

To All Ohio Comrades:

Debs' Defense and Campaign Subscription Lists have been mailed you.
Return the lists with remittances to the State Offices.

By Order of State Executive Committee, H. Wagenknecht, State Sec., P.T.

The Ohio Socialist

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Ohio

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No. 25.

CLEVELAND, O., WEDNESDAY, JULY 17, 1918

108 \$1.00 A Year

A CALL TO ARMS

Free Speech on Trial; State Executive Committee Plans Debs Defense in Ohio
YOUR HELP NEEDED

To All Ohio Locals.

Comrades: Ohio is in the fight and in to win. The arrest of Comrade Debs forced us to enter the campaign before we had expected to do so. But we were not caught napping. We are ready.

The arrest of Comrade Debs in our state has aroused a feeling of protest in the breast of every class-conscious worker.

Debs says: "This is a fight for free speech. If it was a matter that affected me alone I would not hesitate to go into the case without a lawyer and await the decision of the court. But this attack is not directed at me. It is not a personal matter. It is the government's big case, into which it will put all of its energy and we must stand up and meet the attack."

This arrest is met with determination on the part of the workers; not only those workers who are members of the Socialist Party but unaffiliated workers throughout the nation, to forever put an end to this persecution of our most loyal members, who are innocent of any crime.

The most active workers in every movement for the betterment of mankind have been persecuted by the master class. It has ever been their aim to make these loyal workers suffer that their companions and co-workers should become intimidated and cease their efforts to bring about better conditions for the workers.

Even more than meeting the attack, we must fight with every weapon in our possession, that the

right of free speech, free press and free assembly shall be secured and maintained for the workers. Meetings must be held in every locality to raise money for defense and campaign purposes. This is most essential.

The State Executive Committee has outlined this plan for securing funds for Debs defense and the campaign. All funds collected on the lists which the State Office has mailed out to all locals and branches will be divided thus: One half the amount received by the State Office will be apportioned to the defense. The other half will be divided equally between the local making the remittance and the State Office to be used for the campaign.

The State Office has mailed to all locals, branches, members at large and Ohio Socialist readers new Debs Defense and State Campaign Fund Lists. Circulate these lists with all possible energy. This case is the supreme test of the traditional rights of free speech in America. It will require thousands of dollars to win it. We must not lose it. Place a list before every worker you know and ask them to subscribe.

Speakers are also being engaged who will tour Ohio in the immediate future. Locals must arrange meetings for these speakers. Letters to all locals asking for dates for speakers are being mailed. Do not fail to make arrangement for one of more meetings. Get busy. The campaign is on. Debs must be defended.

H. WAGENKNECHT,
State Secretary, P. T.

WARNING Only Forty Days More IN WHICH TO GET SIGNATURES ON OUR NOMINATION PETITIONS

Comrades—A word of warning and advice. The Socialist Party's Nominating Petitions must be filed with the Board of Elections before September 1. This means we have got to hurry if we are to get on the official ballot next November. The question is: Are you getting your lists filled with the names of bona fide voters? That is the all important work before us now. Get the lists filled.

Now then—the State Petitions must be returned to the State Office by July 23rd. Remember the date and be sure to mail them in time to reach us then. We will count the signatures and deliver the lists to the proper authorities. Be sure to have more names on the lists than are actually required for some names may be thrown off for some reason or other. If the lists lack enough names the State Office will send locals more lists.

Then number of names required in each county are shown below. Keep this list for reference:

County	Number Signatures Required	County	Number Signatures Required
Adams	58	Paulding	50
Allen	143	Perry	83
Ashland	67	Pickaway	85
Ashabula	123	Pike	37
Athens	101	Portage	77
Auglaize	72	Preble	64
Belmont	169	Putnam	67
Brown	61	Richland	123
Butler	185	Ross	101
Carroll	39	Sandusky	91
Champaign	183	Scioto	184
Clark	101	Seneca	112
Clermont	79	Shelby	63
Clinton	62	Stark	317
Columbiana	173	Summit	328
Coshocton	76	Trumbull	139
Crawford	90	Tuscarawas	139
Cuyahoga	1304	Union	60
Darke	109	Van Wert	77
Defiance	62	Vinton	29
Delaware	74	Warren	66
Erie	74	Washington	104
Fairfield	97	Waynes	99
Fayette	55	Williams	69
Franklin	596	Wood	112
Fulton	52	Wyandot	51
Gallia	52		
Geauga	77		
Guernsey	96		
Hamilton	1206		
Hancock	191		
Harvin	86		
Harrison	45		
Henry	59		
Highland	78		
Hocking	54		
Holmes	38		
Huron	62		
Jackson	28		
Jefferson	127		
Knox	83		
Lake	56		
Lawrence	74		
Licking	79		
Logan	151		
Lorain	511		
Lucas	55		
Madison	254		
Mahoning	59		
Marion	62		
Medina	62		
Meigs	62		
Mercer	49		
Miami	119		
Monroe	49		
Montgomery	470		
Morgan	45		
Morrow	145		
Muskingum	45		
Noble	45		
Ottawa	52		

LOCAL LITERATURE AGENTS ATTENTION!

All local Literature Agents are requested to send in their names and addresses to the State Office at once. Important business is going forward and the State Secretary desires a list of these comrades' names and addresses. Send them in immediately.

DEBS' TRIAL

The trial of Comrade Eugene V. Debs has been postponed until September 9th. The postponement was made at the request of Comrade Seymour Stedman of Chicago, who was in Cleveland Thursday, July 11th, and is made for the purpose of giving the attorneys more time in which to prepare their defense.

Associated with Comrade Stedman in Debs' defense are Morris Hilquit of New York, Jos. W. Sharts of Dayton, and Morris Wolf of Cleveland. It is expected that Comrade Debs' attorneys will file a demurrer to the indictment within a few weeks.

Comrade Debs is resting at his home in Terre Haute, Ind.

Notice to Readers

This paper is paid for. If it opens your eyes to some economic facts help on the work by contributing to the Ohio Socialist Propaganda Fund.

This fund supplies the means of sending the paper to workers who, like you, are looking for economic light.

"Unbleached Orator" Coming

COLORED SPEAKER TO TOUR OHIO

Comrade Ross D. Brown, the "Unbleached Orator," will tour Ohio. Comrades of this state will be glad to hear that the State Office has secured Comrade Brown for a tour of the state.

Need we say anything as to the ability of this well known colored speaker? Those locals for whom Comrade Brown spoke the past two seasons, will no doubt call for more dates at once. Locals which have not had the good fortune previously should make applications at once.

Comrade Brown is just the kind of speaker for street meetings and picnics. His voice carries well and his live, instructive and interesting manner of handling his subjects makes his services very valuable to the movement. When can your local use Comrade Brown?

WHAT OTHERS SAY OF ROSS D. BROWN

The Opinion of Debs.

Ross D. Brown has won renown as the "Unbleached Orator of the Socialist Movement." He is widely known, this gifted revolutionist, as a speaker and propagandist or rare versatility and remarkable power. He is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of loyalty to his race and to his class, and the earnestness and sincerity which animate him are so apparent, even to the most prejudiced, that he is listened to with respect if not with admiration and approval by the many thousands who gather to hear him—Eugene V. Debs.

The Ohio Socialist

Akron, Ohio, Sept., 1917.—Ross D. Brown was here the 13th. We wish to say that we perceive in this comrade a very close student who possesses the ability to present his subject. We can recommend him highly and say that he is worthy of far more consideration than he generally receives. We propose to have him again soon.

COOK COUNTY JAIL

in "The World"
By Charles Asheighl

In the consideration of principles, theories and movements, we should never lose sight of the personal. Many people who are too bookfed, or whose cerebral diet has been too severely confined to the "practical" or academic become inclined to live mentally among generalizations only. It is good to observe a great array of men—an army or a marching pilgrimage. It is impressive, the sight of this moving mass in its slow and fluid immensity. But one should not forget that each unit of this host is a breathing bundle of emotions, a compact battle-ground, perhaps, of conflicting passions, warring instincts and twisted purposes. And some among them may even have souls which are as half-wild gardens, purpled with the mist of dreams amidst which play the fountains of fancy.

And so it is with us in jail. O friend of mine. You look upon us as a body, a band of men who are passing through this ordeal of iron and stone and monotony, so that, one day, a larger and more colorful life shall be won for this world's folk. A legion of crusaders, adventuring to win the Holy City of social and industrial freedom, a strong-souled company of knights, seeking the Holy Grail, which is liberty and mirth and the space to laugh and love and live.

We are all this. It is indeed, true, that we represent the most significant and dynamic factor in America's evolution towards a complete democracy—a democracy industrial as well as political. In the mass we are all that, but considering us individually, each one of us adds to these common qualities the tang, the color of his own personality.

We are shut up in stone iron-barred cells, measuring six feet by eight. Three of us are in each of these miniature hells, and therein we sleep and eat and perform all the intimate physiological functions. Unventilated, badly lighted, and evil smelling are our close-packed kennels, and within them our rasped spirits surge and jar or lapse into a drab sluggishness. The humiliation of being constantly subject to orders; our health enfeebled by confinement, monotony and malnutrition—all these things are terrible tests for the plastic souls of men.

And each one of us, in his own way, reacts to these tests. Some, thank heaven, conserve their sense of humor. It is humor somewhat shot

Forgetfulness in regular dues payments means a monkey wrench in our party machinery.

It's better to be safe than sorry. Pay dues today.

YOU OWE
Maybe for July—
THAT'S BAD
Maybe for June and July—
THAT'S WORSE
Maybe for May, June and July—
THAT'S TERRIBLE
YOUR DUES
THEY'RE DUE RIGHT NOW
JULY IS PAY UP MONTH
SQUARE UP NOW

AND ALWAYS REMEMBER
IT'S BETTER TO PAY AHEAD THAN TO BE BEHIND

NOTE—If you do not know where to pay your dues, send them to this office together with your dues book and we will remit to your local secretary. State Secretary, Socialist Party of Ohio, 1291 Cook Avenue, Lakewood, Ohio.

American Socialists Rally to Defense of Debs and Free Speech

(Special Correspondence.)

Chicago, Ill.—"Is the anti-free speech legislation recently adopted by Congress constitutional?" That is the big issue at stake in the indictment of Eugene V. Debs, for whom nearly one million votes were cast as Socialist candidate for president in 1912.

Debs believes that the gag put on free speech by legislative enactment is unconstitutional, declaring that if the United States supreme court nevertheless holds the law constitutional then the constitution itself is unconstitutional.

"This is a national issue and I am glad to have the national Socialist Party take charge of the case," said Debs, in readily agreeing to the arrangements that had been made by the national office of the Socialist Party.

"This is a fight for free speech," he continued. "If it was a matter that affected me alone I would not hesitate to go into the case without a lawyer and await the decision of the court. But this attack is not directed at me. It is not a personal matter. It is a blow at free speech. It is the government's big case, into which it will put all of its energy and we must stand up and meet the attack."

The Cleveland dailies declare that the indictment against Debs was not returned until Attorney General Gregory had been consulted at Washington. This, in addition to the fact that the indictment was drawn under the new law, puts the entire government censorship of speech policy on trial. If Debs is acquitted that will mean that the government's suppression of speech has been repudiated by the courts, and it is not unlikely that

the many anti-free speech cases now pending will be dismissed, while prison doors may open for those already convicted and serving sentences. If Debs is convicted that will mean that the department of justice will have a free hand to go ahead and crush out all semblance of free speech everywhere.

"The crisis is a big one and demands united action not only on the part of the 100,000 dues paying members of the Socialist Party, but also on the part of the million voters who cast their ballots for Debs, and on the part of every lover of the fundamental liberties embodied in the constitution of the United States," is the declaration of Oliver C. Wilson, who will direct the efforts to raise the fines for Debs' defense in this epochal court struggle.

"This case is vital to all the American people. The American nation, more than Debs, is on trial, and we want the decision to be a decision upholding the rights of American democracy, the basic rights of free speech, free press and free assembly."

"The Cleveland comrades showed their spirit by raising \$1,000 at the picnic that Debs was about to address Sunday, June 30, when he was arrested. Attorneys Seymour Stedman and Morris Hilquit, both prominent Socialists, will have charge of the legal aspects of the case.

Debs is in the best of health and will do everything that he can personally to prepare for his trial. He will speak in some of the larger cities of the nation in behalf of the great free speech struggle that was forced upon him through his indictment.

RECOGNIZE RUSSIA

By JOHN REED

The capitalist press of the Allied countries is loud in its indignation against the so-called "Russian betrayal" at Brest-Litovsk. At the same time, however, it is full of excuses for the peace treaty signed by Rumania with the Central powers on March 5, 1918; and even justifies the action of the bourgeoisie of Finland and Ukraine in calling upon German troops to fight their own countrymen.

Yet the Russo-German peace-treaty was as much a matter of military necessity as the Rumanian treaty. The Russian army was demoralized and exhausted; Russian economic life had broken down. For all that the Bolsheviks are not to blame. Have we forgotten how the Government of the Tsar deliberately disorganized the economic machinery of the country, allowed the transportation to go to smash, and deprived the army not only of arms but even food—in order to force a separate peace with the Germans? The newspapers were full of these things at the time.

Then came the Provisional Government, which was an unworkable compromise between the Socialists and the party of the bourgeoisie. This regime was unable, at first, to accomplish any reorganization of the national life. Even the bread lines instituted under the Imperial Government were done away with. The soldiers themselves, if they could have received proper support from the country, would have remained in the trenches to defend the country; it was their choice and the voice of the Russian masses which had proclaimed: "No annexations, no indemnities, and the right of self-definition to peoples," and they would have defended those terms. But under the pressure of the Allied Governments, an offensive was commenced in Galicia, and in that act the majority of the Russian troops refused to participate.

After this the bourgeoisie wing of the Government bent all its efforts to the destruction of the Revolution, continuing the process begun by the Tsar, and even conniving, it is generally believed, at the fall of Riga, in order to strengthen discipline in the ranks of the Army. Under their systematic campaign to starve the workers by closing the factories, to break down the Soviets by wrecking the transportation and supply system, and to crush the soldiers' committees by diverting food and arms from the front, Russia was brought into a complete disintegration. The saving of Russia was the Bolshevik revolution. If that had not happened, the German army would now be garrisoning Moscow and Petrograd.

At Brest the Russians were not supported by the Allies, and for that reason were forced to accept the German terms. Not only that, but they were wholly abandoned now, and by the pressure of Japan in Siberia, greatly weakened in the heroic struggle they are carrying on against the armed might of the Central Powers.

For the Russian Soviet Government is at war with Germany—has been at war with Germany since last summer. It stands to reason that this

is so. The Soviet ruling powers are Socialists, and as such, enemies of capitalism, and most of all, enemies of the German Imperial system, the arch-enemy of militant capitalism. They have been fighting Germany with the strongest weapon in the world—propaganda—the only weapon against which the sword is ultimately powerless. This propaganda, not only among the German troops, but also in the interior of the country is remarkably successful. Austria is ready to crack open because of it, and during the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the entire eastern front of the German troops was penetrated with it to such an extent that the invading force into Russia had to be made up largely of volunteers from the western front. As for the war-prisoners in Russia, the Bolsheviks are not to blame. The latest moves of German diplomacy indicate that the Imperial Government is not at all anxious to attempt the military invasion of Soviet Russia.

But just as the Soviet Government considers the German Imperial Government its worst enemy, so Germany well knows that Soviet Russia on her flank is mortal to her military autocracy. By every means, by commercial and financial pressure, by capturing the food-supplying countries of the South—Germany is attempting to destroy the Soviets. At the time of the advance into Russia, Prince Leopold of Bavaria, in an army order, said, "Our aim is not annexation. . . but the restoration of order and suppression of anarchy threatening to infect Europe." And if this "restoration of order and suppression of anarchy" can be accomplished by Japanese intervention, so much the better for Germany. For Germany fears not military force; she fears not a Japanese army in Siberia, nor a bourgeois republic in Russia—whose power of propaganda among German troops would be as limited as that of the French Republic. Soviet propaganda would be a blow at Germany.

At the present moment, however, most of the Allied Governments seem to be acting on the theory that it is more important to defeat the Russian Soviets than to defeat Germany. In the Brooklyn Eagle the American Consul at Helsinki, Mr. Hayes, is quoted as praising the Germans for having restored order in Finland. . . . And the movement for Japanese intervention in Siberia is

(Continued on Page Four)

NEWS of the International Labor Movement

From Socialist Committee on Information. 811 E. Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C., Julian Pierce, Chairman

REPRESENTATIVE MEYER LONDON, SOCIALIST, CRITICIZES SUPREME COURT FOR DECLARING FEDERAL CHILD LABOR LAW UNCONSTITUTIONAL

Representative Meyer London, Socialist from the twelfth Congressional district of New York, in an instructive speech in the House of Representatives on June 12, criticized the action of the United States Supreme Court in declaring the Federal Child Labor Law unconstitutional and offered some suggestions to prevent hereafter such a glaring nullification of the national will.

Several bourgeois Representatives piled London with questions. The questions show the trend of the bourgeois mind. London's answers reflect in broad outlines the timeliness which a profound knowledge of Socialist economics and philosophy imparts to the lawyer's mind.

The House of Representatives had under consideration the Sundry Civil Appropriation bill. Mr. London said:

Mr. Chairman, I intend to say a few words on a subject with which I am familiar. I have not had time or opportunity to prepare a careful statement on the subject. I am utilizing these few minutes because in the crowded condition of legislation it may be impossible for me to get the necessary time to deal with the subject at length. I have in mind the decision of the Supreme Court on the child-labor law.

Lawyers differ as to the right of the Supreme Court to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional. A good many brilliant lawyers are of the opinion that this power has never really been vested in the Supreme Court. The very first time the Supreme Court exercised that power was in the case of *Marbury against Madison*, in 1803.

Jefferson mercilessly criticized the court and denied its right to declare an act of Congress invalid. Justice Clark, chief justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, stands out among the prominent jurists who believed that this power has never been conferred upon the court.

But whatever the opinions of lawyers may be—and lawyers will always differ, as it is their training to split hairs, to differentiate, to find distinctions, to reason things out theoretically and abstractedly and altogether out of relation to existing things and to live more or less in the past—the predominance of the lawyer in social and economic legislation is nothing short of a calamity. Carlyle refers to lawyers, and the law, as chop logic. The lawyer takes a thought and differentiates and distinguishes and qualifies until there is nothing left of the original idea.

Whatever the opinion of lawyers may be as to the right of the court to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional, one thing is certain, that if this decision remains the law of the land it will be impossible for the National Legislature, or Congress, to cure by way of legislation the social or industrial evils which legislation in all civilized countries of the world tries to meet.

It will throw back into the industrial field all the groups that are contending for the right to exist, all the economic classes that necessarily exist in modern society, and among whom there is a ceaseless clash of interests. Instead of the national will asserting itself through the act of the national supreme body, of the legislature, all the industrial classes will have to give expression to their industrial field solely, with all the horrors that industrial strife involves, and with all industrial disturbances to society.

Outside of the general cardinal principles of the moral law, those principles that are found in the Decalogue, legislation has at all times represented the rule of one group of society over the other as curbed or tempered by the power and influence of the other group. Thus for centuries in England, in all the countries of the European continent, the landholding class has practically controlled legislation. In the early history of these United States the property holder enjoyed an influence in legislation far superior to what the members constituting that class were justified in exercising. As late as 1842 the famous Dorr rebellion in Rhode Island was the final stage of a conflict between those who believed that political power resided in every citizen, and every man, irrespective of whether he owned real estate or not, and those who believed otherwise. In Rhode Island, under an old charter, the right of primo geniture was pre-

served and only landowners and their first born were entitled to vote up to 1842.

What is tariff legislation but class legislation, in which certain interests which benefit by tariffs speak in the name of the entire people? The opposition comes from that portion of the community for whom free trade is more desirable, and who also speak in the name of the entire people.

In labor legislation the situation becomes quite clear. It is usually legislation on behalf of the masses, of large numbers, as against a smaller group, which enjoys a greater share of worldly goods and very often the greater share of knowledge and intelligence, and who, by reason thereof, think themselves the only competent to guide the destinies of the Nation.

If the decision of the Supreme Court is to remain law, it will be impossible for the national legislature to take up child labor legislation, legislation in behalf of women, legislation calculated to modify or to change or to improve, as against industry.

The Official Bulletin this morning or yesterday contained a very interesting item that says that since the decision of the Supreme Court on the Department of Labor has been flooded with telegrams of inquiry from employers throughout the country whether they are now to employ children under the age of 14 or 16 in the mines and in factories, and these requests show so much anxiety that they are usually accompanied by the statement, "Wire reply, collect."

It is evident that the decision cannot be permitted to stand as law unless the entire course of social legislation is to be turned back, which no nation developing normally and developing rapidly, as the United States have been developing lately, can afford. Now, what is to be done?

There was a conflict in France between the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate for years as to the respective powers of the two legislative bodies. There is a conflict in England between the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and it is very likely that one of the results of this war will be the complete disappearance of the House of Lords, so that the British legislature, instead of being bicameral, will consist of one body.

How can we overcome the conflict between the three branches of the government? Is the Supreme Court to nullify the legislation of Congress? Is the court to tell the Legislature what the Legislature intended to do? That is what it amounts to, because the Legislature cannot be assumed to have willfully committed an act contrary to their oath of office and consent to a constitution by a majority of one the court nullified the will of the elected representatives of the people. How is this conflict to be avoided? Half a dozen suggestions have been made. Somebody has suggested that every law which we consider of vital importance should be accompanied by a statement that the Supreme Court should have no power to declare it unconstitutional. Another remedy proposed is that the Supreme Court, which has appellate jurisdiction, shall be deprived of the opportunity to have matters involving the constitutionality of federal statutes, brought before them on appeal.

There is, again, the suggestion made that the decisions of the court may be brought about the same referendum to the people, and finally that an amendment to the Constitution shall be so construed as to authorize the Supreme Court to declare any act of Congress unconstitutional.

Something must be done. We cannot afford to deprive the national legislature of the power to deal with great social and industrial problems. Perhaps it would be a good thing for Congress to appoint a select committee to study the entire problem and present a remedy. This matter cannot be left in the condition which it is in today. We cannot permit a state of affairs where, by a majority of one, the Supreme Court can nullify an act of the House of Representatives, of the Senate, and of the President of the United States. We cannot permit a repetition of the horrible effect which followed the Dred Scott decision. This is perhaps a poor analogy, because it is hardly likely that anything that can happen in America today will be being about the same disastrous result. The situation is extremely serious and Congress should not delay in taking up the matter in the most thorough going manner and face the

benefited by our experience should not prevent us from gaining by our own experience.

A situation has arisen where we have a conflict between what are supposed to be three co-ordinate branches of the Government. Does the gentleman mean to say that Congress is not to change the law and just take a chance that any act it may pass, no matter how important, no matter how far-reaching in its effect, may be nullified by one man in the Supreme Court?

Mr. Sanford—May I say to the gentleman in reply that Congress has the alternative of continuing to exist in a government by law, or else the Supreme Court may be abolished and we would immediately proceed to be Bolshevik, and we would be the Bolshevik.

Mr. London—That sort of reasoning is below the gentleman.

Mr. Sanford—That would be the effect.

Mr. London—England, a country of law, exists without that power vested in its courts, and France exists as a country of law without that power in its constitution. The gentleman would not deny that France and Switzerland and England and other civilized countries are governed by law. What the gentleman does contend for is this, that a law laid down in 1787 should be the law for all time, no matter what lessons the present may teach us. That is the trouble with the gentleman. When he speaks of law, as we have it now, he speaks of it as though it had been handed down from Mount Sinai and was absolutely unchangeable. The difference between a human being and an animal is just this, that the animal never changes and the human being does.

Don't be an encumbrance. Don't be a drag. Don't lag behind. Regular dues payments makes you a lifter instead of a leaner.

problem in a brave way, so that we will be able to go to the people at an early opportunity and tell them that we have found a remedy for avoiding the possibility of one Judge of the Supreme Court vetoing the legislation of Congress. The Constitution has carefully circumscribed the power of the President, to veto the action of Congress by enabling a two-thirds majority of Congress to override the President's veto. And then do not forget that members of Congress and the President are elected by the people and can be recalled by the people, while Supreme Court Judges are appointed for life.

Mr. Sherley—Has the gentleman ever undertaken to answer the reasoning of Chief Justice Marshall in that case? I have heard a great many gentlemen inveigh against the usurpation, as they claim, of power by the Supreme Court to declare unconstitutional an act of Congress, but I have never heard any one of those gentlemen undertake to answer the reasoning of the court by which that decision was sustained.

Mr. London—Well, as I said before, it is impossible for one lawyer to satisfy the mind of the other. Five judges of the Supreme Court have differed with four judges of the Supreme Court on this very question of the constitutionality of the child-labor law. The most important cases before the Supreme Court, involving most vital rights, have very seldom been decided unanimously.

Mr. Sanford—Perhaps the gentleman would be interested to know that the decision of *Marbury against Madison* has been consistently followed and has been frequently cited by all the new governments on this hemisphere that have copied their form of government from ours, and all accept the point that the doctrine of that case is essential to any government that recognizes law as the supreme force.

Mr. London—It is entirely true that the American Constitution has been copied by the new republics established since the foundation of this Republic, and I am more or less familiar with the decisions which have followed that well known case of 1803. We are dealing with the year 1918. The fact that other countries have

OUR PLATFORM OHIO FOR THE WORKERS THE NATION FOR THE WORKERS THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS

We, the Socialist Party of Ohio, reaffirm our adherence to the principles of International Socialism. Our whole aim and purpose is democracy, both political and industrial. We believe that neither can truly exist or long survive without the other; and as no man, or class of men, should own or control the votes of other men, neither should one man, or class of men, own or control the means of life of others. "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

First. The taking over by the State of the coal mines of Ohio as a war measure. The elimination of profiteers in this basic necessity to avoid further fuel famine.

Second. Similar appropriation of other natural resources and public utilities to end profiteering; to protect the homes of the men in the trenches from the grasping hands of the exploiters.

Third. War is rapidly shifting to the shoulders of women the burden of industrial service; we therefore advocate their immediate political enfranchisement and laws requiring equal pay for equal work.

Fourth. We recognize the warning in President Wilson's recent statement, widely quoted as follows: "The men in the trenches, who have been freed from the economic serfdom to which some of them have been accustomed, will, it is likely, return to their homes with a new view," etc. The boys who come home will deserve economic freedom. Therefore we urge the immediate enactment of timely and intelligent measures to pave the way for industrial democracy.

benefited by our experience should not prevent us from gaining by our own experience.

A situation has arisen where we have a conflict between what are supposed to be three co-ordinate branches of the Government. Does the gentleman mean to say that Congress is not to change the law and just take a chance that any act it may pass, no matter how important, no matter how far-reaching in its effect, may be nullified by one man in the Supreme Court?

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The Negro: His Present Status and Outlook

By Eugene V. Debs

The leading article in the Intercollegiate Socialist for December-January, 1917-18, on "The Problem of Problems" by Prof. W. E. B. Du Bois, dealing with the negro question in the United States, deserves wide reading and sympathetic consideration. It presents the negro question to the American people from the standpoint of the negro himself and as an issue of commanding importance which the nation can no longer ignore or patter with save at its own peril.

In speaking of the negro Dr. Du Bois stands squarely upon the negro's rights as a human being, which rights have been shamelessly outraged from the day the first African natives, stolen by pirates from their native land, set foot upon American soil and were sold into slavery by their brutal captors.

The whole history of the American slave trade and of African slavery in the United States, clear down to the present day, is black with infamy and crime against the negro, which the white race can never atone for in time or eternity. Most of this revolting history has never been written and little of what has been written has been allowed to reach the people. Not one person in a thousand knows the facts about the stealing of the negroes by the pirates that supplied the American colonies with their black slaves; about how men, women and children were driven aboard the pirate ships, corralled like beasts in a fifth, half starved, naked, their backs scarred and bleeding from the cruel strokes of the keeper's lash, and half or two-thirds or even more of them dying from torture on the voyage and their dead bodies cast into the sea as so many dead dogs.

This was the beginning of the monstrous crime against the African negro by the "white settlers" of the American colonies—the crime that lay at the foundation of the infinitely

greater crime of chattel slavery which grew out of it and which had to be expiated in rivers of blood drawn by the sword from white men's veins—the crime of three centuries without a parallel in history.

But only a minor part of this crime of crimes committed against a race has ever been atoned for, complete restitution for which can never be made.

Never do I see a negro but my heart goes out to him and I feel like apologizing abjectly to my black brother for the crime and outrages perpetrated upon his race by the race to which I belong. I look into his starved, brutalized features, his dumb despair, and I read the tragic story of his soul betrayal and shameless spoliation of body and soul, traced by the hand of the Almighty as the ghastly indictment of the white man for his unrepentable cruelty toward his black brother.

Professor Du Bois speaks out with becoming courage and candor. There is in his the apologetic spirit of the better Washington in his attitude. He is admirably conscious of the rectitude of his purpose and the righteousness of his cause, and every word in his stirring appeal in behalf of the negro merits hearty approval and appreciation.

Dr. Du Bois has just cause to find fault with all the various schemes for ending the great war and bringing lasting democratic peace to the world, which schemes have nothing whatever to offer to the negroes and other races despoiled and held in subjection by the white race. Says Mr. Du Bois:

"The peace proposals that are now being made continually, the future of the natives of Africa, the future of the disfranchised Indians of the Eastern and Western Hemisphere, and the disfranchised element of the negroes of the United States has not only no important part but practical no part in them. What you are asking for is a peace among the white folk with the inevitable result that they will have more leisure and inclination to continue their despoiling of yellow, red, brown and black folk."

Quite right! There is thought for the Belgians, the French, the Italians and even the Germans, but none for the twelve million American negroes who are nominally citizens of the republic, yet most of whom have been stripped of their franchise by the rape of their constitutional guarantees and who, in the general reckoning of these who talk about war for humanity and democratic peace, are to remain "damned niggers," or at best "niggers" merely, on a dead level with other beasts of burden.

Freedom of speech is another phase of the question which takes little heed of the rights of negroes to the treatment due to human beings, to say nothing of free men, as Professor Du Bois so pointedly and persistently says:

"You are taking up the problem of the freedom of speech. Many of you are very busy by the increasing difficulty which you have in discussing the war in America; but I should be much more impressed by your indignation if I did not realize that the greatest lack in freedom of discussion of American problems comes not in problems you are not allowed to discuss but rather in those which you are free to discuss but afraid of. I know and you know that the conspiracy of silence that surrounds the negro problem in the United States arises because you do not dare, you are whom the moral courage to discuss it frankly, and when I say I refer not merely to the conservative reactionary elements of the nation but rather to the very elements represented in a conference like this, supposed to be forward-looking and radical."

These words are as true as they are courageous and commendable. Even among Socialists the negro question is treated with a timidity bordering on cowardice which contrasts painfully with the principles of freedom and equality proclaimed as cardinal in their movement.

There is but one way for Socialists to deal with the negro and that is to regard him as a human being, the equal in point of rights and opportunities of every other human being on earth. If he is less than that it is because he has been robbed and despoiled by the more cultured, and this instead of militating against him but accentuates his claim to decent consideration.

The negro asks no favors; he seeks no privileges; he surrens the white man's supercilious airs and patronizing cant. As a matter of fact he owes the white man little but his contempt. The very crimes he commits spring from the seed sown in his brain and heart centuries ago by the white thief who stole him from his native land, lashed him as if he had been a beast, exploited him to the marrow of his bones, and did all in his power to sink him to the level of a brute.

All the negro requires is that he be recognized as a human being and treated as a man. That is absolutely all. Nothing less will and nothing less ever solve the problem and remove this growing menace to the nation.

The Socialist who will not speak out fearlessly for the negro's right to work and live, to develop his manhood, educate his children, and fulfill his destiny on terms of equality with the white man misconceives the movement he pretends to serve or lacks the courage to live up to its principles.

Proletarian Science

A Course in Economics Arranged for Study Classes
By W. E. Reynolds
(Written especially for the Ohio Socialist)

This lesson will be in the nature of a review, covering all of "Shop Talks" from the first page to "Prices" on page 15. Those who are interested in the study are especially urged to DISCUSS the questions here involved with other people. Take them up at your local meeting. Talk about the principles involved with your shop mates and friends.

In the first place a knowledge of economics is necessary, in order for the working class to know what ACTION will be the best for them to take to better their condition, and all workingclass people are trying to better their condition in one way or another.

What is the most important question in life? The getting of the necessary food, clothing and shelter to enable one to keep alive.

What is economics? Economics is the science of management. Armed with knowledge of economics, one knows how to manage in order to get the necessary food, clothing and shelter to keep alive and also one will know how to manage to get MORE, not only of food and clothes and shelter, but more of all the good things of life: More leisure, more health, more recreation, more rest, more books, more education, more life; all these are within easy reach of all the members of society, once they master the fundamental principles of economics.

How many kinds of power can you name? Human power, chemical power, mechanical power, gas ahead and name all you can think of, being careful to divide all power into two distinct and separate groups, labor power, or labor power, and mechanical power, or power in a class by itself because it is the only power that can CREATE value.

What is the buyer always trying to do? Buy cheap?

What does the seller always seek to do? Sell dear.

What is cheap? (That is, how may one judge whether or not a thing is cheap?) Can you judge as to whether a thing is cheap or dear without having some other thing to compare it with? Do you not judge things by comparison? By seeking their relationship to other things?

Quality considered who always makes the sale? The one who sells the cheapest?

Name the essential things needed in production of a commodity.

What is a raw material? What is a Natural Resource?

Is there any difference between labor and labor power?

What can you make without tools?

The negro is my brother. The color of his skin is no more to me than the color of his hair or eyes. He is human and that is enough. I refuse any advantage over him and I spin any right denied him, and this must be the attitude of the Socialist movement if it is to win the negro to its standard and prove itself worthy of his confidence and support.

Professor Du Bois touches briefly upon the summary execution of the negro soldiers of the 24th Infantry at Houston and the infamous massacre of the black innocents at East St. Louis, the former to placate the anti-negro sentiment of the south and the latter to glut the savage lust of corporate greed and incidentally to put a foul blot upon the American labor movement.

The cowardly attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the negro during the last twenty-five years explains in a large measure the barbarous massacre at East St. Louis.

Only within a few months past the American labor movement opened, reluctantly enough, a back door through which the negro may now meekly enter and take a seat, and even this door had to be forced by the stern logic of events of which the appalling tragedy at East St. Louis is a chapter written in the blood of negro women and children slain by their murderous white neighbors. Had the labor unions freely opened their doors to the negro instead of barring him out and, in alliance with the master class, conspiring to make a pariah of him and forcing him, in spite of himself, to become a scab and strike-breaker, the atrocious crime at East St. Louis would never have blackened the pages of American history.

The negro is just as responsive as the white man to decent treatment; just as susceptible to the touch of kindness; just as eager to prove himself a man possessed of character and honor, if but given the chance.

Some twenty-five years ago I was on an organizing trip in Kentucky. At Louisville I appealed to the white railroad men to admit the negro shop and track laborers to their union. They refused. A few days later the white men struck. The negroes, however, insured and repelled by the union, came out to support the white men, fearing the strike might be lost, rushed back to their jobs and defeated the strike. The negroes stayed out and lost their jobs.

What is the difference between the method of production one hundred years ago and today?

How is labor power sold?

How is labor power measured?

What is a product? What is a commodity? Is labor power a commodity? If not why not, and if so, why?

Do you have one law of value for labor power and a different law for the exchange of all other commodities?

What is the relation of the worker to the employer?

Does the worker always SELL labor power and the employer always BUY labor power?

Can one be independent under a form of society wherein the seller of his labor power always has to have a boss, or his agent, in the form of the BUYER of his labor power?

If workers are sellers of labor power and employers of labor are buyers of labor power can their interests be identical?

What do we mean by value? Is it a thing or a relationship?

What do we mean by an abstract form? A concrete term?

Does abstract labor measure value? Does concrete labor create value?

Can you distinguish the difference between mental and physical labor? What is meant by the term SOCIAL labor?

Can you quote the law of value? Who is its author? Wherein may it be found?

How many component parts to the law of value?

When is the law of value operative? Will it be changed under a new form of Society?

What do we mean by the word "price"?

What determines the amount of wages a worker will receive?

Clip these articles and use them to convince others that more information is needed along these lines by the workers.

Wages In Germany and Yours

By B. OUVRIER

The first sentence in an editorial entitled "Wages in Germany and Yours," which appeared in the *Cleveland News* Monday, May 27th, says: "The U. S. is fighting in this war a battle for the workmen of America."

The question to be discussed here is not whether this is so or not, but whether the points brought forward as working class interests in the above mentioned editorial are working class interests or not.

The article states (in different terms) that if Germany wins this war the German capitalist class will be enabled to exploit the American working class, instead of America's work class being exploited by her own capitalist class.

We know that Germany's industries are higher developed. Therefore Germany can produce commodities cheaper than America. In case Germany secures free passage for her products, American capitalists will be unable to compete with German capitalism, and the former would be forced out of the market. As a result of the lower cost of living resulting from this competition, the "wages" of the working class of America would be lowered. This, however, is only a lowering of the exchange value and not of the use value. The same amount of commodities can be bought for both the higher and lower "wages." This is clear if one takes into consideration that a highly developed industry produces the same number of commodities of the same kind in less time than a lower developed industry and that the exchange value of a commodity is determined by the amount of social labor-time necessary for the production of that commodity.

The argument of the *Cleveland News* is similar to the cry of the Nationalists of Ireland. The latter say: The Irish worker must not be exploited by foreign capitalists but by Irish capitalists, and the former say the American wage workers must not be exploited by German capitalists but by American capitalists. The whole editorial has as a background a high tariff of Chinese wall.

Workers, what do you care by whom you are exploited? Does it make any difference to you whether an American, an English, a German, or any other capitalist class exploits you? The exploiting remains just the same.

Workers, your interests demand the abolition of private ownership in the means of production. Don't both-er yourselves about the interests of different groups of capitalists, whose different interests in the long run have one thing in common—the perpetuation of the capitalist system.

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 17, 1918

Good and Evil

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

Business is conducted for profits. The larger the prices of the commodity or the higher the rate of service, the greater is ordinarily the profit of the capitalist. Hence the everlasting quarrels between the seller and buyer, and the children of the slums succumbing for lack of the barest necessities of life. It operates through periods of feverish activity during which men, women and even children of tender age are worked to exhaustion, and periods of inactivity and depression during which millions of willing workers are forced into idleness and starvation. The system of competition has not been without merit. It organized industry, stimulated invention and increased human productivity a hundred-fold. It has created vast wealth and evolved higher standards of life. It has broken down the barriers between countries and united all modern nations into one world-wide family of almost identical culture and civilization. It has played a most important and useful part in this history of human growth.

But, sharing the fate of all other industrial systems, competition finally reaches a stage where its mission is accomplished and its usefulness is outworn. Competition, when in its health and vigour, is the life-giver; but becomes in old age a plague and a nuisance. In the long run it demoralizes the industrial life of the nation and exhausts and ruins the competitors themselves. At that point competition begins to yield, gradually but surely, to a new industrial combination. Then arise the modern business corporations, followed by trust agreements and pools, and finally by trusts and monopolies.

The trusts are not the invention of ingenious financial manipulators, nor are they the result of any avoidable evils. They are the inevitable culmination of the process of capitalist development, the mature fruit of industrial individualism. They represent a superior and more efficient method of industrial management than competition, just as the modern machine is a superior and more efficient medium of industrial operation than the antiquated hand tool.

The trusts are a powerful factor in the industrial life of the nation, and they modify the social conditions of the country both for better and for the worse. As large consolidations of capital operating in unison over the area of an entire industry or a considerable part of it they tend to eliminate much of the chaos and anarchy of the competitive system. They have the power to regulate the supply of commodities in accord with the demand, to curb waste and overproduction and to diminish the evil of periodical industrial depression and financial crises.

But the beneficial features of the trusts are more than balanced by the new evils which they breed. The trusts, like all other modern industrial institutions, are primarily conducted for the profits of their individual owners and promoters. They are, therefore, afflicted with all the vices of private capitalism: greed and management, and their tremendous powers intensify the evils. The trusts have developed the art of over-capitalization to a most audacious and alarming extent. Billions of dollars are flung in this country, and the workers pay an annual tribute of hundreds of millions to the holders of this paper in the shape of interest and dividends. It is practically a blanket mortgage which the trusts thus hold on the people of the United States and upon the products of the toil of generations of Americans yet unborn.

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Look at it. Behind? Pay Up!

"Industrial Union" Scatters Plenty Over Peaceful, Smiling Zapataland

By EDGECOMB PINCHON

One hundred years ago there lived in Southern Mexico a humble priest, Morelos by name. For ten years this man, unknown in the field, undertook a revolutionary host of sixty thousand despised and rejected peons. When his followers, flushed with the new victory, wished to salute him with the title, "generalissimo," he laughed, saying, "I would rather be remembered as the serf of the people." Like Jesus he was betrayed and executed. But the magic of his great heart still broods over the territory upon which he lived and fought and died; and it bears his name—the State of Morelos.

The ashes of his saint, naked army impregnated the soil with rebel seed. Seven times in the ensuing hundred years the region of Morelos blossomed with spears and mattocks and flintlocks in the hands who loved the earth better as a guerrilla's grave than a peon's prison. And seven times the intervention of a foreign power at the behest of the Mexican ruling class strewn their ashes to the winds.

But the eighth time came a resurrected Morelos—Zapata, the serf of three and a half millions of peons, zant and naked as their forbears, and back of him his scabbard, machete and musket in a lustrous last compelling and unquerable.

Patient, humorous, cool, intractable, with a limp sense of the realities, Zapata withstood in turn the well organized armies of Diaz, the frantic forays of Huerta, the cajoleries of Madero, and the diplomacy of Carrasco. Carrasco, his revolutionary leader of Mexico, he alone has never yielded an inch of territory, never compromised, tricked or traded; and whereas the United States press has in turn panned and vilified Madero, Huerta, Villa, Orozco, Carranza, it has not flamed the clear lustre of Zapata with so much as a paragraph of praise. He remains, unfooled and unfurled, the "Serf of the People."

It was Zapata who in 1910 at the head of a small body of compañeros started the conflagration which later enveloped the whole country. For five years thereafter he lived in the saddle. While the young men followed him to the hills with horse and rifle, the older men, women and children tended the farms and kept the army supplied. Not until two years ago did Zapata and his people have a brief respite from their ceaseless struggle. It was Zapata who in a mold "nearer to the heart's desire."

The Disc of Brass

The Serf and his people have only one desire—to be let alone. They do not want to fight, and they will not fight more than the guardianship of their homes requires. But because they greatly prefer the plaza to the bivouac and the guitar to the rifle they fight valiantly and industriously when asked. They want to shorten the job as much as possible. And what is true of their necessitous warfare is true also of their self-chosen peace. In farm and mill, as in camp, their chief duty is to shorten the job.

For these people, strange as it sounds to civilized ears, love fun. They have a queer, half-formulated idea which comes skipping through their already rich repertoire of revolutionary hymns and songs that life is fun—if one will let it be so. Love and laughter seem to have overcome them with but scant resistance; and they are as improvident as a babe at its mother's breast, as unthrifty of friends as a guest in the house of his friend, as unambitious as a rose.

This lack of the respectabilities finds its perfect expression in the little disc of brass which each member of the community carries. It is an identification disc, the size of a dollar and as round as a coin, not unlike the tag worn by the civilized combatant in the trenches.

Graven on the face of it is a simple inscription: "The bearer of this (e. g.) Manuel Garcia, is a member of the Industrial Union of North and South America. Who shows him favor or shows favor to all the members of this union."

The peon is not intellectual. He knows, however, that he wants land, food, clothing, travel, and amusement for himself and his family. The fifty odd haciendados who owned the country and said his name in these little wants of his he has disposed of. He now helps himself to whatever he desires. It is as simple as that. He knows that he wants the general store of wealth over which he draws kept up to a certain comfortable level of abundance; and so he works—a little, contributing his share toward the common welfare. He knows that he wants his simple needs to be not less respected than the more conspicuous performances of the clever; and he knows also that the dollar is verminous with the brood of oppression. He wants to get rid of it; and he does so, paying no man the incredible wages of a meter and measured reward for his common service; but paying every man the limit, the freedom of the industrial republic from sill to citadel. And it, too, is as simple as that.

And so everybody works a little, nobody much; for there are no many other important things to do—dancing, for instance, serenading, mastering the intricacies of the guitar or the conductor's baton, making songs, playing with the children, carving, hammering or weaving little trifles, but just loafing with a friend or sweetheart. Nobody fails to do his share, not because he is inspired by any "noble" sentiments, but because the price of that little extra leisure is too high. It costs the respect and fellowship of one's neighbors and there is none willing to pay the price. That is all. Everybody takes his excess product to the public market and leaves it there for his neighbors to use at will, or he serves the community in some public capacity—cleaning the streets or playing the tenor at the opera.

And now the secret of the disc is clear. Manuel Garcia, armed with his talisman of the Industrial Union of North and South America, shops, travels, puts up at the hotels, amuses himself, serenades, serenades, serenades with his wife and children—without question, hindrance or price. It is a new suit for little Manuel, a new mantilla for Dolores, a bunch of bananas, a round of excellent beef, a

trip to the mountains in the hot season, a new sombrero—Paust and sweets! It matters not a whit. The little talisman of sweet good sense foots the bill unblinking, never takes the change and never goes bankrupt. Occasionally there is a shortage in this and that, but only in the luxuries and foreign importations, never in the essentials. The little talisman "first come, first served," is-tacitly honored everywhere; and there is no pushing or squabbling, for this would be regarded as mad manners; and this people loves everything beautiful, beautiful manners most of all.

"The Industrial Union of North and South America!" Scarcful children—these peons! They really believe that their simple solution of the earth's groaning problems will command itself to the hearts of all men presently.

Such a naive faith in the jovial life they find within their own hearts is, of course, due to lack of education. Ninety-five per cent of these three and a half millions of emancipated ones can neither read nor write. And Zapata has the impudence to say that it does not matter since civilization has not yet produced, and naturally cannot produce, anything worthy of freed people's pursuit!" He adds that as the country already teems with merry and wagish revolutionary songs and some quite charming ballads the people are producing for themselves a literature suited to their enjoyment. In technical matters, however, the contrary spirit reigns. Here there is a great eagerness to learn, and childlike readiness to be fascinated by the mysteries of engineering, mechanics and machine processes—for do not these all promise to "shorten the job?"

Moneyless Morelos

Because Zapata, the revolt of 1910 and the first green blade of the industrial republic all sprang from Morelos, and because the head office of the community is located at Morelia, the (former) state capital of Morelos, the name has been given wide of place in describing the territorial metes of the dollars land, but geographically speaking it is inadequate.

The magic of the little disc of brass knits companion to companion, over a broad strip of country, here and there, towards from the suburbs of Mexico (City to the Guatemala border, and this includes the greater part of the states of Chiapas and Tabasco, each of which is considerably larger than, say, the state of Michigan in the United States, with a population and freedom and a loving folk outnumbering Sinn Fein.

And in the length and breadth of this quite respectable territory there is not a dollar! Of course, dollars are used in settling trade balances with the Big Scramble outside the republic; and so a few sacks of them are kept at the head office; but nowhere else.

A sad lack! But it finds a partial compensation, at least, in some other lack. You may criss-cross by horse and boat and train through the six hundred mile length and three hundred mile breadth of this benighted, dollarless and you shall not find one human heart anxious about bread.

The magic which wrought the miracle of Morelos was very simple—the golden heart of humanity set free and a little disc of brass. The little disc has a diverting history. At first it was a manacle, bound to the peon's wrist in such a fashion that he could not remove it to attempt to do so was death. On it was written the peon's name and number and the name of his master—the haciendado. The peon was not a favored chattel slave; he was a debt slave. When he entered service he received a cotton shirt and a pair of sandals from his master, who charged several hundred times the value of the articles against him. Thereafter he received no money, but a credit at the master's store for enough beans to keep him alive. Never could he pay his debt; instead it grew with his years of service, and worn out he left it at death, a dread legacy of doom to his children.

If he attempted to escape, his brass disc manacle to his wrist identified him, and he was brought back and quite often flogged. The manacle, instead of attaching to the estate by way of a healthy exchange, then came the voice of Zapata whispering here, there, "We can!" Secret meeting, the fumbling of unaccounted hands with ancient Winchester. A haciendado debauched and in a fit of pique is a shot in the darkness, a thrill of terror and joy through a thousand bronze breasts! It is now light or he is horribly massacred! The countryside breaks into a foam of fire. The revolution of 1910 is on!

The ripple of sweet fiery foam crept northward, southward, eastward, westward; every foot of the way was bought with peon blood. But three and a half million people of rebel heritage had decreed freedom; and the haciendados fled shrieking from the country to lay their wares in the bosom of a man in the Palaver House, Street press. Then said Zapata: "Now we own the little disc of brass, we own ourselves and our country. Everything is ours to share as brothers. We will knock off the manacle, write on the back of the disc our names as free men and our comrades, and henceforth it shall be to us the coin of the first free state opening all doors!"

All for Each, Each for All

The religion of this people is very primitive. Nominally it is Roman Catholic, but when the last dollar skipped fearfully across the border of Zapataland, the last priest led by several yards; and so, without the aid of the Protestant church or the Rationalist Society, with no gesture of the comic, only with a quaint and sober wisdom, the churches are now used for freedom pictures, buses, schools and poultry exhibitions!

Without spiritual guidance the people have to do the best they can. They never ask, is it right? But always, is it beautiful? Their criteria are

entirely artistic and pragmatic. They do not pick an dchoose either words or weapons with reference to the sonorous moralities of civilization. Socially, whatever accomplishes the desired result—expanded and assured freedom and leisure and well-being for all alike—is worthy; in matters of purely personal conduct, whatever is beautiful is fitting, to act handsomely by your neighbors and fight like the devil against the invader—in short, to be a true "companioner," is all the code and rubric of the Zapataland.

Seven years of freedom indeed have changed the peon into a stature far beyond that of the peon. He is discerned by Walt Whitman than his civilization blessed brother of the North; the men, rollicking companioners, lolling in the shade composing their own Homeric ballads openly and unapologetically. He is of a fashion imaginable; singing nonchalantly at work, frolicking down the street, or ahorse, keen, athletic, alert, bare-breasted, far-eyed, rifle at knee and laughter on lip; the women, maids with their hair braided, their faces, and swarms of tumbling opals on their wrists, in their formless cotton gowns, shyly unafraid with the budding conquest of illimitable hope in their eyes.

The roosters crow with profane cheerfulness in the churches, there is not a policeman in sight, and the Y. M. C. A. is not yet; but the traveler in Morelos, unless his moral fiber be very strong, soon almost forgets to regret the fact that the religion of Each for All and All for Each, the Devil take the Invader seems strangely satisfying.

Cotton, Sugar and Shoes

It would seem that the Mother of Worlds had most wisely chosen Morelos as a cradle for her nursing New World. It and its adjoining states of Chiapas and Tabasco enjoy a tropical climate for the most part, healthy climate and a luxuriant soil. Between the upland pastures of the interior and the hot lowlands of the coast almost every variety of fruit and vegetable can be grown in abundance with almost no expense of labor. Here, indeed, if anywhere, the nursing could grow and wax fat on its Mother's milk without the need of alien nurses or complex entourage. And it has proven so.

Where were lordly haciendas and millions of acres of manless soil—deserted and here and there, here and there, these United States, that the people might be forced to beg employment at a pittance on the balance used, are now no haciendas, but innumerable little fat farms, bursting with produce. The peons simply took possession of the land, and their methods are still crude and their equipment very inadequate; but these things will be remedied in time.

The republic is really a great common union of little farms and a herd of cattle and a few sheep and their surplus, the farmers bring their own table to the public market, leave it there for their neighbors of the town to use at will, and then proceed on a tour of shopping and dining. Their wants are simple and easily supplied. A considerable export trade with Central and South America, managed by the "head office," makes possible the importation of many but not all of the manufactured goods needed by the community. Where there is a need of something which is not procurable in this way, Zapata calls together a picnic party, rides cannily northwards, starts a train going into Mexico City, searches it for what he needs; in due time it returns, laden with goods, and he returns with complete equanimity. "Working folk made the goods," he will tell you—"should you hazard moralities with him, "and now working folk will use them."

As primitive as it is, the industrial republic has two industries, at least, of which any community in the United States might be proud. From one to finished product the sugar industry is skillfully conducted; and one refinery employs some 25,000 people; and the grazing cattle to finished shoe and sandal the leather industry, though not so large, is equally flourishing. Its large factory employs over 3,000.

But where, under thrifty and ambitious American management for the benefit of non-resident owners and investors, these industries had but one shift—of fourteen hours, for which the pay was the more than thrifty sum of one peso (50 cents) now they still run fourteen hours a day, but in three shifts—a day and six days a week—the freedom of the republic from cabbage basket to opera house!

There is no discipline, because people who make play of everything and only play at what they like, and want to do so much as to leave no corners do not seem to need discipline. The disconcerting truth is that the workmen are just as careful to see that the smooth running of the factory is not disturbed or impeded as if they were important shareholders.

That, of course, is exactly what they are, but not in another's flesh and blood.

Suddenly the music ceases. The tall companioner sings his guitar, sings the brave of companioner and concha. The band breaks into a provoking waltz. The crowd seems to flow as by one movement into a huge circle, and then you see the dancing of a free people. Here a tall companioner, his guitar slung on his back, dances with his little daughter; there a staid couple, toil-seamed, awkwardly happy, renew their broken youth, while all about them trip and turn a golden swarm of sweethearts who dance with upturned faces in the flooding splendor of the immense tropic moon as if the whole universe had nothing to do but trip and turn with them—as, indeed, it has not.

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Woman does not work outside the home in the industrial republic, nor do her children. Everything is hers and her children's for the taking. Her immortal work returns to her goldenly to bear not simply children of the body, but children of the splendor of the soul in her companioner. And she is happy!

You can buy nothing in the Land of the Brass Disc today, not even—a woman. True, she wears but a formless cotton drape and goes barefooted, but she has a soft, vibrant voice, a body stung as a rush and a heart of

house. After an hour or two of this hand play a fantasia and the peon divide. There is a general counting of noses and the majority vote carries the day.

These decisions are not written. Nobody can read or write, so that would be labor wasted. But everybody hears about them and everybody obeys them, not from any exalted sense of civic duty, but because nobody cares in a matter of merely material interest to throw good fellowship after a lost cause. Quite frequently also (indeed, whenever it is at all possible) they manage to give the minority its desire. In one instance that came under the writer's attention a widely scattered farming community in the south of Morelos desired a new road to market. Within a few weeks the discussion of plans reached the plaza stage, where seventy per cent of the farmers agreed to a route which left the remaining thirty per cent in no better case than they were before. The minority, however, accepted the decision with companioner grace and loyalty helped their opponents build the new road. Their opposition did too much for the victors, and having finished the road by the route for which they had argued so zealously, they went across the valley and built another road just as good for the special use of the vanquished.

The countryside settles its own little matters, the village its own, the city its own. The republic, as such, has no affairs to settle, unless it be the management of the export and import trade, which is purely a business proposition conducted by a few skilled men at the "head office."

In Zapataland misdemeanors find their due punishment in the avowed faces of friends. But these are rare, and first-class crime almost non-existent. This may sound extravagant, but it is really quite true—and easily susceptible of explanation. Ninety-eight per cent of the offenses committed in the United States are offenses against property, and the remaining two per cent are directly traceable to social conditions, created by the property code. It is simply impossible to commit an offense against property in the industrial republic, for there is no property to offend. You cannot steal anything—it is all yours. Where the land is as free as the sunshine, where there lies unused (as in these United States) a thousand times more of it than the population can cultivate, who will try to drive a neighbor from his farm? Where there is no inflaming alcohol and the greatest fun is the common interest in the common good—who will run amuck? Where a woman can get her smile, not bribed, nor forced, because she has the same free access to all she needs as the man—who will be less than an ardent and delicate wooer, and what chance is there for civilization's darling progeny—the cadet, the sport, the free and the vain?

A Republic of Plays? That would be the best description of "The Industrial Union of North and South America."

At the sugar refinery it is hard to detect who is working and who is playing, the hombre inside with his contented air and the smile on his forehead just off shift thrumming his guitar or playing cards—for beans—in shady corner. The spirit of unafraidness and happiness seems to be everywhere—like the children. Glance up this side street and you see men in their white cotton shirts and immense sombreros are building a low adobe wall on each side of the street and across the ends. The children clap their hands and help. The street is not being used at present, so in the ample leisure the men are turning it into a big, shallow pond for the children. In a few days it is completed and the water is a riot of little glistening brown bodies, marvelous as statuettes. There goes up a cry for boats! All sorts of craft are contrived out of sticks and paper; and then the loading crowd of companioner begins a contest in shipbuilding. Boats of all imaginable kinds pass from their skilled knives into the hands of the eager water-sprites. And the sport detains them not for a day, but for days together.

Nor are mere formal amusements lacking. Every plaza has its band. Mostly the performers play without music and play astonishingly well; and the bandstand is the center of the social life. Here in the cool of the enchanted tropic night gather townfolk and villagers—old folk chatting of the Great Change even yet almost incredible to them, covetous of soft-voiced, dusk-eyed children, and everywhere the gay bravado of a bravura of companioner and concha. The band breaks into a provoking waltz. The crowd seems to flow as by one movement into a huge circle, and then you see the dancing of a free people. Here a tall companioner, his guitar slung on his back, dances with his little daughter; there a staid couple, toil-seamed, awkwardly happy, renew their broken youth, while all about them trip and turn a golden swarm of sweethearts who dance with upturned faces in the flooding splendor of the immense tropic moon as if the whole universe had nothing to do but trip and turn with them—as, indeed, it has not.

So you can see that the industrial republic is really a very different thing from the industrial republic of the United States. It is a republic of free men, and a republic of free women, and a republic of free children, and a republic of free people.

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magic. She is priceless. She has to be won on her own terms, or you go a starveling at love's doors.

In the early days, before they understood, they wanted rings—these girls. Lucky companioner, fresh from a foray, brought their sweethearts many a beautiful bit of jewelry, and those who happened not to have lucky companioner were envious. And there was quite a little outcry about it. "Since the republic is free, why are not there beautiful rings for all of us?" they demanded.

Zapata understands—many things, and woman is one of them. With a gorgeous gallantry he plundered every church in the country of its gold plate, melted the pious stones with a myriad of rings, while his willing companioner enriched them with fine tracery and the precious stones which which the altars and crucifixes had been encrusted. Then in bushel baskets concluded bottom column 1, page 3 kets, mule loads of them, the rings were despatched to the plazas of the towns throughout the country and there—dumped on the ground and given while the hands of the women, old and young alike, fairly burned with jewelry. Then the little hands became bare, or almost bare, again! Rings and trinkets now are chosen and worn simply as well-kept tokens of the affection and individual fitness to the wearer and at most as happy little trifles of no importance.

The industrial republic has come! Si, señores! And while civilization gathers itself convulsively for its last gigantic hemorrhage, southward across the saffron sands of the Mexican desert, our moralists, if they will, may catch a gleam of sparkling mockery among the palmetos as concha walks forth in the dusk to shine out upon her lovely world, a free queen.—Pearson's Magazine for May.

Under the heading, "Government Wants Business Diplomats," the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington, D. C., sends us the following announcement for publication: "The Government is looking for big-caliber men with foreign trade experience to serve as commercial attaches for the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. The Department of Commerce, and announces that appointees will be accredited to American embassies or legations abroad and will be expected to meet in a creditable manner the most important Government interests in such countries, and make trade reports.

"The appointments will be made in pursuance of the Department's plan to prepare now for the competition in foreign trade that will come after the war, and because the work is so vitally important to the future of American trade only men of undoubted qualifications will be considered.

"A written examination will be held on June 6, and those interested are requested to write at once to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington, for further details."

This circular sheds a glow of light upon the methods whereby the administration expects to meet the after-war conditions when the war industries shut down and throw their employes out of work, and when the boys come home from the front to look for peaceful employment.

We fear that certain alleged Socialists will have to place their imaginations under considerable strain in order to find in this announcement any intimation of their theory that the "radical" powers that be are going to assist in the establishment of industrial democracy after the war.

If the powers that be were contemplating any such cheerful surges for which they have stood these many years, they would not have a "plan to prepare now for the competition in foreign trade that will come as soon as the war is over. And they would not be especially interested in doing things which are "so vitally important to the future of American trade."

Being staunch believers in and supporters of capitalism—which, in its

Let us examine the program of Socialism and see whether it agrees fully with true Christianity.

Socialism will eliminate
Poverty
Wage Slavery
War
Child Labor
Charity
Alcoholism
Vice, White Slavery
Jails and Workhouses
Parasites.

What Socialism will bring
Home and Comforts of Home
and Family
Co-operation
Government Ownership of all
Public Utilities
Equal Opportunity
Free Speech, Press and Assembly
Peace on Earth Good Will to Men
The Worker to receive full value of his toil.

Can you point out anything mentioned above that Socialism will eliminate or that Socialism will bring that is not in accord with true Christianity? Not on your life! They are working for the same identical thing.

How does Socialism differ from the church? It differs as far as the East from the West. How is that? Capitalism owns the church; hence it gets its support. The church is its respectable tool of capitalism. What Socialism will eliminate the church and capitalism to retain. Did you ever hear a minister preach a sermon on Poverty or Child Labor—the

\$5.00 For Whom?

A comrade has donated \$5.00 to the State Office to be offered as a prize to the boy or girl under thirteen years of age who will write and mail to The Ohio Socialist the best article on Socialism before November 1. We have decided to print all the articles submitted and a committee consisting of Margarette Prevey of Akron, Jesse Jason Ruffer of Seville and Walter Bronstrup of Cleveland, will decide which is the best. The boy or girl writing the best article gets the \$5.00. Should two contestants tie, the \$5.00 will be divided equally between them.

Here's a chance for our young rebels to show their ability and knowledge of Socialism. The work of the socialist movement will in time devolve upon our youngsters. They should every one get into training for the days to come. Send in your articles now.

It's better to pay dues ahead than to be behind.

Notice to Draftees

If the comrades of draft age will remember to carry their registration and classification cards with them when attending public meetings, they may save themselves from spending a night or more in the filthy jails which are provided for those who meet with disfavor in the eyes of the authorities.

After the War

declining years, can exist only by making a desperate struggle for foreign markets—their keen eyes are looking forward beyond the war, and, while in the midst of hostilities, they are taking time to try to insure the continuance of their beloved capitalist system of the exploitation of the many by the few.

This was to be expected. The only marvel is that any workingman has been fooled into believing that they had any other intention.

Should their plan for the continuation of capitalism, which is furious across the world market, succeed, its natural result would be to take from the common people the benefits of their labor, and hand those benefits over to the parasites as heretofore—and at the same time keep the country in constant danger of international wars.

Meaningless "reports" comes that Japan will contest the world market with us by means of starvation wages. That—and an unemployed army at home—means just one thing for American workers. It means starvation wages, together with widespread unemployment, and all the miseries that follow in the wake of these evils.

To forestall such an outcome, it is desirable that the workers of the allied countries should unite on plans after the war—to that there need not be any struggle for markets—and so that the common people of each nation will get the benefit of their own labor.

As soon as possible the workers of the world should unite on such plans. But, first, the workers of the allied nations should unite on them. The workers of England, France, Belgium and Italy are willing. So are the Socialists of America.

The administration, however, will not allow the Socialists of America to meet with the Socialists and other workers of the other allied nations.

But an open pathway is made for Mr. Gompers' delegation to Europe. Mr. Gompers believes in capitalism, and his delegation has gone to Europe with the object of dissuading the allied workers from assisting upon the plan for industrial democracy.

We do not believe the delegation will succeed in this. It is more probable that its opinions will be reversed.—Milwaukee Leader.

Can One Be a Real Christian and Not a Socialist?

By WM. S. JAMES, M. D.

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cause and remedy of these evils? No, you never did; and never will as long as the church is controlled by the capitalist class.

The cause of these things is capitalism and the remedy of these things is Socialism. Hence the silence. When capitalism loses the support of the church, it will not last a decade. Capitalism finds that its money is well spent in the church, and the church seems satisfied to receive it. Capitalism is spending more money every year keeping the church in line. What did Jesus say to his twelve disciples when he started them out to preach the gospel? He instructed them to ask aims of no one. He said the Bible state that Jesus received a salary or that he ran from one church to another to better his hire, as they do today? So simple, it needs no answer. It is not the soul but the mighty dollar that counts.

Jesus lived on earth 33 years. If he should return today he would not live 33 days. Some of Morgan's or Rockefeller's thugs would get him. He, if here, would say as of old, you have made my house a den of thieves. Give us true Christianity in the church and you will not have to preach to empty seats.

God has given you a brain, and he intended you to use it. Don't believe in the lies of the prostituted press about Socialism. Study it for yourself, and when you understand it, you will agree with true Christianity in the church and you will not have to preach to empty seats.

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