

Some Day Labor, When It Strikes, Will Not Walk Out Of The Factory But Will Stay In The Factory

The Ohio Socialist

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Withdraw American Troops From Russia Socialist Demand

(Special Correspondence)
Chicago, Jan. 28.—Withdrawal of American troops from Russia and the recognition by the United States government of the Russian Soviet Republic is again demanded by the American Socialist Party in resolutions adopted by the party national executive committee in session here.

The demand is made at this time in the name of democracy, in the interest of world peace, in the interests of the Russian workers and in the name of international decency and fair play.

This campaign against intervention in Russia, which has been carried more than a year by the Socialist Party until it is now being supported by many non-Socialist elements in the country, is renewed with the following declaration:

"The Socialist Party again protests against the use of troops in Russia and demands the immediate withdrawal of all American and American armies from that country. The Soviet government of Russia is so far the greatest achievement in the establishment of working class government in the history of the world. It should not only be permitted to develop unhindered, but should receive the encouragement and support of the workers in all countries."

"Russia has been cut off from communication with the outside world. It has been interned by nations professing to be democratic. Plots, counter-revolutions, intrigue, wholesale lying by a mercenary press, and invasion of territory have not shaken the affection of the Russian masses for the Soviet government. No other government in all history has survived such tests of stability.

"Despite these facts, press accounts report from day to day the co-operation of allied troops with old Czarist generals for the restoration of order in Russia. The German armies invaded Russia with the same cry for their justification. Thousands of Russian workers and peasants killed in this enterprise at the same time as we are assured that the United States is not at war with Russia.

"While this program proceeds Russian representatives of the old czarist regime carry on their reactionary propaganda here for the overthrow of the Soviet government. Some of them frankly state that the property of the former landed junkers is to be restored, thus reducing the peasants to their former servitude. Monarchist generals and black reactionaries conduct this propaganda in the United States through the friends of the Russian masses and their government are denied a hearing.

Demand Wilson Act on Denial of Passports

(Special Correspondence)
Chicago.—Application filed to President Woodrow Wilson has been made by the Socialist Party for passports for its delegates to the International Socialist and Labor Congress to be held at Bern, Switzerland. This action was taken when the bureaucrats of the state department at Washington had announced that passports to the Socialist Party delegates, Algernon Lee of New York city, James O'Neal of Brooklyn, and John M. Work of Chicago, would not be granted.

Under instructions from the Socialist Party National Executive Committee, Adolph Germer, National Secretary, sent a cablegram addressed to President Wilson at Paris, France, as follows:

"Socialist Party elected three delegates to International Socialist and Labor Conference. British Labor Party and French Socialist Party urge representation of American Socialist Party. State Department refuses passports. We protest against the discrimination and appeal to you to act."

The same cablegram was sent to J. Ramsay MacDonald of the British Independent Labor Party, and Jean Longuet, spokesman of the French Socialist Party, in addition to Camille Huysmans, secretary of the International Socialist Bureau at Brussels, Belgium, with the information that the cable had been sent to President Wilson.

These messages are, of course, subject to the American cable censorship, which may prevent even this communication with the Socialists of the United States and those of Europe.

The Socialist Party National Office received its first word that the passports had been denied in a telegram from Algernon Lee in New York city. Lee wired that he had received word from Socialist Congressman Meyer London, who had called personally at the State Department that the department had notified Lee by mail that his passport had been turned down. Lee had not yet received the letter.

Later—the campaign being directed from the National Office of the Socialist Party here took a new turn today when Adolph Germer, National Secretary, received a wire from Algernon Lee, of New York city, one of the delegates, the effect of which the State Department claims it has not definitely turned down the Socialist applications for passports.

Lee's telegram is based on information received from Socialist Congress-

"This is a reversal of all American traditions. This country has always claimed to be an asylum for the oppressed and refugees of all nations, not as a field for the activities of foreign reactionaries.

"Castro, the Venezuelan dictator, was not permitted to plot in this country for the return of his dictatorship. The assassin, Huerta, attempting a similar coup in Mexico from this country, died a prisoner of the United States government.

"In 1900, the masses of this country turned the Federalist Party out of office for its lack of sympathy for the French Revolution. On the other hand, Kosciusko, the Polish revolutionist, and other exiles, were always welcomed in this country.

"Today, the reactionaries propose to bayonet and starve the Russian Revolution. This shameless proposal means a reversal of the historic attitude of the American people.

"In January, 1918, President Wilson said, 'The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome in the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire.' The treatment accorded Russia by the sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy."

"Why should American soldiers be used to recover the gold of British, French and American bankers, loaned to the former czar to pay his hanged Russian workers and peasants killed in this enterprise at the same time as we are assured that the United States is not at war with Russia.

"Why should American boys shed their blood to restore the monarchy or recover the losses of the former ruling classes of Russia.

"Withdraw the troops from Russia! Abolish the censorship which prevents the free news and encourages wholesale lying about Russia. Refuse to cooperate with the Kolchak, the Semenov, the Denikins and other monarchist generals of the old bloody regime. Recognize the Russian Soviet Republic.

"We demand this in the name of democracy, in the interest of world peace, in the interest of the Russian workers and in the name of international decency and fair play."

"This is a very peculiar position to take," declares National Secretary Germer. "I wonder if the State Department was so anxious to learn about the conference that Gompers, Spring and Russell claimed they were going to attend. The passports should be granted irrespective of whether this conference will be held next week or next month, at Lausanne or at Bern, Switzerland."

Scottish Workers to Have Daily Papers

London, Jan. 28.—The Scottish Independent Labor Party, held during the first week in January, decided to organize a daily press of its own throughout Scotland. The Christian Science Monitor reports J. Ramsay MacDonald as saying: "The Labor Party must have a daily press of their own in London, Glasgow and elsewhere." He said that before many weeks they would have a daily paper in London, and he predicted that at the next election they must have 560 instead of 360 candidates, and contest practically every seat in the country.

Mr. MacDonald stated that there was city after city in Scotland which the Independent Labor Party would win directly the coalition began to break up, and a little more educational work had been done.

The Independent Labor Party has made considerable advance in Scotland since 1910.

PLIGHT OF THE AMERICAN WORKING MAN
We struggle all day today—so we can live long enough to struggle all day tomorrow.
G. F. MUELLER.
Gallion, O.

Fight for New Trial for Five Chicago Socialists Continued

(Special Correspondence)
Chicago, Jan. 28.—Judge Landis today continued the hearing on the motion for a new trial for the five National Socialist Party officials, Congressman-elect Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, Irwin St. John Tucker and William F. Kruse, until Saturday morning at 10 o'clock.

All indications up to the present have been that the motion for a new trial would be turned down without question, and that sentences upon the five Socialists would be immediately imposed. This had resulted in the stage again being set for the "big court room," with an army of newspaper men present, and crowds of Socialists being turned away for lack of accommodations.

The continuance of the arguments would now indicate, however, that there will be a real struggle for a new trial, and that the added time is being used for preparation. The attorneys for the Socialists are making good use of the time allowed to prepare the case for appeal to the higher courts.

Landis Calls Berger Jury to Sift Scandal

Chicago, Jan. 25.—A sweeping investigation of alleged irregularities in the jury deliberations in the recent trial of Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, Wm. Kruse, J. Louis Engdahl and Irwin Tucker, who were convicted on charges of violating the espionage law, will be made tomorrow by Federal Judge Landis.

Subpoenas have been served on the twelve members of the jury which heard the case, and they will appear before Judge Landis at 10 a. m. The hearing was ordered on the plea of the defense, which claims to have in its possession an affidavit sworn to by Thomas C. Nixon, an inventor, 4888 North Monticello avenue, who was a member of the jury, and who is said to have alleged that prejudicial remarks against the defendants were made by certain jurors and a deputy marshal during the progress of the trial.

"Bombs" Prepared by Defense.
Rumors concerning a sensational development in the case have been in circulation at the federal building for several days, and with the issuance of subpoenas today it became known that the attorneys for the defense were preparing to explode a bomb in their effort to obtain a new trial, a motion for which will be heard after the investigation.

Yesterday Attorneys William A. Cunnea and Henry Cochems, representing Berger and his co-defendants, Irwin St. John Tucker and William F. Kruse, Adolph Germer and J. Louis Engdahl, appeared before Judge Landis and offered a copy of Nixon's affidavit. An inquiry was ordered immediately by the judge.

Judge Landis, District Attorney Charles F. Clyne and Attorneys Cunnea and Cochems refused to discuss the coming inquiry beyond admitting the truth of the report.

"I am sorry the investigation became known before it had actually begun," said Judge Landis. "I had hoped for little publicity on the matter. There may be nothing to the charges and there may be a great deal."

Deputy Marshal Involved.
Juror Nixon, in his affidavit, is said to have charged that certain other jurors made derogatory remarks against the defense during the course of the trial, and that a deputy marshal who had access to the jury was outspoken in his prejudice against the Socialists. Other jurors refused to discuss the case. Some charged they had been "hounded" by agents of the defense since the close of the trial.

Japan Socialists Issue Manifesto

Socialists Issue Manifesto.
The Socialist Party of Japan, according to "Le Populaire," has issued a manifesto in the form of an address to the Council of Soviets in Russia. In the course of this manifesto the Executive Committee makes the following statement:

"All of our attention is given to the progress of the Russian Revolution and it is with profound sympathy that we observe the vigorous advance of the Russian proletariat—an advance which produces an ineffable impression on the soul of the Japanese people.

"We are full of indignation against the methods of the Japanese government, which, under one unimportant pretext or another, sends its troops out to Siberia in order to check the free development of the Russian Revolution. We regret very much not having enough organization to ward off the present danger which menaces you on the part of our imperialists. But you may be persuaded that, although persecuted as we are today by the government, the flag of liberty will float some day over Japan.

Meet Labor Party With Common Sense

(Special Correspondence)
By J. LOUIS ENGDALL.
Chicago.—Pointing out that Labor Party movement springing up in different parts of the country are mere expressions of the radicalism of the times, the Socialist Party National Executive Committee, in session here, urges all Socialists everywhere to use common sense instead of prejudice in meeting this new development.

The statement issued by the Socialist Party Executive Committee on this question in full is as follows:

"The formation of labor parties in several of the larger cities has aroused the interest of members of the Socialist Party. This new political party, an expression of the radicalism of the times as well as a protest against the conservatism of the American Federation of Labor, may lead to other industrial centers. In view of this possibility, we, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, remind every Socialist Party member of the fact that the National Constitution of the Socialist Party forbids members from joining any other political organization.

"2. That endorsement of any other political organization by any member or subdivision of the Socialist Party is equally prohibited.

"3. That even though the new labor party may proclaim in favor of industrial democracy, may enunciate the fact of the class struggle and may profess internationalism, the fact of its being an organization has shown that they must be judged by their deeds rather than their promises.

"Socialist Party members are asked to view this new political venture in the light of the fact that it is the persistent and uncompromising attitude of the Socialist Party, together with the sweep of late events, which accounts for the radical expressions in Labor Party platforms. It is only by continuing our position and economic interpretation of events that we can hope to organize the workers so they will not only declare for industrial democracy, but will act through the Socialist Party to gain this goal.

"On the other hand, our members must realize the utility of destructive criticism of the new labor party. Where the labor party is dominated by old party politicians and the party platform is not in line with the labor party, but where it is a rank and file movement, declaring for independent political action, based upon the class struggle, we must refrain from criticism which would reflect in the eyes of the workers. We must maintain an open mind, and a philosophical attitude toward this new political manifestation. In times like these a measure of common sense instead of prejudice because of common party platform is in the political field, should rule us.

"Middle and West Europe is ablaze with revolution; Great Britain is making strides toward Socialism; unrest and dissatisfaction in fast rising in Russia. We are living through the labor pains of an industrial democracy. Times such as these may give rise to a new party in this country. Socialist in all but name; but unless such a party is able to handle the advance guards of labor's forces upon the political field, only by this method can we hope to educate all workers in the use of the political party, and which are absolutely essential to the winning of the world for the workers."

Gov't. Ownership Success in Queensland

Queensland, Australia, has tried government ownership of public utilities, and finds it an unqualified success. The Queensland Minister for Railways is now in the United States on a tour of inspection of the American Railway System. His mission is to inquire into the methods of management of railroads under government control," said the minister as reported in the Christian Science Monitor.

"The policy of the government of which I am a member is the nationalization of all public utilities, and although the war with all its manifold problems has diverted us somewhat from our activities, we are yet moving gradually toward our objective. The minister goes on to explain that the government in Queensland owns the whole railway system, conducts State Saving Banks, a State Commercial Bank, and State Fire, Life and Marine Insurance companies.

The government also has purchased several cattle stations. In the centers of population the government conducts a large number of retail butcher shops. The government also handles the sugar producing state of Australia. The government has set up many modern sugar mills in order to stabilize the industry, and to prevent the introduction of cheap labor. The state is opening an iron producing plant and expects to make steel within the next year. The state is also prospecting for oil. The government operates a steamship line that has its own coal mines, its own saw mills and performs all of its own public work. The state's coal mines, however, throw an interesting sidelight upon some of the things that they are trying to do.

Socialist Party Backs Fight to Free Mooney

(Special Correspondence)
Chicago, Jan. 22.—Hearty co-operation with the aims of the recent National Mooney Labor Congress held in this city has been voted today by the Socialist Party National Executive Committee.

This puts the Socialist movement directly back of that great part of the labor movement that is actively struggling to secure justice for Mooney, even to the calling of a general strike on July 4, to force his liberation from prison.

Immediate steps will be taken by the Socialist Party to launch a national movement for the unconditional liberation of all war prisoners at once. One of the plans provided for the calling of an Amnesty Congress to be held in Chicago, May 1, with delegates present from all organizations interested in securing amnesty for all those imprisoned because of their political, industrial and religious views.

The National Office of the Socialist Party will get in touch with all organizations that can be interested in this great campaign, when a general call will be issued on behalf of all prisoners. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party feels assured that such a congress will call together from 2,000 to 3,000 delegates from every section of the land.

The National Executive Committee has a resolution demanding amnesty for political prisoners as follows:

"Political Prisoners.
"The Socialist Party calls attention to the atrocious wrong done to the war dissenters and those representing minority opinions in this country.

Babson's Warning to Big Business

Roger W. Babson, head of Babson's Statistical Organization, Inc., which furnishes reports to merchants, bankers and investors, has sent out a "Barometer Letter," in which the lessons of the war are discussed. This letter raises the question, "Shall we all voluntarily give up something, or shall we all run the risk of losing everything?"

The answer, Babson tells his business clientele, depends upon whether or not we are willing to profit by the real lesson of the war. If we are willing to let the bulk of manual workers of this country peacefully retain the prestige and privileges which the war has given them, we are willing to run the risk of the interest of the producers of property rather than the inheritors of property, then we can head off disaster. If, however, the financial and business interests of the United States and Allied nations are to be maintained, we must be prepared to meet a pre-war economic conditions then there surely will follow an explosion."

International Labor News

EDITORS: Louis P. Lochner, Scott Nearing, Santeri Nuorteva, Alexander Trautenberg

ENGLAND Labor Party Urges Government to Keep Factories

The British Labor Party has taken a vigorous stand in its comment on the fact that even should the trade unions make an effort to take over the factories and manage them, they would very easily be discredited by their failure to secure raw materials and to obtain markets. Workshop control is only a small part of modern business. The trade unions controlling the shops would be helpless in the hands of the bankers, producers of raw material and marketers of the product they created. "The Nation" warns the unions that any attempt to follow the suggestion of the "Times" is bound to fail. It further suggests that the "Times" desires this failure in order to discredit the work of the Labor Party.

CANADA Labor Protest Censorship

The Alberta Federation of Labor at its recent convention, decided that it would call for a general strike within 60 days unless all censorship laws are repealed. The convention was also unanimous in its demand that Thomas Shannon, a miner who was convicted for having forbidden literature in his possession, be released at once. Other Canadian unions in Toronto and Ontario have taken action to secure the release of several of their members who have been convicted and sentenced, in one case to three years in the penitentiary, for having Socialist literature in their possession.

LABOR WINS POLITICAL VICTORY

The Hamilton Independent Labor Party recently elected one commissioner, two comptrollers, five aldermen and one school trustee, by large majorities. The Labor Party lost only

"In comparison with the punishments for these alleged offenses in the late atrocity of Germany, the practice in this country has been ferocious. Men and women expressing even minority political opinions that were freely permitted in France and England, have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from five to twenty years.

"In view of the workers republics rising in Europe and the decline of autocracy in other parts of the world, the Socialist Party demands complete amnesty for all political prisoners. It demands this for all such prisoners regardless of their political, religious or economic views whether they be known as Republican, Democrat, Socialist, Anarchist, Non-Partisan League, Industrial Workers of the World, Pacifist, Christian Pacifist, Conscientious Objector, or by any other title.

The Socialist Party, as the political representative of labor in this country, demands the release of all such prisoners and their return to the society of their fellows not only as a measure of justice to them, but as a partial atonement for the violation of fundamental constitutional guarantees. The suppression of these minority opinions by unconstitutional means, such as violence and war hysteria, means a disgrace to all our professions of "democracy" and will ever remain such in view of enlightened mankind.

Amnesty for these victims is one of the supreme issues of the present and the United States cannot be considered as again a member of the progressive nations of the world until this measure of tardy justice has been accomplished.

Marine Council Formed in Gulf State

Delegates from all the gulf states met in New Orleans on January 2 to form a Gulf District Marine Council of the various organized craft engaged in building ships. Approximately one hundred delegates representing 10,000 men were in attendance.

After acknowledging that he was a Bolshevik "from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet," Debs protested against Postmaster General Burleson's action in barring from the mails literature written by Nicholas Lenine, Bolshevik leader in Russia, whom Debs termed "the greatest of European statesmen."

Debs Scorns His Sentence

"Debs spoke with scorn of the ten-year sentence hanging over his head. "I have not loved the capitalist system, but I don't hate its victims," Debs said. "I went to Cleveland the other day and took by the hand the man who sent me to jail, and I felt sorry for him. He didn't know; it was his misfortune."

"I got my ten years for telling them they would rather have the kaiser than see the working class rule. "I am liable to be accused of stirring up class hatred, and get ten years for it. I don't care. My little liberty—what does that matter? A sentence to the pen for ten years doesn't thwart me. I can go there and be perfectly serene, but I couldn't go if I couldn't look myself in the face and being too cowardly for inviting the sentence."

Love for Lincoln

He likened himself to Lincoln, pointing out that both the martyred president and himself loved the common people.

"They murdered Lincoln," said Debs. "I got only ten years. I don't look up to king, politician, priest or preacher; I look up to the working class—that beautiful class in which I was born. A class with dirty faces, but clean hearts, rough hands, but tender souls—the class that has fed and sheltered the race through all the ages.

MEXICO Labor Law Enacted

Mexico has secured a number of important labor laws, according to "The Carpenter." Wages and working conditions were extremely bad at the beginning of the present Mexican administration. The situation has been remedied by the enactment of a code of labor laws which at first seemed drastic, but which are now proving highly satisfactory. At present, workmen take so much interest in governmental affairs that much of the legislation proposed is suggested by the labor organizations of Sonora, Vera Cruz, Puebla, Yucatan, and other states.

ENGLAND Miners Demand Six-Hour Day

A report from London announces that the Southport Miners' Federation has unanimously adopted a resolution demanding that the miners in the British army be demobilized immediately, and be given employment. The resolution also asks that those disabled in the war receive the wages which they would have earned if they had not been injured. The concluding paragraph of the resolution demands that a six-hour day be substituted for the present eight-hour day.

Debs at Toledo

By THOS. C. DEVINNE.
An intense and dramatic movement was experienced by the audience that filled Memorial hall, Toledo, to the floor, Jan. 2, to hear Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist leader. Hours before the meeting opened the hall was filled and a second hall in the same building was secured and filled in a few moments with an eager and expectant crowd. Hundreds were turned away unable to get inside the building. Many police were present but no disturbance occurred, the audience waiting patiently for Debs to make his appearance. Many returned soldiers in uniform were scattered throughout the hall and helped girl ushers in taking a collection.

As Comrade Debs stepped upon the platform a beautiful girl, carrying red carnations, accompanied by her sweetheart in uniform walked to the platform. The soldier stood at attention while the flowers were presented to the beloved Debs.

A dramatic moment ensued. An intense silence seized the great audience as it gazed with tear-dimmed eyes upon the victory of the champion of the working class receiving this tender homage. One thought seemed to hold all minds—that the things which the capitalist class and its hireling press has told of Debs' utterances and purposes were blackest lies. "Car" dimmed the eyes of the audience while Debs' own eyes were notice to weep with affection, and love.

"Taking the girl by the hand and with his other upon the shoulder of the soldier, Debs said: 'I have stood upon this same platform many times. Here I met your Golden Rule Mavor and at other times many others—but nothing has ever touched me so deeply as this. I know that you boys have suffered. Something of how your mothers have waited patiently and longed for a word from over there. This is a beautiful thing, to meet you here tonight, and of all the pleasant memories of my life this moment I believe will be the longest—and remain as fresh as these beautiful flowers, and not only while I live, but at my death and after—yes, after—your fragrance will remain."

The applause was spontaneous and prolonged. The audience seemed to take relief in giving vent to its heartfelt approval in cheer after cheer.

One of the Toledo daily papers reported the meeting as follows:

Laurel Line.
After acknowledging that he was a Bolshevik "from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet," Debs protested against Postmaster General Burleson's action in barring from the mails literature written by Nicholas Lenine, Bolshevik leader in Russia, whom Debs termed "the greatest of European statesmen."

"In the name of the Socialist Party as I stand here on public trial, I protest against the censorship of free speech, free assembly and free press," Debs shouted.

Scorns His Sentence.
"Debs spoke with scorn of the ten-year sentence hanging over his head. "I have not loved the capitalist system, but I don't hate its victims," Debs said. "I went to Cleveland the other day and took by the hand the man who sent me to jail, and I felt sorry for him. He didn't know; it was his misfortune."

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THEY'LL GO FAST YOU'LL WANT ONE INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

(Continued on page 2)

The Woman's Cause

A DEPARTMENT FOR WOMEN WHO THINK.

The Mother of Humanity

By LAURA JIM REYNOLDS
(Written for The Ohio Socialist)

PART V

As Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were recalling the London convention they were joined by the sister of Lucretia, Martha C. Wright, attired in a unassuming, yet characteristic costume of the Quaker, and Mary McClintock, an embryo modern woman suffragist and early advocate that colleges admit women students. These four adroit spirits were even more astounded at their daring in issuing a call for a woman's convention to discuss woman's problems.

The social forces of history had reached a stage of development which necessitated a break with the narrow ideas prevalent at that day and it is to the glory and credit of this quartette that they were the first to feel this need and act upon it.

Eight years after the meeting in London Lucretia Mott again saw her young friend Elizabeth. Gathering around the table with Mrs. Wright and Mrs. McClintock, they energetically returned to the topic of "the propriety of holding a woman's convention." Never realizing the gigantic task they were undertaking, unaware that from the political field this movement must invade the industrial lives of women, the quartette naively announced to an unsuspecting world that "a convention to discuss the social, civil and religious conditions and rights of women was to be held within five days."

Four little women, sipping tea and eating cake, not only created a tempest of wrath that was to whirl around them, but set in motion a movement that was destined to sweep to the outermost ends of the earth.

The call was issued. The four had a declaration of rights to draft and must find some grievance. Having good, kind, broadminded men, they had no personal grievances. The unjust man-made laws had not left their brutal mark on them. They knew that woman's lot was not what it should be. There were grievances that were being endured by many of their less fortunate sisters.

After much delay one of the circle took up the Declaration of Independence and read it aloud with much spirit and emphasis, and it was at once decided to adopt the historic document, with some slight changes such as substituting "all men" for "King George." Knowing that women must have more to complain of than men under any circumstances possibly could have and seeing the fathers had serious grievances, a protracted search was made through statute books, church usages and the customs of society to find the exact number. Several well disposed men (yes, they accepted men's help) assisted in collecting the grievances until, with the announcement of the eighteenth, the women felt they had enough to go before the world with a good case. One youthful lord remarked, "Your grievances must be grievous indeed when you are obliged to go to books in order to find them out."

Thus was woman's declaration of woman's rebellion against old usages and customs framed. They declared, "woman is man's equal—as intended to be by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such," and "that the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they have no longer publish their degradation

by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want," and, therefore, "it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise."

The convention was a big success and many signatures to the declaration were obtained. When the press heralded accounts of the convention a storm of ridicule and abuse descended upon the signers. The same old tirades that we now hear against the Socialists, W. W. and the Bolsheviks were hurled at this courageous little band of determined women. "Visionary!" "Impossible!" "Long haired agitators!" "Short haired women seeking notoriety!" "Women out of their lattitude!" "Reign of petticoats!" "Blue stocking effusion!" Such were the dignified comments of the brainy class then in power. The church denounced them as lost virgins forevermore.

Mrs. Stanton's father, Judge Cady, journeyed hastily to his daughter, thinking she had gone insane, and the judge exclaimed, "I wish you had waited until I was under the sod before you had done this foolish thing." The daughter coolly replied, "Ah, sir, don't you remember how you used to give me law books to read in order that I might have something sensible to say to your friends? It was reading those law books that I found out the injustice of our American laws known anything on the subject except for yourself."

One paper decided that after six thousand years the women, if they had rights "would set the world by the ears." An editor whose geology was of the six thousand years' variety couldn't be expected to endorse a progressive idea. Besides, the old world needed its ears "set by" if it was ever to notice women.

A sturdy woman emerged from one of the larger groups and smilingly confessed that when she read of the convention it had "startled and amused her and she laughed heartily at the novelty and presumption of the family had attended the convention and considered it a great forward movement. They explained its object to her. She had taken part in the temperance cause by speaking publicly for it, and now as her folks expounded the woman's rights doctrine she became a convert to "Votes for Women." This Unseen Worker was Susan B. Anthony.

(Chapter V continued next week.)

NEVER DO THIS

Never write the names of subscribers you get for this paper into a letter or mix them in any way with other business. You may have to transact with the State Office.

ALWAYS write the names of subscribers upon a separate sheet of paper or better still, upon one of our subscription blanks, any number of which will be mailed you upon request.

We will thank you for complying with this request. You will save us much work if you will always do as we here ask.

Workers Will Pay Damages

Attorneys and officials of an American railroad have discovered a new and very promising method of covering up losses and adding to profits. They have sued one of their workmen to recover damages for a railroad wreck in which he was involved. The Pittsburgh and Lake Erie Railroad Company has brought suit against one of its locomotive engineers, Kleitz by name, to recover \$30,585.14. The railroad alleges that Kleitz was negligent in that he ran at high speed past a "caution" block signal, crashed into a train ahead of him and killed two men.

The incident is reported in "Bradstreet's" for December 28, with this comment:

"The new line of conduct presented in the case of the railroad company is founded on a desire to obtain remuneration for losses sustained and in order to teach other employees to be duly careful."

Rent-Interest and Profit

More than three-quarters of the income which goes to the rich people of the United States is in the form of rent, interest and profit. The United States Department of Internal Revenue has just published a summary of Statistics of Income based on the income figures for 1916. At that time there were 429,401 people who received "taxable" incomes. That is, incomes in excess of \$200 for single persons and \$4,000 for married persons. The total amount of "gross" income received by these people was \$8,350,000,000. One-fifth of this total was income from personal services, either in the form of salaries or of professional fees. Three-tenths was income from business in the form of profits. The remainder (46%) was "income from property," divided as follows:—Rents \$602,000,000; Interest \$668,000,000; Dividends \$136,000,000. These three items with certain miscellaneous incomes from property brought the total in this class up to \$3,861,000,000.

People with the smaller incomes received three-quarters of their income from personal services and from business profits. People with the higher incomes received one-third of their income from personal service and business profits and two-thirds from property. In the case of those individuals having incomes between \$500,000 and \$1,000,000 a year (there were 376 of them) the division was as follows: \$11,500,000 in salaries and \$94,000,000 in business profits; \$8,000,000 in rents; \$2,136,000 in interest and \$136,000,000 as dividends. The total income from property of these 376 persons was \$200,000,000.

It Costs \$1,800 Year to Live

Recent investigations by the War Labor Board and by the United States Department of Labor point to the conclusion that a workers' family of five, consisting of a man, his wife and three children, needs in the neighborhood of \$1,800 to maintain a decent standard of living.

Frank P. Walsh in a speech made in New York City recently stated that the War Labor Board has reached the conclusion that \$34.80 a week was the minimum unskilled labor wage which would provide decent living.

The same standard is set by Dr. Royal Meeker, head of the Bureau of Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, in an address before the recent Public Health Conference. Dr. Meeker stated that investigations clearly showed that a really decent standard of living for a family of five cannot be maintained for less than \$1,875 a year and perhaps it cannot be maintained on less than \$1,800. Dr. Meeker claimed, however, that the ordinary working family in a large majority of cases falls very far below this standard and as a result is compelled to adopt a standard of living which threatens the health of individual members of the family.

Protest Against Child Labor

The National Child Labor Committee has issued an appeal to the American people to set aside January 25, 26, 27, as days of protest against the existence of Child Labor. Franklin D. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, is urging the observance of these Child Labor days. Recent investigations have shown a greatly increased number of child workers in the factories and mines of the United States. This has been particularly true since the Child Labor Law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Very Neat Indeed!

To avoid widespread industrial disaster, payment of \$1,650,000,000 is asked of congress. This money to be paid to war profiteers in settlement of obligations entered into with the government in "good faith." War contracts had to be cancelled because the war ended, unfortunately, and now the profiteers are arguing against losing this sum.

In the meantime, a bill is pending in congress to give the soldiers, the many young men who staked their lives, a pittance of six months additional wages—\$180 each. Draw your own conclusion.

Minimum Wage for Women \$13.20. The Washington Industrial Welfare Commission has fixed \$13.20 as the minimum wage for any woman over 18 years of age who is engaged in any occupation, trade or industry throughout the state during the period of the war. This order is based upon recommendations made by a War Emergency Conference held in August, 1918, and in November.

The working women of Washington are asking whether they will now be expected to live on less than \$13.20. The war is ended but the cost of living is higher than ever.

Child Labor Permits Increase. The children's bureau of the Department of Labor at Washington announces that permits issued to children 12 and 14 years old in the District of Columbia, because of poverty, were greater in number this year by 285% than last year. These permits are granted by the juvenile court upon proof of need.

BAKER SAYS "GET BUSY"

We ask, are there locals so out of touch with transpiring events that they fail to see the opportunities which are at hand for organizations more virile and numerically stronger than we have ever had before?

Every local in the state that has braved the persecution of the opposition has come out of the war with colors flying. These locals have established themselves in the hearts and minds of the workers of the cities and are looked up to as leaders in revolutionary thought and action.

Reports come into the state office day after day, which state that meetings held lately have been surprisingly large. In many instances they could not be packed into two halls, and thousands have been turned away.

"I find, since I have been on tour, that everything is ripe for successful organization work and Socialist victories this fall. The field is ready for dozens of speakers and organizers. People who never were troubled with a thought before are now thinking hard," writes Chas. Baker.

"All that locals need to do is to advertise a meeting and advertise it thoroughly. Crowds will flock to it for everybody wants to know more about Socialism and everybody is talking about this topic."

"The Lorain Socialists have decided to arrange a meeting for Debs. These comrades have been inactive for a long time but now see that the time has come for propaganda work. The movement in Lorain is ready to boom."

"In Steubenville I had a fine meeting. The attendance was small, for it was called mainly for reorganization purposes. The Steubenville Socialists decided to have another meeting within a month and until then will get subscriptions and reinstate members. At Niles I had two good meetings, one in the afternoon and one in the early evening. The comrades at Niles know how and have had, in the last two months, the largest meetings ever held in the city."

"Was called to Youngstown the same evening I spoke in Niles and there addressed a packed hall until 10.20. At Bellaire the meeting more than paid for itself, several applications for membership were received and subscription cards sold. There are some extra good rebels here and the movement will hear from them."

"The audience at Byesville numbered about a hundred. This was the first meeting in over a year. The Byesville Socialists realize that our hour has arrived."

"Right now is the opportune time to gather the many Socialists capitalism has made into the fold. Locals that are inactive are missing the chance of their lives. Awaken to your duties! Get into harness!"

Meetings In Ohio

Overflow meetings are reported from all quarters. Locals that have called the bluff of the jingoes and laughed at the ravings of the capitalist press; locals that have kept up a steady propaganda campaign, are now reaping their just reward.

Meetings scheduled for the next few weeks follow:

CHAS. BAKER. Charles Baker, state organizer, is billed to speak in the following cities: Ravenna, Feb. 3; Cleveland, Feb. 4; Sandusky, Feb. 5; Toledo, Feb. 6; Lima, Feb. 7; Piqua, Feb. 8; Columbus, Feb. 9; Xenia, Feb. 10; Alpha, Feb. 11; Miamisburg, Feb. 12; Middletown, Feb. 13; New Bremen, Feb. 14; Conroy, Feb. 15; Indianapolis and Anderson, Ind., Feb. 16.

C. E. RUTHENBERG. C. E. Ruthenberg is scheduled to speak in Toledo, Feb. 9, and in Columbus, Feb. 13.

SCOTT KING. Big meetings are being arranged for Scott King at four points in Ohio next month. Nearing has written for Ohio would be available after May 1. His February dates in this state are: Canton, Feb. 13; Dayton, Feb. 14; Cleveland, Feb. 16, afternoon; Youngstown, Feb. 16, evening.

GEO. R. KIRKPATRICK. The State Office is in communication with Kirkpatrick with a view of securing him for a tour of the entire state. His February dates are: Akron, Feb. 8; Cleveland, Feb. 9; Youngstown, Feb. 10.

L. E. KATTEFERD. L. E. Katterfeld, member of the National Executive Committee and experienced organizer, will give ten days to intensive organization work in this state. He will work in the following places: Belmont county, Feb. 5, 6 and 7; Guernsey county, Feb. 8 and 9; Miami county, Feb. 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14.

A motion is now before the State Executive Committee to employ H. L. Holman, formerly of Texas, for organization work in the state. W. R. Snow is expected to begin his tour of the state in the near future. Other speakers and organizers will be engaged to supply the increasing demand for field workers.

BRAIN TEASERS

By TOM J. LEWIS.

The bullets that ended the careers of our two comrades, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, are but messages to the rising proletariat to beware of all compromisers, reactionaries and advocates of capitalist law and order.

The struggle for supremacy between the two world forces, "Capitalism and Socialism," is on. The advocates and apologists for capitalism are trying to retain the old subdivision of peoples on national lines, also religious and political. But the class struggle looms greater each day with the result, it is uniting the workers into an international body, thereby eliminating race, creed or color divisions and exposing the nature of things in the evolutionary process, which demands organization of the forces antagonistic to each other determined by their material interest, since the close of the national war. The class war is now in its ascendancy, overshadowing all other battles, so from now on there will be but two nations. The workers and the capitalists, Capitalism and Socialism at grips.

The workers are to reap again as the result of promises. A stricken world loaded down with misery and job hunting, owing to the growing unemployment army. Such is the world when made safe for democracy.

Workersmen compete for jobs. Business men compete for trade. Capitalists compete for markets. God and the devil compete for souls. Just an economic reflection, that's all!

"Work for the night is coming" if you have a job; go on and keep working, so the boss can continue to rob.

Troubles never come single. How can they? Don't you know they are married and have a large family and their names are legion?

Seattle Laborites Propose Labor Bank

The Central Labor Council of Seattle is promoting the organization of a banking institution to be known as the Trades Union Savings and Loan Association. The board of directors will be composed of a member of each of the unions holding stock. An effort is being made to interest the grange, farmers unions and other friendly organizations in the new venture.

This scheme of the Seattle laborites is not a novelty. The Finnish workers in America, for instance, have for years maintained a bank at Fitchburg, Mass., which successfully finances all enterprises of the Finnish workers.

Fertilizer From Government at Cost

The Secretary of Agriculture has announced, that under the authority of the food-control act and subsequent legislation, the Department of Agriculture during the coming season, will offer nitrate of soda for sale to farmers for fertilizer use. The nitrate will be sold for cash at cost. The price to the farmers will be \$81 a short ton, free on board cars at the loading point or port. In addition, the farmer will have to pay the freight charges to unloading point and any incidental expenses that he may himself incur in connection with the delivery of the nitrate.

Socialism's Superiority

By WM. M. BROWN.

If during the year 1919, all adherents of International Socialism throughout the world could and would regularly read and lend Socialist publications, the result would be the ringing out of hell from the earth and the ringing in of heaven upon it through supplanting the competitive system by the co-operative one for the production and distribution of the necessities of life.

Then would the peace on earth and the good will among men, of which angels in the sky have sung so much and people on the ground have experienced so little, cover the world as the waters do the sea.

Within the nineteenth century there were forty conflicts between nations, and there will be more of them and worse ones in the course of the twentieth century, if capitalism stands through it. There have been several bloodbaths among them the worst one of all history.

Nor is the suffering by capitalism resulting from such conflicts all or even half of it; for there is the strife and ill will arising from the universal and perpetual conflict between the classes—the class of exploiting masters, who live by owning the class of starving slaves, who live by working.

Fortunately the tremendous struggle between the English and German nations with their allies, which has filled a large part of the world with death, hatred and sorrow, has come to a more tremendous struggle between the master and slave classes which will fill the whole world with life, love and joy.

This war is now an event in the

"Socialist Stirs Ire By Talk in Bellaire." "Speaking in hall directly over police station, Charles Baker, state organizer, rails at capitalists." So read the headlines in a recent issue of the Martins Ferry Times. "Despite his incoherent language he was heartily applauded," this paper goes on to say. Now what do you think of that? What hurts this daily more however, is that a good, Red Socialist speech was given "right over the police station" and that is just about hearing the lion in his den, we admit.

GERMAN SOCIALISTS IN WAR-TIME

By ANISE, Union Record.

(Facts taken from Labor Year Book, issued by Rand School; and "German Social Democracy During the War," by Edwin Bevan, published by George Allen and Unwin Co., London).

VI-PARTY SPLITS

When the reichstag group split openly in its vote on war credits in December, 1916, the local organizations all over the empire began to pass resolutions protesting against the action of the small group which voted against the war. It was pointed out in Vorwärts, which at that time stood for the minority, that the actual number of votes represented by the minority was larger than those represented by the majority.

Still, however, no one could tell, in the absence of a party congress, how the rank and file throughout Germany would vote. Liebknecht's own constituents later voted against him, and on the other hand, so did Scheide mann's.

Opposition to War Strong in Berlin. Berlin was one of the places where the minority was strongest. The central body there passed a vote approving the minority by 41 to 17. On the other hand, the party in Hamburg, where the rank and file were especially bitter, were strong for the majority and vetoed a proposal to allow Haase to address them.

In January the reichstag group elected Ebert as its president in place of Haase. Ebert was chosen by the minority. Friedrich Ebert is a man from the working class, a Heidelberg tailor, of solid, healthy bodily frame, an honest commonsense but renitent who might be trusted to discharge the business of the party conscientiously and efficiently.

The reichstag committee, which now consisted of majority members only passed a resolution expelling Liebknecht from membership in the group. A lively controversy arose. Vorwärts declared that expulsion could not be done by any committee, but only by the party at its annual congress. Otto Ruhle voluntarily took his stand with Liebknecht, as outside even the recognized "minority."

Introducing the Spartacus Section. We have heard much lately of the Spartacus section. This group made its appearance at about this time. The extreme group, followers of Liebknecht, thoroughly international and opposed to all national distinctions of any kind, carried on an active propaganda by means of pamphlets, some of which were printed, but more often typewritten. Those which attracted the most attention were known as the Spartacus letters, and were circulated among confidential correspondents. It was known that there were more than one author and that Liebknecht himself had a hand in their composition.

These letters consisted largely of mocking, bitter attacks on the sections of the minority which followed Haase, ridiculing them as timorous and half-hearted. It seems to be a characteristic of radical groups in all countries that more intense bitterness is displayed towards those who are nearest to them in sympathies and who yet do not follow them completely, than against the even more divergent groups farther away.

However, the accusations brought by the Spartacus group against the German government were sufficiently thoroughgoing. According to them the German and Austrian governments had "deliberately contrived the murder at Sarajevo"—an accusation which, as far as I know, was not even made in the allied countries.

The Minority Organizes. Great bitterness was added to the fight between the two sections of the party by the Spartacus accusations. And when, in March, 1916, the usual war credits vote bobbed up again, and Haase spoke on the floor of the reichstag, voicing vehement opposition to continuing the war, the majority Social Democrats joined in the angry cries that helped to howl down their old chief.

Immediately after the meeting in the reichstag the party directorate ejected Haase and the other 17 who voted with him from the "Social Dem-

ocratic Group." Protesting against the right of the directorate to deprive them of their rights as members of the Social Democratic party, the minority never ceased to protest and to organize a new group, known as the Social Democratic Labor Fellowship. Haase and Liebknecht were its two chairmen; and Dittman, who is another man really prominent as a member of the socialist cabinet in Berlin, was secretary. He is a cabinet maker by trade from the Lubeck district and that time 41 years of age.

Throughout all the accounts of German Socialists, the age of the prominent men is a matter for comment. The Russian revolutionary figures, with some exceptions, seem to have been young men; the revolution there was full of the fire of youth. Possibly the German revolution, as it swings to the left, may come under the control of the younger group; or possibly the greater age and solidity of Socialism in Germany may keep a less fiery but more careful group in control.

Liebknecht Arrested. The second May day of the war found the relations between the government and the radical Socialists more strained than ever. Wherever the comrades assembled the secret police followed. And on that May day Liebknecht was arrested for inciting a large crowd in Berlin with the cry: "Down with the war! Down with the government!" A pamphlet written by himself, of which over 1,000 copies were found in his possession, called the workers to "a class war against the government," and said that "the government's lust for dominion was responsible for the war. The workers must tolerate the slaughter no longer."

The violence of Liebknecht's words, as compared with any of the speeches ever imagined possible in our country, are very startling. Even before May day he had made a speech in which he called the war loans a "colonial swindle." He was a soldier, subject to military jurisdiction.

Was Liebknecht privileged as a reichstag member? The matter came up for discussion. The Haase group defended him against the charge of treason, but the house decided to abandon him to his fate. He was condemned to two years, six months and three days penal servitude, and removal from the army "for attempted treason."

The Fight Grows More Open. The fight between the two factions of Socialists grew more open. The majority attempted to secure control of Vorwärts, the party organ, and succeeded to the extent of having a "censor" appointed. But greater Berlin openly revolted against their control. And Vorwärts was the organ for both the Berlin central directorate and the whole Socialist party, and was thus in an increasingly awkward position.

All this time the term "majority" and "minority" meant merely the relative strength of two groups in the reichstag. The party as a whole had not spoken. A complete congress was impossible until the soldiers showed return to vote. It was a substitute for this conference of delegates was at last called in September, 1916. It went off more quietly than expected. The "majority" obtained, indeed, a majority of delegates, but the constituencies represented were found to be about equal. On the whole, the cause of the minority was advanced. It was learned, with surprise, how large a part they really formed of the party.

This relatively harmonious gathering was the last time in which the two groups met as one.

The months that followed saw the gradual growing of two distinct organizations throughout the country, and at last the forming of the Independent Socialist Party.

NEXT WEEK—Onward to Revolution

French Workers Restless

The working people of France are aroused as they have not been for many years over the problems that are confronting them as a result of the world war. A special mail despatch recently received in the United States indicates that French labor is in no mood for trifling. The despatch states: "Forced into extremist positions by the angry rejection of

its most moderate demands, French labor is now restless every day. The French government is afraid to close the munitions factories for fear of idle labor, and tanks and ten-inch shells are still turned out monotonously. The government fears to demobilize the army, uncertain of its temper, certain of its own incapacity to re-establish peace-time industry."

JUST OUT

"The Trial of Eugene V. Debs"

WRITTEN BY MAX EASTMAN

Max Eastman was present at the Debs' trial and saw many things that even you and I would overlook had we been present. His is an interesting and lucid description of both the prosecution, the defendants and the judge. You will feel yourself "right there" while reading this new pamphlet, just off the press. It also includes Debs' address to the court upon receiving sentence.

10c A COPY

To Locals and Socialists desiring 25 or more we will make a special price of 6c a copy.

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R. D. 2 Brecksville, Ohio

Subscription Blank

The Ohio Socialist,
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Name
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Renewal If your subscription is a renewal, mark an X after renewal.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky.

One Year \$1.00 BUNDLE RATES Six Months \$1.00 Per Hundred 50c

Address all Mail to R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio

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EDITORS Elmer T. Allison Alfred Wagenknecht Published Weekly by The Socialist Party of Ohio at Cleveland, O.

WEDNESDAY, JAN. 29, 1919.

WITH OUR EDITORS

"AMERICANS KILLED IN MEXICO"

A war with Mexico is in the making. And the devils implicated in this hellish brew—well, you only need one guess to guess rightly.

Our industrial kaisers must have profits and dividends. Life? Why—let life go hang, it's dollars they want.

"Americans killed in Mexico" was blazoned across seven or eight columns of space in one of Chicago's dailies last ten days ago.

When asked for information about this latest "news," the Socialist Party Executive Committee learned that the "killing" referred to occurred in the year 1913.

Surprising, isn't it? And yet it's not. Nothing will be left undone to protect the profits of the profiteers.

Will we permit ourselves to be led into a war with Mexico for the sake of protecting profits.

LEADING THE PARADE

In thought and in action there seems to be a rush toward the "left" these days. The march toward Industrial Freedom is now along a road which is admitted by many to be a short cut.

The "right" of Labor's Army, which has plodded the furrow of conservatism these many years, is gradually being depleted in numbers and it will soon be but a corporal's guard, shouting its usual "don't."

Workers' Councils, composed of Socialists, trade unionists and industrial nihilists have been formed in Butte, Duluth and many other cities.

These Bolsheviks are strange people. In one column of the kept press we read that they are responsible for strikes in Argentina and in the United States.

OTHER EDITORS SAY—

We should be charitable with the papers these days, for they have a lot of hard work to do. They must convince us that Liebknecht, who fought the German government throughout the war, is our enemy, and the majority Socialists who went fifty-fifty with the kaiser in all his crimes, are our real friends.

M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, is reported as saying that the czar and his family were put in a small room and jabbed with bayonets all night long and then shot in the morning.

The date hasn't been set yet, but along about the middle of next month we may confidently expect that the Spartacus group will announce the wholesale slaughter of everybody in Germany able to count four and possessing a handkerchief.

Some people may mistake a plausible flunky of the special interests for a real reformer. Some people buy paste diamonds for the real thing, too. But the special interests never make a mistake. Their abuse or praise shows whether the specimen is genuine.

Italy has freed all political prisoners. Germany has done so; Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Russia, have done likewise. France and Canada have promised to take the same course.

New York having protested against Jewish programs in Poland, it is now up to Warsaw to object against Negro pogroms in America.

Experts have given up the idea of making a monkey talk. Well, we would like to have experts find a way to prevent men in public places from talking like monkeys.

They're Doing This in Lima

Comrade Edwin Blank of Lima informs us of a plan that Local Lima is executing in its campaign of organization and increasing the circulation of the Ohio Socialist.

At the last business meeting each member volunteered to take three to five subscription cards and to sell them during the week.

this idea out in your local. It will work like a charm, we are sure. Try it. The comrades of Lima are up to their ears in organization activities.

The Debs' meeting in Lima had to be given up because the Memorial hall, owned by the public, but under control of the county commissioners, could not be obtained.

Local North Star applies for a Baker meeting. Local Montpelier sends in a call for Tom Lewis.

OUR PARTY PAGE

Live News of Interest to all Party Members

The Best of Advice A Voice From Jail

County Jail, Albuquerque, N. M. January 18, 1919.

Locals, when holding propaganda, should do three things at all meetings before the speakers of the evening are introduced.

1. Ask all Socialists in the audience who are not yet dues paying members to join our party.

2. Solicit subscriptions for the Ohio Socialist. Have plenty subscription cards on hand and sell them through the audience.

3. Sell literature to the audience. Buy a new pamphlet for each meeting and make special effort to sell every person present that one book.

We also suggest that the financial secretary occupy a table in the rear of the hall and that the chairman announce that all members who desire to pay dues can pay them to the financial secretary.

Meetings: locals arrange must be made as useful to the party as possible and programs including the above items, should be carefully arranged in advance.

Local Youngstown has enjoyed an unprecedented sale of Socialist literature this month. Nearly 2,000 10-cent pamphlets were disposed of by this local at its meetings.

Another hundred press stamps for Local Cincinnati. And an equal number for Local Hamilton.

TAKES FIRST PLACE Again we have a tale to tell about Local Youngstown. This local buys more copies of the Ohio Socialist than any other local in the state.

LOOSERS FEAST THE WINNERS An oyster supper was enjoyed by both losers and winners as a result of the membership contest held in Portage county recently.

Local Kenmore will sell tickets in campaign for a Tom Lewis meeting on Feb. 22.

COLUMBUS NOTES Roy Gorham, new dues collector for our local. He has chosen several assistants.

Charles Baker will address the local's propaganda meeting at the usual place, Sunday afternoon, Feb. 9.

Financial Secretary Wiechers reports press stamp sales increasing in number.

AGAIN WE TELL YOU Foresight is still the winner and hindsight the loser.

Local Akron orders 100 Ohio Socialists a week and will order special editions of the paper during the coming municipal campaign.

LOCAL CUYAHOGA FALLS REVIVES "We have finally come to the conclusion to reorganize our local.

Local Toledo is next on the list with a total of nine new ones.

Local Columbus sends in an even ten, four of which the local sends the further education in Socialism.

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Hamilton Nominates Ticket

With some other comrades in the state the comrades of Hamilton have seen the wisdom of nominating their city ticket early.

The Socialists of Dayton have also nominated their city ticket. Other Ohio locals are expected to follow this method of holding their city convention early this year.

Following is a report of the convention held by Local Hamilton on Jan. 12.

Meeting opened promptly at 9 a. m. with Comrade Kopp in the chair. The following nominations were made and concurred in by the convention as the candidates of the Socialist Party of Hamilton in the next city election:

For mayor—John M. Cahalane. For city solicitor—Horace J. Shank.

For auditor—Ernst Shearer. For president of council—Arthur Sapp.

For council-at-large—John Baureiss, Joseph Fellingner, Seth Fellingner.

For board of education (two to be elected)—Mrs. Bonnie Shank, W. W. Vinnecke.

Ward councilmen as follows: First Ward—Otto Graf.

Second—Harry Bacon. Third—Walter Bauvais.

Fourth—Charles Evans. Fifth—Harry Fronk.

Sixth—Harry Berry. Assessors as follows: First Ward—Dan Lauderman.

Second—Ed Dull. Third—John Rochelle.

Fourth—Charles Evans. Fifth—Aaron Klein.

Sixth—Alvie Jones. We have a ticket in the field of which Local Hamilton may well be proud.

Red Army Smashes All Records

For lack of space in last week's issue this column was delayed until this number.—Ed.

All former records of the Red Army were smashed last week when a total of 100 subscriptions were rolled up by these boosters of our party paper.

Lack of space forbids us to publish but a very few of the many letters and words of encouragement which reach the State Office from our comrades throughout the nation.

Their words are more than appreciated, they are inspiring and attest the esteem in which the Ohio Socialist is held by the comrades in all parts of the country.

Below are listed numerically of the Red Army. Many renewals are not here listed.

Local Midvale rings the bell with 25 yearlies and two half yearlies. No other local reached this number this week.

Comrade John Rehm of Springfield is next highest on the list as above noted.

Local Hamilton is the only local hitting this mark this week.

Local Columbus sends in an even ten, four of which the local sends the further education in Socialism.

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Your Local—Where and When it Meets

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

LOCAL AKRON Socialist Party of Ohio Meets Every Friday Evening at 50 South Howard St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS Socialist Party of Ohio Meets Every Thursday Evening at 8 p. m., 50 1-2 W. Gay St.

LOCAL CINCINNATI Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M. Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M. SOCIALIST HALL, 1314 Vine St.

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LOCAL CINCINNATI Meets Every Thursday, 8 P.M. Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P.M. SOCIALIST HALL, 1314 Vine St.

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NEXT?

Arkansas Three yearlies were sent in by Comrade B. W. Tuche of Pine Bluff.

Piqua Passes Resolutions

In as much as we have just emerged from a great world war, in which the main issue was Democracy vs. Autocracy, which has terminated satisfactorily to the workers of the several nations; and

Whereas, our boys (who took an active part in the conflict) were promised that the jobs which they held before entering the service would be open for them upon their return to civilian life; and

Whereas, we find that this promise has not been fulfilled in many instances, thereby leaving these soldiers to beg for a job elsewhere, or to tramp the long lane of the unemployed.

And whereas, the present disorganized state of society renders a member of the unemployed a beggar in his own domain, since wages are necessary to the sustenance of life.

Realizing that the conditions are not in harmony with the issue of democracy which has so indelibly been stamped upon our minds;

Therefore, be it resolved that any job held by one of our boys before entering service and now being held by one of us shall upon the return of such soldier be offered and surrendered to him, and that we will strive to influence others to the same end; and that we will take such other steps as may be necessary to establish into our confidence, co-operating with him in an organized effort to establish democracy and to abolish wage-slavery, thereby ushering in a democracy which all humanity shall rejoice to behold.

Piqua Local Socialist Party of Ohio, J. H. Denman, secretary; Frank Hamilton, chairman.

A Breeze From Oklahoma

Whoop-ee! Hurrah, Hurrah for American democracy! A \$75,000 fur coat for the bosses' wives. If they can have the Socialists all put in prison and have their papers suppressed so you can't learn anything and then you get yourself a job at \$5 per day and will not eat anything nor wear any clothes and will work 365 days each year for 4 years and 35 days you can buy your wife a \$75,000 fur coat.

Wouldn't you feel happy marching around with your wife with a \$75,000 fur coat on even if you had on only a pair of overalls and a shoddy wool cap. Go to it, you wage slaves, and be happy. Nothing like it in this world or the world hereafter.

Hurrah for American Democracy! ALEX VAN GUNDY.

WANTED CIVIL ENGINEER

Applications for position as civil engineer will be received by the Socialist Party of Ohio, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio. Applicants must be party members. Position is under Socialist city administration. Pays \$110 a month. Work is light and plenty of time for extra jobs.

Kate Richards O'Hare reports overflow meetings in the west, where she is now filling speaking engagements. G. J. Peck of Davenport, writes that the O'Hare meeting in that city was so large, hundreds were turned away. As usual, the pushers of the poison pen lied about the meeting.

The Ohio State Journal says, editorially, that the Bolshevik program would terminate our civilization. Right of course. And who wants to continue the kind of civilization we have had these last few years?

H. L. RICKER SAYS—

I have been reading papers every day. I used to believe anything they would say. Until about twelve years ago I found out something I did not know.

At that time good papers were not many. And very few boosters to supply you with any. But today we have the OHIO SOCIALIST grand

And boosters pushing to beat the band. So today if a working man has a dollar

And you ask him to subscribe and he starts to hallow, Just mark him down as a capitalist goat. Who will never learn till he begins to croak.

That the capitalist press is all out of date. He'll not find out until too late. So take that dollar you have in your pocket. Let the Ohio Socialist put your name on the docket. Feed your brains with something really worth while. So when the revolution comes you will be in style.

The Bolsheviks: Grave-Diggers of Capitalism

By C. E. Ruthenberg

Bolshevism—what fear and anger the word arouses in the minds of the rulers of society!

Daily the press pours out its denunciation and men in high places issue their warnings and threats against it. Bolshevism is anarchy, it means rioting and bloodshed, wholesale murder and destruction. It means the collapse of orderly society, the breakdown of production and consequent misery and poverty.

Thus speak those whom Bolshevism threatens with the loss of their privilege to amass wealth at the expense of the misery and poverty of the masses, and with this lurid version of what they term a new movement of the dregs of society they desperately seek to inspire the masses of the people.

Why does Bolshevism arouse such dread and anger among the exploiters of the workers? Why do they fear it so and why these threats of merciless suppression?

Is Bolshevism really something new? Is it something that the working people of Europe have just discovered,—something to which they were driven, perhaps, by the suffering and misery resulting from the world war?

MARX AND ENGELS FURNISH ANSWER

The answer to these questions are to be found in the writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels,—who first formulated the scientific principles underlying the modern Socialist movement. By examining these principles, as stated in their writings, particularly in the first working-class platform based on the development of capitalist industry,—the Communist Manifesto,—we can find out whether Bolshevism is merely the bursting forth of too long suppressed popular unrest, or whether it is the culmination of a working-class movement, guided by sound, scientific principles.

Marx and Engels said that the history of the past was the history of a class struggle. They said that in each period of the past there appeared a ruling class,—rich, powerful, living in luxury and splendor,—and an exploited class which worked hard and long but enjoyed little of the wealth it brought into existence. They said that in the past the struggle between these classes had resulted either "in the revolutionary reconstruction of society or the common ruin of the contending classes."

In modern society this struggle presents itself, they said, in a conflict between the capitalists who own the factories, mines and mills and the means of production generally, and the workers who have to sell their labor power to these capitalists in order to earn a living.

HOW THE WORKERS ARE ROBBED

They said that since the capitalists own the things that the workers must use in order to earn a living the capitalists have the whip-hand and that they compel workers to sell their labor power for much less than the value of what they produce. In fact they argued, that the workers usually receive in the wages paid them

only just enough to buy the necessities for a poor sort of living for themselves and to provide for the raising of children so that the line of workers might not be exhausted. The workers produce the amount of wealth they receive in wages in two, three or four hours, depending upon the technical development of industry, but they are compelled to keep on working up to eight, ten or twelve hours and during the hours they work over and above the time required to produce their wages they produce "surplus value" for the boss.

They said that naturally the workers attempted to improve their standard of living by an effort to secure more of the wealth they produced and that the capitalists resisted this effort of the workers in order to keep as much as possible of the product of industry for themselves as profits, and that, consequently, there was a class struggle between the workers and capitalists.

That Marx and Engels were right any workingman who thinks at all about the facts of how he gains his living must admit. That he must secure the consent of the capitalists, or their representatives, in order to work, he knows well enough from bitter experience in hunting for a job. That he receives in wages only about enough to feed, clothe and house himself and his family,—and sometimes even has a hard struggle to get that he knows equally well. That on the other hand there is a small number of people who live in luxury and splendor without doing any productive work, because they get the profits he produces, is equally plain. To prove that there is a class struggle he need only think about the numerous and constantly recurring strikes.

CLASS GOVERNMENT

Marx and Engels said, further, that the governments in all capitalistically developed countries were instruments of class rule; that they were controlled by the class which owned the machinery of production and that the power of government was used to uphold the system of exploitation and to suppress the efforts of the workers to win their freedom.

That they were right in this, also, we can easily prove by the acts of the governments of capitalist countries. Even in those countries which have the most democratic institutions the governments are class governments,—committees for the conduct of the common affairs of the bourgeoisie.

In the United States the workers have the ballot and are in a majority, but the capitalist class controls the means of information. It controls the newspapers, the schools, the colleges and the pulpits, and through this control it is able to mold the minds of the voters so that they elect to office men who will uphold their class interests. And when they are unable to control the voters they can always win over the "good men" elected to office by the pressure they can bring to bear through their economic power and promises of preferment. Consequently the government of this country, as is proven by its acts, is greatly concerned and constantly engaged in passing laws conserving the

interests of the capitalists, but never legislates in the interests of the workers.

THE WAY TO FREEDOM

Marx and Engels pointed out, also, that the development of the means of production was bringing larger and larger masses of workers together in industry and that the system of production was changing from individual production to collective production. Private ownership of industry, they said, was a fetter on the development of the highest and most efficient form of collectivism.

They meant by this what Mr. McAdoo, Director-General of Railroads, pointed out in his annual report, when he said that under private ownership the railroads sent freight by round about routes and lost millions of dollars because they did not use common terminals. The coal industry furnished another example of the fetters of private ownership on collective industry.

Marx and Engels said that the way to freedom for the workers was, in harmony with the development of industry, to transfer industry from private control and ownership by the capitalists to the common ownership and democratic management by the workers.

They said that to accomplish this the workers must gain control of the state,—the government,—and change it from an instrument of capitalist oppression to a means of establishing the common ownership of industry and management by the workers.

They said that when the workers took control of the government there would come into existence a "dictatorship of the proletariat;" that such a dictatorship of the proletariat was necessary in order to break down the resistance of the capitalists to the socialization of industry, but that, as the transformation of industry from private ownership for profit to collective ownership with management by the workers in the industries proceeded, the state would lose its class character and become merely an organization for the administration of industry; that in place of being an instrument of class rule it would become a huge co-operative organization of all the workers for the common purpose of supplying themselves with food, clothing, homes to live in and education and recreation.

The capture of political power by the workers might come through a mass movement and revolution, as it did come in Russia and as it is now manifesting itself in Germany, or it might come as did in Finland, where the Socialists elected a majority of the Finnish parliament and where civil war exists because the propertied classes resorted to force to stop the workers from proceeding with the work of socializing industry.

BOLSHEVISM—APPLIED MARXIAN SOCIALISM

Now we are ready to answer the question whether Bolshevism is something new.

If we place in parallel columns the principles of Marxian Socialism and the acts of the Bolsheviks we will

find that the Bolsheviks are acting upon the principles that Marx and Engels laid down more than a half century ago.

They organized the workers for a class conflict.

They seized control of the power of the state and established a dictatorship of the proletariat.

They are using the power of the state to wrest control of industry from the hands of the capitalists and to build up a democratic administration of industry by the workers.

In the period of transition the power of the state is being used to establish collectivism and democratic management. This process wipes out of existence the capitalist class, and as this class disappears, being absorbed in the ranks of the workers, and its power of resistance ends, there disappears with it the coercive power of the state and industrial democracy takes its place.

Bolshevism is not something strange and new. It is not a blind, raging force of destruction. If at present its triumph is accompanied by bloodshed and destruction it is because the bankruptcy of capitalism precipitated a cataclysm and the workers are obliged to build the new order amidst the wreckage of the old and with those who profited from their former oppression and exploitation placing every obstacle possible in their path.

Bolshevism is Marxian Socialism in action. It is the social revolution underway. It is the workers on the road to victory and a better world.

WE ARE NOT IMMUNE

The capitalist owned newspapers are shrieking loudly against Bolshevism. They are lying about it. They are resorting to the most desperate measure to poison the minds of the workers against it.

The reason why they do this is clear.

They know that the exploitation and oppression of the workers in industry exists in this country as it exists in Europe. They know that the Socialist Movement in this country has and is carrying on the same kind of campaign of education and organization among the workers that was carried on in Russia and in Germany, and that the time is coming when the workers here will engage in the same struggle for their emancipation that is now going on in Europe.

They know that this struggle will not be precipitated by the schemes of a few individuals, but that it will be the logical result of the historical development in industry.

The Bolsheviks are the grave-diggers of capitalism and the builder of the new world. They are removing the wreckage and debris of a bankrupt system of production and putting in place the foundation on which will be erected the structure of the new society,—the better and more beautiful world of the future.

It is because the grave-diggers of the system that gives them great wealth and luxury are at work that the capitalists rave and are filled with fear and dread.

For the workers the present is the period of hope and joy in anticipation of coming happiness.

Coming Soon—Industrial Freedom Certificate

LETTERS

From the Land of Devil-May-Care

Written for the Ohio Socialist by W. E. Reynolds.

Aislesley, Awgwan, Devil-May-Care-Land, Jan. 22, 1919. Mr. Henry B. Dobb and Family, Care of O.S.

Dear Folks: I wish you were with me in this wonderful country and could see what I see.

This Devil-May-Care-Land is a land of illusions. An illusion, Henry, as you well know, is something you see that "ain't there." Everything here is something different from what it seems to be, but the Gogs who live here think it is what it seems to be. The Gogs, which are working class folks, and the Magogs, which are idlers and blue blooded aristocrats, both have a great deal of faith in the permanency of their illusions. These illusions, like everything else in Devil-May-Care-Land are for the benefit of the Magogs.

One illusion here is the equality illusion. The class lines are so distinct that they can be felt as well as seen, yet the illusion that there are no classes in Gogdom is almost universal. The Magogs won't see them and the Gogs have too much faith in their piffletalkers and dope sheets to question them. While no Gog ever gets to be a high mucky Magog, all Gogs think they could be if only they had had any luck!

The illusion of luck! Even the wisest of the Allfools are deluded by it. We know of course that there is a universe of causes and effect, but the Gogs, not knowing this great truth, ascribe their miseries to hard luck. This fatalistic reliance on luck and the general denial of the existence of classes makes it easy for the Magogs to work the life out of the Gogs without a murmur of protest.

Another illusion here is the illusion of ownership. The Magogs claim ownership to all mills, mines, factories and means of travel and transportation and also all the means of communication. The Gogs own nothing, not even their jobs or their bodies. The jobs belong to the Magogs and their bodies belong to the Magog's state. The Gogs pay rent for all their lives to the Magogs for the poor privilege to be allowed to remain on the Magog's earth in order to work for the Magog to get dinnere enough to pay the rent in order, etc., etc. Yet in spite of it all, no Gog firmly believes he has a country.

One day I told a Gog that instead of saying "my country" he should say "my master's country" but being a Gog he failed to see the point. He only flew into a rage and attempted to beat me with his fists. The Gogs use their fists much more than they do their heads. The polywags here take advantage of the Gogs' love of his master's country in many ways. It is quite amusing to hear a polywag piffletalking to a bunch of ragged, hungry, homeless Gogs about "our" wonderful country and "our" marvelous resources.

The illusion of freedom is another great illusion here. All these Gogs think they are free persons and "their" country a country of freedom for all. Talking about freedom and having freedom are two different matters and these Gogs, instead of being free, haven't even the freedom to talk about freedom. Devil-May-Care-Land is ruled by the Mucky Magogs with a great Chief as their leader. They do not have a constitution which guarantees free speech, press and assembly, like your glorious country.

The Magogs here have the freedom to speak or write or gather into what is called libertymobs, but the Gogs have only the freedom to do what the Magogs will allow. A Gog doesn't even dare commit suicide—it is against the law.

The Gogs have the so-called freedom to work and breed and keep their mouths shut. The work is done under the supervision of a Magogboss. The breeding is done under the careful supervision of the Magog's church and state and the purrulent notion that ignorance is innocence. The mouths are kept shut under the careful supervision of their courts of justice, Libertymobs and Penogs.

You will probably remember reading while you were attending Harvard college (or was it Yale?) of a distinguished foreigner, Mr. Aristotle, who believed all well regulated societies had to have two sets or classes of people. One class to do all the work and another set to do all the thinking, and that form of society was known as an aristocracy. An-

other Hunkie, named Socrates, contended for a state wherein all the people worked and each did his own thinking. This was called a democracy. History records that the aristocrats made Mr. Socrates drink some poison hemlock and so set a world example of what may be expected from aristocracy in their treatment of Democrats.

Aristocracy is rampant here in the Land-of-Devil-May-Care. The Gogs, however, all believe it is a democracy because they have been taught it was. The illusion of democracy! Countless millions have lived a life that was in reality one long endurance test. Had they ever once realized they were but the slaves of autocracy they would have rebelled, but they only saw the illusion and were contented and faithful.

In your country, thanks to the discoveries of modern science, your people have grown too wise to be deluded by the illusions of supernaturalism, but here great joss houses are built and the minds and will of the populace are systematically stunted. Where you, in your wisdom, build school houses and colleges, these fool Gogs build massive temples of brick and stone for credal worship of unreality. All over this land you find shacks for the Gogs to dwell within and massive temples for the dwelling places of the Gog's imaginary Gods.

The Gogs here have the illusion that they labor in order to live. The truth is that they live in order to labor. You in your glorious country of freedom and equality and democracy, labor as a means to an end. You seek to widen, enrich and promote a better state of well being for your people. Here the Gogs labor only to accumulate capital for their employers, the Magogs. Your laborers have reached a position where they can command the respect and attention of kings. No Gog is of any consequence except as a working unit to create wealth for others to enjoy. No Gog would ever think of holding up his head in self-respect in the presence of a king.

In your country, Henry, you know all the people benefit by new inventions and discoveries. Here no Gog ever benefits from any new invention. If you were working at digging a ditch and should invent a trench digger you would probably light up your pipe, sit down and enjoy seeing a machine do your work. The Gogs under the same circumstances would turn the new machine over to some company of Magogs and hasten away to find a new job. In your country the present dominates the past. In Gogdom the past dominates the present. Your children are taught twentieth century truths, the children of the Gogs are taught first century falsehoods. The Gogs are not thinkers, but doers, yet they have the illusion that they are quite a bit the best aggregation of thinkers on earth.

The Magogs stole the Land-of-Devil-May-Care from you. They are a band of liars, thieves and hypocrites, yet they masquerade as "best citizens" and the Gogs do not see through the illusion.

The greatest illusion of all here is the illusion of "Pull Reward for Service Rendered." You know in your country if you create ten dollars' worth of value you receive the full ten dollars less, of course, the capitalist's small profit, which he gets as a reward of maintenance (a find a work) but here when a Gog creates ten dinnere in value he only gets two and yet thinks he is paid in full.

Yes, Devil-May-Care-Land is Illusion Land.

The Gogs think they think and they do not think. They think they are free while they are slaves. They think there are no classes, yet two classes exist. They think they are wise and are easily fooled. They think they make laws whereas they only obey them. They think they own a country, yet they pay rent. They think they have a government. The government has them. They think they have a democratic administration; they obey the autocrats. They think they are prosperous, they are paupers. They think their great men will do for them; they "do" them. They think they are Christians; they are pagans. They think somebody will "save" them; I think they'll have to save themselves.

Hoping you are the same, I am,
I. SKYGAC JONES.

WHEN YOU SEE IT YOU'LL WANT IT INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

GOOD TO BUY GOOD TO KEEP INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

Great Card Sale

A sale of Ohio Socialist subscription cards is what we refer to. We tell of this sale in order to encourage more comrades to invest a few dollars in subscription cards. After all, there is one excellent way to secure subscribers to YOUR paper, and that way is to have a subscription card always handy and ready to sell.

Did you notice the emphasis we placed upon "YOUR". We would like you to understand that the Ohio Socialist is YOUR PAPER. It belongs equally to every member in the state. And as every member has equal ownership in the paper, it becomes the duty of every member to SUPPORT IT IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE.

One way possible is to invest some money in subscription cards. Many comrades are already giving their support by so doing. Some are buying a dollar's worth at a time and others are buying ten dollar's worth at a time. But no matter how few or how many you buy, please BUY.

And so we announce this sale. Is it a less price sale you ask? Quickly we answer—NOT. Fact is, we ought to sell Ohio Socialist subscription cards for more than they are priced, because the Ohio Socialist is worth it.

Yearly cards—\$1.00. Half yearly cards—50c. How many shall we send you? Remember, we sell for cash only. Remit in advance.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST
R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.

GOOD TO BUY GOOD TO KEEP INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

THEY'LL GO FAST YOU'LL WANT ONE INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

JUSTICE TO RUSSIA

(From The Nation)

From the start the unfriendly intent behind Allied intervention in Russia was revealed by the frank though futile opposition of President Wilson. His objections gave the situation away; he admitted it to be a bad business before he became a partner in it, and his final surrender served only to emphasize the helplessness of benevolent intentions before the cynical determination of the controlling forces among the Allies. The excuses offered from time to time by the governments engaged in crushing what the Germans had left of the Russian revolution were dishonest and hypocritical, but they served their purpose for the time being. They quieted the protests of timid liberals. They stilled the natural objections of those who pointed out that our armies had been enlisted to fight Germany, not to carry on military operations against Russian working men. But the propaganda of lies and suppression of facts was indeed a house built upon the sands.

Even to persons who had no way of knowing the flimsy stuff of which the building was made, the course of the Allies in Russia must sometimes have seemed perplexing. The newspapers talked of German arms and German gold, and autocratic rule in Russia, and disorder and terror, and the Czecho-Slovaks, but every man with sympathy and imagination must have seen something more. He must have seen a great people struggling with the hardest problems a nation has ever faced; struggling to build out of disorder and corruption a new untried society, struggling to demobilize without suffering and upheaval fourteen million war-sick men and to create fresh forces to defend the new-born revolution, struggling against German domination and intrigue and Czarist plots, struggling most fiercely of all against the horror of starvation—struggling, yet holding its head high and shouting its faith to an indifferent world. He must have seen with wonder the spectacle of "the great democracies of the west" picking up their weapons and trying to destroy that young faith with arms and lies and starvation.

He should have seen something of this. But if he failed

to see before, surely he must see now; for the whole structure of falsehoods and excuses has collapsed. The "unstable" Soviet government has lasted a year and a month in the face of all its trials and its enemies. The need of an Eastern front against Germany disappeared with the signing of the armistice. The duty of chasing the Germans out of Russia disappeared at the same time, and German troops were actually invited to stay in the invaded parts of Russia to help the Allies in "preserving order." The Czecho-Slovaks are discovered to have been offered by the Bolshevik government free passage through Russia if they would return home in peace. Arms and materials of war are no longer in danger of falling into the hands of an Imperial Germany. The most hostile critics of Bolshevism are now loudest in their assertions of its complete hold upon the people of Russia. And as for the disorder and chaos and terror which have formed the most recent and widely-advertised Allied excuse, the New Statesman, always bitter in its opposition to the Bolshevik government, is reported as saying in its latest issue: "Order is more thoroughly established in Russia now than at any time since the fall of Czarism. Food distribution is better organized than at any time during the whole war. Factories are rapidly starting up again as fast as raw material can be obtained. * * * Terror has ceased. It has been greatly exaggerated."

New voices are being raised in every country demanding the facts about Russia, demanding the reasons for intervention, demanding action by the peace conference. It looks as though Allied statesmen would be forced to listen, at least, and to answer. The latest reports from Paris indicate that the Allies do not intend for the present to undertake intervention on a large scale, but are to keep their troops in Russia to give "moral support" to those "orderly" governments that are or may be in existence, and send forces into the Ukraine to relieve the departing Germans. This is the moment when the question is up for decision, when every word counts. Will the cry of the people be loud enough to carry through the padded walls of the palace at Versailles?

The men who will gather there are commonly called statesmen; but they are also politicians, and politicians will always listen to the voice of the people if it is loud enough and speaks in no uncertain terms. Not as political partisans or "intellectuals" or "liberals," but as honest men of decent impulses, we Americans must tell the government that represents us the only course that seems to us to accord with the principles of self-determination which it has proclaimed.

We ask the withdrawal, as rapidly as physical conditions permit, of all American troops from Vladivostok and northern and southern Russia, and meanwhile the complete cessation of hostilities. We ask that the plans announced for a military expedition into the Ukraine be abandoned. We ask the recognition of the Soviet government and, as the immediate consequence of such action, negotiations leading to the establishment of commercial relations with Russia. We ask the diplomatic and other accredited agents of the Soviet government to be received and that Boris Bakmeteff, the so-called Russian ambassador, be deprived of the diplomatic and financial privileges now accorded him. We ask that all unfriendly propaganda carried on by the government of the United States or any of its branches immediately cease. We ask that the government of the United States bring pressure upon the Allies to abandon their present policy in Russia and secure, under threat, if need be, of complete dissociation from their plans, the withdrawal of all Allied troops. We ask that representatives of the Soviet government be admitted to the peace conference. We ask the prompt dispatch in co-operation with the Soviet government, of food and clothing and necessary industrial and agricultural machinery for sale or free distribution. We ask these things for the Russian revolution and the starving people of Russia; but even more we ask these things in order that the United States may for its own sake share in righting an intolerable wrong, that no man in this war shall have died for empty words and worthless phrases, and that from this time forth the world may be more forever safe for hopeful experiments and new adventures in democracy.