICTURE

(By United Press.)

Berlin.—(By Mail.)—The kaiser's picture is to be taken out of the schools. The proposal provoked considerable discussion, and many members of the Prussian assembly were opposed to it. The government explained, however, that it is not letting politics mingle with education and that this is the basis for the removal.

CANADIAN HIGHWAY TO BE CONSTRUCTED

Canada is showing keen interest in new and well-built roads. In addition to many highway improvement plans in the provinces, a bill has been prepared asking an appropriation of $10,000,000 to build a road to be known as the Canadian highway across Canada from coast to coast.

The Canadian highway, according to plans mapped out two years ago by the Canadian Automobile association, will extend from Glace bay, near Sydney, N. S., to Cape Scott on Vancouver island.

Morsels From A Sage's Scrap Book

By what three princesses was Captain John Smith's life saved?

By Tarahiganda, a lady of the Turkish harem; Callamata, a lady of Hungary, and Pochahontas (1595-1616), the young daughter of the Indian chief, Powhatan, who threw herself between him and her father's wrath.

BAIL IS WANTED WITHOUT FAIL FOR THE MEN WHO ARE IN JAIL

Hundreds of workers are literally rotting in the jails of this country because of their activity in the cause of Labor. Many of these victims of the world-wide class war are awating trial—and have been waiting for many weary months for the speedy trial guaranteed them by the United States Constitution. Others were tried and sentenced to terms ranging from one to twenty years during the period of war hysteria, and appeals in their cases are now being taken from King Capital drunk to King Capital sober.

Some of the prisoners have escaped by death, others are dying, many have contracted tuberculosis and other loathsome diseases, and all are suffering untold agony from close confinement in the fetid atmosphere, from insanitary and unhealthy surroundings, from poor and insufficient food, and from inhuman treatment accorded them by brutalized guards. Past attempts to secure bail for all of these workers in jail have not been attended with great success because of the lack of system. Individuals sought to secure bail for their personal friends, and failing to get the necessary amount they returned what had been collected, thus making their entire efforts fruitless. This was the condition facing the delegates from all the western district organizations of the Industrial Workers of the World when they met in conference on July 3 and 4 in Seattle. The delegates solved the problem by an unfailing means—Organization.

A Bail and Bond Committee was elected to systematize the work of collecting bail and a nation-wide drive has been started to secure the loan of cash, Liberty Bonds and property sufficient to gain the release of all class war prisoners. With practically no advertising Six Thousand Dollars were raised in the first five days. More than Two Hundred Thousand Dollars are needed to release those now being held for their Labor activity.

Sums of Five Dollars and up are accepted as loans, and all cash, Liberty Bonds or property is tabulated in triplicate, one copy going to the person making the loan, another being retained by the Bail and Bond Committee, and the third being filed with the Trades Union Savings and Loan Association of Seattle, with whom all funds, bonds and property schedules will be banked.

Only those who have been proved loyal and trustworthy are being sent out as collectors. Everything possible has been done to safeguard this bail and bond fund, from the selection of the committee to the choice of the bank. A portion of the fund is being set aside to return loans on demand in case persons who have made them are forced to leave the country or have other reasons for making a withdrawal.

Bail will be used to release specified persons where that is desired, but otherwise the release will take place by a blind drawing of names, thus insuring fairness to all prisoners. By common consent the men in Wichita, Kansas, jail will first be released, as they have been held the longest and jail conditions are worse there than anywhere else in the entire country. This bail has nearly all been subscribed, and the men will be made accredited collectors when released, and their speedy release will help to set others at liberty.

No necessity exists for argument. Your duty is clear. If your ears are not deaf to a call from your class, if you feel that an injury to one is an injury to all, if there burns within you the faintest spark of humanity, you will see that the men do not remain behind the bars an unnecessary minute because you withhold your support.

THEY ARE WILLING TO GIVE THEIR LIVES FOR YOU!
ARE YOU WILLING TO LOAN YOUR DOLLARS TO THEM?
Send all cash, checks and bonds to John L. Engdahl, Secretary of Bail and Bond Committee, Box W, Ballard Station, Seattle.
Property schedules should be filed with Attorney Ralph S. Pierce, Room 607 Central Building, Seattle.

Butte Office, 318 N. Wyoming St., A. S. Embree, Bond and Bail delegate.

NEWS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE AT TONOPAH

The following letter from Tonopah under date of August 19, gives an interesting disciplim of the situation there with reference to the miners' strike:

Tonopah, Nev., Aug. 19, 1919.

The situation here has not materially changed in the last day or so, save for a little further developments in our favor.

The companies have condescended to establish a company store and retail to miners and boarding houses at cost, and to appoint two miners as auditors for that store, but will not advance the wage scale. The miners have flatly refused to accept any agreement unless all demands are granted. The spirit of solidarity reigns supreme, and the miners are determined to fight the bosses to the bitter end.

We have gained no information as to the fate of Fred McNordty, the deported miner, but are using every means at our command to locate his whereabouts. The consensus of opinion here is that he has met the same fate as Frank Little in Butte.

The bosses are trying every scheme to destroy the solidarity of the workers, but their efforts are of no avail, the spirit of solidarity can be seen at every angle.

The company issued hospital cards to all the gamblers and piano players in town, so that they could attend a closed meeting at the Airdrome Monday, the 18th, in opposition to the miners' mass meeting at the ball park. Said gamblers and piano-players voted to go back to work for 10 days, so as to give the bosses time to come to some agreement; and true to their promise they were right on the job this morning not in the shafts or stopes, hollering nothing down, but at the gambling dens, shouting "Ace in the hole," or "The next dance is a waltz."

Not one mine in the district is operating today, nor are they likely to be for some time if we do not get all our demands. The strike demands are now only a side issue compared with the demand for the deported miners' return.

Will keep you notified as to any further developments. Get all the publicity for us that is possible on the outside. Can get none here. They will not allow the printer to print us a handbill, but we can always go them one better as we have some pretty good typewriters in the ranks.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed.) M. C. SULLIVAN.

Debs' Daily Message

"No one will attempt to dispute the fact that our interests as workers are identical. If our interests are identical, then we ought to unite. We ought to unite within the same organization, and if there is a strike we should all strike, and if there is a boycot ll of us ought to engage in it. If our interests are identical, it follows that we ought to belong to the same party, as well as to the same economic organization. What is politics? It is simply a reflex of economics. What is a party? It is the expression politically of certain material class interests. You belong to that party that you believe will promote your material welfare. Is not that a fact? If you find pourself in a party that attacks your pocket, do you not quit that party?

"Now, if you are in a party that opposes your interests, it is because you don't have intelligence enough to understand your interests. That is where the capitalists have the better of you. As a rule, they are intelligent and shrewd. They understand their material interests and how to protect them. You find the capitalists as a rule belonging only to capitalist parties. They don't join a working-class party, and they don't vote the socialist ticket."

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