

# The Ohio Socialist

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## Seattle Labor Council Calls Upon A.F. of L. to Reorganize

The Central Labor Council of Seattle, Wash., has sent a letter to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, urging the reorganization of that body along industrial lines. The proposal as formulated calls for consolidation of the existing unions in twelve great industrial organizations.

The letter, which has just been received by Cleveland unions and will come before these organizations for action during the next few weeks, reads as follows:

To All Organizations Affiliated With the American Federation of Labor. Greetings: The Seattle Central Labor Council respectfully urges your most careful and thoughtful consideration of the enclosed proposals for the reconstruction of our organization along lines dictated by present-day industrial conditions, and earnestly requests your most energetic co-operation in bringing about these essential improvements in the interests of the wage-earners.

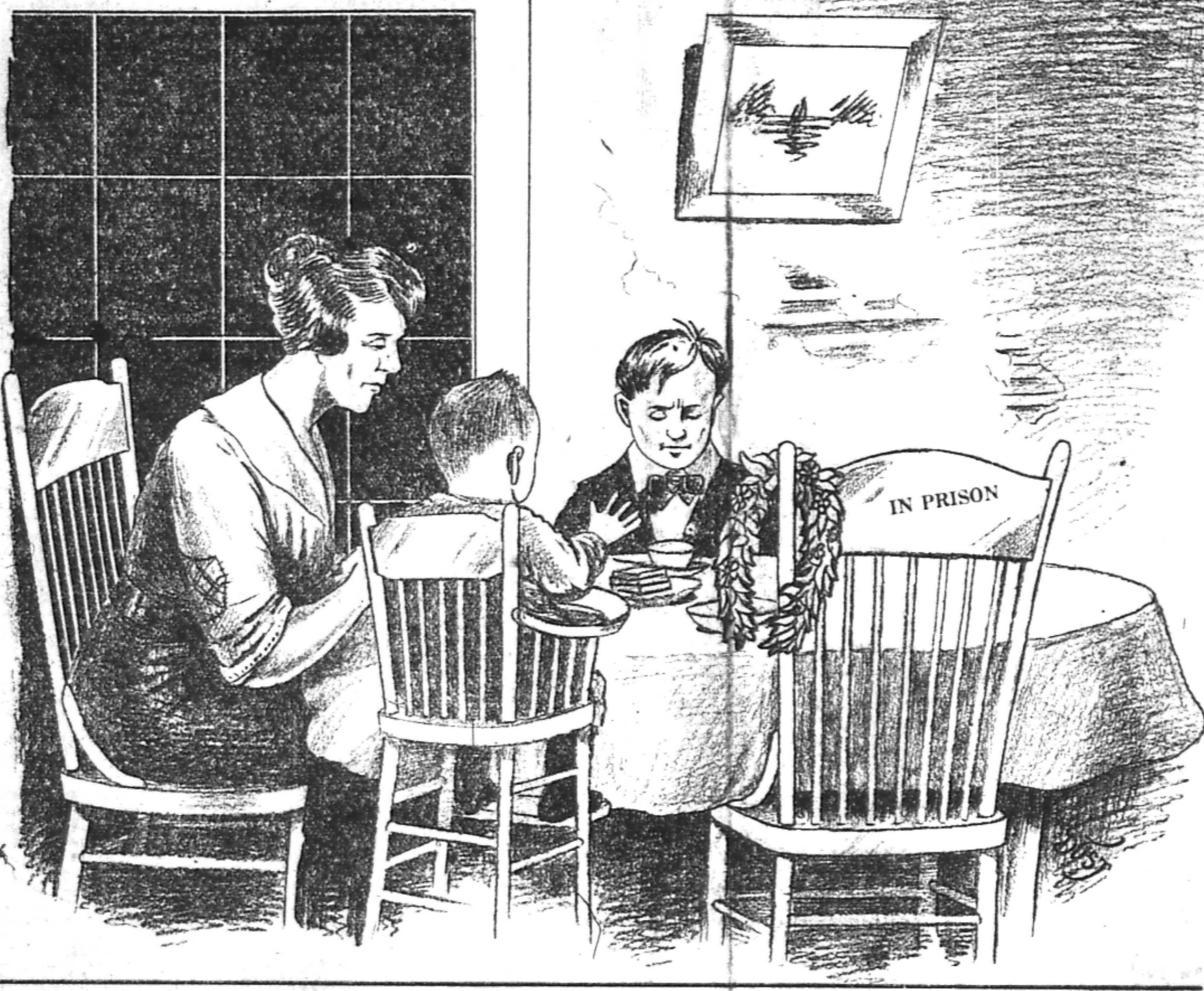
President Lincoln, speaking at Hartford in 1860, said: "Thank God we have a system of labor where there can be a strike. Whatever the pressure, there is a point where the working man may stop."

Yet, what does the right to strike avail us if we strike in such small units as to make us an easy prey to those who seek to exploit us? As a matter of fact, the more effectually we prepare to strike, the less striking will have to do.

Let us remember the advice of Wendell Phillips: "Organize and STAND TOGETHER. Let the nation hear a UNITED demand from the laboring voice."

Sometimes rivals criticize us because of our obvious weaknesses, but we have nothing to fear from rivals so long as we will profit by experience and through the application of (Continued on page four)

## A NEW PHASE OF CAPITALISM



## Soviet Representative Calls Stories of "Defeats" Lies

### Says That Capitalists Are Making Desperate Efforts To Prevent Recognition Of Workers Government

During the past ten days the kept press of this country has been publishing daily dispatches telling of defeats of the forces of Soviet Russia. According to these stories the armies of the Soviet government are dissolving and tens of thousands are being captured some of whom have gone over to the enemy. In the following statement, Santeri Nuorteva, Director of the Russian Soviet Information Bureau, characterizes these stories as "lies," and points out that the present tactics of the kept press are the same as those used at the time the Prinkipo conference was under consideration:

"A perusal of the 'Russian dispatches' in the metropolitan newspapers of the last few days irresistibly raises the question: Will the American public once more permit itself to be fooled by deliberate lies about the Russian situation?"

"The world-wide press campaign against Soviet Russia has always been characterized by particularly vicious lies told to the part of reactionaries every time some possibility arises to bring about friendly relations between Soviet Russia and the United States. It is natural that, now that the power of the Russian Soviet government is extending daily over Russian territories, now that the impossibility of defeating that government is being admitted in all circles, and now that the establishment of relations between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world looms within sight, the forces opposed to such an outcome are desperately carrying on a campaign which outdoes any previous accomplishment in perfidy and deliberate lying."

"We have every day reports of Kolchak's 'victories' in the east. To make such 'victories' appear more real, we are told that the Soviet government itself admits defeats of its troops. It should be remembered, however, that at the time of the Prinkipo conference decision we had a similar 'victory' by Denikine, similarly 'confirmed' by official admissions from the Soviet government."

"We were told Denikine had captured 30,000 prisoners and extended his power over hundreds of miles of territory. About a month later the press admitted the 'victory' was a deliberate lie from beginning to end, and that, on the contrary, the Denikine forces had retired considerably and the Soviets never had published an admission of a Denikine victory. Will Prove False."

"There is no doubt in our mind that the much heralded Kolchak 'victories' of recent date also will prove a fake within a very short time. Nevertheless, for the time being these fake 'news' stories serve their purpose. They make people, who already began to acquiesce in the necessity of recognizing the Soviet government, to hesitate once more. They make it possible once more to fool public opinion into a prolongation of a definite decision on the Russian question and even to consider the possibility of recognizing the Kolchaks."

"In line with dispatches about Kolchak's 'victories' we have, of course, new reports of 'Bolshevik atrocities.' 'Eighteen hundred men, women and children have been murdered in Ufa.' In screaming headlines the newspapers announce this new lie emanating from the Kolchak government, whose forces have marked every step of their rule with unprecedented murder and cruelties."

"Swallowing the fake dispatches of this kind, the average reader will forget all the authentic news about the treatment accorded men, women and children of the working class by Kolchak—that blood thirsty exponent of defeated monarchy, vodka and the knout, in Russia, who now presents himself as a champion of humanity."

"It is also quite in order for the purpose of this dirty campaign of lies to dig out from the grave the take of a Bolshevik alliance with German imperialists. A secret treaty has been unearthed, 'it is reported,' which the Soviet government supposedly has entered into with the present German government."

"From private and well informed sources it is made known this treaty provides that the Soviet government

shall apply a milder policy toward Russian industry, especially the munition and arms factories; that the Germans will send thousands of military instructors to the Russian army; that Soviet Russia will provide Germany for the next 20 years with military assistance; that Soviet Russia binds herself not to enter into any negotiations with the entente; and that the German industry, in order the Russian railway system.

Gamble on Ignorance. "And so it is being 'proved' that the Soviet government is threatening the peace of the world by an alliance with a resurrected imperialistic Germany. The producers of such stories gamble on the deep ignorance of the average reader."

"They presume he does not remember that the present German government is as violently opposed to the Russian workers' regime as any one in the world; that the Russian Soviet government not only has not promised not to enter into negotiations with the entente, but is at this very moment actually carrying on such negotiations, and that the representatives of the Soviets welcome relations with American industry."

"It is being authoritatively stated in the press that the American delegates in Paris have proposed the recognition of the Kolchak government, including the extension of military support to his forces in the form of munitions, finance and material. To believe that this is true would seem an insult to the delegates of the peace conference."

"About a few days ago there was an official statement from the Paris conference that a proposition is being extended to Russia whereby foodstuffs and other materials would be sent there, and one of the conditions attached to the proposition was that the Soviet government should stop fighting and using the Russian means of communications for military purposes. This statement has been given out officially."

"To believe that simultaneously with asking the Soviet government to refrain from fighting, the allies, including America, would propose to support the Kolchak government militarily seems absolutely impossible. However illogical the allied policy in Russia has been up till this time, this would outdo anything previously heard of."

Impossible to Defeat Soviet. "If it has been impossible till now to defeat the Russian Soviet government, it is still more impossible at this time to do so. The news dispatches, of course, speak of mass desertion of the Bolsheviks from their own ranks, and of a lowering of the morale of the workers."

"Even the old story of revolts in Petrograd is not lacking in the press stories offered for distribution by the reactionaries. Yet one will search in vain for any proofs of such assertions, or even for an indication of their probability."

"With spring at hand and with the grain-rich Ukrainian districts in the hands of the Soviet forces, the bitter sufferings of the city people in Soviet Russia must be much less today than they were in the winter. All the logic is on the side of the assumption that the position of the Soviet government is now stronger than ever, physically as well as morally."

"We are sure the American people from bitter experience will be on their guard against the shameless lie drive instituted in order to defeat at the eleventh hour the establishment of relations between the Russian workers and the United States."

## Kate O'Hare Sends Message from Prison to Her Comrades

By J. LOUIS ENGBAHL

Jefferson City, Mo.—There is but one "task" for the women in the Missouri state prison—the making of overalls.

The men may be assigned to any "task" among many. There's the broom factory, the shoe factory, the leather novelty works, the machine shop, the stone cutting shed.

"This is all we have for the women to do," said Miss Lila Smith, the matron, as we stood in the entrance to the overall factory, which is housed in one of the big rooms of the woman's prison.

There the women toiled over the high-powered sewing machines making overalls, also called "jumpers." The "task" set for Kate Richards O'Hare, former International Secretary of the American Socialist Party, and chairman of the committee on war and militarism that drew up the now famous St. Louis Anti-War proclamation, is 55 overalls per day. If you do not make the "task" you are penalized.

I glanced over the room where there was no sound but the whirring of wheels and the suppressed roar of needles as they raced along and drove

the thread through the thick cloth, either singly, double or sometimes three abreast.

It was getting well along in the afternoon, Kate O'Hare was bent to her task as if her life depended on it. I wondered how many more of those 55 overalls she had yet to make before her day's "task" was done. I also wondered if the time would ever come during the days that are ahead, when her fingers might be caught in the drag that keeps a pulling that cloth into the path of the hungry needles. I was told that such accidents happen here in the prison factories just as they do in industry on the "outside"—that fingers are mashed and pierced with threaded needles. Every girl was driving her machine at high speed, with eyes fixed to the task, no doubt the result of the whip applied by Rule No. 32 of the prison regulations that:

"When at work, give your undivided attention to it. Gazing at visitors, or at other prisoners, will not be allowed."

Yet, as her machine rushed on, Emma Goldman looked up for a moment.

Washington.—The executive committee of the Socialist Party of Italy has resolved to sever its connection with the International Socialist Bureau and to affiliate with the "Third International" founded recently by the Russian Communist party and sundry Socialist or revolutionary groups of the other European countries, according to authentic information which reaches us from Europe.

The vote in favor of withdrawing was ten in favor of withdrawing to three against. The text of the resolution passed by the executive committee follows, the translation being made from the original text as published in Humanite, the official Socialist daily of Paris, France:

"Whereas, The International Socialist Bureau is an instrument of the war policy of the pseudo-democratic bourgeoisie tending to the mystification of the proletariat and is only a barrier to the reorganization of the activity of the Socialist Revolutionary International, and

"Whereas, All the efforts tending to bring back to life the energies of the Socialist proletariat by means of the International Socialist Bureau, now a hostage of the imperialist bour-

geoisie of the entente, have been in vain; and

"Whereas, The alliance constituted at Berne between the social-patriotic tendencies of the entente imperialist and the social-patriotic tendencies of the imperialism of the central empires brings into the open the reactionary character of all the factions who were false to the pledges made by the international in opposition to the bourgeoisie who threw the peoples into the war; and

"Whereas, In consequence it is impossible to conceive the co-existence in a single organization of those who were loyal to the principles of the international and those who betrayed those principles and are still opposed to the realization of socialism; and

"Whereas, The International Bureau, instead of, as soon as the war ended, bringing about the immediate convocation of the parties and organizations affiliated with the Bureau, loaned itself to the work of making a success of the Berne conference, which was nothing less than a caricature of an international Socialist conference; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the executive com-

mittee of the Socialist Party of Italy withdraw from the International Socialist Bureau and affiliate with and work for the establishment of the Socialist Revolutionary International upon the basis and principles laid down by the Russian Communist comrades at Moscow in the month of January, for the convening of an International Socialist Conference; and be it further

"Resolved, That the executive committee shall carry active work to secure for the aforesaid purpose the adhesion of the Socialists of all countries who have remained faithful to the International, either by convening a preliminary meeting or by any other action deemed proper to attain the result sought."

The resolution was supported by Gennari, Serarati and Bombacci and opposed by Lazari, Bacci and Dindani.

"The Italian Socialist Party, instead of withdrawing from the international," said Bacci, "should make energetic and persistent effort to expel all those who have been faithless to its principles. Toward this end the party should, on the one hand, gather together and co-ordinate in preliminary meetings those elements of the international which never ceased to observe the class principles, and, on the other hand, invite once more the bureau to convene an emergency meeting of the international and place before it a resolution demanding the expulsion of the traitors." After reiterating that the Italian Socialists should not withdraw from the international unless those faithless to socialism should be in the majority, Bacci concluded: "To create a Third International when the Second International still exists in its representative organization would produce a pernicious confusion in the ranks of the proletariat of the various countries."

## Buffalo Socialists Endorse Left Wing

Buffalo, N. Y.—Socialists here on Sunday, April 13, by unanimous vote, of the largest meeting of the Socialist Party members ever held in Buffalo, endorsed the Left Wing program as formulated by the Left Wing section of Local New York, as a basis for the future position and activities of the party.

The principal feature of the program is the repudiation of political activity in favor of social reform measures and the substitution of mass action, the organization of the workers in the industries and political action for the purpose of education.

The meeting demanded that the National Executive Committee call an immediate emergency national convention to formulate party policies and tactics to meet the present crisis. This was a reaffirmation of Local Buffalo's position on this proposition, the local being probably the first to follow Local Boston in the demand several weeks ago.

## May Day Manifesto of the Socialist Party

On this international holiday of labor the Socialists of the United States solemnly announce their determination to consecrate themselves with renewed earnestness and vigor to the world-wide struggle for the complete overthrow of the capitalists and for turning over the world's government to the world's workers. The formal termination of the war finds the ruling classes and their governments in all capitalist countries discredited and distrusted, judged and convicted.

In the fierce impact of their conflicting greedies they have brutally slaughtered millions of workers and mutilated, crippled and invalidated many more millions. They have destroyed human habitations, workshops and fields without number, and have devastated whole countries.

They have disrupted the lives of the nations and surrendered the peoples to hunger and disease, suffering and despair.

Potent enough to throw the nations into war, but powerless to make and maintain peace; too weak to rule and too selfish to abdicate, the powers of capitalism stand before the world as degenerates of a dark age, as dangerous enemies of humanity and progress.

We, therefore, welcome with joy the powerful movements of our fellow workers in Europe for the immediate liquidation of the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation, and for the establishment of workers' republics.

We send fraternal greetings and vows of whole-hearted sympathy to the Socialist Soviet Republic of Russia, which is so valiantly upholding the lofty international proletarian ideals in the face of the combined military, economic and political attacks of reactionary powers and in spite of the systematic campaign of libelous misrepresentation on the part of the lying capitalist press of the world.

We send congratulations and fraternal good wishes to the workers of Hungary on the establishment of a free communistic workers' republic upon the ruins of the predatory monarchy of their exploiting and land-monopolizing rulers.

We extend the hand of comradeship and solidarity to the revolutionary Socialists of Germany and Austria, now engaged in the life-and-death struggle to secure for the working masses of their countries the full fruit of their victorious revolutions; to the workers of England in their efforts to wrest the control of the industries from the parasites in their country, and to the Socialists

of France, Italy and all other countries of Europe in their fights against their reactionary governments.

With the dismal failure of the ruling class League of Nations, the hope of the world lies in the irresistible League of the Communist Commonwealth of the workers.

We call upon the workers of the United States to join in the onward march of the international proletariat toward the conquest of liberty.

While our young men by the millions have been risking their lives abroad for the alleged cause of democracy, our government has taken advantage of the oppressive war-spirit of intolerant terror to crucify democracy and to crush all radical movements at home.

Under the sanction of a reactionary act of congress and with the aid of a servile officialdom and judiciary, of profiteering interests and a short-sighted labor leadership, an orgy of oppression and persecution was inaugurated, which is unequalled in the political annals of the country for its shamelessness and brutality. Hundreds of Socialists and radical labor leaders have been thrown into jail for inhumanly long terms, scores of Socialist and labor papers have been suppressed, thousands of peaceful meetings have been broken up; all cherished constitutional rights and liberties of American citizenship were cynically trampled under foot and all representative government was practically abrogated by an administration, which has the audacity to pose at home and abroad as the leader of modern "liberalism."

The Socialists of the United States demand the immediate restoration of constitutional republican government in this country. We demand the immediate repeal of the infamous espionage law, the immediate lifting of the despotic postoffice ban on radical publications, and the full freedom of speech, assemblage and organization to the end that American labor may freely pursue the legitimate struggles for the emancipation of its class.

We demand the immediate withdrawal of American troops illegally sent to Russia to fight the battles of Russian reaction, and we demand that our government keep its hands off Hungary and the other countries of Europe coming under communistic control, so the end that the workers of Europe be allowed to organize their own lives and destinies, free from foreign capitalist and imperialistic interferences.

Long live socialism and labor, long live the international of the proletariat!

## Exploiters Do Not Keep Promises To Returned Soldiers

Washington.—President Wilson's appeal for the nation wide observance of Sunday, May 4, as "Employment Sunday" is regarded by Socialists in Washington as an attempt to break the lock-out against the returned soldiers, which the labor exploiters made effective weeks ago.

The lock-out is known to be one part of the capitalist plan to force wages down to the physical minimum by means of the tried-and-not-found wanting method of creating a gigantic army of the unemployed.

It will be recalled that when the Soviet government returned nearly two million workers, and sent them to fight for democracy, the labor exploiters gave their solemn pledge to restore the soldiers to their "jobs" in case they returned alive with democracy saved. It now appears, however, from figures in the possession of the U. S. Employment Service, that the organized capitalists of the United States, in their nation wide conspiracy to create an army of the unemployed, are traitorously and persistently refusing to restore these returned soldiers to the status of exploited work-

ers at the present level of wages.

The employment service reports that such a large number of the organized capitalists have turned traitors to their solemn pledges that at least forty out of every hundred soldiers are without capitalist masters. And just as a chattel slave could not live in a chattel slave country without a live master, so a wage slave cannot live in a wage-slave country without a wage-slave master. Forty out of every hundred, 400 out of every 1,000, 400,000 out of every 1,000,000 and 800,000 out of every 2,000,000 boys who went forth to "get the Hun" with the promise of the capitalists that after the potting was over the soldiers would be turned into wage slaves again, find that now the labor exploiters absolutely refuse to exploit them again until wages have been forced down to a physical existence basis.

The extent of this capitalist conceived, planned and administered lock-out of the returned soldiers has been apparent to Socialists in Washington for some time. And they are not (Continued on page four)



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### YE WHO ARE IN PRISON

To our comrades who lie in the dungeons of capitalism, we send greetings of the revolution. Whether in the north, the south, the east or the west, wherever stone walls and iron bars confine a rebel, you, we hail as comrade and bid you to be of good cheer for the new day is breaking and the forces that shall open your prison doors gather daily in strength.

Unconquerable you have been, determined in loyalty to your comrades and your ideals. True to your better selves, you now pay the price demanded by a predatory social system for loyalty to manhood and womanhood.

Jails have not terrorized you. "Cruel and unusual punishments" have not tamed your revolutionary spirits. Punishments abhorrent have not weakened you.

Strong have you stood for the solidarity of the workers. Firm as Gibraltar against the tides of capitalistic injustice, bearing always your faces to the rising sun and in your hearts and minds the vision of a new world for the workers.

Rooted deep in proletarian experience and in knowledge and conscience your spirits have not wavered under the persecution of a foul capitalism has heaped upon you.

No regrets fill your thoughts. You do not relent in your revolutionary fervor. Slander has not seared your souls. Lies and the vicious "frame-up" have not worked you undoing. The workers of the world turn their faces to you today and call you comrades. They demand your release and in their throats rumbles the threat of revolution.

Some of you have died in prison. Not all could bear the iniquities of a capitalist prison life. Disease has thinned your ranks. Inhuman punishments, which could not break your spirits have broken your bodies. But you died without regrets—only that you could not live for the revolution. But your deaths have brought life to the cause. You have passed to unknown shores but across the uncharted spaces your voices reach us bidding us carry on till the workers' goal is reached.

Foully murdered that you were, your deaths have been a means of inspiration to thousands. Iniquities practiced upon you have hastened the end of capitalistic misrule. You are our honored dead. Through the mists we feel the touch of your hands; we hear your voices; we feel your presence. The inspiration of your revolutionary spirits abides with us and we pledge you unflinching loyalty to the cause for which your lives were given.

The morning sun grows golden in the east. The day of the workers' emancipation draws near. A visionless capitalism has, through your imprisonment, hastened the end of its misrule. Throughout the world echoes the tread of millions marching on the way to a better world society. A society of free labor, of love and comradeship.

You who now stand within cold prison walls, are lending unto the revolution a service immeasurable. Injustice toward you but brings about the downfall of tyranny. It sows seeds of resentment in the minds of millions. You who can but "stand and wait" are a living part of the great change that is taking place in the world. Apart from it, yet a vital part of it, you serve the revolution to an heroic degree.

A bitter part the masters have given you to play. You have played it with the hearts of heroes. With unselfishness and devotion you have accepted what has fallen to you. You have been game. You serve the revolution in the spirit of unselfishness, which is the spirit of the revolution.

Today we hail you with tidings of the workers' growing power. The armies of capitalism decay in morale. The Red Armies of the Soviets increase in number and grow stronger in purpose, more united as the days pass. No power of capitalism can stay the workers' onward march. Capitalism is in retreat in half of Europe. The workers assert, capture and retain more power. "The day of the people has come."

And today we demand the release of our comrades, the class war prisoners of America. And every succeeding day we shall continue to demand their release until they are free. If capitalism cannot see the wisdom of releasing you then so much the worse for capitalism.

We workers grow weary of continued injustice. We are uniting for your release. We shall not rest until our demands are granted.  
WE DEMAND YOUR IMMEDIATE RELEASE.  
Hail to the Revolution!

### WHAT'S TO BECOME OF WOMEN?

What's to become of the women under socialism, (bolshivism), asks a reader, and we proceed to answer by asking a question or two ourselves.

Being a man we are not greatly concerned about the future of woman under the new democracy that's a dawning over the world. Woman, it seems to us is becoming mighty capable of taking care of herself. As far as we can see the shoe is on the other foot. What is woman going to do with man under socialism, is a more pertinent question.

Under a social system where political and economic rights are equal, man may well fear some reprisals and revenge upon him for his age long persecution and humiliation of woman. Having equal rights with man, and since the war, being in all probability in the majority, what is to prevent them "getting even" for the mountains of humiliation man has heaped upon them. It's a serious question. They will have the power. Will they use it?

Here are a few of the outrages man has committed against woman—because he had the power:

Denial of all, not to speak of EQUAL political rights. Denial of equal pay for equal work. Denial of equal rights in property. Denial of equal rights in the home, though granted a generous share of responsibility. Denial of the rights of chastity because of a prostitute creating economic system which we upheld with our ballot and economic power. Denial of the right to create through political action better conditions for her children. Denial of the right of representation in government, though permitted to rear the necessary cannon fodder for its just and unjust wars.

This is not a complete list though it is long enough to arouse thinking men to the terrific possibilities ahead, once woman has an equal show. Can we expect a pardon from our wives, mothers, sisters and sweethearts for these crimes, upon the day of liberation from our bondage. Can the slave forgive his master? It is too much to expect even from so magnanimous a creature as woman has proved to be. The hour of her deliverance is fraught with many dangers—to man.

So far, as man has tread his predatory way, cajoleries and appeal to woman's forgiving and sympathetic nature have sufficed to quell incipient rebellions. Will these means avail in the future when she gets in the full stride of her liberties and fully realizes the depth of her past slavery at our hands? We fear they will not. The future for us is grave indeed. Suppose, just for a moment that she would go the limit and—decide to get along without us. Ye Gods, men!

### AVAILABLE SPEAKERS

Here is a revised list of speakers upon whom the locals may call. Terms are five dollars and expenses. Other names of qualified speakers will be added from time to time. Comrades who feel that their services are useful to the party upon the platform are requested to secure the endorsement of their locals before making application to be placed upon the Available Speakers List. Locals should make application for the speaker nearest them to save expenses.

M. J. Beery, 65 So. Main St., Mansfield, Ohio.  
Chas. Baker, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, O.  
Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton Bd., Cleveland, Ohio.  
Tom Lewis, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, O.  
Thurber Lewis, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, O.  
Frank Midway, 128 N. Maryland Ave., Youngstown, O.  
C. E. Ruthenberg, 1222 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.  
H. L. A. Holman, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.  
Frank B. Hamilton, Mayor's Office, Piqua, Ohio.  
John J. Willert, 3469 W. 54th St., Cleveland, Ohio.  
Hugo Rummels, 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood, Ohio.  
J. J. Hoge, 980 Central, Bellaire, O.

## Why Your Wife Should Join The Party

By Fanny Treaster  
ARTICLE NO. 2

See what our Militant Sisters have done for us? They who thought to win for us the vote. They have caused the suffrage so near within our grasp to evade us for a time. We are satisfied that theirs is not the right method—the wrong one. Does this method ever pay? The mother who wars with her child for perhaps, some just cause—does she ever gain any real results from this method? From sheer force of her superior strength, there may be a temporary relief. Does the warring, nagging, life ever attain the regeneration of her mate? She is invariably a failure. Do warring political societies ever gain anything but hysterical, unreal, upstart support by their violent methods? I might apply this to the moral and physical attainments of warring nations. Nothing was ever gained by war of any sort; nothing that is permanent and good for the world. If we expect sane and sound developments from our efforts, we must use sane and sound methods. We only reflect that which we think, feel and emit. We are responsible for the storms brought about by our violent acts. And I believe that when suffrage is ours, we can feel assured that it was not the methods of our Militant Sisters that brought it about.

As I mentioned in the previous article, this movement of woman suffrage is not our movement. It is not the movement of the female proletariat. It is that of the restless bourgeoisie—the woman who wants to vote as a child wants a new toy. It is not a movement with a definite, far-reaching goal in view; it is a movement to advance some few reforms; but we want far more. We want a general revolution of conditions—economic, social and industrial. The moral reforms that they ask, will come as a natural outcome of these.

Our husbands are the toilers, the producers and it has become the lot of some of us women to become toilers and producers. Give us the right to do our share of the work, for we should abolish the necessity for female workers except in the capacity for which they are fitted.

We are natural artists and beautifiers. Given time and means, we would make our homes the haven of rest fitting to its name, which the dictionary describes as "one's abode or dwelling." (It usually belongs to the landlord.) Under our system, it would indeed be "home" to the toiler, who under the proper working condition, would not be work-wearied and depressed, too tired from building the boss's new auto or a new mansion, to notice or enjoy the feeble efforts of his wife at adornment. The writer had occasion recently to converse with a prominent lawyer on the topic of the working conditions of today—the fact that many men were out of work and that wages and "time" were being cut. This legal advisor said, "I have no sympathy with the working-class. I have no patience with them. When they were making big wages, they wasted it for autos and villas."

I answered, interrupting, "Why should they not have autos and villas? Do they not enjoy some family leisure? To illustrate my point: The writer's small daughter is of the impression that her father only spends Saturday night at home, since he is gone when she arises in the morning and he is still up when she retires at night and she only sees him, except on Sunday, at her evening meal. She is constantly asking her daddy, "Are you going to stay all night, tonight?" We treat it as a joke. But, is it really a joke? We say that they are babies but once and we should enjoy them while we may. But, may we? How many parents are really and truly in a position to enjoy their babies?—Mother is weak and ailing from a life of drudgery, and home and father is cost and irritable from a life of drudgery exacted by this system of exploitation. He leaves the best of himself at the shop. When evening comes, their tensely drawn nerves are about to snap and the least noise and laughter of their high spirited, yet unchecked with toil, offspring makes them feel their young are but something to add to their misery. Alas, really we are not in a position to enjoy our babies.

This is one more thing that we want our vote to accomplish, a little leisure, a little freedom, a little playtime, to be able to enjoy a romp with our babies.

Then, there is education to consider. We want the right to educate our children. There are the "schools" you say. True schools. You are right. But a drawback there is, that of lack of economic freedom. There is something required these days besides the right to enter a public building. It is the means to get there. In the first place, there is needed good wholesome food to make good study leads with which to walk; then, there is needed good substantial clothing to cover good healthy bodies and keep them so; and behind it all, pushing with all its might, there must be a good generous income. The majority of children do not leave school because of a lazy brain. Neither do they need such prodding to keep them there, but they do need conditions equal to that of the other child. Children are being taught to be slaves.

They have a well developed pride. They cannot bear the sneer of their companions on account of a toe sticking from a worn shoe. They cannot bear to borrow books or to have them charitably given them. Personally, there has come to my notice, a number of children who have left school for these very reasons. This secondary to these, the struggling parents sometimes reach such a crisis in their struggle, usually when the child becomes of such an age that his upkeep has increased to such an extent that the parents have no alternative but to reach forth and grasp the small hand of the child for support, and instead of the child becoming a useful, learned member of society, he joins the band of wage slaves in their eternal struggle. Now, we want the vote to free our children of these evils which beset their helpless lives, and to be able, personally, to demand better educational advantages.

I might go on indefinitely, but lack of space forbids. I will conclude with the statement that the most satisfactory and lasting way to obtain the vote is through education—education as to the right, reason and necessity for women voting. Then, education of the women as to the most advantageous way to use the vote after it has been granted. Heaven help her if she does not surpass the male in the wisdom of its use. A good ma-

### Resolutions

Local Mount Vernon assembled in regular session made a motion favoring the following resolution and extends a call for seconds.

Be it resolved, That the Socialist Party of Ohio and the United States, issue a call and exhort all organized labor and labor in general throughout the United States to declare a general and indefinite boycott on the United States that in any manner or form vilify, discriminate against, or misrepresent the labor or Socialist movement from any source whatsoever throughout the world; and the Bolsheviki or majority government of Russia and Hungary.

### COLUMBUS SOCIALISTS WILL PROTEST

Local Columbus will hold an amnesty and Debs' protest meeting on May 5, 8 p. m., Mechanics Hall, 50 1-2 W. Gay St. Prof. Scott Nearing will be the principal speaker. The committee on arrangements are making preparations to have a rousing big meeting, and are getting out tickets to be sold at 25 cents for admission. Every comrade in Columbus and vicinity are urged to be present and to bring others with them. Make this meeting the greatest ever held in Columbus.

E. B. EUBANKS,  
Secretary of Committee.

### Wants to Help

Editor, My Socialist— I feel it my duty to do something for Gene Debs, who exercised only the power that our constitution gave him. By that rule shall we be guided if we dare not exercise the rights that our own Constitution gives us?

Shall we stand idle and let capitalism take all our rights from us? The imprisonment of Debs takes from all of us another right, soon the workers will be the slaves of the capitalist as the negro was in the south. Isn't it ridiculous that in such a great country, a man will be cast in a filthy prison for ten years for telling the truth! What will our country come to? At such a rate it will soon be worse than Germany was.

If the American people would have made a religious campaign to such an extent that they made Liberty Loan drives, our country would not be infested with robbers, thieves and all other criminals and not every town of any size would be so vile that a young girl is not safe in its streets. Our religious duty is our first duty. It is our duty to God. Shall we be slackers and turn down our religious duty to help raise money so that man can kill his own kind and takes some people long to see that war is an evil and that God forbids it. And those people who do know it simply defy their Lord and his Commandments by upholding such evils. He who gave them life and all their beautiful homes and surroundings, they defy. Are you going to be a traitor to your Lord, by letting him exist in your country, brother, I hope not?

If only the people could see ahead and if they would make half as much of an effort to throw over capitalism and set up God's law—Socialism, as they did to put over the Masters' will, our country would be a far better place to live in, and no man would be cast into prison for speaking the truth. He, who has some of the things that are left for us to clean up in our country as given by a prominent magazine: "One hundred heathen temples in our country. A million children at work under age. Many daily and weekly newspapers published in the United States that openly attack the Christian religion. Vices in every town of any size, and the two billion dollar waste every year on booze which has taken all these years for our prominent lawmakers to take notice of. Socialism is going to make this world a decent place to live in, but it takes a long time for some people to see it, just as it took a long time for the south to see that slavery was impractical. The laboring class must stick together. "United We Stand—Divided we fall." I, a mere high school youth with small means cannot do much, but will do what I can.

Will you do me a favor by answering the following thru your fine paper? What is Gene Debs' address and will he consider any letter of consolation sent to him by an ordinary person like myself? Do you think my ideas in this letter are right? Yours in brotherhood  
A READER

Letters addressed to Comrade Debs at 1818 Jefferson Ave., Moundsville, W. Va. will reach him. We do not know if the prison rules will permit Comrade Debs to answer the hundreds of letters which will reach him from his friends, but he will surely appreciate your letter.

The best indication of the growing strength of socialism is found in the great influx of young people in the movement. It is an inspiration to and women taking a serious view of the great problems of the day, and they surely must help solve. Keep up your interest in Socialism, do what you can in the movement and keep on the look out for a chance to propagate our ideas. You are on the right road. Keep going, Ed.

## Harper's Ferry and Moundsville

By J. P. WEST

Forty-five miles north west of Washington, D. C., at the foot of Boliver Heights and at the confluence of Shenandoah and Potomac rivers is grandly situated Harper's Ferry, Jefferson county, W. Va.

If you chance to be a passenger on a B & O train, and the train men or some one says we are near Harper's Ferry, windows are raised on one side of the coach and passengers on the other side move over, all eager to see—what just a little stone, a marker insignificant in itself, but marks a spot now almost sacred to all liberty loving people. Old John Brown's Fort stood there.

John Brown, born in Torrington, Conn., May 9, 1800, died Dec. 2, 1883. On the night of Oct. 16, he with a handful of brave companions overpowered the guard and captured the U. S. arsenal situated here. On the 18th he was wounded, over-powered and taken captive. On the 27th he was tried at Charlestown, W. Va., convicted and executed Dec. 2. So died a martyr if ever there was one. In 1863, Lincoln finished the work for which John Brown so nobly laid down his life.

A few days ago I was reading over the names of those connected with John Brown. I wonder how many can name judge and jury that condemned John Brown to die? They are forgotten; but John Brown, the martyr lives as does Benjamin Lundy, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Elijah P. Lovejoy, Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Channing Emerson, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Whitman, Stone and many others who spoke against the cause of Negro slavery. It is pertinent to enquire how the slave power attempted to increase its influence in the union. By the Louisiana purchase (1803), Missouri compromise (1820), annexation of Texas (1845), fugitive slave law (1850), Kansas and Nebraska bill (1854), Dred Scott decision (1856) (a supreme court decision in the case of Debs), attempts to acquire Cuba (1854), and to reopen the foreign slave trade (1859-60).

All these attempts failed to stop the agitation against slavery, but only aroused a determined spirit of opposition.

The south and its partisans in the north made desperate efforts to prevent the free expression of opinion respecting slavery and even the so-called Christian churches in the slave states used their influence in favor of the vile institution; just as it is using what little influence it has today in favor of the robbing class, the exploiters of the workers. Notwithstanding one of the commandments says, Thou shalt not steal, and another, Thou shalt not kill.

Montevideo is a city in Marshall county, West Virginia, situated on the beautiful Ohio, here lived and loved another race of people as the mound plainly shows, hence the name Moundsville. The mound is still there but builders have gone on before.

There is another mound, or I should say, monument, a monument to capitalism. They call it a prison. It was built by the working class and it is not entirely inhabited by the working class—the big, imposing strong building at least built by the workers and occupied by the workers. You know that is not the rule, the workers occupy the shack and pay rent for the use of it.

A man old in years, but young in spirit, arrived there a few days ago. Comrade we greet you. We are glad they sent you here. We didn't want you in prison, but as it had to be we are glad to have you near. In future the passengers on the train will try to catch a glimpse of these stone walls because of the fact that they have contained the person of Eugene V. Debs.

When the names of judge and jury, who convicted you, are forgotten, your name, your memory, will live in the minds of millions of free people. Some day you will be free, some day I will be free, the whole world will be free. The Dred Scott decision by the supreme court did not save slavery neither will the decision of the supreme court in your case save capitalism. Just as sure as chattel or Negro slavery passed away, just so sure will wage-slavery pass away. John Brown's and your work was finished here in West Virginia. Your work has just begun. When John Brown was hanged all the slave-owning papers said, Amen. They said the same of Debs. John Brown died upon the scaffold, but his soul went marching on, to victory. You may die in prison but the truth will go marching on.

J. B. WEST.

### OKLAHOMA ON THE FIRING LINE

We are going to wake the dead down here May 1. Will pull off a big program and have a picnic in the woods with speeches, songs, exercises and propaganda literature by the basket full. There is a great growing sense of injustice growing among the farming class and laborers.

It is surprising how the idea of socialism is getting in the heads of the common farmer and others that thought it was free love and dividing up. The capitalists try to backfire on them by substituting the word bolshevism to scare them away but it will be all in vain. By the time they get their scheme ready to ull off Europe will be fully bolshevized and what kind of a name will they call ungrateful England, France and Italy for taking this awful thing, bolshevism, to their bosoms?

### FOR THE LEFT WING PROGRAM.

Local Zanesville is another Ohio local that has placed itself squarely in line with the revolutionary elements of the party. At a recent meeting it was in record as favoring the Left Wing Program as published in the Revolutionary Age.

### SOCIALISTS WIN IN SILVIS, ILL.

"A good, clean administration wins for the Socialist Party at Silvis," writes Comrade Fred O. Hartline of Silvis, Ill. At the recent election the Socialists elected the mayor and two members of the board of trustees, lacking but six votes of electing the third. The Socialist police magistrate failed of re-election by 14 votes.

## Your Local—Where and When it Meets

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

LOCAL	MEETINGS
<b>LOCAL AKRON</b> Socialist Party of Ohio Meets Every Friday Evening at 8 50 South Howard St.	<b>LOCAL COLUMBUS</b> Socialist Party of Ohio Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M. Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m. Hall, 58 1/2 W. Gay Street.
<b>LOCAL CINCINNATI</b> Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M. Lectures Every Sunday, 3 P. M. SOCIALIST HALL, 1314 Vine St.	<b>SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA—YOUNGSTOWN, O.</b> Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.
<b>LOCAL WARREN</b> Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall, E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio	<b>LOCAL HAMILTON</b> Meets Every Friday Evening, 8 P. M.
<b>Local Kenmore</b> <b>SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO</b> Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M. <b>BITTIKOFFERS HALL,</b> Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard Kenmore, Ohio.	<b>SOCIALIST HALL</b> 88 High St., Third Floor.  <b>Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY</b> Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M. at Socialist Headquarters, 324 Tuscarawas St., E.
<b>LOCAL SANDUSKY</b> Socialist Party of Ohio Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.	<b>LOCAL NILES</b> Socialist Party of Ohio Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m. Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m. Debatist and social every Saturday, 7:30 p. m. <b>MASONIC HALL,</b> 164 N. Chestnut St.
<b>FUCHS HALL</b> Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.	<b>Branch</b> Meets TUESDAY EVENING, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.
<b>LOCAL TOLEDO</b> Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.	<b>MASONIC HALL</b> Branch Meets TUESDAY EVENING Wednesday, 8 P. M. No. 93-4 Washington St.

## The Statistician

General Survey of the Most Active Locals of the State of Ohio, Based on the Reports of March, 1919.

No. of Rank.	Local.	G.S.	On Roll	Pct.	Last Month
1	Galion	37	37	1000	1000
2	Youngstown (Lithuanian)	30	30	1000	1000
3	Dover	12	12	1000	1000
4	Grover Hill	10	10	1000	1000
5	Continental	6	6	1000	1000
6	Marysville	5	5	1000	1000
7	Cambridge	40	44	999	999
8	Montpelier	22	23	956	956
9	East Liverpool	69	69	955	955
10	Youngstown (South Slavic)	116	122	961	961
11	Cincinnati (German)	29	31	935	935
12	Kenmore	45	50	900	890
13	Cinncat	15	17	882	882
14	Youngstown (report of 4 branches)	207	209	873	873
15	Niles	79	95	831	765
16	Steubenville	14	17	823	810
17	Hubbard	30	37	818	800
18	New England (5 members in a local)	4	4	800	800
19	Zanesville	28	36	777	861
20	Cuyahoga County	2482	3175	781	716
21	Warren	31	40	776	776
22	Hamilton	228	285	765	733
23	Seneca County	63	70	757	778
24	Youngstown (Scandinavian)	15	20	750	737
25	Wadsworth	12	16	750	750
26	Columbus	115	154	747	746
27	Canton	56	76	737	744
28	Clark County	24	33	727	710
29	Youngstown (English)	46	67	686	686
30	Sandusky	28	41	683	683
31	Lorain	36	50	670	670
32	Massillon	47	75	628	738
33	Derwent	11	18	611	611
34	Ashland	5	9	555	555
35	Montpelier	25	53	471	471
36	Norwood	21	46	456	404
37	Portage County	32	80	4000	4000

### COMPARISONS.

February, 37 locals reported; March, 34 locals reported. February, 4421 good standing of reported roll of 5992 members, percentage 738; March, 3847 reported in good standing of roll of 4953 members, percentage 777.

### INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP.

March report from 34 locals, of entire list of at least 90, shows that they have secured 527 new members as against 37 locals securing but 46 during the month of February.

Locals.	New Members.	G. S.	Pct. of Good Standing.
Cambridge	18	40	45
Dover	4	12	33
Youngstown (English)	14	46	39
Lorain	8	36	22
Youngstown (Lithuanian)	6	30	20
Youngstown (South Slavic)	15	116	13
Youngstown (Scandinavian)	2	15	13
Cuyahoga County	371	2482	11
Canton	6	56	11
Grover Hill	1	10	10
Norwood	2	21	10
Hamilton	22	228	9
East Liverpool	6	63	9
Galion	3	37	8
Hubbard	2	30	6
Seneca County	3	53	6

# NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

Edited by C. E. Ruthenberg

## Obscuring The Issue

If there were no other indications that recent events in the world have frightened the capitalist class, the desperate efforts which it is making to create the impression that it is a necessary factor in the work of production of wealth, would be indication enough.

In the past the capitalists have not been very much concerned about the views that the masses held about their function in society. This has all been changed. The capitalists are no longer indifferent about the matter. They realize that forces are in motion that will eliminate all capitalists and so they make their puny effort to sweep back the tide of social revolution by pointing out how necessary they are to the work of carrying on industry.

One of these apologies for the capitalists is made by the Christian Science Monitor, in an editorial discussing the development of the "one-big-union" in Australia. Quoting the president of employers' association as saying, "if apart from the working class themselves, there were no directing minds in industry the working class would be woefully short of work," it asserts "that the manual laborer is not the sole producer."

Of course not. No Socialist, Communist or Bolshevik has ever made such an assertion. But to prove, what every one will admit, "that the manual laborer is not the only producer" does not make the modern capitalist a useful member of society.

In the early days of capitalism the owner of a plant was usually the manager. He was identified with the work of production and rendering useful services. If in place of drawing a salary he took part of the profits as the compensation for his services, no doubt up to a certain amount the profits were the reward for his services. But this situation does not exist any longer. The development of the corporation has divorced the capitalist from the manager. The managers of the modern industrial corporation are salaried employees. So far as these employees are engaged in the work of production and distribution, and not merely in the competitive struggle for business, they render valuable and necessary services to society. They are, no doubt, overpaid and a large part of them are merely carrying on the capitalist fight for business—as was proven in the case of the railroads when then Railroad Administrator McAdoo fired a large part of the railroad presidents—but those that are giving managerial or technical skill are as surely producers as the manual worker.

But that does not help the case of the capitalist any. While some capitalists may be managers or executives, most of them are not. If the capitalist is also a manager he receives a salary as manager. His income as a capitalist has no relation to his services as manager. The capitalists in the modern industrial world are stockholders and bondholders who render no service, have no connection with industry outside of their mortgages in industry. They may never have seen the industry from which they draw their profits. They may not have the slightest

knowledge about the work of production; they may be weak-minded, idiots, children, but still they draw their interest and dividends and suck the life blood of the workers who produce the wealth.

What services does John D. Rockefeller render society today for the millions of dollars that yearly roll into his coffers? And Andrew Carnegie? And the tens of thousands of other parasites who are wallowing in wealth?

The capitalist is a parasite on the body of society. Incidentally the system which enables this parasite to wax fat at the expense of the many creates poverty, and unemployment, and war.

The workers of the world are bent upon eliminating the capitalist parasite. Obscuring the issue by confusing the capitalist and the managers of industry will not fool the workers. They know what they are after.

The executives, the managers, the men of technical ability will have their place in the new industrial system. If they can adapt themselves to the new conditions they will have their jobs and rewards commensurate with the services they render. If they are unwilling or unable to adapt themselves to the new industrial democracy the workers will develop men from their own ranks to take their places. It may take time to do that, there may be some temporary reduction in efficiency, but the goal is worth the price.

## Why They Do Not Act

The capitalist press of this country is constantly wailing because sterner methods are not used in dealing with Soviet Russia. President Wilson, Lloyd George, etc., are charged with weakness in not riding roughshod over the workers' government of that country and drowning the new social order there in the blood of those that support it.

It is not sympathy for the Russian workers that prevents the capitalist governments from acting. It is not sympathy that directs such proposal as that of furnishing Soviet Russia with food. It is not Mr. Wilson's or Lloyd George's weakness that has prevented a million allied soldiers from being sent in to end the rule of the Bolsheviks.

What has saved Soviet Russia is the weakness of the capitalist system and the capitalist governments, Lenin, in his letter to American working men, said that the workers of Russia can only succeed if the workers of other countries come to their rescue. The workers of the allied countries and the United States have not come to the aid of Russia through open rebellion, but the fear of such a rebellion has held the hand of the capitalist statesmen in dealing with Russia. Even the workers of this country, still so largely held by the leading strings of the capitalists, see the issue in Russia, and all the lies and lurid misrepresentations of the kept press have not succeeded in securing their consent to an invasion of Russia on a large scale by American soldiers.

Even Mr. Wilson knows that he dare not \* \* \*

## Who Will Make Peace

Italian delegates have withdrawn from the Peace Conference and left Paris.

In the background looms a dispute over Japanese claims to territory formerly controlled by Germany in China, which threatens to bring about similar action on the part of the Japanese delegates.

In addition there is the threat that German delegates will refuse to sign the peace treaty and tell the allies to do their worst.

No wonder Oswald Garrison Villard, recently returned from Paris paints this pessimistic picture of what has happened there:

Yet it is far more than a test of the real moral force and character of President Wilson which we are witnessing. It is a far-reaching test of the value of war as the creator of new moral values. Entered into on the part of the American public with the highest idealism and the confident belief that it was a war to end war and to make the world safe for democracy, the war thus far has made the world less safe for democracy than it has been at any previous period in modern times, and in addition has brought a brood of actual wars and the threat of others in its train. The struggle is ending at Paris with bitterness and hatred as well as with colossal hypocrisy. It is ending with the whole modern order of society on trial for its life; for nothing is plainer than if the four men who have become the dictators of the world can not produce a peace that is real, one that shall not only end war but also do away with armaments, a deceived and disappointed world will try other ways and means. Can war be cured by frankly trying to apply the doctrines of Christianity and the brotherhood of man? This is the question which is to be answered at Paris. Beside it the new Holy Alliance misnamed the League of Nations sinks into insignificance.

All of which is in striking confirmation of what Socialists have been saying about the capitalist system for, lo, these many years.

## What We Want

The Socialists of Cleveland have been raising Cain since Eugene V. Debs was taken to prison. Great meetings have been held almost nightly, followed by demonstrations in which thousands paraded the streets. One of these processions passed under the windows of the Cleveland Plain Dealer and while doing so the crowd made a point to give three cheers for the Bolsheviks and to raise the cry, "Down with the capitalist press."

The result is a peevish editorial in that paper, in which we find among a lot of slush and mush, the questions:

What is the Bolshevik complaint in this country? Are wages low? Are men denied the right of suffrage? Are they oppressed by the government they propose to overthrow by violence? Are they taxed out of proportion to the benefits they enjoy? Is work scarce or impossible to get? What are these un-American Bolsheviks in America protesting for, anyway?

Although these questions are manifestly not asked in good faith, the opportunity to tell what the American Bolsheviks are after is too good to miss. The Plain Dealer asks its questions in a form which indicate that it believes that no one will have the temerity to answer them in a way not favorable to its case, but we propose to attempt what it believes impossible.

"Are men denied the right to suffrage?" the editorial writer would no doubt consider a particularly safe question. With the word "men" carefully inserted to prevent reference to women, the answer must be "no" he no doubt believes. But there are still the negroes of the South disfranchised by the trick laws of the southern aristocracy and also the millions of "foreigners" who are denied the right to the ballot for long years after they come to this country. But these qualifications of the negative reply are not the chief criticism of the suggestion that political equality exists in this country, which is contained in the question.

Formal political equality we have. But in practice it is a snare and a delusion. The class which owns the industries and is economically dominant controls the educational and publicity machinery of the country and through such control shapes the minds of the voters to suit its interests. It is perfectly safe for a ruling class to grant formal equality so far as voting is concerned, so long as it controls the way the voters vote. The American Bolsheviks, to use the Plain Dealer's term, doesn't only want formal equality, they want democracy that is not merely democracy in name, but the reality and they know that the only way to get it is by wiping out the economically dominant class and establishing industrial democracy.

"Are wages low?" They are so low that millions of people are living in misery and squalor in this country.

Though in some cases wages may not seem low when expressed in dollars and cents, they are low, below a decent standard of living, when expressed in buying power.

And further, wages will be low for the American Bolsheviks so long as they do not represent the full equivalent of what the workers produce through their labor power—so long as capitalists wax fat out of the labor of the workers and we produce ten thousand new millionaires during a few months of war.

"Are they oppressed by the government they propose to overthrow by violence?"

Well, when they elected men to represent them in the government of the city of Cleveland these men were charged with "disorderly conduct" and thrown out because they voted in accordance with their conscientious beliefs.

When they upheld a view of the year contrary to the view promulgated by the president they were thrown in prison by the hundreds because they dared differ with the official view of the government—dared believe that in a "political democracy" the minority had the right to convert the majority to their point of view through facts and logic.

They find at the present time that all the powers of the existing government are being used to prevent them from publicly propagating their ideas. Hall owners are intimidated by the police, reactionary laws are proposed to prevent them from holding public meetings and demonstrations.

"What is the Bolshevik complaint in this country?"

Here it is, brief and to the point: A small class owns the things that the many must use in order to live; it uses the power that ownership gives it to rob and exploit the masses when they are permitted to work and when it cannot make profits it takes away their jobs and sends them on the streets to starve; the same class controls the government and uses its power to bolster up the system of exploitation and oppression.

The complaint is that capitalism exists and the "American Bolshevik" will not be content until it is wiped out of existence and the workers control their own jobs.

Congressman C. C. Dill, of Washington state has been talking to returned soldiers and gives this pessimistic view of their state of mind (pessimistic from the capitalist standpoint):

"The returning soldier—the enlisted man—is a frankly cynical individual. He has taken the slogan of making the world safe for democracy with a literalness which is going to surprise many politicians. He bled and suffered for the ideal in France, and he saw his buddies blown to pieces for it in the slaughter house of war.

"Returning to this country he finds unemployment, high prices, indifference and corruption looming everywhere behind the pageantry of welcoming committees. He comes home jobless and with an empty sleeve, and reads that the war made 17,000 new millionaires in the United States. He gets his \$60.00 bonus from congress and reads that Mrs. Frank Gould spurns alimony of \$150. a week because that will scarcely pay for her silk stockings and other incidentals. These things he remembers and tells to his companions.

"I tell you that the returned soldier is in a questioning state of mind. Party names and party fetiches will count for nothing with him. He is looking behind the fine phrases as he is looking behind the brass bands and the streamers which greet his landing. He is in the frame of mind in which the seeds of Socialist doctrine will take root easily and will grow readily."

And here's Sammy Gomper, after selling the workers body and soul to the Wilson Administration, calling Postmaster General Burleson a dictator. But didn't Mr. Gomper's friend, Wilson appoint Burleson and doesn't he keep him at his job of oppressing the workers on the post office department and telephone system?

How quickly the kept press had the Hungarian Soviet government wiped out! And then they kept right on publishing dispatches telling what the same government was doing.

## Investigation of Court Martial Want Labor Board System Called Farce

Washington.—For several weeks the American Bar Association has been conducting an alleged investigation of the court-martial system for administering justice in the army.

Socialists have suspected all the time that the "investigation" was a monumental farce designed to forestall the congressional investigation which will be ordered as soon as congress convenes.

Confirmation of the suspicions of the Socialists has appeared in the specific charges of Lieut. Col. S. T. Ansell that the Bar Association's investigation committee is not getting the facts, does not wish to get the facts, and has conducted the investigation with the determination to whitewash Judge Advocate General Crowder, held to be responsible for the system, and to give the military law and its administration a clean bill.

It is interesting to note that the Bar Association's committee has not called a single private. The private is the one who has felt the injustice and undue severity of the court-martial. It would seem that one of the first things for the committee to do, if its attempt to investigate alleged injustices was sincere, would be to call a number of soldiers serving five, ten and twenty-year sentences for petty offenses before it and find out from them just what their experiences were before the military courts. The witnesses, however, have been the military courts, the military autocrats who sit on the court-martials, not the conscripted workers who have been subjected to military penalties.

To the Socialists the mere fact that the American Bar Association is conducting the investigation is conclusive proof that no reliance can be placed in either its sympathies or its methods. The Bar Association is mostly made up of the paid lieutenants of the organized exploiters of the working people, and they cannot, therefore be expected to impartially investigate a class question concerning the miscarriage of justice for the working people.

Lieut. Col. Ansell is the man who first drew attention to the injustice of the court-martial system because of the alleged monstrous sentences imposed upon the working people temporarily following the occupation of a soldier. Ansell's statement that under the military court-martial system the enlisted man does not receive the same consideration as the officer is nothing new. The army officers represent there the same functions that the employer represents in industrial system framed by the military autocrats. Naturally they would no more enact laws meting out the same penalties to the private and the officers for the same crime than would the employers enact laws punishing employees and workers alike for the same or similar misdemeanors.

Ansell pointed out that "dishonorable discharge" is one of the common penalties imposed upon the private for infraction of the military law, but

is very rarely applied to the sacred persons of the officers. Dishonorable discharge deprives a man of his civil rights as a citizen and makes him in fact a man without a country. "In 51 out of every 100 court-martial cases of enlisted men," said Ansell, "dishonorable discharges have been awarded as part of the penalties against 46 of them have been executed." This was wholly different from the treatment of officers, he explained, whose citizenship status congress had carefully guarded.

One of the fundamental evils of the court-martial system, it is alleged, is the fact that while the bulk of the men amenable to military law are privates, the military law prohibits privates from sitting on the court-martial "juries." The court-martials are composed exclusively of officers. A similar system would obtain in civil sitting on juries, the law limiting juries to employers.

It is well understood that the anti-labor militarists expect to drive a compulsory military training bill through the coming congress. As a preliminary to the dictatorship of the capitalists which the young workers will find in industrial life the capitalists want to give the young men a suggestive touch of capitalist class justice as administered by the court-martial system under the articles of war.

## Efforts and Sacrifice

Milton Sheridan Sharp, chairman of the board of directors of the Bradford Dymers Association, Ltd. (England), opened the annual meeting of the stockholders on February 22, 1915, with these words: "After four years of the most terrible war in the history of the world we meet today after complete victory has crowned our efforts and our sacrifices." The chairman then gives in detail the "efforts and sacrifices" of his company. These include net profits for the year of \$3,200,000; 10 per cent bonus on the common stock; 7 1/2 per cent bonus on the common stock, and a surplus carried forward of \$1,440,000. Mr. Sharp predicts that, with the German ship industry destroyed, a future of the greatest prosperity is in store for his concern.

## Exploiters Do Not Keep Promises

(Continued from page one) overly confident that even the president's appeal to the capitalist industrial and commercial dictatorship will have much effect. When the organized labor exploiters traitorously repudiate their pledges made when war was declared and the workers con-

Former President Taft and other representatives of the capitalist class in the present capitalist administration want the War Labor Board continued as a peace-time institution. It is authoritatively stated that plans for its continuance will be submitted to President Wilson after he brings back to America what remains of his fourteen points.

The principal thing that the National War Labor Board did was to make the statement that in its opinion the working men and women and children are each and everyone really and actually and civilized and capitalistically entitled to enough of the new wealth they produce to enable them to live decently from day to day and reproduce their working strength with persistency and stability.

That is just what organized capitalists all over the world are trying to bring about—a system of wealth production under which those who produce the wealth will be permitted to have under the guise of wages no more of the wealth produced than is required to keep them alive and in working condition. The surplus, and under modern production there is a mountain of surplus, then of course belongs by right and by law to the labor exploiters.

Socialists declare that the working people who produce all the wealth are by right entitled to own and enjoy it. The capitalists and the War Labor Board states that the workers are entitled to but a small portion of that wealth and that the labor exploiters are entitled to what remains over and above the workers' living. The Socialists would guarantee the right of the workers to the wealth they produce by substituting collective ownership and democratic operation of the means of production for the existing private ownership for private profit system. The capitalists and the War Labor Board would perpetuate the present privately owned private profit system as the best possible system to limit the workers to the War Labor Board's "living wage."

The capitalists will need their War Labor Board badly enough before scripted to restore the workers to their jobs when the war was over—when they persistently refuse to do this and organize themselves nationally in order to make the lock out effective, it is not probable that they will respond to the president's appeal. They think more of their profits than they do of either their pledges or the president, and they figure that the maximum of profits will only come into the capitalists' coffers when wages have been forced down to what Karl Marx calls the "physical minimum."

But by all means let us celebrate "Job Sunday" and celebrate it with such enlightenment that the workers who participate will understand just what a "job" means under capitalism.

## Calls for Reorganization

(Continued from page one)

the results of our best thought and study keep strengthening our organization according to the dictates of common sense and practicability.

Believing that the above represents the sentiment of an overwhelming majority of the membership of the American Federation of Labor, this council submits the following propositions to you with the modest request that they be analyzed and judged solely upon their merits, and if you feel as we do, that you put forth your utmost efforts to carry them into effect.

Whereas, Experience of the most ardent and loyal trade unionists in carefully and deliberately planning to invoke the use of the strike weapon as a last resort in their efforts to secure certain measures of justice (especially at times when delay might prove fatal to their cause) have demonstrated weaknesses in our organizations which should be promptly remedied, notable among which is the necessity of as many as twenty different local unions represented in one plant (and desiring to act as a unit under a blanket agreement) communicating with that number of international unions for sanction and securing twenty replies, all of which must harmonize before joint action can be legally taken, the detrimental effect of which must be obvious to all; and,

Whereas, The continued existence of craft units in given localities as at present appears to be distinctly desirable and necessary for the transaction of business of a technical nature; now,

Resolved, That the Central Labor Council of Seattle and vicinity request all local unions within its jurisdictions to call upon their respective internationals to immediately submit the following proposition to a referendum vote of their membership:

Proposition No. 1.—Shall this international, by referendum vote, select three of its members to represent this international in conference, at a time and place to be named (preferably by the President of the American Federation of Labor) at as early a date as possible after such election, for the purpose of effecting the amalgamation and consolidation of all international unions into as nearly as possible twelve units, grouped approximately as follows:

Amusement Trades, Building Trades, Clothing and Textile Trades, Culinary and Provision Trades, Marine and Transport Workers, Metal Trades, Mine Workers, Postal and Federal Office Employees, Printing Trades, Railway Workers, Telegraph and Telephone Workers, Timber Workers.

Allowing local unions to retain their present status and at the same time permitting them to act as a group unit dealing with an international unit, thus greatly adding to our organization's efficiency and very materially reducing overhead expenses.

Note: It is suggested that in case of favorable action the international financial secretary should be one of the delegates.

## KATE O'HARE'S MESSAGE

(Continued from page one)

ment from her "task" there was a world of rebellion in a single glance, and then she resumed her sentry's watch over the tireless needle.

In the center of the back of the room, behind the toiling convict woman there is a platform on which sits the forelady, watching over the laborers of these others from seven in the morning until five in the afternoon, with an hour for lunch.

I was trying to study the forelady by her features when the matron said, so she could be heard above the noise of the machine, "There is that noted Goldman woman," and I tried to show the same curiosity as others who came to this prison just to look.

"How do you get along with her?" I asked.

"Well," replied the matron, "she tries to carry on her work here on the 'inside' just as she did on the 'outside,' and of course we can't stand for that."

There is absolutely no attempt made to differentiate between political prisoners and those committed to Missouri's penitentiary for the usual crimes against society. I asked Warden Painter about this and his

only answer was, "We treat them all alike." He did not seem to comprehend what was meant by a "political prisoner."

We, therefore, find Kate O'Hare, the world's most prominent woman political prisoner since Rosa Luxemburg was murdered in Moabit prison, in Berlin, Germany, at the height of the Spartacist revolution in January, working here like any ordinary criminal. The negro women are mixed indiscriminately with the white women at the sewing machines. At the end of her first week's prison experience, Kate O'Hare was as spirited as ever, with courage unshaken and her outlook undimmed.

"I am quite all right," she declared, using almost exactly the same words employed by Debs after his first night in his prison cell.

"I feel perfectly well," she persisted, "sleep like a baby and eat like a horse's head. The rest and quiet after the stress, strain and hard work of these trying times is really restful."

"So far I seem to feel no sense of shock, whatsoever. I entered here quite as calmly as I have registered at hundreds of hotels and the clang of the cell door did not disturb me more than the slamming of my room door by a careless bell boy."

"Life is the 'Great Adventure' and I am living one of its most interesting and illuminating experiences. I have learned much, so very much, in these strained days; lessons of pride and humility; lessons of laughter and bitter tragedy. I have learned that prison cells can teach greater and more useful lessons than college classrooms."

"Don't think that I am gloomy and lonely and unloved here, for I certainly am not. Through all the tragedy and heartache there comes a sparkle of wit and flashes of humor, and we really find many things to laugh over."

## Efforts and Sacrifice

(Continued from page one)

our little world has its comedies, its vanities, its classes and its castes, just like the big world outside. The 'federals' are for some reason the 'upper class' and the 'politicals' are the 'aristocracy,' so it would seem that the prisoners themselves recognize the difference between themselves and the prison officials and the prison system does not. Kate O'Hare continued:

"There are three real 'politicals', Emma Goldman, a wonderful little Italian girl of 18, and myself. There is another 'espionage,' but she is just a poor, simple, old soul about as downy as the government as an unoffending Jersey cow."

"Next in rank come the women who have disposed of undesirable husbands, and at this point I want to expound for all my male friends a bit of wisdom. If you chance to have one of those meek, patient, quiet, long suffering wives, beware that you do not try her too far, or some morning you may wake up in paradise—or the other place. If you have chanced to have a temperamental lady, of shrewish tendencies, you may be uncomfortable but you will be safe."

Kate O'Hare then told of her experiences with the other prisoners. She likened her efforts to get in touch with the criminal world, to the obstacles encountered by the clergymen of

a well-to-do flock in St. Louis who could not develop a point of contact with the working class of that city.

"I feel the same way in my contact with the other inmates," she said. "I want to come close to these women. I want to serve them. But I am always conscious of the fact that they feel that I am one apart from them. Quite often I feel that I am uncovering a mine of psychological material, or a rich vein of underdog philosophy, and just when I am getting what I want, some cynical soul says, 'Aw, cut it—she's a lady.' And I am baffled and shut out and realize that ladies and 'clergymen' are purely ornamental and can have no relations to real life."

"I feel that I am winning ground and in time I will not be penalized for being a lady."

The former member of the International Socialist Bureau then told of her experiences in the prison factory.

"One thing in my favor is that I can work," she said. "I am certainly thankful for my machine shop training."

Before her marriage to Frank P. O'Hare, Mrs. O'Hare was employed in a machine shop owned by her father at Kansas City, Mo.

"The work in the factory here does not trouble me in the least," she contends. "I understand that I have unwittingly broken all records for beginners. Of course I feel a little stiff and sore, but it is nothing serious. I feel sure that by next week I will be able to make the 'task' which for my work is 55 jumpers each day."

"I have received so many beautiful letters. You must let them know that I will be glad to get letters from them. There is no limit to what I can receive. But I can only write one letter a week and that, of course, must be to my family."

Kate O'Hare also asks that she be sent new books, as she cannot get too much reading matter. There are 80 girls in the prison, and there is not a book, magazine or partial of reading matter supplied to the women. There is a prison library but it seems that this is monopolized exclusively by the male prisoners.

The food served is eatable only as a last resort, or with prisoners who have money, or with friends on the 'outside' can have anything they want in the way of cold food.

"It will take some thought for me to work out a balanced ration," says Mrs. O'Hare. "But I will do the best I can. Tell the women comrades that I will be very glad to have any sort of home made jams, jellies and pickles, in fact, anything that is put up in small containers."

Several of the Jewish Socialists have promised to send Mrs. O'Hare some matzos, for which she had confessed a liking.

In speaking of the presence of Emma Goldman and the little Italian girl 'political' prisoner, whose name I failed to learn, Mrs. O'Hare said: "It is certainly a great thing for me to have two women like the two 'politicals' with me here. Miss Goldman is very fine and sweet and intelligently companionable, while the little girl is a darling. We really have very interesting times."

As a parting word, Mrs. O'Hare said: "Tell all the comrades to go on with my work and all will be well."