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VICTOR BERGER, SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN, DENIED SEAT IN CONGRESS

"PENDING INQUIRY"

Socialist Veteran's Second Entry Into National Legislature Marked By Denial of Seat Until Anti-Socialist Politicians Judge Him "Pure and Undeclared" in Patriotism.

The capitalist conspiracy to unseat Victor Berger, in the new national congress is under way. Having been unable to get the Socialist representative from the Fifth Wisconsin district behind the bars of prison before congress convened, it lost no time to unseat him as soon after as possible.

That the political henchmen of the capitalist class would leave no stone unturned to keep the duly elected representatives of the working class out of congress was to be expected. The workers are to be denied representation in the national congress if the political lackeys of capitalism can put it across. They have taken a method of keeping him inactive for the present by denying him his rightful seat by ruling against his being seated "pending an inquiry into his conviction under the espionage act."

"The voters of the Fifth Wisconsin district elected me to represent them in congress by the emphatic majority of 5,560 votes over Joseph P. Carney, Democrat. Seventeen thousand eight hundred and twenty-two electors voted for me, and 12,315 voted for Carney. I am therefore the regularly elected representative from that district. The government of the United States as outlined in the Constitution is a representative government. If the members of the house of representatives still believe in representative government and the integrity of the Constitution, they will raise no objection to my taking my seat with the mandate from the duly qualified

voters of the Fifth Wisconsin district. If the members of the house of representatives unseat me, the voters of the Fifth Wisconsin district will re-elect me, and with an emphatic majority, just as soon as the special election is called."

Victor L. Berger, Socialist congressman from Milwaukee, Wisconsin, made this straight-American declaration today to the representative of the Ohio Socialist regarding the bluster and the impertinence with which certain anti-Socialist congressmen have expressing their determination to reflect the demands

(Continued on fourth page.)

Clifford and Ruthenberg Held For Grand Jury Indictment

The powers that be in Cleveland, having themselves caused violence and bloodshed in the streets of the city by their savage attack upon the Socialist May Day demonstration, are going to try to saddle the blame for their acts upon Socialists.

This was disclosed in the hearing held Tuesday in Judge Howell's court, as a result of which C. E. Ruthenberg and Tom Clifford, together with J. J. Fried, were bound over to the grand jury.

Evidence submitted before Howells attempted to prove that J. J. Fried had struck an officer with his fist. Although Attorney Horace Neff, representing Fried, pointed out that striking a man with a fist could not conceivably constitute an assault with intent to kill and at most, if proven, would constitute assault and battery only, still the charge of assault with intent to kill was allowed to stand by Judge Howells and Fried was bound over on that charge.

The prosecution did not attempt to prove that Ruthenberg and Clifford had struck any one or had any part in the violence on May Day. One of the witnesses for the prosecution, a member of the Loyal American League, testified to the reverse, that he had seen others assaulting Tom Clifford.

The only evidence offered by the prosecution in regard to Clifford and Ruthenberg, was an alleged quotation from a speech by Tom Clifford in which he was charged with saying that "if the capitalists start anything May Day, we will finish it," and a quotation from another speech in which he is said to have said that Socialists would be willing, if need be, to give up their lives for their cause.

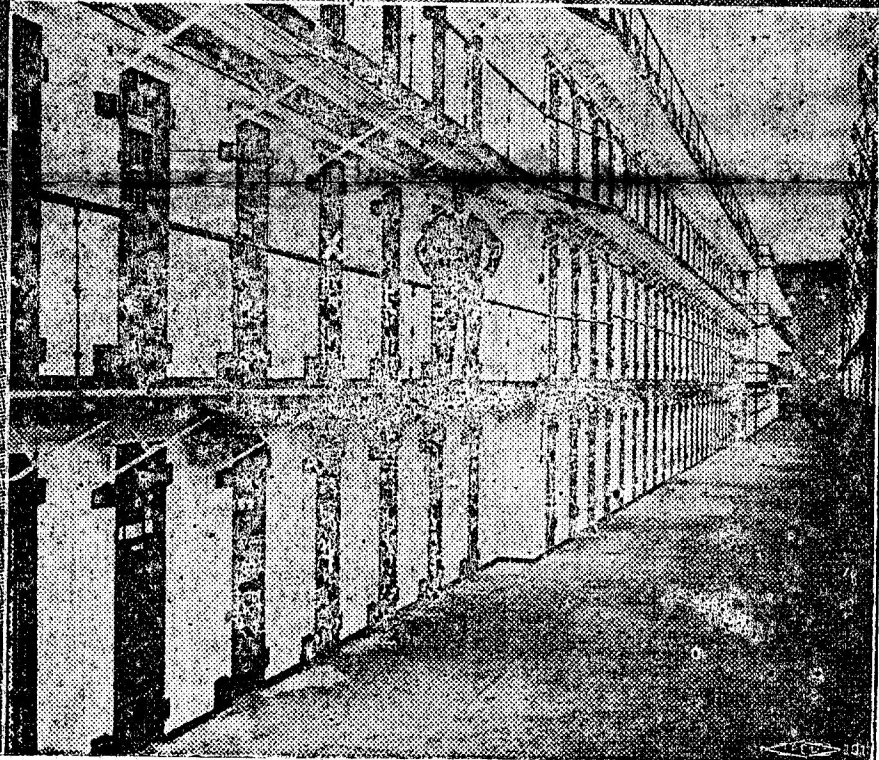
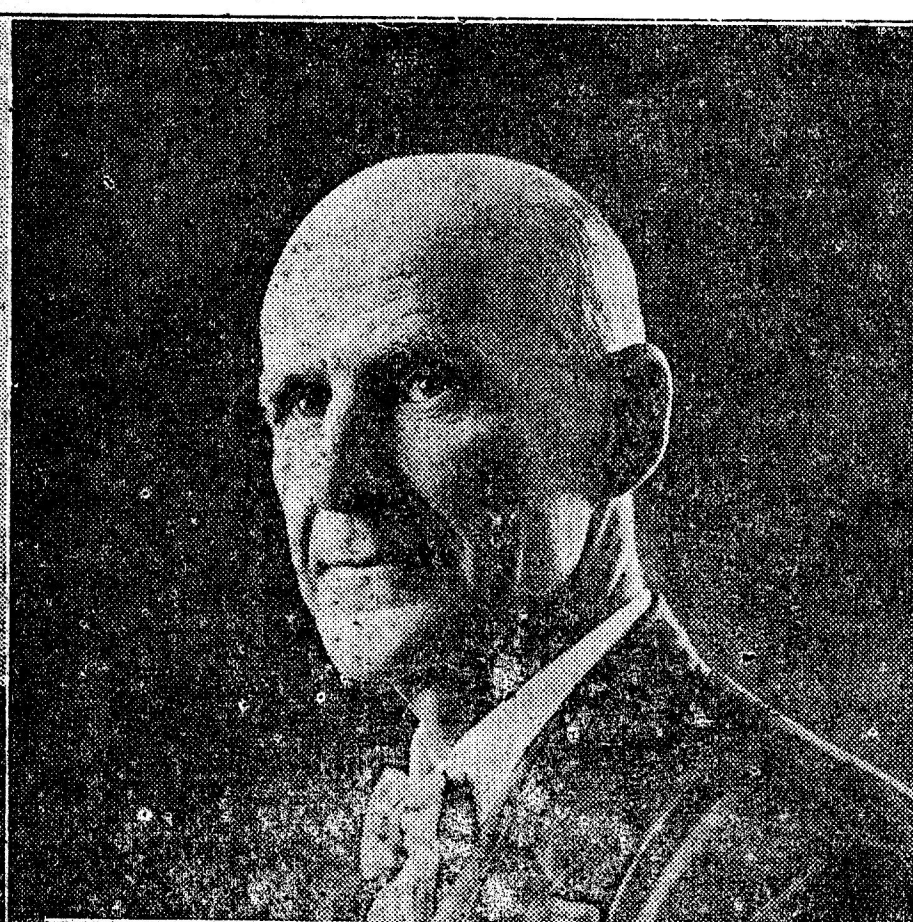
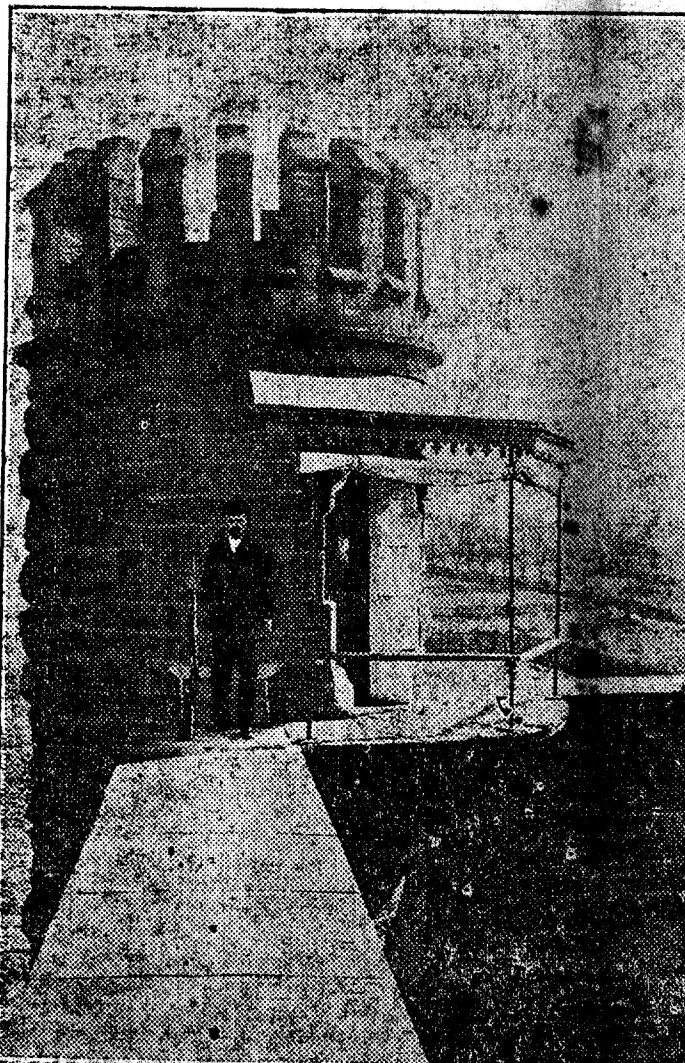
In regard to Ruthenberg, the only thing offered was a quotation from

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

Where 'Gene Debs Will Spend 10 Years Unless—

"I stand on the threshold of going to prison with malice toward none and with perfect faith in the rectitude of my course and an absolute confidence in the justice and ultimate triumph of the cause to which I have gladly given my life. TO ASK A PARDON WOULD BE TO CONFESS GUILT."—DEBS

Guard With Rifle Watches Over Debs' New Home



There are armed guards that patrol the turrets that overlook the West Virginia state penitentiary at Moundsville. These are intended for 'Gene Debs as well as for all the other thousand prisoners, from a murderer serving a life sentence, down to a mere wife beater, since the United States government, in its infinite wisdom, does not recognize such a being as a "political prisoner." We see the armed guard and the prison turret in the upper left hand corner of the above picture. In the lower right hand corner we have a view of the cell block in the south wing of the prison, four tiers of cells rising one above the other. Upon his arrival Debs was thrown into the fourth cell, on the second tier, marked with an "X". Note the guard nearby. It was through the bars of this cell that Alfred Wagenknecht, David Karsner

and J. Louis Engdahl bade Debs "Good Night" the first evening of his imprisonment. It was in this cell that Debs ate two meals the next day because the Warden did not want him to exert any of his "revolutionary" influence on the mass of the prisoners in the common dining hall. In the upper right hand corner we have Debs himself as he appeared on entering prison. In the lower left hand corner is the picture of the Debs' home in Terre Haute, Ind., which 'Gene has left behind him, but to which the workers of the nation are called upon to restore him at the earliest possible moment.

As you read this, Debs has already served

44 DAYS IN PRISON!

DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT ESTABLISHED IN WINNEPEG

Revolutionary Tendencies of Canadian Labor Seen In Vote to Secede From A. F. of L. and Form O. B. U. of All Workers.

A second "Seattle strike" has been in progress in Winnipeg for several days. The union workers, 30,000 strong, have been out with far-reaching demands in the form of increased wages and better working conditions. The entire city has succumbed to the control of the strikers' committees. The city administration is helpless in the face of the united workers. Practically all government of the city is in the hands of the workers and are being administered from the Labor Temple instead of from the city hall.

Although the government has at hand thousands of soldiers, they have found nothing to do. The workers have been perfectly peaceful and have lived up to their slogan, adopted at the beginning of the strike, "win the strike by doing nothing." Police are on duty by permission of the strikers. Milk, water, lights, etc., are being handled entirely by the workers.

One of the most significant moves of the strikers to win was seen in the choking of the

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

WOULDN'T DARE JAIL A DEBS IN ENGLAND

An American Business Man Gives Some Inside Information About Conditions in Europe.

England has good reasons for doing all she can to pacify her people, shutting out importations to give her people work, grabbing whatever she can to bring wealth to her islands. An extremely intelligent American observer, a business man of large interests, just returned from England, says:

"England is hanging on the edge of a labor revolution and the big men know it. They are afraid to refuse labor anything. They would not dare, in England, to jail a labor leader or other radical leader, as we jail Debs and others. It would give them civil war in twenty-four hours."

Other countries are in positions as bad, according to this clear-eyed western American observer.

"In Amsterdam," said he, "there are eighty-five thousand men out of work. Conditions there are close to anarchy. Policemen stand on streets in groups, never singly, as, alone, their lives would not be safe. All of Europe, conquerors and conquered, is in a condition of dangerous unrest. Conditions are made more difficult by the fact that workers, exhausted by the war, demand their full share of government, highest wages, and at the same time the right to do less and less work."

OHIO SOCIALIST, OUTLAWED BY BIG PRINTERS, STARTS CAMPAIGN TO RAISE \$10,000 FOR PARTY OWNED PRESS & PRINTING PLANT

Outlawed! Yes, outlawed by the big printers of Cleveland. The printers of Cleveland have refused to print the Ohio Socialist. Printer after printer, equipped to print a paper such as the Ohio Socialist, has turned us down flat. In fact, they have agreed among themselves not to print for us. That's the reason the Socialist Party of Ohio is now compelled to do what it should have done long ago—buy

its own press and printing equipment. That's why, comrade, we are asking you —IN WHICH OF THESE COLUMNS WILL YOUR NAME APPEAR? We believe you see the necessity of the Socialist Party owning the means of getting out its propaganda. We believe you are with us in this big drive to own and control the tools with which we must carry on the Party's work for Socialism. We be-

lieve you are with us to help raise \$10,000 for a printing press and other equipment to print the Ohio Socialist. We believe you are going to help us raise this amount. We know you will help all you can. So we have laid out this space of seven columns for the purpose of giving credit to each and every comrade who helps. Not every comrade can give a hundred dollars, not every one can give

fifty nor even twenty-five, but hundreds of comrades CAN give ten dollars, hundreds and hundreds CAN give five dollars and thousands CAN spare one dollar for this purpose. Remember, comrades, when you make a contribution to the Ohio Socialist Press Fund, you are not giving your money to a private individual, you are giving it to the Socialist Party, to the Socialist movement,

to the working-class. Here are the names of the comrades who have responded to the call for this fund since the announcement of our purpose in last week's issue. We hope to receive your donation and to print your name in one of these columns next week. And whether your name goes in the first column or the last one, it will be appreciated and will help greatly in buying our press.

IN WHICH OF THESE COLUMNS WILL YOUR NAME APPEAR?

\$1.00 Column If the 10,000 subscribers of the Ohio Socialist would each get in this column, the problem would be solved.	\$2.00 Column Why not make it TWO?	\$5.00 Column Your name in this column shows you mean business. Elizabeth Bertram, Cleveland. Elmer T. Allison, on pledge, Cleveland.	\$10.00 Column A lot of comrades are going to say: Put me in the ten-spot column. Elizabeth Bertram, Cleveland.	\$25.00 Column Four donations in this column equals one in the last one. Who will be the first four?	\$50.00 Column We are waiting for the first contribution for this column.	\$100.00 Column Which Socialist Party local or individual will first subscribe in this column?
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If you can't go any higher drop down into this corner. Any little thing under a dollar goes in here.

HOW WE GROW?

Received to date, May 22	\$ 21.00
Pledges unpaid	45.00
How much more we need to make \$10,000	\$9,979.00

PLEDGE COLUMN

And here are the comrades who have pladged these amounts. Why not get in here?

Elmer T. Allison, Cleveland, \$50

Over Here Is the Kiddies' Korner

We know there are many, many Rebel Boys and Girls who want to help us buy our big press. Here is where we will tell how much they help.

Norwood Allison, Cleveland, \$1.00

Adopted by the First International Communist Congress at Moscow, March 2-6, 1919

Manifesto Issued March 10 and Signed, C. Rakovsky, N. Lenin, M. Zinoviev, L. Trotsky, F. Platten

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL LANDS:

Seventy-two years have gone by since the Communist Party of the World proclaimed its program in form of the manifesto written by the great teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Even at that early time, when Communism had scarcely come into the arena of conflict, it was hounded by the lies, hatred, and calumny of the possessing classes, who rightly suspected in it their mortal enemy. During these seven decades, Communism has traveled a hard road; storms of ascent followed periods of sharp decline; successes, but also severe defeats. In spite of all, the development at bottom went the way forecast by the Manifesto of the Communist Party. The epoch of the last decisive battle came later than the apostles of the social revolution expected and wished. But it has come.

We Communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America, and Asia, assembled in Soviet Moscow, and fulfillers of the program proclaimed seventy-two years ago. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary experience of the working class, to cleanse the movement of its admixtures of opportunism and social patriotism, and to rally together the forces of all the true revolutionary proletarian parties in order to further and hasten the complete victory of the communist revolution.

I. For a long span of years Socialism predicted the inevitability of the imperialistic war; it perceived the essential cause of this war in the insatiable greed of the possessing classes in both camps of capitalist nations. Two years before the outbreak of the war, at the Congress of Basle, the responsible Socialist leaders of all countries branded Imperialism as the greatest criminal deed coming war, and menaced the bourgeoisie with the threat of the Socialist revolution—the retaliation of the proletariat for the crimes of militarism. Now, after the experience of five years, after history has disclosed the predatory lust of Germany, and has unmasked the role of the Jesuitical double-dealing of the Entente nations, together with their governments, again and again unmasked the deposed German Kaiser. And the German Social patriots, who in August, 1914, proclaimed the diplomatic and the holiest gospel of the people, today, in vulgar cynicism, join themselves with the Socialists of the Entente lands to accuse as arch-criminal the deposed German monarchy which they formerly

A LEGITIMATE USE OF BRIBERY

As a rule it is poor policy to resort to epithets and sarcasm when trying to interest conscientious people. Patience—these are usually the weapons that win in the long run. But occasionally one encounters a prospect so exuberantly dogmatic, so amazingly flippant and so abysmally ignorant that the only method left to pierce his criminal blindness is to stir into genuine thought by being pricked a trifle with the sharp rapier of sarcasm. Others need to be bowled over by a blast from a blunderbuss.

A few days ago I mailed a post card to a friend. The card appeared to the person to do all in her power to help secure the release of Eugene V. Debs and the other political and industrial prisoners of this country. Shortly after, the card was returned to me with the following scribbled across it in red ink: "If you want to end junk like this to me, please put it in an envelope. I don't want it coming to my name uncovered."

Immediately I sent the following reply: "My Dear Friend: Today is the 13th—an unlucky day for you. For you're scheduled to receive a verbal trouncing. You need it, because your brain is petrified. You've got to be stirred out of your hopeless lethargy. You have sunk into a disgraceful stage of innocuous desuetude—your life is evolving into pure inanition. And as such, you are beginning to be an object for pity.

"I would not speak in this tone, but when you returned the card I sent you in which I sincerely asked you to lend at least your MORAL support in the task of releasing the greatest friend of liberty the United States has had in her generation. It irritated me, and I feel that no ordinary bomb will jar you loose from your contemptible nonchalance.

"First, you are a coward. You expressed no particular objection to having the card sent you—but you wanted it covered. You're afraid, primarily, of public opinion. You're so weak-spined that you want always to side in with the majority, no matter whether that majority is right or wrong.

"Second, you are a hypocrite. You yelled your head off in support of the war to 'make the world safe for democracy.' And yet you contemptuously spurn assistance to a man who contributed, perhaps more than any single person, to preserve the slight amount of democracy which already existed in this country.

"Third, you're an ignoramus. You have the ineffable hardness to condemn a man to refuse to help him when you have not studied the man nor his work.

"These are harsh words, perhaps. But they are vitally necessary in a hardshell case such as yours. There is nothing fundamentally new in your brain—only certain convolutions are hardened and impervious to new ideas. Your sphere of activity seems to be confined to eating, drinking (Continued on third page.)

served as slaves. In this way they were to erase the memory of their own guilt and the gain of good will of the victors. But alongside the de-throned dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns, and Hapsburgs, and the capitalist cliques of these lands, the rulers of France, England, Italy, and the United States stand revealed in the light of unfolding events and diplomatic disclosures in their immeasurable villainess.

The contradictions of the capitalist system were converted by the war into bestial torments of hunger and cold, epidemics and moral savagery, for all mankind. Hereby also the academic quarrel in Socialism over the theory of increasing misery, and also of the Socialism now finally determined. Statisticians and teachers of the theory of reconciliation of these contradictions have endeavored for decades to gather together from all corners of the earth real and apparent facts which evidence the increasing well-being of the working class. Today abysmal misery is before our eyes, social as well as psychological, in all its shocking reality.

Finance-capital, which threw mankind into the abyss of war, has itself suffered catastrophic changes during the course of the war. The dependence of paper money upon the material basis of production was completely destroyed. More and more losing its significance as medium and regulator of capitalist commodity circulation, paper money becomes merely a means of exploitation, robbery, of military-economic oppression. The complete deterioration of paper money now reflects the general deadly crisis of capitalist commodity exchange.

As free competition was replaced as regulator of production and distribution in the chief domains of economy, during the decades which preceded the war, by the system of trusts and monopolies, so the exigencies of the war took the regulating role out of the hands of the monopolies and gave it directly to the military power. Distribution of raw materials, utilization of petroleum from Baku or Roumania, of coal from Donetz, of cereals from the Ukraine; the fate of German locomotives, railroad cars, and automobiles, the provisioning of famished Europe with bread and meat—all these basic questions of the economic life of the world are no longer regulated by free competition, nor yet by combinations of national and international trusts, but through direct application of military force.

Just as complete subordination of the power of the State to the purposes of military and imperialistic purposes, so the impulsive shambles, so finance-capital has, through this mass slaughter, completely militarized not alone the State but also itself. It is no longer able to fulfill its essential economic functions otherwise than by means of blood and iron.

The opportunists who before the war exhorted the workers in the name of the gradual transition into Socialism, to temperate; who, during the war asked for submission in the name of BURGRIEDEN and defense of the Fatherland, now again demand of the workers self-abnegation to overcome the terrible consequences of the war. If this preaching were listened to by the workers, Capitalism would build out of the bones of several generations a new and still more formidable structure, leading to new and inevitable world war. Fortunately for humanity, this is no longer possible.

The absorption by the State of the economic life is vigorously opposed by capitalist Liberalism, has now become a fact. There can be no return either to free competition nor to the rule of the trusts, syndicates and other economic monsters. The only question is who shall be the future mainstay of the State of the future. In other words, shall the entire working humanity become the feudal bond-servants of the victorious Entente bourgeoisie, which under name of a League of Nations aided by an "international" army and an "international" navy here plunders and murders, there throws a crumb, but everywhere enchains the proletariat, with the single aim of maintaining its own rule? Or will the working class take into its own hands the disorganized and shattered economic life and make certain its reconstruction on a Socialist basis?

Only the Proletarian Dictatorship which recognizes neither inherited privileges nor rights of property but which arises from the needs of the hungering masses, can shorten the period of the present crisis; and for this purpose it introduces the universal rule of labor, establishes the regime of industrial discipline, this way to heal in the course of a few years the open wounds caused by the war and also to raise humanity to a new un-dreamed-of height.

The national State, which was given a tremendous impulse by capitalist evolution, has become too narrow for the development of the productive forces. And even more untenable has become the position of the small States, distributed among the great powers of Europe and in other parts of the world. These small States came into existence at different times as fragments split off the bigger States, as petty currency in payment for services rendered, to serve as strategic buffer States. They, too, having their dynasties, their ruling gangs, their imperialistic pretensions, their diplomatic machinations. Their illusory independence had until the war precisely the same support as the European balance of power; namely, the continuous opposition between the two imperialistic camps. The war has destroyed this balance.

The tremendous preponderance of power which the war gave to Germany in the beginning compelled these smaller nations to seek their welfare and safety under the wings of German militarism. After Germany was beaten, the bourgeoisie of the small nations, together with their patriotic "Socialists," turned to the victorious Imperialism of the Allies and began to seek assurance for their further independent existence in the hypocritical points of the Wilson program. At the same time the number of little States has increased; out of the unity of the

Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, out of the different parts of the Czarist Empire, new sovereignties have formed themselves. And these, as soon as born, jump at each other's throats on account of their frontier disputes. Meanwhile the Allied Imperialists brought about certain combinations of new and old States through the cement of mutual hatreds and general weakness. Even while violating the small and weak peoples and delivering them to famine and degradation, the Entente Imperialists, exactly as the Imperialists of the Central powers before them, did not cease to talk of the right of self-determination of all peoples, a right which is now entirely destroyed in Europe and in the rest of the world.

Only the proletarian revolution can secure the existence of the small nations, a revolution which frees the productive forces of all countries from the restrictions of the national States, which unites all peoples in the closest economic co-operation on the basis of a universal economic plan, and gives even to the smallest and weakest peoples the possibility freely and independently to carry on their national culture without detriment to the united and centralized economy of Europe and of the whole world.

The last war, after all a war against the colonies, was the last war of the kind. To an unprecedented extent the population of the colonies was drawn into the European war. Indians, Arabs, Madagascaners battled on the European continent—what for?—for their right to remain slaves of England and France. Never did capitalist States show itself more shameless, never was the truth of colonial slavery brought into such sharp relief. As a consequence we witnessed a series of open rebellions and revolutionary ferment in all colonies. In Europe itself it was Ireland which reminded us of the colonies, and felt itself as such. In Madagascar, in Annam, and in other countries, the troops of the bourgeois Republic have had more than one insurrection of the colonial slaves to suppress during the war. In India the revolutionary movement has not been at a standstill for one day, and lately we have witnessed the greatest labor strike in Asia, to which the government of Great Britain answered with armored cars.

In this manner, the colonial question in its entirety became the order of the day not alone on the green table of the diplomatic conferences at Paris, but also in the bloody street. The Wilson program, at the very best, calls only for a change in the firm name of colonial enslavement. Liberation of the colonies can only happen together with liberation of the working class of the capital cities. The workers and peasants not only in Annam, Algeria, Bengal, but also of Persia and Armenia, can gain independent existence only after the overthrow of England and France have overthrown Lloyd George and Clemenceau and taken the power into their own hands. Even now in the more advanced colonies the battle is being fought only under the flag of national liberation, but it assumes also an open and outspoken social character. Capitalistic Europe has drawn the backward countries by force into the capitalist whirlpool, and Socialistic Europe will come to the aid of the liberation struggle with its mightiest organization, its spiritual influence, in order to facilitate their transition into the orderly system of socialist economy.

Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of triumph of the Proletarian Dictatorship of Europe will also be the hour of your liberation!

The entire bourgeois world accuses the Communists of destroying liberties and political democracy. That is not true. Having come into power, the proletariat only asserts the absolute impossibility of applying the methods of bourgeois democracy and creates the conditions for a higher working-class democracy. The whole course of capitalist development undermined political democracy, not only by dividing the nation into two irreconcilable classes, but also by condemning the numerous petty bourgeois and half-proletarian elements, as well as the peasants, to permanent economic stagnation and political impotence.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. But the great middle layers on the farm lands, as well as in the cities, are hindered by Capitalism in their historic development and remain stagnant for whole epochs. The peasant of Bavaria and Baden who does not look beyond his church walls, the small French wine-grower who has been ruined by the adulterations practiced by the big capitalists, the small farmer of America plundered and betrayed by bankers and legislators—all these social ranks which have been shoved aside from the main road of development by capitalism, are called on paper by the regime of political democracy to the administration of the State. In reality, however, the finance-oligarchy decides all important questions which determine the destinies of nations behind the back of parliamentary democracy. Participation was this use of the war question. The same applies to the question of peace.

If the finance-oligarchy, considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary vote, then the bourgeois State has at its command in order to gain this end all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper-class rule multiplied by the wonders of capitalist technique: lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny, and terror. To demand of the proletariat in the final life-and-death struggle that it should follow the demands of bourgeois democracy, would be the same as to ask a man who is defending his life against robbers to follow the artificial rules of a French duel that have been set by his enemy but not followed by him.

In an empire of destruction, where not only the means of production and transportation but also the institutions of political democracy represent bloody ruins, the proletariat must create its own forms, to serve above all as a bond of unity for the working class and to enable it to bring to the fore the intervention in the further development of mankind. Such apparatus is represented in the workers' councils. The old parties, the old unions, have proved incapable, in person of their leaders, to understand much less to carry out the tasks which the new epoch presents to them. The proletariat created a new institution which embraces the entire working class, without distinction of vocation or political maturity, an elastic form of organization capable of continually renewing itself, expanding, and of drawing into itself ever new elements, ready to open its doors to the groups of city and village which are near to the proletariat. This indispensable autonomous organization of the working class in the present struggle and in the future conquests of different lands, tests the proletariat and represents the greatest inspiration and the mightiest weapon of the proletariat of our time.

Whenever the Masses are awakened to consciousness, Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Councils will be formed. To fortify these Councils to increase their authority, to oppose them to the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, is now the chief task of the class-conscious proletariat of all countries. By means of these Councils the working class can counteract that disorganization which has been brought into it by the infernal anguish of the war, by hunger, by the violent deeds of the possessing classes, and by the betrayal of their former leaders. The proletarian revolution, the working class will gain power in all countries most readily and most certainly when these Councils gain the support of the majority of the laboring population. By means of these Councils the working class, once attending power, will control all the fields of economic and cultural life, as in the case of Russia at the present time.

The collapse of the imperialistic State, czaristic to most democratic, goes on simultaneously with the collapse of the imperialistic military system. The armies of millions, mobilized by imperialism, could remain steadfast only so long as the proletariat remained outside the proletarian fold of the bourgeoisie. The complete breakdown of national unity signifies also an inevitable disintegration of the army. Thus it happened, first in Russia, then in Austria-Hungary, then in Germany. The same also is to be expected in other imperialistic countries and in the peasants' army against the landowner, of laborer against capitalist, of both against the monarchic or "democratic" bureaucracy, must lead inevitably to the insurrection of soldier against commander and, furthermore, to a sharp conflict between the proletarian and bourgeois elements within the army. The imperialistic war which pitted nation against nation, has passed and is passing into the civil war which lines up class against class.

The outcry of the bourgeoisie world against the civil war and the red terror is the most colossal hypocrisy of which the history of mankind has ever known. There would be no civil war if the exploiters who have carried mankind to the very brink of ruin had not prevented every forward step of the laboring masses, if they had not instigated plots and murders and called to their aid armed help from outside to their political struggle. The imperialistic war, which has passed and is passing into the civil war, has carried mankind to the very brink of ruin had not prevented every forward step of the laboring masses, if they had not instigated plots and murders and called to their aid armed help from outside to their political struggle. The imperialistic war, which has passed and is passing into the civil war, has carried mankind to the very brink of ruin had not prevented every forward step of the laboring masses, if they had not instigated plots and murders and called to their aid armed help from outside to their political struggle.

The communist parties, far from conjuring up civil war, artificially create the conditions for a higher working-class democracy. The whole course of capitalist development undermined political democracy, not only by dividing the nation into two irreconcilable classes, but also by condemning the numerous petty bourgeois and half-proletarian elements, as well as the peasants, to permanent economic stagnation and political impotence.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a workers' revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on. But the great middle layers on the farm lands, as well as in the cities, are hindered by Capitalism in their historic development and remain stagnant for whole epochs. The peasant of Bavaria and Baden who does not look beyond his church walls, the small French wine-grower who has been ruined by the adulterations practiced by the big capitalists, the small farmer of America plundered and betrayed by bankers and legislators—all these social ranks which have been shoved aside from the main road of development by capitalism, are called on paper by the regime of political democracy to the administration of the State. In reality, however, the finance-oligarchy decides all important questions which determine the destinies of nations behind the back of parliamentary democracy. Participation was this use of the war question. The same applies to the question of peace.

If the finance-oligarchy, considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary vote, then the bourgeois State has at its command in order to gain this end all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper-class rule multiplied by the wonders of capitalist technique: lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny, and terror. To demand of the proletariat in the final life-and-death struggle that it should follow the demands of bourgeois democracy, would be the same as to ask a man who is defending his life against robbers to follow the artificial rules of a French duel that have been set by his enemy but not followed by him.

This includes not only the social patriots who today are openly in the camp of the bourgeoisie as preferred confidential advisers and reliable hangmen of the working class, but also the hazy, fickle and irresolute socialist Centre which is today trying to revive the Second International, i.e., the narrowness, opportunism, and revolutionary impotence of their predecessors. The Independents of Germany, the present Majority of the Socialist party in France, the Independent Labor Party in England, and similar groups are actually trying to re-establish themselves in the position which the old official parties of the Second International held before the war. They appear as before with proposals of compromise and conciliation and hereby paralyze the energy of the proletariat, lengthening the period of crisis and consequently increasing the misery of Europe. War against the Socialist Centre is a necessary condition of successful war against Imperialism.

Spurning the half-heartedness, hypocrisy, and corruption of the decadent official socialist parties, we, the Communists assembled in the Third International, feel ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations from Babeuf to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. As the First International foresaw the future development and pointed the way; as the Second International, gathered together and organized millions of the proletariats, so the Third International is the International of open mass-action of the revolutionary realization, the International of deeds. Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the socialist world order. We urge the working men and women of all countries to unite under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won.

PROLETARIANS OF ALL LANDS! IN THE WAR AGAINST IMPERIALISTIC BARBARIY, AGAINST MONARCHY, AGAINST THE PRIVILEGED CLASSES, AGAINST THE BOURGEOIS STATE AND BOURGEOIS PROPERTY, AGAINST ALL FORM AND VARIETIES OF SOCIAL NATIONAL OPPRESSION—UNITE!

UNDER THE STANDARD OF THE WORKINGMEN'S COUNCILS, UNDER THE BANNER OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL, IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR THE POWER AND DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES—UNITE!

THE NEW ERA HAS BEGUN! THE ERA OF THE DOWNFALL OF CAPITALISM—ITS INTERNAL DISINTEGRATION. THE EPOCH OF THE PROLETARIAN COMMUNIST REVOLUTION. IN SOME COUNTRIES, VICTORIOUS PEASANTS' REVOLUTIONS ARE BREAKING REVOLUTIONARY FERMENT IN OTHER LANDS; UPRISINGS IN THE COLONIES; UTTER INCAPACITY OF THE RULING CLASSES TO CONTROL THE FATE OF PEOPLES ANY LONGER; THAT IS THE PICTURE OF PRESENT WORLD CONDITIONS.

Humanity, with its entire culture now lying in ruins, faces danger of complete destruction. There is only one power which can save it—the power of the proletariat. The old capitalist "order" can exist no longer. This ultimate result of the capitalist mode of production is chaos—a chaos to be overcome only by the united producing class, the proletariat. It is the proletariat which must establish real order, the order of communism. It must end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out state boundaries, transform the whole world into one co-operative commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom.

World Capitalism prepares itself for the final battle. Under cover of the "League of Nations" and a deluge of pacifist phrase-mongering, a desperate effort is being made to pull together the tumbling capitalist system and to direct its forces against the constantly growing proletarian revolt. This monstrous conspiracy of the capitalist class must be met by the proletariat by seizure of the political power of the State, turning this power against its class enemies, and using it as a lever to set in motion the economic revolution. The final victory of the proletariat of the world means the beginning of the real history of free mankind.

The Capture of Political Power

Seizure of political power by the proletariat means the destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The organized power of the bourgeoisie is in the civil State, with its capitalist army under control of bourgeois-junker officers, its police and gendarmes, jailers and judges, its priests, government officials, etc. Conquest of the political power means not merely a change in the personnel of ministries but annihilation of the enemy's apparatus of government; disarmament of the bourgeoisie, of the counter-revolutionary officers, of the White Guard; arming of the proletariat, the revolutionary soldiers, the Red Guard of Workingmen; displacement of all bourgeois judges and organization of proletarian courts; elimination of control by reactionary government officials and substitution of new organs of management of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat consists in shattering the enemy's organization and organizing the proletarian power; in the destruction of the bourgeois and upbuilding of the proletarian State apparatus. Not until the proletariat has achieved this victory and broken the resistance of the bourgeoisie can the former enemies of the proletariat be made useful, by bringing them under control of the communistic structure and gradually bringing them into accord with its work.

Democracy and Dictatorship

The proletarian State, like every State, is an organ of suppression, but it arranges itself against the enemies of the working class. It aims to break

the opposition of the despoilers of labor, who are using every means in a desperate effort to stifle the revolution in blood, and to make impossible further opposition. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which gives it the favored position in the community, is only a provisional institution. As the position of the bourgeoisie is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the State dies and there is no more class distinction.

Democracy, so-called, that is, bourgeois democracy, is nothing more than veiled dictatorship by the bourgeoisie. The much vaunted "popular will" exists as little as the undivided people. In reality, there are the classes, with antagonistic, irreconcilable purposes. However, since the bourgeoisie is only a small majority, it needs this fiction of the "popular will" as a flourish of fine-sounding words to reinforce its rule over the working classes and to impose its own class will upon the people. The proletariat, on the contrary, as the overwhelming majority of the people, openly exercises its class power by means of its mass organizations and its Councils, in order to wipe out the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to secure the transition, rather the transformation, into a classless communistic commonwealth.

The main emphasis of bourgeois democracy is on formal declarations of rights and liberties which are actually unattainable by the proletariat, but to the formal centralization of all these organs and their conversion into a systematic unity for the rational distribution of products. As in the field of production so also in the field of distribution all qualified technicians and specialists are to be made use of, provided their political resistance is broken and they are still capable of advancing themselves, not to the service of capital, but to the new system of production. Far from oppressing them the proletariat will make it possible for the first time for them to develop intensive creative work. The Proletarian Dictatorship, with their co-operation, will retrieve the separation of physical and mental work which Capitalism has developed and thus will Science, Labor, and Unified. Besides expropriating the factories, mines, estates, etc., the proletariat must also abolish the exploitation of the people by capitalist landlords, transfer the large mansions to the local workers' councils, and move the working people into the bourgeois dwellings.

During this great transition period the power of the Councils must constantly build up the entire administrative organization into a more centralized structure, but on the other hand constantly draw ever increasing elements of the working people into the immediate control of government.

The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which it has inherited from the bourgeois system, but to use them in a different manner, namely, mass action with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance.

The indispensable condition for successful struggle is the concentration of the direct servitors of Capitalism and enemies of the communist revolution, in which role the Social Democrats of the Right appear, but also from the Party of the Centre (Kautskians), who desert the proletariat at the critical moment in order to come to terms with its open antagonists. On the other hand, there are essential elements of the proletariat heretofore not within the Socialist Party, who stand now completely and absolutely on the platform of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Council rule, for example, the corresponding elements among the Syndicalists.

The Growth of the Revolutionary Movement

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all lands, the dangers of suppression of this revolution through the coalition of capitalist States, the attempts of the Socialist betrayers to unite with one another (the formation of the Yellow "International" at Bern), and to give their services to the White Terror, are the absolute necessities for the organization of proletarian actions—all these demand the formation of a real revolutionary and real proletarian Communist International. This International, which subordinates the so-called national interests to the interests of the international revolution, will personify the help of the proletariat of the different countries for the economic and other mutual helpfulness the proletariat will not be able to organize the new society. On the other hand, in contrast with the Yellow International of the social-patriots, the Proletarian Communist International will support the plundered colonial peoples in their fight against Imperialism, in order to hasten the final collapse of the imperialistic world system.

The capitalist criminals asserted at the beginning of the world war that it was only in defense of the common Fatherland. But soon German Imperialism revealed its real brand character by its bloody deeds in Russia, in the Ukraine and in Finland. Now the Entente states unmask themselves as world despoilers and murderers of the proletariat. Together with the German bourgeoisie and social-patriots, with hypocritical phrases about peace on their lips, they are trying to stifle the revolution of the European proletariat by means of their war machinery and stupid barbaric colonial soldiery. Indescribable is the White Terror of the bourgeois cannibals. Incalculable are the sacrifices of the working class. Their best—Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg—have they lost. Against this proletariat must defend itself, defend at any price. The Communist International calls the entire world proletariat to this final struggle.

DOWN WITH THE IMPERIAL CONSPIRACY OF CAPITAL!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION OF THE PROLETARIAN COUNCILS!

As far as the smaller enterprises are concerned, the proletariat must gradually unite them, according to the degree of their importance. It must be particularly emphasized that small properties will in no way be expropriated and that property owners who are not exploiters of labor will not be forcibly dispossessed. This element will gradually be drawn into the socialist organization through the force of example, through practical demonstration of the superiority of the new order of things, and the regulation by which the small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie of the cities will be freed from economic bondage to usurious capital and landlordism, and from tax burdens (especially by annulment of the national debts).

The task of the Proletarian Dictatorship in the economic field can only be fulfilled to the extent that the proletariat is enabled to create centralized organs of management and to institute workers control. To this end it must make use of its mass organizations which are in closest relation to the process of production. In the field of distribution the Proletarian Dictatorship must re-establish commerce by an accurate distribution of products, to which end the following methods are to be considered: the socialization of wholesale establishments, the taking over of all bourgeois-State and municipal apparatus of distribution; control of the great co-operative societies, which organizations will still play an important role in the production epoch; the gradual centralization of all these organs and their conversion into a systematic unity for the rational distribution of products.

As in the field of production so also in the field of distribution all qualified technicians and specialists are to be made use of, provided their political resistance is broken and they are still capable of advancing themselves, not to the service of capital, but to the new system of production. Far from oppressing them the proletariat will make it possible for the first time for them to develop intensive creative work. The Proletarian Dictatorship, with their co-operation, will retrieve the separation of physical and mental work which Capitalism has developed and thus will Science, Labor, and Unified. Besides expropriating the factories, mines, estates, etc., the proletariat must also abolish the exploitation of the people by capitalist landlords, transfer the large mansions to the local workers' councils, and move the working people into the bourgeois dwellings.

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The Way to Victory

The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which it has inherited from the bourgeois system, but to use them in a different manner, namely, mass action with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance.

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LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION OF THE PROLETARIAN COUNCILS!

—Moscow, March 6, 1919.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and
Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.
One Year \$1.00 BUNDLE RATES 50c Per Hundred Six Months 50c
Address all mail and make all checks payable to
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO,
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Elmer T. Allison
Alfred Wagenknecht
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WEDNESDAY, MAY 23, 1919.

Party News and Views

LIKE HOLMAN AT PLEASANT
OFF.
'Comrade Holman was with us on
the 11th. Although we had short
notice of his coming, we had a good
meeting and were well pleased with
his lecture. Would like to have him
come again.' A. G. DEEREN.
READY FOR SERVICE.
A dollar from Comrade J. S.
Faubus for May Day sub cards. If
I can be of further help to you please
contact me, adds Comrade Faubus.
We'll keep you in mind, comrade.

Jos. Robb of Cleveland delivered a
good address there the 17th. De-
spite bad weather, a good crowd was
on hand. They showed their appre-
ciation by giving undivided atten-
tion and a good collection.
PREACHERS AND REACTION-
ARIES COMBINE.
From Tiffin comes the news of a
new city ordinance compelling per-
sons desirous of holding a street
meeting to obtain a permit from the
mayor. Along with this latest de-
velopment of the kind of "democ-
racy" we have been fighting for, the
preachers of Tiffin combined in a
Sunday morning onslaught upon the
Socialists and Bolsheviks. True to
their historic policy the ministers
may be expected to follow where
their paymasters lead.
AKRON SOCIALISTS ACTIVE.
Local Akron is doing business at
the same old stand and its activity is
increasing from week to week. The
American branch holds a regular busi-
ness meeting every Friday night at
50 S. Howard street. At every one of
these meetings some speaker, who
has been engaged in advance, winds
up the meeting with about a half
hour talk, after which a general dis-
cussion is held until the subject is
threshed out.
Through this method new mem-
bers are constantly being admitted.
At the last meeting of the City Cen-
tral committee there were over 30
members taken in. The German
branch is especially active and al-
ways doing business.
On May 30th, the last Friday in
the month, there will be held a mass
party membership convention for the
purpose of reorganizing the City Cen-
tral committee. Under its present
form the C. C. C. is inefficient and
not representative of the active move-
ment.
It is hoped the general party meet-
ing will be able to work out a form
of organization which will be more
workable and more satisfactory to
all the branches.
The undersigned was elected regu-
lar correspondent for the O. S. and
will try to keep the readers informed
of Socialist activity in Akron.
Fraternally,
JOHN C. CHASE.

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
50 South Howard St.
LOCAL CINCINNATI
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
1314 Vine St.
LOCAL WARREN
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30
P. M., Labor Organization Hall,
E. Market St., Near Second
Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.
Local Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTKOFFERS HALL
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.
LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednes-
day, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.
FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.
LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening,
except the first Tuesday after
the first Sunday. General party
meeting first Sunday of each
month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.
LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Hall 50 1/2 W. Gay Street.
SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMER-
ICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M.,
at Bushnell Hall, 127 West
Federal St., Third floor.
LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Thursday Evening
8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL
38 High St., Third Floor.
Local Canton of the
SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30
P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,
328 Tuscarawas St., E.
LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday
of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10
a. m.
Debate and social every Sun-
day, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL
164 N. Chestnut St.
Branch
Meets TIPPIN Every
Wednesday, 8 P. M.
No. 93 1/2 Washington St.

THE NEW FORMS OF DEMOCRACY.

Turning from the task of "making the world safe for democracy"
world capitalism is now attempting to "make democracy safe for the
world." In its efforts to play the part of seeming a certain kind of world
benefactor, it is aided by every boot-licking editor who can be corrupted by
promises, intimidation or open threats.
An investigation of the peculiar form of democracy for which so much
solicitude is felt reveals some interesting phases of the ever growing class-
struggle. Democracy, we have been taught heretofore was the only certain
cure for such evils as arose under its rule. This was in the distant past
before Roosevelt was outclassed by a super-word mongerer and we had
more democracy but heard less about it.
Democracy, it seems, in order to be safe for the world, must be of a
certain form and with measurable limitations. It must not be of an "ex-
treme" type. It must conform to certain standards commensurate with the
welfare of the capitalist class and must be so cribbed with limitations that
the economic position of the world's exploiters is left unmolested while
they ride safely upon the backs of the workers. Democracy within these
bounds is "safe." When it becomes rebellious and seeks to break through the
cribbage, it becomes "dangerous" and a "menace to the world."
The attempt of the apologists of capitalism to justify the Allies' vio-
lation of Wilson's pet point—"self-determination for all nations"—as ap-
plied to Russia is one of the most illuminating bits of mental gymnastics
which it has been our pleasure to witness.
In one of the biggest household magazines of the country we find this
wonderfully logical bit of reasoning: "We are not at war with Russia and
never have been. Then why does not President Wilson withdraw our
armies from Russia and allow the Russian people to decide for themselves
what sort of government they will have?" And the editor proceeds to an-
swer his question. "Simply because the present government of Russia is
but destructive of civilization." Then he proceeds to claim it is the duty
of the Allies to stamp it out.
And right here we want to know of what value is this point of Wilson's
"self determination for all peoples," if it is to be cast overboard at the
whim of any group of commercial pirates strong enough to do it and to
institute a reign of slaughter against another race and people when that
government of their choice does not suit the plunderers? Wherein lies its
potency for world peace? If it has any why is it not used for that purpose
today? Is it not a fact that Wilson is the first to prove the shallowness of
his own program when he violates in Russia his heralded point of "self
determination"?

PAYS TO TAKE A CUSSING.

That it pays to take a cussing
seems to be proven by what a com-
rade from Tennessee writes. We'll
leave out all names, but this com-
rade sends in two subscriptions and
adds: One of these subscribers
cussed me for five years before the
war for being a Socialist, but see
where I have him now. Well, com-
rade, you got the cussing, now we'll
see if the O. S. can make him apolo-
gize.

ANOTHER \$5.00 FROM COMRADE
COOK.

Another check for five dollars
comes in from Comrade Allen Cook
of Canton for O. S. subscription
cards. We don't know just how many
five spots Comrade Cook has turned
in for subscriptions, but they come
in mighty regularly. Comrade Cook
is one of our best boosters.
LILTH MARTIN ORGANIZES NEW
LOCALS.
Comrade Martin is having great
good fortune of late. At Forest she
secured five members-at-large. Owing
to peculiar conditions there she
did not organize a local. At Dun-
kirk a local of five members was
organized.
At Dola, Comrade Martin held one
of the best meetings on her tour.
Owing to the fact that the trustees
of the school took some time
to be held in the school house, a good
deal of free advertising was secured.

CANTON SOCIALISTS ATTENTION.

All members of Local Canton are
hereby notified to be present at a
special meeting at headquarters June
4th, for the purpose of electing dele-
gates to the state convention which
convenes at Cincinnati, on the 27th.
ERNEST SYKES, Sec'y.

EVERY KNOCK IS A BOOST FOR
SOCIALISTS.

Every knock is a boost so far as
the Socialists of East Liverpool are
concerned. As a result of the agita-
tion stirred up in that city on May
Day and several strikes which have
been inaugurated since, the owners
of the hall in which the local met
closed it to them. The local soon
secured a better place in the Trades
and Labor hall and are now better
satisfied than before. The East
Liverpool Tribune gloats over the
fact that a new city ordinance pro-
vides that a permit be granted all
street speakers before a meeting can
be held. This is supposed to curb
Bolshevism, etc. If the editor of
the Tribune had an ounce of brains
he would know that the strikes of
labor in that city are evidence that
the growth of Bolshevism has re-
ceived no setback. But who ex-
pects him to see what is before him?

OUR JOB, SAYS THIS COMRADE.

Beuena Vista, Va., May 5, 1919.
Dear Comrades: We must, must
build a larger organization. We
must open the doors of the Ameri-
can bastilles; the families of our im-
prisoned comrades must be provided
for. All this can be done and the
system of injustice can soon be re-
moved if we will work to that end.
I feel that old Virginia is beginning
to wake up from its long sleep.
Yours for humanity,
J. W. HUMPHREY.

FOREIGN BRANCHES ORGANIZED

A Russian branch has been organ-
ized at Steubenville. The new local
consists of 10 members at time of
organization. Comrade J. Pishko is
to be credited for the work of or-
ganization.
At Alliance an Lithuanian branch
has been organized by Comrade
Thomas S. Astrauskas. The branch
has five members.

CHAS. BAKER ORGANIZES AT
FREMONT.

Another local has come back into
the fold of active ones. The com-
rades of Fremont have effected re-
organization by the efforts of Com-
rade Chas. Baker. Local Fremont
consists of 10 members. In all our
new locals we extend the heartiest
comradeship and wish them a gen-
erous growth and development.

JOSEPH ROBB AT GIRARD.

Comrade Fred Kline, secretary of
Local Girard, writes that Comrade

WHAT GOMPERTS CANNOT SEE.

A tidal wave of restless humanity is sweeping across the world. A
social capitalism threatens the peoples of Europe.
Our land is not altogether free from the sparks of the fires of human
dissension, strife and turmoil, which are threatening the very foundations
of some of the European nations.
So writes Samuel Gompers in an article purporting to give a solution
for the economic evils of the nation. If Gompers were anything but a con-
genial compromiser and crumb picker, his mind would react to the march
of democracy across the world. Born with a temperamental inclination to-
ward "keeping things as they are," he sees in the violent upheavals in
Europe nothing save an eruption of dissension and a crumbling of all that
seemed staple and sound.
So used is he to view the world and the race as a static quality, that
the slow evolution that has been going on in society, having reached the
stage of evolution, he is immediately thrown into a state of querulous
panic.
Those forces which seem to be "threatening the very foundations of
some of the European nations" are but the birth pangs of a New Society
breaking asunder the walls of the parent system. The "dissensions" which
Gompers deplures are a natural product of the conflicting interests of dif-
ferent social classes.
"The social calamity" which threatens the people of Europe is not the
New Society which is bringing forth in suffering, but the old, outworn and
broken down system of private ownership of all men's means of living,
which if longer continued would indeed have brought chaos to the race. It
was the inadequacy of this decrepit economic system to minister satisfactorily
to the needs of humanity in the hour of its supreme trial that is at bot-
tom the cause of Europe's agony.
Just how far in the rear of the world's march is Gompers is seen in his
view of world events. While the world's workers hail the Social Revolution
as the great hope of the race, he looks on through the smoked glasses
of reaction and compromise.
Since the Bolsheviks took control of Russia's industries capitalists have
learned the meaning of the apostle's words: if a man will not work, neither
shall he eat.
It's all right in a song to raise the question of how to keep the boys
on the farm after a sojourn in Parris, but we observe that the whole cry of
the boys over there is for one more chance at the old home place and the
sanity that surrounds it.
One thing the daily press has not exploited—that is, the joy of bully-
ing the Bolsheviks in six feet of snow with frozen feet.

Workers' Council Resolution

Whereas, organized capitalist hat-
red has thrown into the jails the
bravest spokesmen of labor for terms
more savage than those meted out
to political prisoners by the old
autocracies of Russia and Germany,
because they dared to speak what
they thought the truth, and refused
to prostitute their conscience, and
Whereas, laws ostensibly intended
for the punishment of enemy spies,
have been used by the powers that
be to crush every expression of
labor's solidarity and forward-look-
ing thought, and
Whereas, the imprisonment of
these people is primarily a manifes-
tation of the struggle between cap-
ital and labor, a war which trans-
cends the war between groups of na-
tions, be it
Resolved, that we call upon the
class-conscious workers of the coun-
try to exert their industrial powers
to force the release of the class war
prisoners.
Adopted at conference of Workers'
Council of the Waist and Dress In-
dustry May 4, 1919, New York.

A LEGITIMATE USE
OF RIDICULE

(Continued from first page.)
ing and philandering. You're so
busy trying to "make a hit" with
somebody that you haven't the time
to realize that your life is sheer
waste. You can't see that life is
only worth while if each of us does
his utmost to leave the world a bet-
ter place for those who follow.
"Then you saw the name 'Debs'
on the card, you were instantly re-
galed with visions of bomb-throwers,
free-lovers, etc. That is because you
know nothing of real democracy,
nothing of the progressive move-
ments of our time, nothing about
the principles of genuine freedom.
"I would heartily advise you to
brush the cobwebs of sloth from
your mind and visit the non-fiction
shelves of the public library occa-
sionally.
Yours for Bolshevism.
ALANSON SESSIONS.

AVAILABLE SPEAKERS

Here is a revised list of speakers upon whom the locals may call.
Terms are five dollars and expenses. Other names of qualified speakers
will be added from time to time. Comrades who feel that their services
are useful to the party upon the platform are requested to secure the en-
dorsement of their locals before making application to be placed upon the
Available Speakers List. Locals should make application for the speaker
nearest them to save expenses.
M. J. Beery, 65 So. Main St., Mansfield, Ohio.
Chas. Baker, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville,
Ohio.
Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.
Tom Lewis, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville,
Ohio.
Thurber Lewis, State, Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecks-
ville, Ohio.
Frank Midney, 128 N. Maryland Ave., Youngstown, O.
C. E. Ruthenberg, 1222 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
H. L. A. Holman, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecks-
ville, Ohio.
Frank B. Hamilton, Mayor's Office, Piqua, Ohio.
John J. Willert, 3469 W. 54th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Hugo Ruemmele, 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood, Ohio.
J. J. Hoge, 980 Central, Bellaire, O.

STOP IT!

The National Executive Committee of the party, without
excuse of reason and without giving that organization an op-
portunity to be heard, expelled the entire Michigan State or-
ganization from the party at its meeting last Saturday.

The only shadow of an excuse for this action was found
in the fact that the Michigan party adopted a constitutional
provision at its recent convention, opposing the advocacy of
social reform measures in that state.

The purpose of this action in expelling 6,000 members
from the party without giving those members an opportunity
to be heard in their own defense, was evidently a desire to in-
fluence the election of the new National Executive Committee.
Ballots were to be counted on May 28th, and by expelling the
Socialist Party of Michigan prior to that date the vote of the
state is eliminated.

No more desperate attempt to maintain its control of the
party has ever been attempted in the history of the organiza-
tion; democracy within the organization was never before so
outrageously raped as in this action. The party membership
should promptly rebuke the National Executive Committee,
which in its last hours in office took such contemptible action.
Local Cuyahoga County, at a joint membership meeting

last Sunday initiated the following national referendum:
Resolved, by the joint meeting of the branches of Local
Cuyahoga County, representing an average of 1,821 members
in good standing for 1918, that we initiate the following mo-
tion, to be submitted to referendum of the party membership in
the United States:

Resolved, that the action of the National Executive Com-
mittee in revoking the charter of the Socialist Party of Michigan
be rescinded and annulled.

Every local that stands for fair play and decency in party
affairs should immediately send their seconds to the National
Office.
C. E. RUTHENBERG, Sec.
Local Cuyahoga County.

A Chicago soldier stationed at
Vladivostok has written to Senator
McCormick of Illinois declaring that
much drunkenness and venereal dis-
ease prevail among the troops there.
Soldiers, he says, drink a vodka dis-
tilled from a Chinese "swill pile."
The soldier wants to come home and
to know why the troops are being
kept in Russia.
Socialists say:
The working class does everything
and has nothing.
The Capitalist does nothing and
has everything.

STATE OFFICE
TELEGRAPH ADDRESS
Locals having occasion to
telegraph the State Office
should address telegrams as
follows:
HORTENSE WAGENKNECHT
Phone Wallings 13-Y.
Cleveland, Ohio.
STATE OFFICE TELEPHONE
Wallings 13-Y, Cleveland.

Our Great Big Winning Combination
\$1.00—Offer—\$1.00

The Latest Socialist and Russian Pamphlets at Almost Cost!

We have said that we would sell Socialist literature cheaper than you could buy it elsewhere. That's because we buy
such quantities at such low cost. Because we do this, we are able to save our locals and readers a few dollars on their
books, pamphlets and leaflets. Because we have bought in such quantities we are able to make this most liberal offer of
the best of the recent pamphlets on Russia and the live issues of the American Socialist Movement.

ELEVEN INTERESTING AND EDUCATIONAL PAMPHLETS AT MORE THAN ONE-
FIFTH OFF REGULAR PRICE.

Table with 2 columns: Titles and Retail Price. Lists 11 pamphlets including 'The Old Order in Europe and the New Order in Russia', 'The Dream of Debs', 'Industrial Autocracy', 'The Soviets', 'Shop Talks on Economics', 'The Slander of the Toilers', and 'Russia'.

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It should make no difference to you if you have read one or two of these pamphlets. Those you haven't read are
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We Want 500 Orders for This Winning Combination at \$1.00

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Socialist Party of Ohio, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.
Enclosed find \$1.00 for which send me the eleven pamph-
lets of your Big Winning Combination.

Name
Address
City State

Ten Days That Shook the World

BY JOHN REED.
John Reed was in Russia during and for months after the
proletarian revolution. He has given in this big book much
inside information that has not appeared elsewhere. You will
find many chapters in it of great interest and value. Order
of State Office Socialist Party of Ohio. R. D. No. 2, Brecks-
ville, Ohio. Price \$2.00 postpaid.

MAY DAY IN PRISON

PRISONERS IN LEAVENWORTH CELEBRATE WITH RED FLAG PARADE AND REVOLUTIONARY SPEECH-MAKING.

Unlike the dreary weather which has met the capitalists in most of their parades, either to boost Liberty loans or augment recruiting, the sunshine and mild breezes came out in their midst, spring rains fell in help all they could to give the oppressed worker confidence in himself. It was a May Day such as you might imagine the fairies would have chosen for their may-pole dance and spring frolic.

For us it was no occasion for light hearted gaiety, but one for serious reflection and determined preparation for the task which lies before us when we get out of this place. The morning program began in cantonment when all the conscientious objectors arose and sang the international. Next the hardy Russians stood and sang with lusty voices their "Memoria Hymn." I thrilled within to see these simple determined men stand up and echo the melody which inspired their compatriots to their supreme effort in 1917, when Russia broke her chains and autocracy fell thundering to the ground.

Rodoff, faithful student of Marx, followed with an interesting account of Karl Marx's life, in which he pointed out his great work in laying the philosophical foundation for the present social movement the world over. He told of Marx's suffering for his chosen work, and because he refused to compromise with the capitalist system for the sake of making a decent living for his family. He closed with a plea for purposeful suffering.

The singing of the red flag by all Reds concluded the meeting.

HAVE RED PARADE

After early mass I was advised by the remaining song of the Russians. I hurried to the window, saw the parade of the C. O.'s and hastened to join them. Leading the procession of men, four abreast with locked arms, walked Bill Kantor wearing a D. B. storm hood turned inside out. A few feet back of him marched Carl Haessler carrying a broom on which was tied a "Liberator" cover picture of Lenin. The Russian contingent followed close on his heels singing as if they were actually marching to freedom. Behind them came the American Stars and Stripes led by a C. O. carrying Abraham Lincoln's picture (same source) aloft on a broom. Red flags and bits of red blanket around the arms added color to the group of numbered men.

The "wobblies" followed with their banner of "red with white." Painted in it in black. Strangeland's red numbers added its quota of red to the parade.

We miscellaneous, so-called "religious objectors," brought up the rear and added our bit to this expression of class consciousness and determination to be free from the oppression of capitalism.

We paraded around the "wired-in city" while all the sentries in the two adjoining cantonments on the other side of the stockade "turned out" to see us. Some cursed at us, several applauded, but most stood and wondered what it was all about. Passes and automobiles were stopped to allow their curious occupants to gaze in amazement at the Red Parade. Just as the column turned into cantonment 6 the executive staff came upon the scene—in answer, no doubt to the call of order, they stepped in the tower along the stockade.

After admonishing us against any further out-door demonstrations and stating surprise at our using our permission to be excused from work in such a manner to observe May Day, they left us to finish our program indoors. Red flags were everywhere in evidence in the barracks, but not a word was said against them. Carl Haessler reassured the officer that we would stay inside with our celebration for the balance of the day. But we had finished our parade—probably more successfully than our fellows on the outside.

A RED PROGRAM.

"Wobbly" Gertzog then mounted the improvised rostrum and delivered an impassioned and convincing argument for a more widespread use of the economic arm of the revolutionary movement. His plea for Industrial Unionism and the General Strike as a means of securing complete control of the tools of production, could not be denied.

The rest of the afternoon Carl Haessler read us another chapter from "Man and Superman," by Bernard Shaw.

Our evening program should have opened with a game of horseshoes between the "wobblies" and Socialists but the stealing of their places at early mess delayed matters a whole hour and cut out the game.

Carl Haessler started the ball rolling by reading from the Kansas City Times about Red celebrations in Europe and South America, also about preparations in various United States cities.

Clark Getts followed with an eloquent exposition of the course events would likely take in the U. S. during the transition from capitalist to worker control of the industries. He made clear to us the function of "political action" in education and general propaganda work for the revolution. On the whole he felt that Russia's Soviet form would lend itself very well to American conditions; and during the transition we would have to resort to dictatorship of the proletariat to put everybody to work.

The floor being then thrown open for discussion, Markowitz explained that a "dictatorship" in the U. S. must not be wined at, for it was a familiar modus operandi here, which less than five years ago, when we controlled the means of production, and the channels of intercourse. Isn't a dictatorship of the proletariat just as justified as one of the bourgeois?

Snyder followed with a warning against leader worship and blind devotion to leaders from the past, who would have to resort to dictatorship of the proletariat to put everybody to work.

By some upstart intellectual, who would not lead straight in a crisis. The singing of the "Marseillaise" by all concluded the program. The spirit of the day was predominantly serious. There was no tendency, not the slightest, of any glorification of our sacrifices since imprisonment. That was all forgotten and burned in the flames of enthusiasm and determination, which swept through the assemblage of earnest men eager for the liberty to serve the cause of human emancipation as free men.

ERLING H. LUNDE.

VICTOR BERGER, SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN

(Continued from first page.)

of the labor-exploiting plutocrats to slap the Socialist Party in the face by preventing the representative of 1,000,000 American Socialists from taking his seat.

Berger was recently sentenced by Federal Judge Landis in Chicago to serve twenty years in the federal penitentiary for having written Socialist editorials in the Milwaukee Leader during the war which congress declared against Germany and Austria-Hungary.

It is significant that the house of representatives steering committee, which devoted considerable time in its secret session today to discussing the procedure to unseat Berger, reached no definite conclusion as to the plan to be pursued. It is no ordinary election contest in which the elements of fraud enter. Berger's election is not contested. And the steering committee has got to devise some denial of democracy to override the constitutionally expressed will of the voters in Berger's district.

BERGER'S STAND ON WAR UNCHANGED.

Berger stands today right where he stood when war was declared, and right where he stood when the anti-Socialist Judge Landis gave him twenty years for printing Socialist editorials. He insists on his right under the United States Constitution to discuss war, the causes of war, methods of financing war, methods to abolish war, and all other public questions connected with war.

"I was exercising my lawful rights in all that I wrote and published in every word that I spoke from the platform concerning the war," said Berger. "Citizens holding opinions contrary to mine had an equal right to speak and publish their opinions, so that the public might hear both sides.

"Neither I nor my opponents had the moral or the constitutional right to suppress the free utterance of any citizen's opinion with regard to governmental acts and policies which vitally affected the welfare of all citizens."

Although the Socialist-hating officials of the department of justice charged Berger in the indictment with having conspired to interfere with the armed forces of the United States, the Socialist congressman charges that the entire trial proceedings at Chicago conclusively demonstrated that he was not being tried for alleged interference with the armed forces of the United States, but rather for his pronouncement of individual ownership for profit of the socially necessary means for the production and distribution of wealth and the substitution of social ownership, with its consequent indictment, trial, conviction and execution of labor exploitation. It is Berger's impression that the jury which convicted him was dominated by the prevailing psychological of the anti-Socialist and plutocratic forces of the United States. He believed that the time had come, for the continued safety of the capitalist regime, a representative Socialist must be sent to jail. This atmosphere resulted in a jury being picked composed of anti-Socialist retired farmers and real estate owners, who knew about as much regarding the constitutional rights of American citizens and the fundamental principles underlying democratic forms of government as a Hottentot.

"It is significant," said Berger, "that under the espionage act, according to the report of the attorney general himself, not a single man was convicted of being a paid German spy, or even convicted of trying to find out military secrets. So far as there is a record, those accused of such offenses under the espionage act have been either acquitted or interned without imprisonment, because they were not citizens. But American citizens, on the other hand, have been sentenced to as high as twenty years in the penitentiary for remarks made in private conversation about the war.

"The manner in which that unjust and unconstitutional law was used to secure my conviction for a crime which I never committed, or spirit contemplated or committed, was a travesty upon impartial justice—as is the sentence imposed upon me by a sensational and prejudiced judge.

"I doubt if the house of representatives will refuse to send me because of the alleged 'conspiracy' to interfere with the armed forces of the United States with which the indictment charged me. Members of congress know that I am no more guilty of a conspiracy in connection with this war than is Woodrow Wilson.

BERGER FIRST SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN.

Representative Victor Berger is one of the founders of the Socialist Party of America. He was the first Socialist elected to Congress, the voters of his district choosing him as their representative in 1910.

He was nominated by the Socialist Party of the state of Wisconsin as its candidate for United States sen-

REBELLION IN INDIA

By NOMAN THOMAS, Editor "The World Tomorrow."

Figures are dull enough but here are some that ought to stir the most unimaginative among us: India contains some 300,000,000 people. The average per capita income is \$10 per annum. On the basis of prices at the end of 1916, rice sufficient for one meal a day would cost \$10.95 per annum. Taxes on the basis of the new budget average about \$1.40 per capita. Is it any wonder that large sections of the population are living under famine conditions, that between 5,000,000 and 7,000,000,000 of these undernourished people died of influenza, and that 75,000,000 are receiving barely one square meal in two days? This starving people contributes to Imperial Britain in drain of one sort or another for the benefits of administration and interest on capital an amount estimated at from \$100,000,000 to \$200,000,000. Her new budget calls for the expenditure of more than \$200,000,000 on the military—about 48% of the total budget.

These figures give the background of Indian unrest which is today economic even more than political. The Montague-Chelmsford home rule bill will not meet this economic situation. Meanwhile its passage has been held up in Britain while in India no constructive legislation but extremely coercive anti-sedition laws have been passed. In consequence of this miserable situation there have been a series of strikes among the grossly underpaid laborers in British owned industries, and political riots in the leading cities. Finally—and most significant—of all—the hitherto apathetic peasantry have rebelled in district after district not only against British rule, but in favor of the an-

terior in the special election held in April, 1918. Two weeks after his nomination the anti-Socialist agents of the department of justice, thinking they saw a grand opportunity to make political capital out of the espionage law and prevent a large Socialist vote, extracted the indictment from a federal grand jury. But the voters of Wisconsin showed their contempt for this prostitution of a federal law for the purpose of partisan politics by casting 110,000 votes for Berger, the Socialist.

With the indictment and trial still pending, the Socialist Party nominated Berger to represent the Fifth district of Wisconsin in the house of representatives at Washington. Again protesting the federal law to the gutter of anti-Socialist politics, the agents of the department of justice corkscrewed three more indictments out an anti-Socialist federal grand jury in which he was charged with writing Socialist articles explaining the Socialist position on the war and war problems. To cap the climax of broiled anti-Socialist justice, and to "insure" Berger's defeat for congress, the agents of the department of justice had the grand jury return still another indictment in which Berger's plea in his campaign for election to the United States senate was cited in question.

But in spite of all the indictments and in spite of all the clamor of the capitalist papers and the so-called "loyalist" societies, the voters of the Fifth district gave Victor Berger a clear majority of 3,569 over Joseph P. Carey, the Republican with Stafford, Republican, trailing along in the rear with 10,530 ballots to his credit. It is the express election-day mandate of the 17,822 Socialist voters in Berger's district that certain anti-Socialist politicians in the house of representatives should try to permit Berger, Socialist, to take his seat.

In the meantime his right to his seat is recognized by prompt payment of his wages.

Dictatorship of PROLETARIAT

(Continued from first page.)

capitalist press. "The greatest victory the strikers achieved," said James Winning, president of the Trades and Labor Council, "was the choking of the daily press. No greater victory has ever been achieved. There was no vindictiveness in this move, but the press had started its campaign of misrepresentation and it had to be choked." No papers are issued in Winnipeg during the strike except by permission of the strike committees. A press censorship has also been established. No newspaper stories concerning the strike situation are sent out of the city without passing scrutiny of the strikers' committees unless they are carried across the international boundary by train.

The strikers appear to hold the handle of the whip and all indications point to a successful conclusion for the workers. The second great general strike on the American continent will undoubtedly go down in history as a step forward for the American proletariat and will prove an example for the future.

The following article taken from the Nation throws some strong light on the psychology of the working class of the great Dominion to the north. Labor in Canada exhibits a far more revolutionary tendency than can be said of his brother in the U. S. A.

ONE BIG UNION.

(By GORDON GREY.)

The aim of progressive labor men and women in Canada who are voting for organization along industrial

CHICAGO LABOR ORGANIZED FOR MOONEY DEFENSE

CHICAGO LABOR ORGANIZED FOR MOONEY DEFENSE

The conference on the Mooney case held Saturday, April 19th, and called by the Chicago Federation of Labor, filled its meeting hall to overflowing, and resulted in the organization of a permanent Chicago Mooney Defense League. This occurred at the instigation of Secretary E. N. Nockles. Delegates from each Labor Union in Chicago and vicinity, whether affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or not, constitute the league. All are invited. The next regular meeting held May 3, 8 p. m., at the Federation building, 166 West Washington street.

A rousing vote recommending the general protest strike program to be given July 4th, was favored by fifty-five unions to one against. The South Chicago Steel Workers' council, representing 60,000 organized men of the Calumet and adjacent districts, went on record as favoring this general protest strike program to secure justice for labor and free Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

The statement that the legal constitution of that state prevents California from giving Mooney justice and that the adopted constitutions of some of the states contain clauses that prevent labor going on a general strike to get justice for Mooney brought hoots and jeers.

"Suspend the constitution and get justice" was shouted. "We did it in war-time to make the world safe for democracy. Let us do it now to preserve it." was the sentiment that prevailed. Constitutions were made to preserve freedom—not to prevent it.

Thomas H. Tippett, who represented the United Mine Workers, spoke eloquently of Peoria, Illinois. "This is one city in the United States that will protest with a general strike, whether any others do or not. Peoria is 100 per cent American," said Mr. Tippett. "Even our mayor, judges and policemen are for justice to labor and Mooney. Whoever does not favor a square deal must be crooked," is Peoria's philosophy.

Maud McCreery of Milwaukee, one of the women who addressed the National Mooney Labor Congress of last January, lectured the organization committee session, especially on details of the acceptance of the general protest strike in Wisconsin. The rank and file of organized labor is being aroused there and elsewhere as never before.

The Chamber of Commerce in California recently published a pamphlet entitled "The Mooney Case and the Bolsheviks." The Chicago labor body readily accepted the challenge. It is not being scared by any "bugaboos." An increasing number of Mooney Defense Leagues is the answer. They believe in self-government at the hands of the rank and file—whether you call it Democracy or not.

The permanent organization of the Chicago Mooney Defense League elected F. B. Meister, Coopers' Union No. 15, chairman, and A. Johansson, representing the Carpenters' District Council and the International Workers' Defense League, did the honors as secretary. At the time when President Gompers denounced the war, resented his lectures on how they should conduct themselves to prove their loyalty. Even the Toronto Industrial Banner, a labor paper favorable to President Gompers, craft-unionism, and minor reforms, and opposed to industrial unionism and other radical doctrines, attacked the Federation president, while western labor papers printed bitter denunciations of him. Feeling mounted against the politicians at Aitawa. Labor grew less conciliatory; general strikes on a scale unprecedented in North America became frequent and shook Canada to the very foundations. Government employees—the postal workers—went on strike from Montreal to the Pacific coast, and in several large cities completely demoralized the postal service.

This hostility toward the government showed itself at the annual convention of the Dominion Trades and Labor congress held in Quebec in September. Western delegates, who were not numerous because of the distance, clashed with pro-government delegates, but their radical program was defeated. They decided, therefore to hold conference of western labor delegates in Hamilton, a city of Ottawa chosen for the next convention, just prior to the Dominion meeting of the congress next year. Governmental pressure and the signing of the armistice, however, led to a change in this plan. Hardy had the western delegates returned home before a series of extra-

provinces and, to a lesser extent, in her prairie provinces. Class lines are most clearly drawn in British Columbia, the last stopping-off place for native-born and British-born Canadians. These residents of Canada's Far West have an especial familiarity with the progress of events in Australia and New Zealand because Vancouver is the most important port of communication on this continent for Canada's two sister nations.

Certain men, recognizing the failure of advanced social reforms in Australia and New Zealand, began years ago to spread clear-cut Marxist socialist doctrines in British Columbia. They have had a lasting effect on the situation. Formidable strikes of powerful western unions, independent of the American Federation of Labor, and the extensive development at one time of the Industrial Workers of the World in the Pacific coast province, also sowed seeds now ripening in the "One Big Union."

Labor in eastern Canada, however, is not so radical. The nearer a Canadian city is to Washington, D. C., and Indianapolis, the two principal seats of politics within the American Federation of Labor, the more conservative its labor unions are likely to become. The residence in Ontario and Montreal of Canadian members of executive boards and organizers of craft unions also contributes to the "saner" labor viewpoint. This difference between eastern and western thought has been noticeable at annual conventions of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, a legislative body of American Federation of Labor unions in Canada which performs certain functions within the scope of Federation matters. The congress, however, is more radical than the American Federation because a reform Socialist and Labor party element forms a "center" or middle-of-the-road group which crosses swords with the Gompers or ultra-conservative labor faction.

The declaration of war in 1914 opened an era in Canadian labor circles. Canada entered the struggle at its start; the United States did not. Efforts of craft-union officials to keep the United States out of the war naturally made it impossible for officers in Canada to consult them

EUGENE DEBS

A dreamer? yes, a dreamer, but
His dreams are all for you,
He dreams the dreams that nations dream,
And nations' dreams come true;
He dreams the dreams that sowers dream
When sun and rain assure
A field of silken tasseled corn
From seed that must mature.
His ship sails on a sunlit sea—
A tide that never ebbs—
For country, home and liberty,
Come voyage on with Debs.

—Ellis B. Harris.

on problems growing out of the struggle. Small strikes and even general strikes were numerous. The more they saw the power of the general strike-up the more did Canada's union men and women resort to it—and in this defiance of union officials who threatened sympathetic strikers with expulsion.

Two and a half years passed, and the United States entered the war. With its entrance came President Gompers' reversal of established labor policies, his "peace" with open-shop employers, and the acceptance by him and by other labor spokesmen of positions on various political commissions and boards. Canadian workers who paid dues into international headquarters—many of them fathers and brothers of men who had died in battle two or more years before—felt the Gompers war program to be a defeatist labor policy, and, still defiant, continued to strike.

When the United States adopted conscription Canada's government proclaimed labor it would resist in similar action. In December, 1917, however, the Dominion government held a general election on the conscription issue and won by the aid of a "doctored" franchise and solemn promises to farmers that their sons would not be taken. A few months later it began to draft farm boys. This made the farmers join with the union labor men in denunciation of the government. The tillers of the soil sent to Ottawa the largest delegation in Canada's history to protest, but, though practically the delegates were voters, the order to attend a joint session of a deputation of two farmers or to permit them to make five-minute speeches on the floor of the legislative chamber. A few weeks later President Gompers arrived in Ottawa and Canada's senators actually went in a body to the house of commons to order to attend a joint session addressed by him. Influential daily newspapers which denounced Canadian labor men featured his address under screaming headlines, while the Dominion department of labor printed hundreds of thousands of copies of it and distributed them without charge to every section of the country. The aged chief of the Federation also spoke before the Ottawa Trades and Labor assembly, denouncing independent political action.

No one event did more to arouse Canada's workers against their government. Men whose loved ones had died or were detained at the time when President Gompers denounced the war, resented his lectures on how they should conduct themselves to prove their loyalty. Even the Toronto Industrial Banner, a labor paper favorable to President Gompers, craft-unionism, and minor reforms, and opposed to industrial unionism and other radical doctrines, attacked the Federation president, while western labor papers printed bitter denunciations of him. Feeling mounted against the politicians at Aitawa. Labor grew less conciliatory; general strikes on a scale unprecedented in North America became frequent and shook Canada to the very foundations. Government employees—the postal workers—went on strike from Montreal to the Pacific coast, and in several large cities completely demoralized the postal service.

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Clifford and Ruthenberg Held

(Continued from first page.)

a speech made on Market Square a month before the first of May in which he said that the workers of Russia won their freedom by organizing in the industries and that the German workers were following the same road, and that even in England the shop stewards movement was showing that the road to emancipation lay along the same path, and urged the workers to organize in the industries and form a workmen's council. The only other speech quoted from was made as chairman of the Scott Nearing meeting at Acme Hall, in which Ruthenberg urged those present to remain away from work on May Day and join in the demonstration to make it a "red letter" day for the workers.

Nothing in any of the speeches quoted even remotely suggested any violence. The speeches urged the education of the workers through aggressive propaganda and the organization of their power and argued that when a MAJORITY accepted the ideal the Socialists advocated, the new society would come into existence.

Yet in the desperate attempt to saddle responsibility for the savagery displayed on May Day by those who attacked the Socialists upon the Socialist organization, the attempt is being made to railroad Clifford and Ruthenberg to prison on the basis of these speeches.

In regard to what happened on May Day, it was brought out by the evidence of the prosecution's own witnesses that the violence on May Day was begun by men from a Victory Loan truck, who tried to wrest a red flag from a soldier who carried it at the head of the parade.

"A Prison Is the Only House in a Slave State Where a Free Man Can Abide With Honor."--Thoreau