

Bolsheviki Upset Business Traditions of Ages

Quotations from The Nation's Business, February 1919. The Official Magazine of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.)

We cannot be too often reminded that the Bolshevik idea of government, a matter of a few comrades getting together in the interest of the common weal, is an idea which the great masses of peasants are thoroughly acquainted. Every Russian village has its "commune," or "mir," which is an informal gathering of every adult male, a sort of neighborhood smoker, transacting the village's business. "The whole country will be just one big commune," argued the proletarian leaders. It was too easy. It was too easy. They knew how to take a hint, and the new name for the local commune, SOVIET, meaning COUNSEL as well as COUNCIL, was accepted as something arranged for their own good.

"This great national commune," said the socialist leaders, "is to liberate the productive forces of the world." It is a big order. Can they do it? The Russian peasant builds his house with a wedge and an axe. Can he erect the complicated structure of national and international trade, with tools equally primitive? Several months have now elapsed since the Brest-Litovsk treaty. The German-Russian commercial convention, provided for in article twelve of that treaty, shows the predominant importance attached to the immediate

resumption of peaceful intercourse between the two countries.

Each nation has been sending commissions and experts to the other for several months for the purpose of re-establishing trade; but trade has not been re-established. Germany has expected to get the hide of the Russian bear for a door-mat. But—the hide, though frowzy, is still on the bear. Except through smuggling, practically no goods have passed by land from Russia to Germany, or from Germany to Russia up to last September.

Good will, indispensable for international trade, is present on both sides of the Russian-German frontier; but the decrees of the Soviet government, regulating commerce within Russia and between Russia and foreign countries, are based on principles which, if applied, demand unthinkable concessions on the part of other countries, to the new Russia.

"We don't understand such chaos," the other countries say. "Have a revolution and you will," reply the Bolsheviks, who worry more about the brotherhood of man than about the solvency of their own country.

According to the communistic theory which dictates legislation in Russia, the object of the revolution is to change the state into a mere administrator of production. It doesn't govern, mind you; it merely presides. It is a committee. It is Socialism.

The Bolsheviks are trying to "centralize" industrial undertakings. This has already been accomplished in the cases of the manufacturers of sugar, wool, tea, tobacco, and paper. Trade

in the products of each group is monopolized by a central office, which barter commodities directly with the central offices for other commodities. No money is used. These central offices have two functions: they are offices of statistics and accounts and they control the orders given to manufacturing plants.

Merchants and factory owners are under the double oversight of the "extraordinary commissions to check speculation, sabotage and counter-revolution," and the labor committee. Merchants caught speculating are shot. Engineers and factory managers who fail to report at their places of business are arrested for sabotage.

The substantial owner of a paper mill was captured and cornered by his own workmen. As is usual with the Bolsheviks, a committee was appointed to run the mill. Soon discovering its inability to make progress, it called upon the owner at his spacious country villa, with a request that he return and help them out of the difficulty.

Said the owner: "Very well, but what salary am I to be paid?" "How much were you earning before the revolution?" asked the committee, nudging each other.

Said the owner: "Ten thousand rubles a year."

"We will give you half of that the first year," said the committee, after a brief consultation, and counting on their fingers; "the second year we will give you four thousand rubles; the third year three thousand and the

fourth year twenty-five hundred rubles."

"But," said the owner, "it is impossible for me to live on five thousand rubles. I have my house, my servants, the food bills, my horses and carriages. It is impossible, unthinkable."

Again the peasants put their tousled heads together. "We've got it," they announced at last triumphantly. "The difficulty here is that you are living in the wrong place. You bring your family and things and come to live in one of our huts. Your expenses won't be much there. Besides we've decided that your villa will make a fine restaurant for the people."

This shift was enforced. The whereabouts of the mill owner no one knows; while his villa has become a popular tea-drinking rendezvous for peasants and returned soldiers.

So far as an exchange of commodities with Germany was concerned, so were the latter country's need of metals, asbestos, lubricants, flax, hemp and textiles, that she promptly accepted the Bolshevik idea of sea trade barter and sent to Petrograd ships laden with coal. Through exorbitant values were placed on the commodities, the trade was effected after much bargaining. In addition to coal, Russia in this manner also secured drugs, dyes, and machine parts from Germany. Soviet foreign trade experts therefore believe themselves justified in boasting: "You see, our method works. Nothing succeeds like simplicity!"

Shall Debs Go To Prison?

By CHARLES BAKER.

Shall Gene Debs go to jail? Will the workers permit this "human flower" to wither and perish, in a foul, prison cell, where the pure air and beautiful sunshine never enter? Where all the beautiful things are shut out of one's life?

Having spent fifteen months behind prison bars, I know what it means. I know what it meant to me in possession of youth, knowing this I realize what it would mean to Gene Debs, to spend the few remaining years of his life behind prison bars. Are we simply to say, "It's too bad," and permit this crime to take place, or shall we appeal this case to the court of last resort—the workers? As for me, comrades, I am ready for any action necessary, to prevent the execution and carrying out of this crime. Call it what you will, but I feel like a criminal, to be at large, to enjoy liberty, when so many of our comrades are confined behind prison bars. Let us arouse the workers, hold mass meetings, protest and carry on such agitation that they will have to throw open the prison doors. Shall we remain silent, until the enraged workers open the prison doors for them? If so we will not have long to wait after the portals of prison close behind our Gene.

In behalf of Gene, and our other imprisoned comrades, the fellow workers I pledge all that I have.

to the cold surroundings knowing that out in the living world things are shaping themselves to the end that industrial tyranny will be banished from the earth and the reign of working class Industrial Democracy be substituted in their place. To the workers of America and the world they send hail and greetings. Calm and serene they wait patiently for the day of their liberation, and are cheered by the new working class advancement and solidarity that find its way to the battle.

The militant workers of America remember Calmes, Homestead, Everett, Colorado and Lawrence. Will they remember Leavenworth?

Let me of the many years of imprisonment, which most of the class prisoners are facing, for my Socialist unbroken and true faith in the working class and its leaders. They sit behind grim bars, their companions are cold steel and dark nights, yet confident that the day is soon to dawn when freedom will be theirs. They meet their fate socially and courageously, some utterly indifferent

A Farmers View of the Ballot

Dear Comrade: I am somewhat a student of the conditions of things as they are today. Have been a Socialist for years. We have always advocated the ballot to adjust our troubles. We have also warned the capitalist class that unless they corrected a lot of social evils that there was bound to follow severe troubles. This is not of our making or wishing.

I have tried to persuade myself that the ballot could and would adjust things. Last year I had to acknowledge to myself that the great social question to be solved could not be done by the ballot.

Now I am getting to the point that affects this part of the country and it will hold good wherever the bonafide farmers exist. From time to time the very best farmers here call on me and gradually I feel them out. Today one of the staunchest farmers, a very religious man, called on me and he was certainly belligerent. He complained bitterly of the way that farmers were getting skinned. Hides selling at \$1.35 per green hide and shoes at \$6.00 and of the poorest brands. Cotton selling for 10 cents that actually cost him 18 cents to produce. Cattle selling for 6 cents and the packing houses taking the finished product and selling it for 10 cents. That his best cattle graded down to 6 cents. He said that whenever the organized laborers were ready to strike that the farmers would furnish all the eggs, meat and provisions they had. That never before in his life was there so much unemployment among the farmers and that they hoped that something would start so they could unload the capitalist that has made fortunes out of this war while they were forced to sell all their crops to keep the soldiers fed and now have nothing. The high prices children could not go to school on account of poverty. They had worked hard all year and nothing to show for it.

I hope you can pass this information along where it is most needed. The mass psychology is fast changing. The great organizations of labor are going to find the farming class with them at heart. They even hope that something will happen to stop his exploitation. Their hearts and minds are coming open and they are beginning to see the light. I am leaning off a bit that I could inform you about. There is the greatest unrest among the farmers of our country. I mean the "sure-nuff" toiler, not the "lord and the city. The renters comprise about 80 per cent. of the farmers. Now I get this information from our best farmers. Not Socialists, but old life long Demos. and Deapies.

It is amusing when I read the ordinary magazines and dailies. They do not know what a volcano they are sitting on. They will not do a thing to relieve the great common working man.

I simply feel that I should inform you of the conditions and the ways of it. Your left wing socialists sit the spot. Let the truth be spread.

Yours truly,
AN OKLAHOMA FARMER.

The Red Flag

"THE ANCIENT BANNER."

By MARY S. DAUGHERTY.

Bills have been introduced in congress to prohibit the display of the "Red Flag" in meetings and parades. Why suppress the flag of the early Christians?

It is a fact recorded in history that the early Christians carried the red flag and won their triumphal victories under the "Cruciform Banner." Even our Christmas red bells are emblems of the Blood of Immanuel, and have been used at Christmas ever since the early days of Christianity. In the Methodist hymn book there is a hymn containing the words, "The Blood Red Banner of Immanuel." The old, old crimson ensign, was an emblem of peace and good will to man, and of health and the fruits of toil.

The origin of the word "flame" comes from the word-root of "flame" a red color, first borrowed from the crimson sun beams. The red of all modern flags was borrowed from that of the flag of the ancient unions.

The red flag was suppressed before the French revolution, because the unions had become too strong. It was carried again at the time of the French revolution of 1793. It was the flag of the Masonic order.

When we refer to our own time we will see that the Revolutionary War of 1776 was fought under the red flag, for our Stars and Stripes were not invented until later. We find today that it is the disgraceful ignorance of modern prejudice and custom that has filled the old and with misrepresentations and misunderstandings.

The red flag is a flag of hope and protection for the oppressed of all nations at all times, is international in scope, representing the "blood," the brotherhood of humanity, and the clotted blood of the battle field, but the warm life's blood flowing in the veins of all humanity.

Let us not suppress the flag of the early Christians.

"Ancient Lowly," by Ward, for reference.

CINCINNATI PROTESTS

At the last meeting of Local Cincinnati, March 6, 1919, the question of a proposed national headquarters in Chicago, Ill., to the U. S. A. was taken up and discussed. And Local Cincinnati went on record protesting against the method used by the National Executive Committee in spending \$40,000 of the party's money without the consent of the members by referendum. We maintain that they have not complied with the national constitution in so doing.

MT VERNON VERY ACTIVE

Comrade M. J. Beny spoke to the labor unions of Mt. Vernon on March 16. Comrade F. G. Strickland will speak for the Socialists on March 31. The Socialist Party of Knox Co. has issued a challenge to all comers to debate.

PEOPLE DECIDE GREAT ISSUES

By Eugene V. Debs

The decision is perfectly consistent with the character of the supreme court as a ruling class tribunal. It could not have been otherwise.

So far as I am personally concerned the decision is of small consequence. But there is an issue at stake of vital interest to the American people. It involves the fundamental right of free speech. Without this our boasted freedom is a delusion and a farce.

The supreme court has dodged the issue. It has held the Espionage law valid without affirming its constitutionality. The real issue before the court was the constitutionality of the act. This issue the supreme court did not dare to decide.

What the supreme court did decide is that the constitution is another "scrap of paper."

Great issues are not decided by courts but by the people.

I have no concern about what the coterie of begowned corporation lawyers in Washington may decide in my case. The court of final resort is the people and that court will be heard from in due time.

The decision just rendered places the United States where old Russia under the czar left off. It is good for at least a million Bolshevik recruits in this country.

I stand by every word of the Canton speech, the supreme court to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Espionage law is perfectly infamous and a disgrace to even the capitalist despotism at whose behest it was enacted.

Sixty years ago the supreme court affirmed the validity of the Fugitive Slave law to send chattel slavery. Five years later that infamous institution was swept from the land in a torrent of blood.

I despise the Espionage law with every drop in my veins and I defy the supreme court and all the powers of capitalism to do their worst.

All hail to the workers of America—and the world! The day of emancipation is dawning.

The Song of the Wage Slave

ROBERT W. SERVICE

When the long, long day is over, and the big boss gives me my pay, I hope that it won't be hell-fire as some of the parsons say, And I hope that it won't be heaven, with some of the parsons I've met— All I want is just quiet, just to rest and forget.

Look at my face, toil-furrowed, look at my calloused hands; Master, I've done Thy bidding, wrought in Thy many lands— Wrought for the little master, big-bellied they be and rich; I've done their desire for a daily hire, and I die like a dog in a ditch.

I have used the strength Thou hast given, Thou knowest I did not shrink; Three-score years of labor—Thine be the long day's work. And now, big master, I'm broken and bent, and twisted and scarred, But I've held my job, and Thou knowest, and Thou wilt not judge me hard. Thou knowest my sins are many, and often I've played the fool— Whiskey and cards and women, they made me the devil's tool.

I was just like a child with money; I flung it away with a curse, Praying a fawning parasite, or glutting a harlot's purse; Then back to the woods repentant, back to the mill or the mine, I, the worker of workers, everything in my line.

Everything hard but headwork (I'd no more brains than a kid), A brute with brute strength to labor, doing as I was bid; Living in camps with men folk, a lonely and loveless life; Never knew kiss of sweetheart, never caress of wife; A brute with brute strength to labor, and they were so far above— Yet I'd gladly have gone to the gallows for one little look of love.

I, with the strength of two men, savage and shy and wild— Yet, how I'd treasure a woman, and the sweet, warm kiss of a child! Well, 'tis Thy world, and Thou knowest I blaspheme and my ways be rude But I've lived my life as I found it, and I've done my best to be good.

I, the primitive toiler, half naked and grimed to the eyes, Sweating it deep in their ditches, swining it stark in their styles; Hurling down forest before me, spanning tumultuous streams, Down in the ditch building o'er me palaces fairer than dreams.

Boiling the rock to the ore bed, driving the road through the fen, Resolute, dumb, uncomplaining, a man in a world of men. Master, I've filled my contract, wrought in Thy many lands; Not by my sins wilt Thou judge me, but by the work of my hands; Master, I've done Thy bidding, and the light is low in the west, And the long, long shift is over—Master, I've earned it—Rest.

BAKER WARMS THEM

Comrade Baker spoke to a crowd of eager listeners at Canton. The landlord refused to heat the hall, but Baker took care of that. He warmed the atmosphere for an hour and a half to the entire satisfaction and comfort of his audience, so we are told. "Leave it to Baker."

E. LIVERPOOL PLEASED

"Comrade Chas. Baker spoke to a very enthusiastic audience of about 200 March 12. Everyone was more than pleased. Never had a better talk. Collection was \$41.82, literature \$6.75, and 12 O. S. subs sold. Hope to have him again."—J. R. Larimore, organizer.

The Littlest One

By Frances Mumford Blackstone. (With Apologies to the Author)

My daddy he's a Socialist, My brother is one too. My sister goes to "Science School," But I stay home, I do.

They all have badges that they wear, And different things to do. Oh dear, I wish that I Belonged to something too!

My mother tells me not to mind; She says, "Why, don't you see? Because you are the littlest one, You just belong to me!"

Russian Soviet Answers Senate

(Continued from Page One)

In the above mentioned radio-telegram, some prominent members of the principal political party in the United States could not quite understand the reasons of Senator Hitchcock. They expressed their wish that American troops in Russia should be withdrawn as soon as possible.

We share their wish to re-establish normal relations between the two countries, and we are ready to eliminate everything which may be an obstacle to such relations.

This is not the first time we are making an offer of this kind. In October we sent an offer of this character through the Norwegian Minister in Russia. A week later we made a similar offer through Mr. Christian, an attaché of the Norwegian Legation, at the time of his leaving Moscow. On the third of November we invited the representatives of the neutral countries in Moscow and asked them to deliver a written proposition to the Allies with the view of entering into negotiations which would put an end to the struggle against Russia.

On the 26th of November the All-Russian Congress of Soviets declared to the Allies and to the whole world that Russia is willing to enter into peace negotiations. On the 23d of December our representative, Mr. Litvinoff, communicated once more with the Allied ambassadors in Stockholm the desire of the Russian government to reach a friendly settlement of all questions at issue. He also sent an appeal to President Wilson in London; thus the responsibility for the fact that no agreement has been thus far reached does not lie with us.

We have had an opportunity to hear various American officers and soldiers express their astonishment at their being held in Russia, especially when we pointed out to such soldiers that the reason for their being in Russia seemed to be to put back on the shoulders of the Russian people the yoke which they have thrown off. The results of these explanations of ours have not been unsatisfactory to our personal relations with these American citizens.

We hope that the desire for peace expressed by the above-mentioned senator is shared by the entire American government and that the American government will kindly make a place and a time for opening of peace negotiations with our representatives.

People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs. CHITCHERIN.

I.W.W. Victims of Brutalities of Officials at Leavenworth

By N. L. WELCH.

Not content with merely carrying out the long sentences imposed upon the members of the Industrial Workers of the World by Judge Landis, the prison officials at Leavenworth are using every conceivable method of punishment and are resorting to the vilest deeds known in prison to "get" the imprisoned workers into further difficulties while serving their sentences in the American bastille widely heralded as the model prison in the United States.

Bill Haywood, serving twenty years, is an especial target of brutal officialdom. Plans and plots to "get" him are cooked up and luckily for him all have failed so far. Other members of the organization are feeling the cruel weight of the Iron Heel and a number are being degraded and deprived of most of the privileges and are permitted to enjoy because in the full consciousness of their manhood they dared insist that they be accorded decent and humane treatment compatible with self-respect and even provided for in the rules governing the institution, but are utterly disregarded by the man in charge and some of the guards over the prisoners who think it is their bounden duty to rule and impose brutality on the helpless men in their charge.

Three class war prisoners, Floyd Rapp, a member of the Socialist Party of Oregon, Manuel Rey and J. Moran, I. W. W. members from Chicago have been especially singled out by Acting Warden Fletcher and have been brutally mistreated and beaten in December because along with others they have objected to the extra task ordered to do by an unfeeling guard. They have been thrown in the "Hole" and in the evening a couple of colored prisoners were turned on them with blackjacks and they beat them most unmercifully. These two gents, Wingfield, serving a ten-year sentence for the murder of a soldier in Arizona, and McNeal, sentenced to twenty years for the murder of his wife, are the star "surgeons" in the institution and are kept well in order that they may do the strong arm work for Mr. Fletcher whenever he becomes hungry for convict meat. About twenty oth-

ers have been lynched to the bars and stood handcuffed during working hours for a number of days and are in third grade now and deprived of the ordinary comforts and afforded other inmates of the institution.

Fearing an investigation and disclosure of the brutalities perpetrated upon helpless inmates Acting Warden Fletcher conceived a brilliant idea and planted guns in the clothing room where Haywood is employed in order to alibi himself out of an uncomfortable situation and throw the blame on the I. W. W. Accordingly the search was carried out, the "guns" were found and the mercenary press liazoned out with "I. W. W. plan jail delivery" headlines. It was a typical small town frame-up and could only have been conceived by a degenerate mind from a guilty conscience. The fact remains that nobody was called to account for having the guns in their possession and Haywood is still employed in the clothing room and was not punished for the offense which is a most serious one as far as the prisoners are concerned.

Frustrated in their efforts to get "Bill" involved in a jail delivery plot the officials have not given up hope and are not on his trail and he is under constant surveillance by the officials and some guards seeking promotion. They will resort to any method to cast discredit upon the class war prisoners and there isn't anything so foul and contemptible that they wouldn't resort to in order to win favor in the eyes of the men higher up in the Department of Justice and the I. W. W. have become targets of special abuse at their hands.

I was discharged from Leavenworth Saturday, Feb. 15, after completing an 18-month sentence for my Socialist activities in connection with the Michigan Socialist, of which I was editor. And not content with the usual examination of my belongings before I was discharged I was given the benefit of an extra fusk a few minutes before my release by Gary, a guard at the institution, whose crowning glory is stool pigeon effi-

Financial Statement Socialist Party of O.

JANUARY REPORT.

RECEIPTS.

| | |
|------------------------|------------|
| Dues regular | \$527.70 |
| Initiation stamps | 129.50 |
| Members at large | 40.75 |
| Foreign branch | 160.60 |
| Organization fund | 69.07 |
| Literature | 55.63 |
| Supplies | 43.17 |
| Propaganda meetings | 71.55 |
| Sustaining fund stamps | 91.60 |
| Dues defense | 74.75 |
| Ohio Socialist | 1,211.20 |
| Miscellaneous | 117.82 |
| Total | \$2,593.34 |

EXPENDITURES.

| | |
|-------------------------------|------------|
| Dues regular | \$400.00 |
| Local supplies | 5.50 |
| Literature | 75.00 |
| Organizer's salary | 20.00 |
| Organization, print, and adv. | 31.40 |
| Sustaining fund stamps | 91.05 |
| Salaries | 260.00 |
| Tele. and tel. | 2.20 |
| Office supplies | 31.27 |
| Auto expenses | 54.08 |
| Postage | 37.15 |
| Printing | 38.00 |
| Travel | 32.32 |
| Ohio Socialist | 528.56 |
| Total | \$1,601.51 |

Balance on hand Jan. 1.....\$2,037.58

January receipts.....2,593.34

Total.....\$4,630.92

January expenditures.....1,601.51

Balance Feb. 1.....\$3,029.41

IN THE FUNDS.

| | |
|---------------------------|------------|
| Organization | \$1,028.80 |
| Defense | 491.62 |
| Mileage | 208.89 |
| Sustaining | 284.53 |
| Debs' Defense | 2,168.58 |
| Total | \$4,182.42 |
| General fund deficit..... | 1,153.01 |

Balance Feb. 1, 1919.....\$3,029.41

MEMBERSHIP REPORT FOR JANUARY.

| | |
|------------------------|-------|
| Regular dues sold..... | 5,277 |
| Foreign Branches..... | 3,212 |
| M. A. I..... | 163 |
| Sustaining stamps..... | 518 |
| Total..... | 9,170 |

News From State Locals

The Way The Battle Goes

By CHARLES BAKER.

Excuse me for not writing more often. Minnie is with me now, so you will receive daily reports from my front line trenches.

At Greenview I gathered several comrades together and reorganized. We have several good, live, and very red comrades there, so I believe they will remain in line this time.

At Wadsworth, we had a very good meeting, the comrades themselves were surprised, the organization there is in good shape. The meeting paid for itself, and turned money into the local treasury. Comrades well pleased.

At Barborton, believe me, the comrades are on the job. Meeting held in the high school assembly room, a splendid musical program was arranged. The comrades say it was the best meeting ever held in Barborton. Many O. S. subs were sold. Seven new members were admitted. Very successful. Money turned into local treasury.

Who said Cuyahoga Falls was not on the Socialist map. We had a splendid meeting there in the city hall, several O. S. cards were sold. New life was instilled into the movement. Meeting paid all expenses. The comrades are arranging for a Debs meeting.

At Canton I felt right at home, the meeting was held only a few squares from my old hotel, and the workers of Canton learned something about the prison in their minds which they never dreamed existed anywhere in the world, since the old regime of Russia had been overthrown. Very successful meeting.

Salem will soon be in line, the meeting held there Monday predicts a good future for the movement in that city.

Leetonia is no the job, very good meeting there. The comrades are arranging for a week's organization campaign in Columbiana Co. the first week in March.

LEWIS MAKES GOOD AT HAMILTON

Comrade Thurber Lewis' meetings at Hamilton on March 6, 7, 8 and 9, proved successful in every way. He made a great hit with the comrades and his audience, says Comrade John St. Catharine. A larger hall than the local headquarters had to be secured for the Sunday meeting and it was packed and Comrade Lewis delivered the goods in great shape. Literature sales were good as was the collection. Local Hamilton has ordered 8,000 of the "No-Work" leaflets from the National Office.

In the recent notice of the death of Comrade Wentz at Hamilton appearing in the Ohio Socialist, it was stated that the funeral address was delivered by Comrade Henry Hinkel. This was an error as the address was delivered by Comrade Ex-Mayor Fred Hinkle.

TOOHEY AT FAIRPORT HARBOR

Comrade M. A. Toohey of Toledo, speaks at Fairport Harbor, March 23, 8 p. m. at Finnish Socialist hall. This meeting is being arranged by the Finnish comrades and it is hoped that at this time it will be possible to organize an English speaking, local. Everybody should lend a hand to make this meeting a success.

NAPOLEON REORGANIZES

Local Napoleon came to life Feb. 28th, with seven on the rolls. Comrade Baker's meeting there was obstructed by the worst storm of the winter, nevertheless, the comrades reorganized, some literature was sold, some subscriptions also and a general revival of Socialist activities may be expected from now on.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

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R. F. D. 2, Box 55, Brecksville, Ohio

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THE HANGMAN RELENTS

After devoting, for months past, its pages to the hounding of all Socialists who did not forget their internationalism in the trying hour of war the New Appeal relents. After branding as pro-German every Socialist Party official who remained true to the principles of the party, having deliberately chosen the role of a suppressor of minority opinion, having assisted to the limit of its ability, the persecution, prosecution and jailing of every comrade who dared raise his voice for internationalism, it now proclaims itself the appointed champion of all political prisoners.

We cannot believe that any Socialist or radical who is now in prison or under indictment will find the services of its traducers acceptable. Men and women who have the courage of their convictions will not stoop to accept the proffers of the cowardly.

Every capitalist denouncer of socialism and socialists was far outstripped by the New Appeal in its deliberately lying, vicious and preposterous denunciations. That the New Appeal was perfectly aware of its forgeries and falsehoods cannot be doubted. It chose deliberately a policy against socialism, it chose deliberately to jail Socialists, to poison with untruth the public mind, it chose deliberately the rôle of hangman of the Socialist Party as a political party and individual socialists as socialists.

Having witnessed the closing of prison doors upon thousands of dissenters and the stifling of many strong voices within the dungeons of capitalism it should be content to rest upon its distinguished laurels. It might be content to not add insult to injury. It might, but for one thing.

Time was when the Appeal had an ideal. That was in the time of J. A. Wayland and Fred Warren. Wayland is dead. Warren is no more with the Appeal. The younger Waylands are not, we are informed connected with the paper in any way. The New Appeal is a privately owned paper with large financial obligations. Being such, it must pay dividends. It is not likely to long follow a policy at variance with its financial interests.

The rôle of hangman of all internationalists may or may not have proven profitable. However, the entire program of the Appeal to combat socialism has fallen to pieces. Its mission to Europe composed of renegade and discredited Socialists returned unhonored, abroad or at home. Its League for Democracy has disappeared from the horizon of human endeavor. Its support of every antagonistic weapon against Socialism failed to bring it the support of the multitude.

The Appeal needs a conveyance to "come back" on. "Freedom for political prisoners" affords the coveted means.

Moral—Support the party controlled press and keep your reputation.

AS USUAL

"As usual," we remark when our attention is called to the formation of a nonpartisan party that is to dispute the right of the workers of Piqua, O., at the next election to control the affairs of the city they have builded. It is not the first time the method has been tried. It is old. So old that it is commonly recognized for what it is—the last line of defense of capitalism and old political gangs against the forward march of the workers and the rising tide of class consciousness.

It is a good sign—the sign of approaching defeat of capitalism. Socialists welcome the coming of the sign as the coming of spring and a new day. We welcome it with renewed activities, with more propaganda, more agitation, better organization. It is the sign of coming victory in Piqua as elsewhere. It is heartily welcome!

THE SPARTACANS

The recent victories of the German Spartacans have yielded them an intrenchment within the government that augurs well for an extension of their power. The Spartacans Soviets are to receive constitutional recognition as economic controllers of labor and production. Extensive socialization of industries is also conceded.

Economic control of industry by the soviets of workers means the attainment of a dictatorial position from which they cannot be removed by any political power. It may mean, in fact, a displacement of the present political government by one more economic in nature functioning through the soviets.

To control the industries is to control the vital organs of a nation. This control the Spartacans have won. Further victories over the Ebert group and acquisition of greater power now becomes possible. These recent victories of the Spartacans are more significant than any world history recently made.

German Spartacans—German productive forces and science. Russian Bolsheviks—Russian natural resources—some combination!

You can keep your old clothes in America now—the returned soldiers need them. Ten calls for every garment so the papers say.

"The Song of the Shirt-less" is the paean of victory the heroes may sing as they wend their way to the closed job.

It isn't expected, but it would be in good order for District Attorney Wertz to apologize to the convicts now that it has been determined who fired his house.

THE DREAM OF DEBS
By JACK LONDON

THE TRIAL OF EUGENE DEBS
By MAX EASTMAN

With Debs' Address to the Court on Receiving Sentence

The Liberator Publishing Co.
30 Union Square, New York City

PRICE 10 CENTS

Two Pamphlets of the Hour!

Read these two pamphlets. Sell them at your meetings. Ten cents each. Six cents in quantities of 25 and over.

**Two Live
Locals Work
For Socialism**

Here are two plans of better work for socialism which two locals are putting across. They are both good, both will get results. Both will make socialism a factor in the political and industrial life of the cities where they are being carried out. Both are worthy of the serious consideration of every comrade. Both are worthy of being patterned after in your own local. Talk these plans over at your next business meeting. Improve upon them if you can but at least give them a tryout in your own local. They are result getters. Try them.—(Editor).

LOCAL NORWOOD'S PLAN.

Ten good reasons why it will work. A motion was passed at a meeting of Local Norwood, at which the following plan was put into force. At all propaganda meetings a collection should be taken up and that all moneys so collected above the expenses of the said meeting shall be put into subscriptions to the Ohio Socialist, for three months each.

The names of these subscribers to be furnished by the membership; that is, wherever a member knows of some one whom he thinks can be lured by such a trial, this person to be placed on the list, and it is believed the following will result:

- 1.—An index card is elected to enter the name with the start and ending date of the sub. The index is to watch these subs and at their expiration turn the name over to the organizer.
- 2.—The organizer then has a starting-point to work on, he pays the subscriber a visit and has a talk with him.
- 3.—This may result in a possible 6-month or 1-year subscription.
- 4.—It may also result in securing a new member.
- 5.—By this plan we can find out the sentiment of the person visited, which can be recorded as it is found.
- 6.—If the sentiment at the end of the trial sub. proves favorable and is so recorded, we then have a signature for our nomination petitions for election. We know just where to go and do not have to put in a lot of time looking all over town for signatures.
- 7.—Instead of ordering bundle lots and putting in the time passing out the same we leave that to Uncle Sam and the mail man.
- 8.—We realize that the bundle plan is all right in its way, but we also realize that if the autocrats at Washington wish to put the O. S. out of business with a small sub list this can easily be done but with a paid-in-advance sub. list, which will constantly be growing, the putting out of business proposition will not be so easy. We realize that you may have 10,000 subs, yet you may be putting out 50,000 papers each week in bundle form but the Washington postoffice authorities will only give you credit for the 10,000.
- 9.—After reading the O. S. this will mean a sure Socialist vote.
- 10.—Finally a sure BOLSHEVIK for no one can read the O. S. and carefully consider its contents without coming to the conclusion that the capitalist papers have lied and that after seeing the light of what the Russian comrades are doing for the poor down-trodden masses, the reader must then realize why it is that 3,000,000 Red Guards are ready and willing to lay down their lives for the sake of defending the government which has done so much for them.

HOW THEY DO IT IN ASHTABULA

Dear Comrades: This is to notify you that Comrade Wm. H. Fox has resigned as financial secretary and that I was duly elected in his place at our last meeting. I also wish to tell you that we are doing team work here now in proper shape. We have elected two captains, they in turn have chosen their crew from among the membership. The object is to compete for subscriptions to the O. S., and membership for the local. The contest will close on May 1. The losing side to pay all expenses of a banquet to be held on or before May 5, in which all members will participate. The new members are to join the side that brings in their application. The captains are Comrade John W. Ellison and E. J. Hewitt. They are both wide awake and on the job, so look out for results from now on.

MRS. CARRIE ELLISON, Fin. Sec.
Ashtabula, O.

USE THIS BLANK

Socialist Party of Ohio,
R. F. D. 2, Box 55,
Brecksville, Ohio.

Comrades: Here is my dollar. Put it to work at once to release all political prisoners; to buy comforts for our imprisoned comrades; to establish the right of free utterance and to help sustain the families of our comrades who are in jail. Send me an Industrial Freedom Certificate.

My name is.....

My address is.....

City..... State.....

The Statistician

A Scientific Survey of the Condition of Our Ohio Locals as Have Reported, During the Month of January, 1919.

48 LOCALS REPORT 435 NEW MEMBERS

These 48 locals have 6,563 members on their books and 4,648 are paid up; an efficiency of 708, a gain of .052 over the previous month.

NEW MEMBERS

| Local | Number | Good Stand. | Pct. |
|------------------------------|--------|-------------|------|
| Opperman (reorganized local) | 14 | 100 | 71 |
| Cambridge | 10 | 50 | 50 |
| Galion | 15 | 10 | 66 |
| East Liverpool | 20 | 40 | 50 |
| Marysville | 1 | 25 | 25 |
| Hamilton German | 5 | 20 | 40 |
| Derwent | 2 | 17 | 85 |
| Wadsworth | 2 | 17 | 85 |
| Lima | 15 | 15 | 100 |
| Toledo German | 4 | 15 | 37 |
| Youngstown Slavish | 10 | 12 | 12 |
| Akron | 8 | 12 | 15 |
| Warren English | 2 | 12 | 60 |
| Niles | 8 | 12 | 15 |
| Cuyahoga Co. | 197 | 10 | 5 |
| Cincinnati | 29 | 9 | 31 |
| Norwood | 2 | 8 | 40 |
| Toledo | 19 | 8 | 42 |
| New Bremen | 2 | 7 | 35 |
| Hamilton | 12 | 7 | 58 |
| Belmont Co. | 9 | 7 | 78 |
| Columbus | 6 | 7 | 117 |
| Baberton | 1 | 7 | 7 |
| Dayton | 12 | 6 | 50 |
| Kenmore | 4 | 6 | 150 |
| Canton | 3 | 6 | 200 |
| Massillon Lithuanian | 3 | 6 | 200 |

Others worth mentioning: Midvale 6, (high per centage, but insufficient information); Massillon, 1; Hubbard, 1; Yorkville, 1; Ravenna, 1; Richmond Co., 2; Piqua, 4; Mt. Vernon, 1; Ashtabula Finns, 4; Fairport Finns, 2.

Notice: The test for any local is 1 to every 20 in good standing or 5 per cent.

GOOD STANDING MEMBERSHIP.

| Local | Number | Pct. |
|---------------------------------|--------|------|
| (All Locals Having 500 or More) | | |
| Cuyahoga Co. | 1928 | 729 |
| (All Locals Having 400 or More) | | |
| None | | |
| (All Locals Having 300 or More) | | |
| Cincinnati | 371 | 586 |
| (All Locals Having 200 or More) | | |
| Toledo, German | 28 | 982 |
| Toledo | 235 | 614 |
| (All Locals Having 100 or More) | | |
| Belmont Co. | 126 | 783 |
| Dayton | 197 | 764 |

Savage Sentence of Court Impels Labor to Demand Debs' Release

No single act of the capitalist class, drunk with power—that it is, has aroused the workers of this nation so much as the conviction of Eugene V. Debs in the Supreme Court, that highest representative of capitalism in America.

A nation-wide, in fact an international movement has, since his conviction, been inaugurated to awaken an agitation to keep Debs from the maw of a capitalist prison. Every legal agency that the Socialist Party and other radical organizations in this country can grasp will be used to keep him from becoming the victim of that senseless and oppressive intolerance that has set America apart from the rest of the world since the Espionage law became a part of our governmental machinery of persecution.

Every radical, even every sane conservative in this country knows that Eugene V. Debs is innocent of wrong. Millions have heard his voice in protest against the evils of the criminal capitalist class. Millions have read his many writings filled as they are with the spirit of love for the down-trodden and the spirit of revolt against oppression's iron hand. His friends are legion, his admirers are the millions that make up the common masses. Will these millions stand idly by while he who has given his life for them, is sent away to the horrors of a capitalist dungeon?

They will not! They will protest. They will sound a warning to the powers that be to lay hands off Debs. They will let it be known that they are the court of last resort in this nation. That their decision is for Debs and against his conviction. Their voice is rising now in one tremendous nation-wide protest against this savage sentence imposed upon the most lovable man that has risen from the ranks of labor since Lincoln.

Protest meetings are under way throughout the nation. Let every local organize a protest meeting against the carrying out of this barbarity against Debs. Make every meeting a protest meeting, not only for Debs but for all political prisoners. Organize a meeting to address you. Make "Freedom for Debs and ALL Political Prisoners" your rallying cry until this monstrous iniquity is buried deep beneath the foundations of real democracy. Keep Debs from prison. Your protest will do it!

Buy an Industrial Freedom Certificate—\$1.00

You've got a dollar, we know, which ought to be put to work to re-establish free speech, free press and free assemblage. You've got a dollar, we know, which ought to be put to work to help release all political prisoners, including Thomas Mooney. You've got a dollar, we know, which ought to be put to work to buy comforts for prisoners who have been sentenced to years and years in federal penitentiaries. You've got a dollar, we know, which ought to be put to work to help sustain the families of these prisoners; to keep the children of these prisoners in food and clothes.

RELEASE THAT DOLLAR—PUT IT TO WORK
Buy An Industrial Freedom Certificate

USE THIS BLANK

Socialist Party of Ohio,
R. F. D. 2, Box 55,
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| Belmont Co. | 126 | 783 |
| Dayton | 197 | 764 |

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of \$2.50 for One Year.

| | |
|---|--|
| LOCAL AKRON Socialist Party of Ohio Meets Every Friday Evening at 8 P. M. 50 South Howard St. | LOCAL COLUMBUS Socialist Party of Ohio Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M. Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m. Hall, 404 W. Gay Street. |
| LOCAL CINCINNATI Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M. Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M. SOCIALIST HALL, 1314 Vine St. | SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O. Meets Every Thursday, 8:30 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor. |
| LOCAL WARREN Meets every Sunday at 7 P. M., rear room Woodmen's Hall, South Main St., Warren, O. | LOCAL HAMILTON Meets Every Friday Evening, 8 P. M. Lectures Every Sunday, 2:30 P. M. SOCIALIST HALL, 38 High St., Third Floor. |
| Local Kenmore SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M. BETHKOFFERS HALL, Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard Kenmore, Ohio. | Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters, 328 Tuscarawas St. E. |

Red Army Unlimbers Big Guns To Build Greater Party Press

The highest water mark in the flood of Ohio Socialist subscriptions yet reached was established last week when a total of 880 subscriptions were recorded in the State Office. The highest previous record was a total of 650 for one week. The Red Army is getting down to business. This record proves the possibility of establishing a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist before the fall campaigns open.

It is a record to be proud of and we are proud of it—proud of the spirit the comrades manifest by securing this huge number of subscriptions gathered in one week. We are proud of the energy, the enthusiasm and in some instances the courage displayed by these comrades, who, by their loyal co-operation are laying the foundation of a greater Socialist press, a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist.

The time is ripe as these results show, to get the Ohio Socialist in the hands of the workers. The workers' minds are open to our message as never before. Realizing they have been duped time and time again by the hired press of the masters, they are ready to build their own press that will fight their battles, whether they be on the industrial or the political field. The workers are ready to support the party-owned press. The time is ripe for a harvest of subscriptions. Let us then gather it and thus establish once and for all a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist before the campaign opens for the municipal elections in the fall. Let us strike hard now for victory this coming fall.

Here are the names of comrades who helped establish this high water mark in the history of our drive for 20,000 subscribers and a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist:

Ben Bright, 2; Fred Smither, 8; F. F. 1; Local New Bremen, O., 5; Local Columbus, O., 4; H. Weichers, 2; J. L. Allen, 1; Local Robins, O., 44; E. C. Ilkenhans, 7; C. Shrutich, 1; L. Heller, 1; H. Ruemmele, 3; R. F. Hucklebridge, 3; N. Niner, 1; Fred O. Hartline, 13; B. Kush, 4; Sam Asher, 1; J. DeHaven, 6; W. D. Hamake, 5; J. M. Danley, 1; Local Richmond Co., 2; N. R. Collins, 3; M. V. Lantz, 6; Local Cincinnati, O., 9; J. H. Kurl, 6; Hugo Gent, 2; J. McCam, 2; Jos. Jurinec, 5; C. L. Pennel, 3; German Branch, Canton, 20; F. Hagerman, 3; M. A. Skinner, 3; Local Troy, O., 3; W. J. Korney, 1; Noah Winston, 1; Geo. W. Kings, 4; L. G. Star, 1; Jno. R. Venev, 8; A. W. F. Steckel, 4; H. O. Sharkey, 2; Harry Bokhus, 1; E. C. Flooding, 2; A. P. Claggett, 1.

W. B. Dillon, 4; Delos Cairne, 1; P. M. Hope, 1; J. Symes, 1; Local Akron, 4; Dan Hauser, 1; Local Ashokosh, 3; J. Haines, 1; W. Conrad, 3; A. L. Jeka, 1; M. M. Schartz, 15; J. L. Hammond, 3; Harry Moubay, 7; M. Tierney, 1; Ralph Howell, 2; L. Williams, 5; Wm. Catton, 1; Geo. H. Schepp, 12; Local Columbus, O., 8; Local Massillon, 10; N. Weltlich, 18; Frank Beck, 2; J. Deitchman, 7; Ben Gosman, 2; W. E. Reynolds, 20; Local Grover Hill, 1; Ulrich Grill, 1; E. A. Odlund, 4; J. S. Albert, 4; J. Kiskilla, 1; H. Knecht, 8; Frank Hamilton, 6; Earl Nease, 2;

J. W. Cassell, 6; Geo. Pyle, 1; J. G. Savick, 5; M. Hausman, 5; J. A. Cobb, 2; E. Reinhardt, 3; F. A. Habig, 3; J. Bauer, 2; H. Nelson, 4; J. W. Sprig, 1; Edw. Coe, 6; Geo. Steinert, 2; Nick Flesch, 12; F. Bruckner, 1; Walter Thomerfelt, 4; Muriel Vettors, 4; W. F. Fox, 1; E. P. Conlon, 1; F. J. Thell, 2; Paul Hager, 3; Joe Menchunas, 12; W. Somers, 2; E. Harvach, 7; C. H. Ford King, 10; August Steigler, 1; F. Nolm, 1; O. Ruchtaesche, 9.

M. L. Martin, 5; Wm. Stewart, 6; B. Miller, 1; Alois Hawelka, 3; G. L. Slessman, 6; Harry Mayer, 1; A. B. Hollenbaugh, 3; Chas. Litz, 12; Local Youngstown, 8; E. Harvach, 7; C. H. Tilley, 10; Harry Bohrig, 12; Edgar Myler, 8; H. F. Gardenhour, 5; Mrs. J. Baumpass, 1; C. DeMuynek, 4; Alex Sherbin, 2; Edith Brown, 1; Local Dayton, O., 3; J. B. West, 3; Basil Zammarin, 1; Oscar Knorr, 10; C. Albrecht, 2; W. D. Padley, 17; L. Lobstetter, 1; W. E. Jenkins, 1; C. H. Allen, 6; E. J. Huber, 12; L. Richardson, 2; James Baker, 4; F. T. Childs, 5; A. Canton Comrade, 3; Max Bogatin, 5; B. Henderson, 2; D. E. Thomas, 1; Thos. McFarlane, 2; G. J. Peck, 1; F. E. Helms, 2; J. Popov, 17; L. K. Baker, 18; L. K. England, 1; J. H. Demaison, 1; E. O. C'pherron, 1; G. W. Schultz, 3; Local Canton, 3; Edwin Blank, 3, and single subs., 26.

ing dates: Girard, March 22; Canton, 23; at Culp's rink, 631 Mahoning Rd. N. E., Ashland, either 24 or 25; Youngstown, 26; Toledo, certain, 30; Akron, March 27.

With our Organizers and Speakers

Here are the routings of our state organizers for the next several days. Comrades in these localities are urged to do everything possible toward the success of these meetings. Don't let anything prevent you from attending. You can help greatly in making each of these meetings a huge success by taking an active part in helping in the advertising, talking up the meeting, making sure that the organizer is looked after when he arrives and doing a comrade's full share in making socialism hum during and after these meetings. Get busy.

CHAS BAKER TOUR

Comrade Chas. Baker will take a few days rest from the 16th to the 22d. From March 23 to 28, he will work in Portage Co. The 29th and 30th, he will meet with the State Executive Committee, in quarterly session. March 31, he speaks at Mt. Vernon. April 1, at Coshocton.

LILITH MARTIN TOUR

Comrade Martin needs no introduction to Ohio Socialists. Her work in Ohio during the last municipal elections proved her worth as an organizer. Just the same, we shall expect every comrade to do his and her level best to make Comrade Martin's meetings such that they will be long remembered as the best all around meetings your locals ever held. Put some ginger in your activities and give Comrade Martin a chance to see what Ohio Socialists can do in the way of propaganda and well organized effort. Her tour starts April 1, at New Bremen, a good chance for New Bremen comrades to put one over on capitalism. See what you can do and do it well, comrades. April 2 and 3 she speaks at Piqua; Troy, 4; Dayton, 5; Hamilton, 6; Portsmouth, 7 and 8; Columbus, 9; Mt. Vernon, 10.

E V DEBS DATES

Eugene V. Debs will fill the following dates: Girard, March 22; Canton, 23; at Culp's rink, 631 Mahoning Rd. N. E., Ashland, either 24 or 25; Youngstown, 26; Toledo, certain, 30; Akron, March 27.

TOM CLIFFORD MEETING

Comrade Clifford speaks at Martins Ferry, March 23.

KIRKPATRICK DATES

Geo. R. Kirkpatrick speaks at Dayton March 24; Columbus date has been cancelled; Bellaire, 26; Toledo, 27.

RUTHERBURG MEETINGS

C. E. Rutherford speaks at Lorain March 30.

TOM LEWIS MEETINGS

Tom Lewis will speak at Cincinnati and Hamilton, March 23.

M. A. TOOHEY MEETINGS

Comrade M. A. Toohey, of Toledo, will do organization work at Elyria the 22d. He speaks for the Finnish comrades at Fairport Harbor the 23d.

H I A HOLMAN DATES

Comrade Holman speaks at Columbus, March 20, 21, 22, 8 p. m., 60, 1-2 W. Gay St. March 22, at 2 p. m.

THURBER LEWIS MEETINGS

March 22 and 23, at Piqua; Osborn date on the 22d is cancelled; 24, 25, 26, will be spent in Clark Co. in and about Springfield; Columbus, 27; Newark, 28; Zanesville, 29, 30; Roseville, 31.

Remittance for eleven subs and an order for 16 of Jack London's books come from Comrade M. M. Swartz of Toledo. Comrade Swartz is a literature distributor and he claims it is the best method to create Socialist sentiment.

RUTHERBERG AT MASSILLON

Chas. E. Rutherford will speak at Socialist Hall, 20 W. Main St., Friday evening, March 21.

NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

(Edited By C. E. Ruthenberg)

The Essence of Bolshevism

Here's some real news. Mexico has a Bolshevik government and constitution. This remarkable fact, which we have all overlooked, has just been brought to our attention, by Eduardo Feran, a purchasing agent of the government of Guatemala, who, in a statement published by the Christian Science Monitor, says:

"The Carranza constitution of Mexico is virtually identical with the Bolshevik constitution, or constitution, and Russia is no more dangerous to the world today than is Mexico, except that Mexico has not so large a population, nor are there so many intelligent men devoted to the movement there as in Russia. The principles of the organization of law of Mexico, adopted by the present government, are the same as those contained in the constitution promulgated by Lenin and Trotsky for their regime of Bolshevism and anarchy in Russia. They are as like as two peas when compared closely, and the main object of the two different revolutionary movements, which are raging in as many states of Mexico today, is the overthrow of this Socialist-anarchist constitution under which the government of Mexico is conducted.

And here is the basis for Mr. Feran's statement that the Mexican constitution is identical with that of Soviet Russia:

"The worst provision of the Mexican constitution is that it takes from the owners, whether domestic or alien, all of their lands and everything connected with those lands, including mineral, timber and water rights, and reinvests that title in the government. Compare this with Article 1, of Division 1, of the Russian Bill of Rights, which reads: 'All property rights in the land, treasures of the earth, waters, forests and fundamental natural resources, within the boundaries of the Russian Federated Soviet Republic are abolished.'

"This is no worse than the law under which Mexico is operating, and the resulting condition in Russia is no worse than it is in Mexico. The constitution has been enforced in Mexico by a form of licenses which the government may permit, under which mining and oil rights are regulated, but no one can operate, develop or use to their full value his own properties under this arrangement. Yet neither mines, oil wells nor lands can be worked except under such licenses."

Mr. Feran has unconsciously uncovered the essence of Bolshevism and also the reason for the bitter opposition of the ruling class of every country to Bolshevism. It is not that the Bolsheviks are "German agents," or the charges they have established the "red terror" or the "suppression of the press" or even "the nationalization of women" that arouses the bitter animosity of the propertied classes. All these things they might have done, although they have not, and, still retained the friendship of the capitalists, for the capitalists themselves have done them and many things worse. But one thing the capitalists will not submit to, one thing they will

fight with all their power, one thing will bring down on the Bolsheviks the armed forces of all the capitalist nations in the world (if, considering the temper of the people at home the capitalists dare risk it) and that is the adoption of a constitution, which, in the words of Mr. Feran, "takes from the owners, whether domestic or alien, all of their lands and everything connected with those lands, including mineral, timber and water rights, and reinvests that title in the government."

The essence of Bolshevism is that it is taking the land, the industries and natural resources for the use of the people. It is striking a death blow at capitalism. That is the essential fact. The rest is camouflage intended to obscure the real point at issue.

Mr. Francis Testifies

David R. Francis, ambassador from the United States to Russia, testified before the senate committee which is investigating Bolshevism, the other day. Mr. Francis had been held in reserve by the committee as a star witness, who was to demolish Bolshevism. But the committee must have been seriously disappointed after listening to Mr. Francis' statements. He did not seem to know very much about what happened in Russia. He gave this and that as his "opinion" and he "believed" this or that to be true, but of fact and proof he had none to offer.

Thus for instance, Mr. Francis said: "And now, at this point, I wish to state I believe that Lenin was a German agent from the very beginning. Germany would never have permitted him to return to Russia through German territory, had the case been otherwise."

It was easy, of course, for Mr. Francis to believe that, considering his attitude toward the Bolsheviks, but where is the proof? Mr. Francis did not cite any facts to support his "belief," although he stated his further "belief" that:

"He (Lenin) was a German agent in my opinion, although while acting as such he was also working to foment a world-wide revolution. He would have taken American or British money; just as willingly as he did German money."

There you have the whole story. Lenin was a German agent who was fomenting a world-wide revolution and incidentally straining every effort to get the world wide revolution under way in Germany before any other country. Does Mr. Francis really "believe" that the former masters of Germany were such a foolish lot as to finance a man who was aiming to undermine their rule, as Mr. Francis admits he was?

The reason for Mr. Francis' "beliefs" was brought out by Senator King, when the latter asked the ambassador:

"Were you denounced by the Bolsheviks as a capitalist?" "Yes," he answered, "and the government

of the United States was denounced as a capitalist government. They said we entered the war because German submarines interfered with the sale of supplies to the Allies. That we had to participate in the war at the instance of the New York Stock Exchange in order to find a market for our manufactured products, and so on."

Those awful Bolsheviks! To say such things about Mr. Francis' government when it really was fighting to "make the world safe for democracy." Wouldn't you believe most anything about people who would so misrepresent your ideals?

A Little Mixed

The supports of the capitalist system are having a difficult time of it combating "Bolshevism." They do not seem to know just where they are at. They are scared; that is clear. People who are scared are apt to get a little mixed in their logic. They frequently speak truths which they did not intend to mention.

All this is preliminary to comment on an editorial appearing in "Finance and Industry" warning the capitalists of the great danger they are in. The writer of the editorial shows how Bolshevism is growing in this country and how necessary it is for some such organization as the defunct American Protective League to combat it—and makes such a good case that it really should scare the people, he is writing for.

Having put his readers in the proper state of mind to seriously consider what is to follow he proceeds to tell them what Bolshevism is and what its source. And in doing that he mixes things up terribly. Just consider these two quotations:

"Bolsheviks are not trying to build a government upon labor and talent, but upon robbery."

And then, speaking of the present economic situation in this country:

"At this particular time the dissatisfied are likely to seize upon the ideals of the Bolsheviks as a means of ending quickly, AND FOR ALL TIME, the temporary disturbance of economic affairs."

Now isn't that fine! The Bolsheviks who are trying to build up a government, not upon labor and talent, but upon robbery, will end economic disturbances for all time!

If the Bolshevik form of organization will accomplish what this writer says it will—end the present industrial crisis with hundreds of thousands of men and women out of jobs, quickly and for all time, it ought to be a pretty good proposition for the workers to support, even though it is built upon robbery, for what this writer calls robbery merely means that the workers who created the factory, shops, railroads and other means of production and distribution, are taking possession of them to stop the capitalists from robbing them, and are using them for the coming welfare of the workers.

What Is Coming?

The Prinkipo conference with representatives of the Russian Soviet government and the comic opera government which exist in Russia because supported by Allied bayonets, is evidently to be called off. The Supreme War Council, it seems, has come to the conclusion that such a conference would give the Bolsheviks too good an opportunity to get the facts about Russia before the people of other countries in spies of the conference being held in one of the most out of the way places that could be found.

What the situation in Russia actually is, is set forth in the following quotation from a statement by Lloyd George before the peacemakers, which is quoted by Paul Wallace Hanna, in an article in the New York Call:

"Gentlemen," Lloyd George said, "the Soviet government rules over virtually all of European Russia, and enjoys the active or passive allegiance of two-thirds of the Russian people. All of us here know that to be true. The time has come for us to face the facts publicly and prepare to recognize the Soviet government. A general peace which left Russia out would be a farce."

In spite of this admission the Soviet government has not been recognized. Allied troops are still fighting against Russian working men on Russian soil. Recently the volume of lies and misrepresentations of the facts about the Soviet government has been greatly augmented, in seeming preparation for a new attack upon the Soviet government on the part of the representatives of capitalism assembled at Paris.

The British Labor party has passed a resolution viewing with disquiet the recent statement made by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons, while introducing the army estimate. The resolution declares in effect that the government seems to be preparing for a long period of military interference and that its policy is inconsistent with the existence of a democratic League of Nations. It goes on to say that the draft of the constitution of the League of Nations does not fulfill the ideal of the Labor party. The latter phase of the matter is, of course, the explanation of the fact that while the five great powers are talking in fine phrases about the League of Nations, they are at the same time continuing to build their military machines. They have no faith themselves in the league that is being set up to delude the people into believing that the world has really been "made safe for democracy."

"We've gotten on extremely well in this country for more than 140 years of liberty, and if the I. W. W. are not satisfied with conditions here let them go elsewhere." Representative Julius Kahn told a Boston audience a few days ago. Who did Mr. Kahn mean when he said "we"? The Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Astors, the Vanderbilts and Car-

negies and the other thirty thousand millionaires and near-billionaires? No doubt they've gotten on "extremely well," for they have been able to make the wealth the American workers produce their private property, amassing great fortunes while millions live in poverty. We've gotten on extremely well and we want no change, that's the slogan of the capitalists.

A writer in a Cleveland paper gives us this picture of our future prospects: "Japan is strong, proud and warlike. So are we in America. Both nations are fast expanding. Both have the assurance of a great future. Under such circumstances a rooted sense of antagonism is always to be watched as a possible source of war." There is only one sense in which we are expanding and that is economically. We are reaching out for new markets, new spheres for investments and Japan is doing the same. The rooted sense of antagonism is therefore economic antagonism, "which is always to be watched as a possible source of war." It seems even capitalist writers sometimes carelessly admit the truth.

Here is the answer of the Russian workers of Lawrence, Mass., to the cry for deportation of aliens, "We demand the immediate opening of the frontiers, so that we may return to our homes, to our country, where the glorious sun of freedom shines brightly, where the working class is the master of its own destiny, and where the songs of working class freedom reverberate in the air. We are not afraid to be deported, but would rather welcome the opportunity to leave immediately." Another slap at "the land of the free and the home of the brave!"

Arguing for the state constabulary bill before the Ohio legislature, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, says, "The New York general assembly refuses even to listen to the suggestion that this useful agency of law enforcement shall be abolished, because its members recognize the valuable work the state police is performing." A recent example of this "valuable work" is the use of the New York state police to prevent a demonstration of unemployed.

The masses of Europe have already been disillusioned. When Wilson arrived in Europe on his first trip he was greeted everywhere by great demonstrations of the people. Now his greetings come only from the propertied classes. The workers of Europe have quickly learned that all that Wilson had to offer was fair words and fine phrases.

"Bolshevism is a reaction against oppression," said Rev. Francis T. Moran, to an audience of Cleveland industrial leaders the other day, "and there hasn't been oppression in America." No, of course not, even though there are a thousand men and women in prison for doing nothing more than expressing their conscientious views.

Eugene V. Debs Speech

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level of your statesmanship. Aren't you proud of it?

"In Germany, do you know what is going on there? In spite of all opposition, the Spartacists, the heroic followers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the most magnificent and heroic figures in Europe in modern history—they are dead, but the revolution lives, and their magnificent souls go marching on."

"At the beginning they said that the Bolsheviks had ruined and bankrupted the country of Russia, and in the next breath we read that they are financing the revolution everywhere. The son of Trotsky stole 50,000,000 rubles, and Trotsky never had a son. The wife of Lenin went to Italy with trunks loaded with gold, and she never has been in Italy in her life."

"Is there a lie they have not told? Is there a calumny which they have not circulated about Lenin and Trotsky?"

"They are fighting for your liberty, for you, if you only know it, and I am only too glad to pay my tribute to those men I love. Along this line congress is making an investigation. The Overman committee has discovered that there is some Bolshevik agitation in the United States. It is to be ended by deporting, without trial, without hearing, 46 of our working people."

"How perfectly brutal and infamous and disgusting an example of how capitalism treats its working men. Compare the hard, horny palms of those who are to be deported with the lily-white hands of the deporters. You can see the difference. The deported were the producers. If they are to be sent abroad, I want to go with them! 'What you and all of us need in this hour of trial and travail is working class solidarity.'"

"Appeals for Solidarity. 'We need to unite. We need to get together. We need to feel the common touch. We need to recognize our kinship. The world is against us if we are not for ourselves. Through the history of the ages you have been oppressed, you have been downtrodden, you have been exploited, you have been degraded. When you go for a job to the master class you work under conditions they prescribe. You depend upon them for tools, you work for their benefit. Do you like this? This is capitalism.'"

"The system in which you enrich yourselves, the system under which 5 per cent. of the people own the wealth of the country and the great body of the people struggle through all their years for an existence and pass away without ever having enjoyed one hour of real life. How pathetic and tragic it is that in our land, with its boundless resources and treasures, its machinery, its workers, everything for production for every man, we have in the midst of all these benefits the great body of the people struggling for existence."

"How foolish it is to vote for the perpetuation of such a system. Yet that is exactly what you do when you vote the Republican or the Democratic ticket, or any ticket, except the Socialist. While you are doing this the master class looks upon you with sovereign contempt."

"You who practice everything, you who really create, you who are conserving civilization—is it not humiliating to think that you are the bot-

tom class, the lower order? That is the system that you support or help to destroy by your vote."

"I appeal to you just once to stand perfectly erect in the majesty of your humanity. You owe it to yourself."

"Washington Was Denounced."

"Look into the eyes of your brother and see the new light that is shining for the working class. We have been oppressed, we have suffered, we have agonized and now let us unite and stand together against capitalism. That is the plea I am making tonight."

"I do not desire to make any glowing periods, I wish I could read your hearts tonight, your attitude of soul. 'Let us unite industrially. If Germany had been organized industrially this great calamity would have never come.'"

"These crimson flowers that have just been presented to me represent the springtime, the springtime of revolution. I have faith in it and in humanity; I have faith in the Man of Galilee. Twenty centuries ago he spoke to the common people and they heard him gladly. He was brought before the scribes and the Pharisees and the priests and the doctors and the lawyers and the judges. They said 'He is preaching dangerous doctrines. He is a Bolshevik.' They hung him on a cross near Jerusalem as a warning to the centuries."

"But ever since there have been men and women of moral courage who dared to speak the truth as they saw it, who have been maligned and persecuted; they have been stoned and burned at the stake, their ashes scattered to the four winds. These men are remembered and it is to them that we owe our progress."

"Remember that George Washington was denounced as an unprincipled

scoundrel; Jefferson was said to be a violent fanatic; Samuel Adams a dangerous character; Patrick Henry was an incendiary."

"A little later there was a group of abolitionists who fought against an institution which had existed for 250 years in this country. Abolitionism was the Bolshevism of that day. Those men were ridiculed. Today they are honored, while the smug, respectable people of their day lie buried and forgotten."

"The great working class movement will similarly triumph. Its emancipation from the ruling class must come soon."

Rush to Shake Debs' Hand.

The conclusion of Debs' speech was dramatic. From the slow, rhythmic, laborious articulation which marks his speeches, he had suddenly wrought himself to a pitch of tumultuous haste. His speech ended sooner than was expected.

The audience took no heed of Chairman Ruthenberg's introductory admonition to remain in their seats. When Debs turned to sit down, a thousand people rushed for the platform with outstretched hands. Debs shook hands with all whose proximity permitted the greeting. Some of the women rushed to kiss him.

During a pause in his speech members of Local Cleveland had presented Debs with a basket of red roses and carnations. Debs regarded the floral tribute with smiling eyes and remarked:

"Is it not timely, however, blasphemous, to ask if an ordinance has been passed to prohibit their color?"

"I am richer than John D. Rockefeller. He never enjoyed a gift so pure in loveliness, so deep in meaning, I deplore his poverty."

Argentine Socialist Movement

(Continued from Page One)

"We are a party of order and method. We regard socialism as a method of action rather than the plan of a new society to be organized," we replied, smiling.

And Dr. Justo modestly admitted that he is the translator of a Spanish edition of Marx's "Capital."

The Tendencies. "The Argentinian Socialists are united," declared Dr. Justo. "The former deputy, Palacios, left us. Our position on the question of duelling was the cause of the division between the party and Palacios. The party prohibited duelling, and Palacios did not wish to abide by the party's action."

"When the Socialist parliamentary group voted in favor of military protection for our ships against the submarine peril, there was some opposition, but the large majority of the party approved our conduct. We resigned on this question in order that the party might be more free. As a result there was organized a 'little dissident group' called the International Socialist Party."

"Finally, we voted in favor of breaking off diplomatic relations at the time of the Luxembourg incidents. But we realized that that was simply a formal matter."

"At Berne we shall advocate the union of the Socialist forces, which pursue a common object."

"In opposition to us are the immigrant Spanish or Italian anarchists who publish a paper called the Proleta."

Trade Unionism.

"Our trade union organization is the Federación Obrera Argentina (the Argentine Labor Federation). In tendency it is idealistic, syndicalistic. But it does not oppose the action of the Socialist Party. The leaders of the movement have proposed that the officials of the organization shall not be the candidates for office of any political party. The proposition has not yet been adopted."

"The anarchist syndicalists are another organization."

"The struggle must be interesting in a new country," continued the representative of Humanite.

"Yes," came the reply, "but Europe is going to have some great experiences." And he seemed to regret not being able to remain with us and live through them.

Our comrade limps slightly. In 1916 an attempt was made to assassinate him and he still carries the bullet in his thigh. It may be added, too, that the police have not yet apprehended the assassin.

The Senate Investigation of Bolshevism

(Continued from Page One)

ination of labor exploitation and making all the parasites go to work for their living."

BLAMES AUTOCRACY FOR BREAKDOWN.

As to the breakdown of Russia economically, which the battery of capitalist agents of the American labor exploiters which the committee placed on the stand at the beginning of the prosecution attributed to the Soviet government, Miss Beatty declared that the country was economically broken down even before Kerensky took over the government; due to the three years' war 50 per cent. of the transportation facilities were inoperative.

Relative to the causes that brought about the revolution the witness said that the immediate cause was the war weariness of the people. In June, 1917, about the time of the first test of the strength of the Bolshevik party in the outbreak of Petrograd, the Kerensky government staged a "patriotic" demonstration to inspire the working people to keep on fighting. But the soldiers said: "Why do we wait to fight our brothers in Germany, who were whipped into the trenches by the Kaiser just as we were whipped into them by the czar?"

Senator Sterling here brought out his favorite inquiry relative to the "breakdown of discipline" in the Russian army. Sterling belongs to that school of militarists who believe that the only way the "lower classes" can be kept in subjection to the whims of the labor exploiters is to have the lower classes convinced that it is necessary to show "respect" to their superiors. Especially is this so, he thinks, in regard to the Russian soldiers. "To do and die, not to question why, according to Sterling, is the supreme duty of the Russian soldier. And from his point of view when the Russian soldiers made up their minds not to salute their officers, they were guilty of the death penalty for infractions of the military law laid down by the uniformed brutes of the ex-czar, then the breakdown of the Russian army began."

"Where did the abolition of the death penalty and the advancement of the extreme view that the soldiers should not salute or pay proper respect to their superior officers spring from?" he asked. "From the Socialists?"

EVERYBODY SOCIALISTS.

"Ch. everyone is a Socialist in Russia," replied Miss Beatty. "It is simply a question of what kind of a Socialist one is."

"Are you a Socialist?" a kid Senator Nelson.

Miss Beatty replied that the nearest she came to being one was when she toured California alone with other legitimate women in 1916 for Woodrow Wilson.

"But are you one at heart?" persisted Nelson.

"I worked in social settlement work for twelve years, and I am in favor of anything that will abolish poverty," rejoined the witness.

"Tell us about the Soviet government," whimpered Senator Nelson, evidently afraid to question the witness longer along this line.

Recurring to the abolition of the death penalty and the order abolishing the necessity of saluting in the army, Miss Beatty stated that those decrees were really made by the soldiers themselves and then promulgated by the Kerensky government to give them a semblance of legal form. The decrees simply recognized the existence of a condition already made effective by the action of the soldiers themselves.

Miss Beatty had her most difficult work in trying to make the committee understand the distribution of the land tenure system. If the restrictions as to land tenure were extreme, they were made so in order to erect a social system in which no able-bodied man shall eat if he does not work. Money has not been abolished, but the money to make money out of the oppression of others has been abolished. No person, she can make money out of his fellow men. The desire of the Bolshevik party is to equalize opportunity as much as possible. If the peasants and laborers had been put at the top, as suggested by Senator Sterling, it was elevating 90 per cent. of the people and reducing 10 per cent. She would like to see the nationalization of the land tried in Russia.

"What becomes of the loafer who won't till his land?" asked Senator Overman.

"He has to work in order to eat," explained Miss Beatty, adding: "There is no place for loafers in Russia now."

FRANK KEEDIE'S TESTIMONY.

Ninety per cent. of the people of Russia were of wood and drawers of water prior to the revolution. They had been exploited for three hundred years. This was especially so of the peasants. They were brought up in the villages and without education. Then they were sent off to be made cannon fodder for the command of the czar. The rich land owners would do for the poor everything but get off their backs. These peasants came back from the war. They returned to the villages to find their families in penury and without food. They went to the rich land owners for food. In many cases they refused the rich land owners flashing revolvers and firing on the peasants. The peasants were decorated with iron crosses for having killed a certain number of Germans, and he in turn flashed his rifle and killed the rich land owners. Then the peasants said: "What's it all about, anyway? Who have I been fighting for? For Russia? Well, it's mine." And he took the land. Ninety per cent. of these people had been living from time immemorial on the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table, and when they heard of the Soviet decree nationalizing the land they simply rose up and turned over the table.

This was the substance of the story told the senate committee investigating Bolshevism today by Frank Keedie, head of the British Quaker Red Cross in Russia, of the way the peasants took the land away from the rich lords when the Bolshevik party obtained control of the Russian government and dispossessed that type of labor exploiter.

Keedie went to Russia in 1916 and

remained there until last October. His work was principally among the peasants. He told the committee that he talked about what he had seen and what he knew, not about what someone else had known and seen. He was familiar with the Soviet government as it affected the peasants, especially in the regions where he had worked. He knew what they wanted and what they should have. "Bolshevism as applied to agriculture has been a success," he said, and said so emphatically.

As to the Bolshevik movement and the Soviet government in general, the witness declared that it is trying to "create a social order where it will be impossible for a rich man or any other man to dominate the people."

In response to an inquiry from Senator Overman, the witness denied that he had been speaking for Bolshevism in the United States. Overman seems to be of the opinion that it would be terrible if anyone should speak for the fundamental principles of the Socialist Soviet government and their application to the land of the free and the home of the brave." He doesn't seem to know that the fundamental demands of the Socialist Party of the United States and of every Socialist Party throughout the world are identical with the fundamental planks of the Soviet constitution, and that if he wants to find out how many people in the United States openly and frankly support the fundamental principles of the Soviet republic of Russia he can get a starter for his list by summoning the hundred thousand dues paying members of that party before his committee.

OPPOSITION OF PROPERTY OWNERS NATURAL.

The witness said it was perfectly natural for those who had accumulated property either in land or factories through the oppression of the peasants and factory workers should oppose the Bolsheviks. He might have directed attention to the fact that the slave holders in Senator Overman's own state of North Carolina in the last generation also opposed the abolitionists who suggested that it was an injustice to the colored people for the white masters of the south to own them as private property and rob them of all the wealth they produced. It was a good thing for the southern slave holders that the colored people along in 1830 to 1850 did not have the vision that the Russian peasants had in 1917 and 1918. And what a sight that would have been! The southern slaveholder compelled to go to work for his living.

SOLDIERS JUST QUIET.

Relative to the "demobilization" of the Russian army, the witness somewhat humorously explained that there was no demobilization. The 15,000,000 soldiers simply quit the job and went home. When they got home, after having absorbed the Socialist teaching that the land belongs to the people, they looked around and discovered that the rich land lords owned all the best land, many of the holdings amounting to 150,000 to 200,000 acres. The peasants said to themselves, "That land lord has got half a dozen

houses over there. He cannot live in but one of them. What is the matter with asking him to let us live in the rest of them?" No sooner said than done. Some of the land lords acted decently, and the peasants treated them correspondingly. Other land lords resisted, but of course, Socialist peasants can't permit land lords to violate the supreme law of the land, and consequently they made short work of the resistance—and lived happily forever after.

Asked whether the Soviet constitution did not provide for the nationalization of live stock, Keedie stated that the letter of the constitution might provide for the nationalization of the live stock, but in the province of Samara, where he spent a good deal of his time, the live stock taken from the big land lords was given to the peasants according to their necessities. A crippled soldier or a soldier's widow would be given more sheep or more cows than able-bodied persons.

"The Bolshevik government in operation is different from the Bolshevik government as described in its constitution then?" asked Chief Prosecutor Humes.

"Perhaps," admitted the witness. "But the same criticism is applicable to other governments. I believe in the United States there is a court which spends the most of its time interpreting the meaning of your constitution."

NO LANDED PROPRIETORS.

"Now as to the landed proprietors in Russia," began Senator Nelson.

"There are none," interjected Keedie much to the disgust of Nelson, who does not see how a Minnesota labor-exploiting land lord could live and prosper without a lot of poorly-paid farm laborers to roll up his ill-gotten wealth for him.

"How about the mir?" continued Nelson. "Didn't the peasants in the villages control the mir?"

"They did not," came back the witness. "The mir was controlled by the czar's government and the land owning interests."

"Have you seen any terrorism in Russia?" cried one of the committee.

"No Red Terror," replied Keedie. General Duff, however, had told him that he had signed the death warrant for 700 Bolsheviks. The committee put the lid down immediately on any further accounts of terror applied against the Bolsheviks.

Keedie stated that he is a Socialist, a pacifist, a conscientious objector, does not believe in the use of force to emancipate society, and hopes and believes the social revolution will be brought about in Great Britain and France, and the United States by peaceable means. He criticized the allies for having sent troops to Siberia and Russia, and said that these troops are the principal props to the profiteers there today.

"The one creative social experiment that has come out of the war is found in Russia," said the witness. "They are trying to create a new social order." He believed other governments should let them alone, free to try out the experiment.