

# THE SOVIET

Devoted to the Interests of the Working Class

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## Murderers of The People

The reported recognition of the Omsk Government under the dictator Kolchak by the Government of England, France, Italy and the United States fittingly caps the hypocrisy, double-dealing and treachery which has characterized the policy of the capitalist governments toward Soviet Russia.

Ever since Soviet Russia, by Revolution, brought down in ruins the might of Hohenzollern Germany, the Allied Governments have openly assumed the imperialistic task of crushing human liberty in the world. Severely repressing the opposition at home, the Governments of England, France, Italy, Japan and the United States have insisted that the German and Austrian revolutions shall not be social revolutions, and have sent troops to attack the Russian Soviet Republic.

The European Governments openly proclaim that their object is to destroy the Soviet Government, and Bolshevism with it. The Government of the United States, through its mouthpiece, Woodrow Wilson, expresses vague humanitarian phrases full of noble sound, but dares not tell the truth about invasion in Russia.

As a matter of fact, the Associated Powers have been engaged, without a declaration of war, in murdering workers and peasants in cold blood, in order to make the world safe for the bloody regime of capitalism, which has watered the earth with the blood of the working class for a hundred years, and finished up with the gigantic holocaust of the Great War.

Immediately following the Proletarian Revolution, the excuse for hostility toward Soviet Russia was that the Germans were in control. The United States Government supported this view by the publication of a series of forged documents, which deceived no one. The fall of Imperial Germany completely destroyed this fabrication.

Then it was "to guard military stores and the rear of the Tehekho-Slovaks"—the Judas nation—and to "restore law and order." The United States Government deliberately incited the peoples of the world against Soviet Russia by publishing an "appeal to humanity" against the greatly exaggerated Red Terror—at the same time ignoring the horrible White Terror of the Tehekho-Slovaks in the Volga Valley, and of Mannerheim in Finland.

With phrases about "justice" and "self-determination" on their lips, the statesmen of the capitalist Powers sent armed troops to shoot down Russian workers and peasants defending their own proletarian government—the first Government of the People in the history of the world. While issuing lofty invitations to Prinkipo, the Allied and American Governments drew closer around Soviet Russia the iron ring of their blockade, dooming to death by starvation hundreds of thousands of women and children. Their soldiers co-operated with the Horvaths, the Semionovs, the renegades, the Black Hundreds attempting to restore Tsarism, the restorers of vodka, Cossack rule and pogroms.

While protesting against "Bolshevik propaganda," the agents of the Associated Powers in Russia corrupted officials, actively assisted the counter-revolution, and under cover of diplomatic immunity, plotted to overthrow the Government of the Russian People.

Now they recognize the "Government" of Kolchak; Kolchak the Tsarist, the man of black reputation under the old regime; Kolchak, the debaucher of Siberian peasants; Kolchak, who suppressed the last vestiges of democratic association; Kolchak, who forbade labor unions, even as the Tsar did; who arrested, jailed and massacred thousands upon thousands of workers and peasants without trial; Kolchak, whose "death train" of Bolshevik prisoners is the horror of the whole world; Kolchak, who is repudiated by all liberty-loving men the world over, whatever their political opinions.

To-day the capitalist press is screaming exultantly that the battered and starving armies of the Proletarian Republic are being pushed back on all fronts. Already in their columns is beginning to appear the fierce foreshadowing note of the great Revenge. If Capitalist Imperialism wins in Russia, there will follow a massacre that will make the

punishment of the Paris Commune look like a picnic. The capitalist class the world over is licking its lips in anticipation.

It is the fault of the world's working class if Soviet Russia is made a shambles by the capitalist governments of the victorious Powers. It is our fault if our Comrades in Europe are stricken down by the murderers of the people!

## Proletarian Dictatorship

Socialism is a science. Marx scientifically proved that Capitalism generated within itself the forces which would destroy it; and that it also generated the class antagonisms which would unite the workers to rise against it, and finally overthrow it. He also predicted that during the transition period between Capitalism and Socialism, the working class would be the ruling class; and, to make his meaning perfectly clear, he went on to say that this working class rule of society in transition "cannot be anything else but the dictatorship of the proletariat."

There are very few Socialists to-day who do not see that Capitalism is approaching its doom with tremendous speed; that the forces generated within the system have, under the intensifying pressure of war, finally burst it asunder. Also, the very desperation with which Capitalism attempts to reconstruct the shattered world, reveals it in all its naked class-character, as the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie. This, with gigantic strides, is awakening and uniting the working class, and sharpening its class consciousness to the point of action for the overthrow of Capitalism. So are the main points of Marx's thesis proven true.

The character of the Seattle strike, and more particularly of the Canadian strike, must be emphasized. The Seattle workers, after they had tied up the city, discovered that a human community cannot be tied up. The workers must be fed, the sick must be attended, the dead buried, refuse removed, and lights, water and such public needs supplied. Moreover, the city must be policed.

The Strike Committee thus found itself "licensing" certain industries and services to operate, in order that, primarily, the working class should not suffer. The restaurant and hotel employees being also on strike, the Committee established its own restaurants. In order to safeguard lives and goods of the workers, a proletarian police was established.

In Winnipeg and Toronto to-day the same condition is observable. The General Strike, by paralyzing industry, paralyzes government. The Strike Committee are forced to rule the cities, to "exempt" certain industries and services in order to provide for elementary human needs; they must police the cities themselves. Willy-nilly, this "production for use and not for profit" is undertaken for the benefit of the workers. It displaces the capitalist government which operated for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. It proves that the capitalist government is incapable of acting for the benefit of the working class; but what is more important, it shows up in glaring colors the class-character of capitalist government, which in time of Labor troubles always acts as the agent of the bourgeoisie against the working class, and must be replaced by a working class government of a peculiar working class character whenever the working class becomes the ruling class, as it is to-day on a small scale in some Canadian cities.

And here another of Marx's predictions is proven correct. This government of the workers "cannot be anything else but the dictatorship of the proletariat." And still another, demonstrated to all who have eyes to see, that "the working class cannot simply laid hold of the capitalist state machinery and use it for its own ends."

An editorial in the New York Times of Monday, June 2nd, sums up the situation from the capitalist point of view:

### "CANADA'S PROBLEM

"In form it is a strike that is on in Canada. In intent it is revolution. The Government is inactive and seems powerless. Let us not be too quick to condemn the Government for inaction. Under the laws, Governments are not empowered to act unless there is violence. There are no riots worthy of the name; the "strikers" simply assume the

government of a town, the police and firemen join them, and there is no overt act of which to take cognizance.

Yet nothing is done in any of these cities except by permission of the local Strike Committee. In Winnipeg the milk and bread wagons run by such a permit. The Post Office employees join the strikers in one city after another, and the mails are delivered only as the Strike Committee permits. The police of Winnipeg joined the strikers at first, but when the Winnipeg authorities proposed to raise a new police force the regular one returned to work. This sounds encouraging until you hear the reason. They returned to work so there should be nobody to interfere with the strikers, who as yet had committed no overt acts of disorder. In Calgary the mails are being distributed by volunteers, the regular postal force having quit. Volunteer fire departments are springing up through the West to take the places of the striking firemen. And all these strikes, even those of the Government employees, are sympathetic strikes.

"The banks of Winnipeg have closed their doors because they cannot do business with the mail and telegraph services disrupted. At the Fort Garry Hotel," says a correspondent, "meals are served only to women and children, perhaps by gracious permission of the Strike Committee granted to several restaurants in Winnipeg to keep open. It also permitted some bakeries to reopen on condition that they placed themselves under its jurisdiction."

"Our own laws may be different from those of Canada. Certainly the sanctity of the mails would not be interfered with without civil war. But as things stand, the Dominion is faced with a problem which its law seem powerless to avert. The House of Commons will debate the question to-day. Surely some way must be found by which a menaced Government may find a weapon with which to strike back and save itself."

From this editorial may be gleaned a hint of what would happen to such strikers in the United States. If there are no laws to interfere with peaceable strikers, the American government would pass them. If there were no riots to provoke massacres, the American capitalist class, and its press, would create them—as it has in other strikes we know of.

At present the Canadian Government does not seem to know what to do. But depend upon it, the capitalist government will find a way. It will suspend its own constitutional guarantees, it will abolish its own democratic political machinery. It will either yield the (at present) moderate demands of Canadian labor—and then emasculate its conditions—or it will find a way of applying force which will break the strike.

Then the workers of Canada—and we hope, of the United States—will learn the final lesson which proletarian revolutions all teach, and which Marx formulated:

"If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and as such sweeps away by force the old conditions of production; then it will, along these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."

It matters not that the Canadian General Strike, and the Seattle Strike before it, were declared for the most elementary immediate demands. The process of the strike, and the logic of its inevitable conflict with the government, cannot fail to drive home the lesson that **no lasting working class reforms are possible under capitalist government; only the overthrow of the capitalist system, and the establishment of Proletariat Dictatorship, can solve the workers' problems and at the same time forever put an end to the class struggle.**

While the above was on press we received the following information: "In the early hours of June 17th many of the strike leaders in Winnipeg were taken from their beds and dragged secretly to Stony Mountain prison by official orders. Those arrested are: R. B. Russell, R. E. Bray, Geo. Armstrong, Rev. Wm. Ivens, Alderman J. Queen, Alderman A. A. Heap, M. Chartenoff and others. Warrants are issued for the arrest of S. Blumenberg, W. A. Pritchard. The Winnipeg Labor Temple was surrounded by police and raided under the direction of Inspector Nead, of the North-West Mounted Police."

"It is anticipated that all strike leaders and labor agitators west of Winnipeg will be handled in the same ruthless fashion."

**"Governments are used to protect the interests of the Master Class and keep the slave class in subjection." Government MEANS TO GOVERN and presupposes a "Master" and a "slave." Workers, understand your slave position.**

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation,  
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,  
For Justice thunders condemnation,  
A better world's in birth—"

## The Famine in India

Extract from The Nation

It is hard to understand what some men are made of. How can Lloyd George hold up his head when he reads such statements as have been put out recently by the India Famine Fund Committee in regard to conditions in India for which he, as Premier of Great Britain, is responsible? This English organization, through its Canadian branch, has published an advertisement in the leading Canadian papers from which we take the following facts: "Plague and famine are rampant in India. Death stalks through the land, taking its toll. The existing conditions are unparalleled elsewhere in the history of the world." This Committee estimates that thirty-two millions of death have already taken place and that a hundred and fifty millions of people are on the verge of starvation. "There has been no rain since May last (1918) and consequently the country is literally burnt up by the tropical heat. The poor have eaten all their food. . . . The cities are people by emaciated humanity. Traffic has ceased, mails are undelivered, and business is at a standstill."

"In England the 'Fight the Famine Council' has appealed for an immediate peace of reconciliation for the relief of starving Europe and India. But from Mr. Lloyd George comes not one syllable to show that he realizes the situation or that he is moved in the slightest degree by the plight of these Indian wards of the British Empire. Instead, the Government of India becomes more despotic every day. No newspaper may now be printed or published without previous sanction by the local Government, and everywhere the rioting due to hunger and misgovernment has been suppressed in the most ruthless fashion, airplanes being used 'most effectively' in the Punjab as in Egypt. Everywhere the leaders of Indian public opinion are signing a pledge that they will 'refuse civilly to obey the new coercion bills' as 'subversive of the principles of liberty and justice, and one would think that the men under whose government such things can happen would be remembering an old saying about not judging lest one be judged."

The state of the whole world is so appalling that a peace of reconciliation is obviously the need of the hour, and with it the restoring of the normal processes of life in every country. The warnings which are coming to us from across the seas should not fall upon deaf ears, yet they do not mean that the way out is to accept forthwith the monstrous peace of Versailles. They are but a fresh challenge to the world to strive anew for those wonderful ideals set forth by Mr. Wilson only to be abandoned by him.

## The Soviet Conquerors

By N. Lenin

(From the Moscow "Pravda," March 6—Issued to the World by Radio)

Nothing is firm in a revolution except what has been achieved by the masses of the people. It will therefore be sufficient to record in writing our real and solid conquests:

The founding of the Third (Communist) International at Moscow on March 2nd, 1919, was the expression not only of the Russian proletarian masses, but of those of all nations of Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Finland, Switzerland, in a word of the proletarian masses of the world.

This is precisely the reason why the founding of the Third (Communist) International is a lasting work. But four months ago, it was still impossible to say that the Power of Soviets, the Soviet form of the State, constituted an international achievement. There was in this form an essential element which belonged not only to Russia but to all the capitalist countries. But it was still impossible to declare in advance what changes would be made in this form by the later development of the world revolution.

The German revolution was the necessary experiment performed to answer these questions. The most advanced capitalist country presented to the entire world, following the most reactionary capitalist country, within the short space of a hundred days, not only fundamentally the same revolutionary forces, not only the same general direction of events, but even the same essential form of the new proletarian masses: the Shop Stewards committees.

In America, the most powerful capitalist country, and the youngest, there is an immense sympathy of the working masses for the Soviets.

The ice is broken. The Soviets have triumphed all over the world. They have triumphed particularly and above all in the sense that they

have conquered the sympathy of the proletarian masses. That is the important part. That is a conquest which the atrocities of the imperialistic bourgeois and the persecutions and assassinations of the Bolsheviks cannot now take away from the masses. The greater the fury of the so-called democratic bourgeoisie, the more will these conquests live in the souls of the proletarian masses, in their consciousness, in their heroic readiness for the struggle.

The ice is broken. And for that reason the work of the Communist International Conference, at Moscow, which founded the Third International, proceeded with so much smoothness and regularity, so much calm and firm determination.

We have recorded the conquests already made. We have put on paper what was already established in the consciousness of the masses. All of us knew much more than this. All of us saw and felt, by the experience of his own country, that a new proletarian movement had begun to ferment with a force and with a depth that were unheard-of; that this movement would never fit into any of the old channels; that it cannot be restrained either by the "Socialism" of petty politics or by the Lloyd Georges and Wilsons of the so-called Democratic Capitalism of England and America, with all their experience and their cleverness, nor by the Hendersons, the Renaudels, the Brantings, and other empty heroes of social-Chauvinism with all their skill in reconciling opposites.

This new movement is heading directly for a "dictatorship of the proletariat." It is advancing in spite of all hesitations, in spite of discouraging set-backs, in spite of this "Russian" chaos which is so prominent in the eyes of those who judge from the outside; it is marching toward the Soviet power with a might which is carrying along on its path millions and tens of millions of proletarians.

This is the record of our accomplishments. In our orders of the day, our reports, our papers, and our speeches, we have printed the accomplishments already made.

The Marxist theory, illuminated by the bright light of reason and experience, reaching all over the world in revolutionary workers, has assisted in grasping the full logic of events. It will aid all proletarians in the entire world who are struggling to overthrow capitalistic slavery, to become clearly conscious of the object of their struggle, to march more steadily on the road already begun, to grasp more surely and consolidate their achievement. The founding of the Third International is the gateway of the International Soviet Republic, of the International victory of Communism.

## II

### A GREAT EPOCH

By Leon Trotsky

I suppose the Czars and the former priests who controlled the Moscow Kremlin, never imagined that there would gather within its venerable walls representatives of the most revolutionary party of the modern world. Yet this has happened. In one of the halls of the palace of justice, still haunted by the melancholy shades of the ancient Czarist penal code, are sitting the delegates of the Third International.

In truth, the tooth of war has done effective work in undermining the walls of the Kremlin.

This physical background for the Communist Congress is simply the external manifestation of the numerous changes that have taken place in the ten or twenty years just passed, in the conditions of the whole world.

In the days of the Second International, as well as of the First, Czarist Russia was the principal support of world reaction. In the International Socialist congresses, the Russian revolution was represented by emigrants whom the majority of the opportunist leaders of the European Socialists regarded with an ironical condescension. The functionaries of parliamentarism were imbued with an unalterable conviction that the misfortunes of the revolution were the lot of semi-Asiatic Russia, while Europe might rely on a gradual, peaceful painless development from Capitalism to Socialism.

In August, 1914, the internal contradictions that had been heaped up by Imperialism broke through the pacific crust of Capitalism, with its parliamentarism, legal liberties, and its political and other propositions sanctified by law. From the pinnacle of civilization, humanity was cast down into a terrible abyss of barbarism and bloody savagery.

Although the Marxist theory had foreseen the bloody catastrophe, the reformist Socialist parties were taken unawares. The prospect of peaceful development vanished in thin air. The opportunists could see no other duty than to invite the working masses to defend their nationalistic bourgeois fatherland. On August 4, 1914, the Second International perished ingloriously. Since that day, all true revolutionists, the heirs of Marxist spirit, have had no other aim than to create a new international for the implacable revolutionary struggle

against capitalist society. The war unleashed by Imperialism has thrown the entire capitalist world out of its equilibrium. All questions have been revealed as revolutionary questions. The old masters of social-patriotism have displayed all their talent in the effort to preserve the appearance of their former parties, their former lies, and their old organizations. But it was no use. Once more in history, war was the mother of revolution. The imperialist war was the mother of a proletarian revolution.

The honor of initiating a proletarian revolution belongs to the Russian working class and to its Communist Party, hardened as it has been in conflict. By its November revolution, the Russian proletariat not only opened the gates of the Kremlin to the representatives of the International proletariat, but it also laid the cornerstone of the edifice of the Third International.

The revolutions of Germany, Austria, Hungary, the lightning spread of the Soviet movement and of civil war, marked by the martyrdom of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and of how many nameless thousands of nameless heroes, showed that Europe did not have at its disposal any other methods than those of Russia. The essential identity of the methods in the struggle for Socialism, which has been proved by experience, has permitted the creation of the Communist International and simultaneously rendered immediately necessary the convoking of the Communist Congress.

This Congress is in session within the walls of the Kremlin. We were witnesses and participants in one of the greatest events of the world war. The working class of the whole world has captured from its enemies the most inaccessible citadel of the ancient Russia of the Czars, and from this citadel it launches all its energies for the final conflict. What a joy to fight and live in such a time!

## Concerning the White Terror

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir,—May I call your attention to certain errors in an editorial paragraph in *The Nation* of May 17? The real facts are bad enough without being exaggerated, and constant efforts are being made to minimize or misrepresent those facts. It must be remembered that the civil war in Finland was started when the workers found that the illegally selected White Guard element was entering into a compact with Germany and was arming itself to put down the Finnish workers. Under these conditions, the workers got ammunition from Russia, though in insufficient quantity, and their Government was defeated because the White Guard got efficient military support from Germany. Following this defeat, according to reliable information derived from an investigation recently conducted in Finland, over fifteen thousand men and women were executed, over ten thousand of them being shot down with machine guns in batches of from fifty to five hundred by the Finnish White Guard and the German invaders, without any trial—and after the civil war was already over. These figures should be substituted for those contained in the paragraph above referred to. According to the official figures of the White Guards eighty thousand prisoners were in the prison camps shortly after the civil war was over and the head of the official medical commission of the White Guard Government, in a statement reprinted in Scandinavian countries, confesses that at least ten thousand died of starvation in the prison camps.

You are also in error in stating that the Socialist vote did not decline in the last election. The figures actually show a slight falling-off, but considering that about fifteen thousand Socialists fell in the civil war, ten thousand died of starvation in prison camps, and about fifty thousand fled to Russia, the conclusion is unavoidable that at least seventy-five thousand new voters must have supported the Socialist ticket at the recent elections. This they did despite the fact that the White Terror prevailed (and still prevails) in Finland, threatening with summary death anyone who dares to express openly his abhorrence of the Mannerheim rule; and despite the fact that the White Guard Government suppressed most of the Socialist papers, closed the labor halls, and prevented the Socialists from carrying on an election campaign.

The facts regarding General Mannerheim's visit to Stockholm are these: He planned to visit Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Christiania, on invitation of the kings of the three countries concerned. He visited Stockholm, and was received with great ceremony by the king, but with still greater ceremony by the people of Stockholm, who stoned him with bricks and bottles during his travel through the city. Only the calling out of the army detachments in Stockholm saved him. He visited Copenhagen, and was accorded a similar demonstration by the workers of that city. He did not dare visit Christiania, as the Norwegian workers threatened a general strike if the "mass murder-

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er" should visit their city, an dthe Norwegian Government in conse-  
quence cancelled the invitation.

These are the facts about the situation in Finland.

SANTERI NUORTEVA.

American Bureau of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic.

New York, May 24.

## Reconstruction or Revolution

Reconstruction is the order of the day—in words. The old system has clearly shown its evils to the masses. The workers have been lured to expect great things of reconstruction from the promises made during the war. But these promises are not being realized. Nor are they realized under Capitalism, where the profits of the capitalists are more important than the peace and happiness of the masses.

Capitalism is utterly incompetent on the problems of reconstruction as they concern the masses. The Canadian Parliament is bankrupt. It dodges every real issue. It is the organ of Capitalism and must act to promote the interests of Capitalism.

Reconstruction, accordingly, proceeds on the basis of promoting Capitalism, which controls our life. Industry has concentrated to the point where it dominates the whole of society, where a group of industrial concerns and bankers control industry.

But this concentration of industry provides the basis for the socialization of industry—control and management of industry, of the shops, mills and mines, by the workers through their own organization—industrial democracy.

This does not mean state control or ownership of industry. The capitalist state is the organ of the capitalists, to protect the interests of the capitalists and crush the workers. State control of industry means capitalist control of industry, control of the workers by the capitalists and their state. Industrial democracy is realizable only by breaking the power of the capitalist state and of the capitalists, ending profits and placing all industry under the control of the workers.

All these problems are determined by the class struggle that rages in capitalist society—where a few capitalists own the industries on which depends the life and happiness of the many. Every act of the state, in war and peace, is determined by the class struggle; to promote the supremacy of the capitalist class against the working class.

This class struggle comes from the fact that the workers, the majority of the people, are denied all control of industry, are an expropriated class. The purpose of the class struggle of the proletariat is to secure control of industry for the workers.

In the shops, mills and mines are the workers exploited. They are exploited by not securing the full social value of their labor, by being compelled to work for the profit of the capitalist. This exploitation develops the class struggle, the purpose of which is to socialize industry for the proletariat. This socialization of industry requires the conquest of the power of the State for its realization—the construction of a new workers' state, or government, which will proceed to socialize industry.

Political democracy is of slight value to the workers. There can be no democracy without industrial democracy—the industrial vote by means of which the workers shall absolutely direct industry for the peace and happiness of the workers.

Revolutionary Socialism proposes a new government, that shall be industrial in character and function. This government, elected directly by the workers in the factory and the farmers in the village, shall be the directing source of industrial management, depriving the capitalists of power, using industry exclusively for life and not for profit. This is the object—political mass action and proletarian dictatorship the means.

England.—The Government has been greatly embarrassed by the publication in a local Labor paper of a secret military circular, issued to ascertain how many soldiers would respond to preserve the public peace (during a threatened police strike in London). How many would be available for strike-breaking, for service in Russia, and how they felt towards Trade Unions, formed part of the inquiry. Mr. Winston Churchill had his hands full to explain to the House of Commons what it all meant. He said it was a confidential army circular, and that a copy had been stolen and published to put the Government in a bad light—which it did.

France.—The government is probing the raising of the Red Flag on four French warships in the harbor of Odessa. It is said that all the naval forces in the Black Sea have returned to France. Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies state that neither the soldiers nor sailors are willing to fight the Russian Revolution.

Serbia.—It is reported that Serbia is in the throes of a Bolshevik uprising. Serbian regiments have been hastily withdrawn from the Hungarian front.

Italy.—East Indian troops stationed in Southern Italy have mutinied. With India seething with revolt, it would be rather risky to ship these soldiers back home and let them loose.

## To Our Readers

From the first issue of The Soviet we have fearlessly published news and information of world-wide events, which would be of benefit to the working class, and we are determined to continue this policy. Up to date we have distributed about 100,000 copies. This cannot go on indefinitely without continual financial assistance. We appeal to our readers to send in donations and subscriptions in order that this most necessary work may go with a greater intensity.

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