

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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VICTOR BERGER, SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN, DENIED SEAT IN CONGRESS

"PENDING INQUIRY"

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on fourth page.)

Clifford and Ruthenberg Held For Grand Jury Indictment

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

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

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

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

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

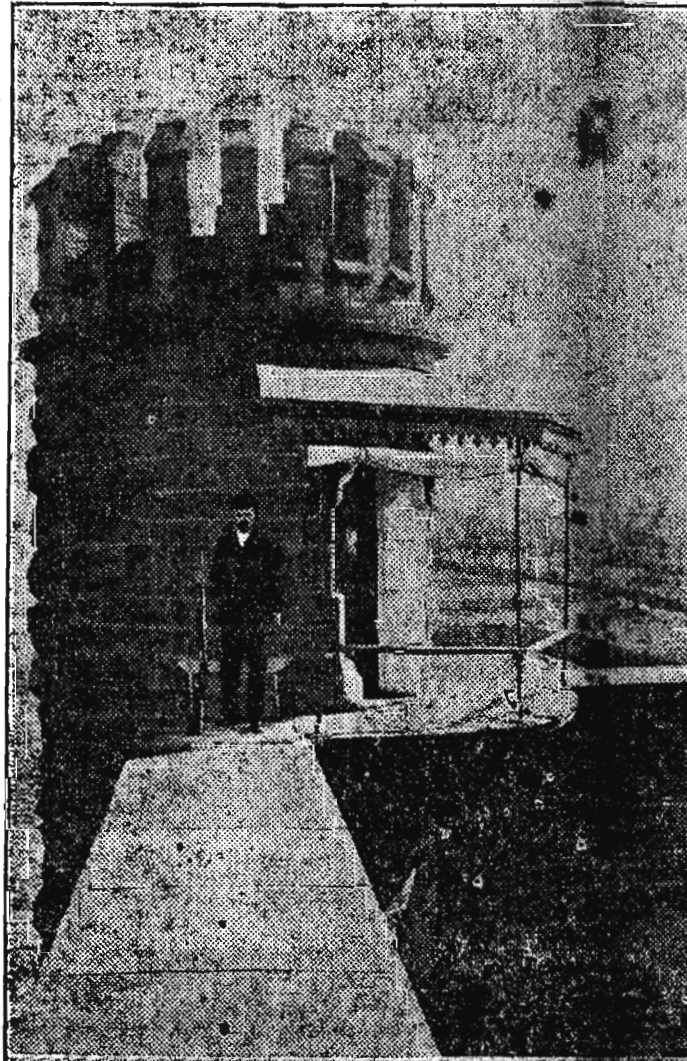
In regard to Ruthenberg, the only thing offered was a quotation from

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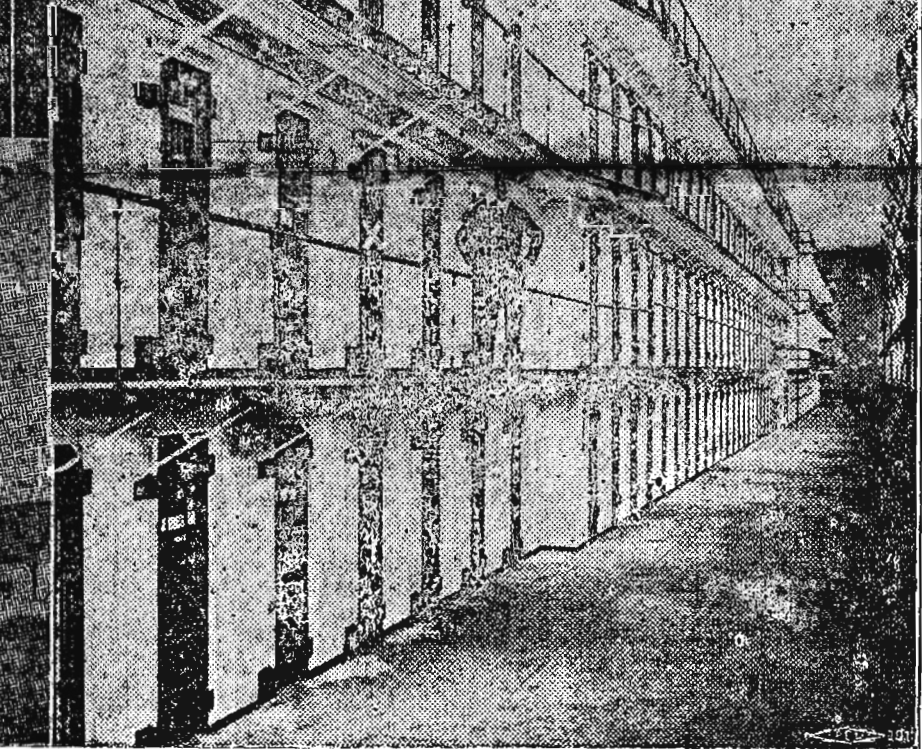
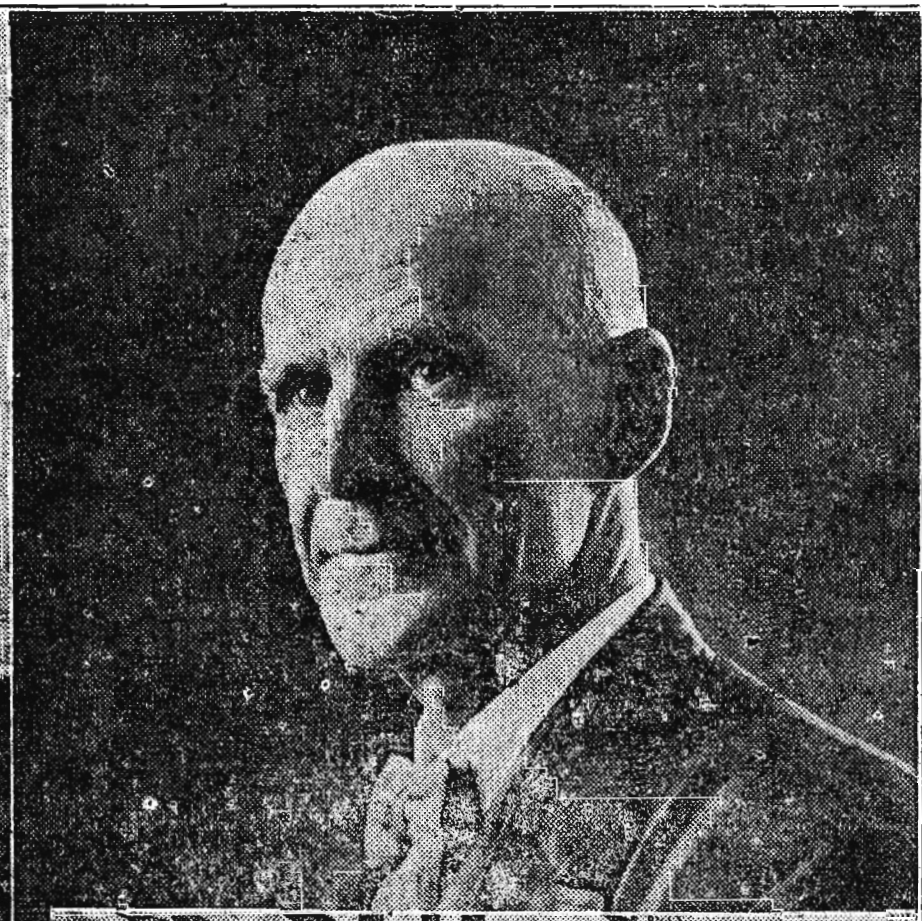
Where 'Gene Debs Will Spend 10 Years Unless—

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

Guard With Rifle Watches Over Debs' New Home



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



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

As you read this, Debs has already served

44 DAYS IN PRISON!

Dictatorship of Proletariat Established in Winnepeg

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

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

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

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

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

WOULDN'T DARE JAIL A DEBS IN ENGLAND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

its own press and printing equipment.

That's why, comrade, we are asking you —IN WHICH OF THESE COLUMNS WILL YOUR NAME APPEAR?

We believe you see the necessity of the Socialist Party owning the means of getting out its propaganda. We believe you are with us in this big drive to own and control the tools with which we must carry on the Party's work for Socialism. We be-

lieve you are with us to help raise \$10,000 for a printing press and other equipment to print the Ohio Socialist.

We believe you are going to help us raise this amount. We know you will help all you can. So we have laid out this space of seven columns for the purpose of giving credit to each and every comrade who helps. Not every comrade can give a hundred dollars, not every one can give

fifty nor even twenty-five, but hundreds of comrades CAN give ten dollars, hundreds and hundreds CAN give five dollars and thousands CAN spare one dollar for this purpose.

Remember, comrades, when you make a contribution to the Ohio Socialist Press Fund, you are not giving your money to a private individual, you are giving it to the Socialist Party, to the Socialist movement,

to the working-class.

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

IN WHICH OF THESE COLUMNS WILL YOUR NAME APPEAR?

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

HOW WE GROW?

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

PLEDGE COLUMN

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

Elmer T. Allison, Cleveland, \$50

Over Here Is the Kiddies' Korner

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

Norwood Allison, Cleveland, \$1.00

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

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

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL LANDS:

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

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

I. For a long span of years Socialism predicted the inevitability of the imperialist war, it perceived the essential cause of this war in the insatiable greed of the possessing classes in both camps of capitalist nations. Two years before the outbreak of the war, at the Congress of Basle, the responsible Socialist leaders of all countries branded Imperialism as the instigator of the coming war, and the forces of the bourgeoisie with the threat of the Socialist revolution—the retaliation of the proletariat for the crimes of militarism. Now, after the experience of five years, after history has disclosed the predatory lust of Germany, and has unmasked the no less criminal deeds on the part of the Allies, the Socialists of the Entente lands to-day, together with their governments, again and again unmask the deposed German Kaiser. And the German social patriots, who in August, 1914, proclaimed the diplomatic White Book of the Hohenzollerns, to-day, in the name of the people, today, in vulgar sycophancy, join themselves with the Socialists of the Entente lands to accuse as arch-criminal the deposed German monarchy which they formerly

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

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

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

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

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

The opportunists who before the war exhorted the workers in the name of the great transition to Socialism, to be temperate, who, during the war, asked for submission in the name of BURGRIEDEN and defense of the Fatherland, now again demand of the workers self-abnegation to overcome the terrible consequences of the war. If this preaching were listened to, all these basic questions of the economic life of the world are no longer regulated by free competition nor to the rule of the trusts, syndicates and other economic monsters. The only question is who shall be the future mainstay of state production, the Imperialist State, or the proletarian Dictatorship. In other words, shall the feudal bond-servants of the victorious Entente bourgeoisie, which under name of a League of Nations aided by an "international" army and an "international" navy here plunder and oppress the workers, or shall the proletarian Dictatorship, which recognizes neither inherited privileges nor rights of property but which arises from the needs of the humiliated masses, can shorten the period of the present crisis; and for this purpose it mobilizes all universal and forces, introduces the universal duty of labor, establishes the regime of industrial discipline, this way to heal in the course of a few years the open wounds caused by the war and also to raise humanity to a new undreamed-of height.

The national State, which was given a tremendous impulse by capitalist evolution, has become too narrow for the development of the productive forces. And even more untenable has become the position of the small States, distributed among the great powers of Europe and in other parts of the world. These small States came into existence at different times as fragments split off the bigger States, as petty currency in payment for services rendered, to serve as strategic buffer States. They, too, have their dynasties, their ruling gangs, their imperialistic pretensions, their diplomatic machinations. Their illusory independence had until the war precisely the same support as the European balance of power; namely, the continuous opposition between the two imperialistic camps. The war has destroyed this balance. The tremendous preponderance of power which the war gave to Germany in the beginning compelled the smaller nations to seek their welfare and safety under the wings of German militarism. After Germany was beaten, the bourgeoisie of the small nations, together with their patriotic "Socialists," turned to the victorious Imperialism of the Allies and began to seek assurance for their further independent existence in the hypocritical points of the Wilson program. At the same time the number of little States has increased; out of the unity of the

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

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

The last war, after all a war against the colonies, was at the same time a war with the aid of the colonies. To oppress the colonies, to increase the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, is now the chief task of the class-conscious and honest workers of all countries. By means of these Councils the working class can counteract that disorganizing transition to such sharp relief. As a consequence, we witnessed a series of open rebellions and revolutionary ferment in all colonies. In Europe itself it was Ireland which reminded us in bloody street battles that it is still an enslaved country and feels itself as such. In Madagascar, in other colonies, the troops of the bourgeoisie have had more than one insurrection of the colonial slaves to suppress during the war. In India the revolutionary movement has not been at a standstill for one day, and lately we have witnessed the greatest labor strike in Asia, to which the Government of Great Britain answered with armored cars.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Whenever the Masses are awakened to consciousness, Workers, Soldiers, and Peasants' Councils will be formed. For the Councils to increase their authority, to oppose them to the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, is now the chief task of the class-conscious and honest workers of all countries. By means of these Councils the working class can counteract that disorganizing transition to such sharp relief. As a consequence, we witnessed a series of open rebellions and revolutionary ferment in all colonies. In Europe itself it was Ireland which reminded us in bloody street battles that it is still an enslaved country and feels itself as such. In Madagascar, in other colonies, the troops of the bourgeoisie have had more than one insurrection of the colonial slaves to suppress during the war. In India the revolutionary movement has not been at a standstill for one day, and lately we have witnessed the greatest labor strike in Asia, to which the Government of Great Britain answered with armored cars.

The collapse of the imperialistic State, czaristic to most democratic, goes on simultaneously with the collapse of the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie. The armies of millions, mobilized by imperialism, could remain steadfast only so long as the proletariat remained obedient under the yoke of the bourgeoisie. The complete breakdown of national unity signifies also an inevitable disintegration of the army. Thus it happened first in Russia, then in Austria-Hungary, then in Germany. The same also is to be expected in other imperialistic States. Insurrection of the peasants against the landowner, of laborer against capitalist, of both against the monarch, which has been brought into the civil war which lines up class against class.

The outcry of the bourgeoisie world against the civil war and the red terror is the most colossal hypocrisy of which the history of political struggles can boast. There would be no civil war if the exploiters who have carried mankind to the very brink of complete destruction, had not taken the step of the laboring masses, if they had not instigated plots and murders and called to their aid armed help from outside to maintain or restore their predatory privileges. Civil war is forced upon the laboring classes by their arch-enemies. The working class must not renounce its own object and its own future which is at the same time the future of all humanity.

The communist parties, far from conjuring up civil war artificially, rather strive to shorten its duration as much as possible—in case it has become an iron necessity—to minimize the number of its victims, and above all to secure victory for the proletariat. This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie at the proper time, the arming of the laborers, and the formation of a communist army as the protector of the rule of the proletariat and the inviolability of the proletarian State. Such is the Army of Soviet Russia which arose to protect the achievements of the working class against every assault from within or without. The Soviet Army is inseparable from the Soviet State.

Conscious of the world-historic character of their mission, the enlightened workers strove from the very beginning of the organized socialist movement for an international union. The foundation-stone of this union was laid in the year 1864 in London, in the first International. The Franco-Prussian War, from which arose the Germany of the Hohenzollerns, undermined the first International, giving rise at the same time to the national labor parties. As early as 1889 these parties united at the Congress of Paris and organized the Second International. But during this period the center of gravity of the labor movement rested entirely on national ground, confining itself within the realm of national parliamentarism to the narrow compass of national states and national industries. Decades of organizing and labor reforming created a generation of leaders most of whom gave verbal recognition to the program of social revolution but denied it in substance. They were lost in the swamp of reformism and adaptation to the bourgeois State. The opportunistic character of the leading parties of the Second International was finally revealed—and led to the greatest collapse of the movement in all its history—when events required revolutionary methods of warfare from the labor parties. Just as the war of 1870 dealt a deathblow to the First International by revealing that there was not in fact behind the social-revolutionary program any compact power of the masses, so the war of 1914 killed the Second International by showing that above the consolidated labor masses there stood labor parties which converted themselves into servile organs of the bourgeois state.

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

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

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

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

THE NEW ERA HAS BEGUN! THE ERA OF THE DOWNFALL OF CAPITALISM—ITS INTERNAL DISINTEGRATION. THE EPOCH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE INTO A COMMUNIST REVOLUTION. INCREASED REVOLUTIONARY FERMENT IN OTHER LANDS; UPRISINGS IN THE COLONIES; UTER INCARCERATION OF THE RULING CLASSES TO CONTROL THE MOUTH OF PEOPLES ANY LONGER; THAT IS THE PICTURE OF PRESENT WORLD CONDITIONS.

Humanity, with its entire culture now lying in ruins, faces danger of complete destruction. There is only one power which can save it—the power of the proletariat. The old capitalist "order" can exist no longer. The ultimate result of the capitalist mode of production is chaos—a chaos to be overcome only by the great producing class, the proletariat. It is the proletariat which must establish real order, the order of communism. The ultimate result of the capitalist mode of production is chaos—a chaos to be overcome only by the great producing class, the proletariat. It is the proletariat which must establish real order, the order of communism. The ultimate result of the capitalist mode of production is chaos—a chaos to be overcome only by the great producing class, the proletariat. It is the proletariat which must establish real order, the order of communism.

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

The Capture of Political Power

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

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

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

Democracy, so-called, that is, bourgeois democracy, is nothing more nor less than veiled dictatorship by the bourgeoisie. The much vaunted "popular will" exists as little as the undivided people. In reality, there are the classes, with antagonistic, irreconcilable purposes. However, since the bourgeoisie is only a small majority, it needs this fiction of the "popular will" as a flourish of fine-sounding words to reinforce its rule over the working classes and to impose its own class will upon the people. The proletariat, on the contrary, as the overwhelming majority of the people, openly exercises its class power by means of its mass organizations and through its Councils, in order to wipe out the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to secure the transition, rather the transformation, into a classless communist commonwealth.

The main emphasis of bourgeois democracy is on formal declarations of rights and liberties which are in fact unattainable by the proletariat, because of want of the material means for their enjoyment; while the bourgeoisie uses its material advantages, through its press and organizations, to deceive and betray the people. On the other hand, the Council type of government makes it possible for the proletariat to realize its rights and liberties. The Council power gives to the people palaces, houses, printing offices, paper supply, etc., for their press, their societies and assemblies. And in this way alone is actual proletarian democracy made possible.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, uses words to induce belief in popular participation in government. Actually the masses and their organizations are held far out of reach of the real power and the real State administration. In the Council system the mass organizations rule and through them the mass itself, inasmuch as the Councils draw revolutionary increasing numbers of workers into the State administration; and only by this process will the entire working population gradually become part of the government. The Council system also builds itself directly on the mass organizations of the proletariat, on the Councils themselves, the revolutionary trade unions, the co-operatives, etc. Bourgeois democracy and its parliamentary system sharpen the separation of the masses from the State by division of the government into legislative and executive powers, inasmuch as the Council system, beyond popular recall, is the most direct system, unites the masses with the organs of government by right of recall, amalgamation of legislative and executive powers, and by use of working roads. Above all this union is fostered by the fact that in the Council system elections are based not on arbitrary territorial districts, but on units of production.

In this way the Council system brings about true proletarian democracy, democracy by and for the proletarians against the bourgeoisie. In this system because it is the most aggressive, best organized, and politically ripest class, under whose leadership the half-proletarians and small farmers will be gradually elevated. These temporary privileges of the industrial proletariat must be utilized to draw the small farmers away from the control of the big landowner and bourgeoisie and to organize and train them as helpers in the building of the communist structure.

Expropriation of the Bourgeoisie and Socialization of Production

The breakdown of the capitalist order and the disruption of capitalist industrial discipline makes impossible the reorganization of production on the capitalist basis. Wars of the workingmen—even when successful—do not bring the anticipated betterment of conditions of living; the workers can only become emancipated when production is no longer controlled by the bourgeoisie but by the proletariat, which raises the standards of productivity, in order to crush the opposition on the part of the bourgeoisie (which only prolongs the death struggle of the old regime and thereby invites danger of total ruin), the Proletarian Dictatorship must carry out the expropriation of the greater bourgeoisie and junkerdom and convert the means of production and distribution in the common property of the proletarian State.

Communism is now being born out of the ruins of Capitalism—there is no other salvation for humanity. The opportunists who are making utopian demands for the reconstruction of the economic system of capitalism, so as to postpone socialization, only delay the process of disintegration, and increase the danger of total demolition. The communist revolution, on the other hand, is the best, the only means, by which the most important social power of production—the proletariat—can be saved, and with it property itself.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat does not in any way call for partition of the means of production and exchange; rather, on the contrary, its aim is further to centralize the forces of production and to subject all of production to a symmetrical system of first steps toward socialization of the entire economic system may be mentioned: the socializing of the great banks which now control production; the taking over by the state power of the proletariat of all government controlled economic utilities; the transferring of communal enterprises to the socializing of the syndicated and trusted units of production, as well as all other branches of production in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital makes this technically practicable; the socializing of agricultural estates and their conversion into co-operative establishments.

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

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

As in the field of production so also in the field of distribution all qualified technicians and specialists are to be made use of, provided their political resistance is broken, and they are still capable of adapting themselves to the service of capital, but for the new system of production. Far from oppressing them the proletariat will make it possible for the first time for them to develop intensive creative work. The Proletarian Dictatorship, with their cooperation, will retrieve the separation of physical and mental work which Capitalism has torn apart and thus will Science and Labor be unified. Besides expropriating the factories, mines, estates, etc., the proletariat must also abolish the exploitation of the people by capitalistic landlords, transfer the large mansions to the local workers' councils, and move the working people into the bourgeois dwellings.

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

The Way to Victory

The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate the tire energies, namely, mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as parliamentary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary importance.

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

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all lands, the dangers of suppression of this revolution through the coalition of capitalist States, the attempts of the Socialist betrayers to unite with one another (the formation of the Yellow "International" at Bern), and to give their services to the Wilsonian League; finally, the absolute necessity for co-ordination of proletarian actions—all these demand the formation of a real revolutionary and real proletarian Communist International, which subordinates the so-called national interests to the interests of the international revolution, will personify the mutual help of the workers of the different countries, for without economic and other mutual helpness the proletariat will not be able to organize the new society. On the other hand, in contrast with the Yellow International of the social-patriots, the Proletarian Communist International will support the oppressed colonial peoples in their fight against Imperialism, in order to hasten the final collapse of the imperialist world system.

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

DOWN WITH THE IMPERIAL CONSPIRACY OF CAPITAL!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLIC OF THE PROLETARIAN COUNCILS!

—Moscow, March 6, 1919.

A LEGITIMATE USE OF RIDICULE

As a rule it is poor policy to resort to epithets and sarcasm when trying to interest conservatives in Socialism. The only kind of sarcasm which these are usually the weapons that win in the long run. But occasionally one encounters a prospect so exuberantly dogmatic, so madly ignorant that the only method left to pierce his complacency is to use his own weapons. Some people can be stirred into genuine thought by being pricked a trifle with the sharp rapier of sarcasm. Others need to be bowled over by a blast from a blunderbuss.

A few days ago I mailed a post card to a friend. The postcard dealt with this person, to do all in her power to help secure the release of Eugene V. Debs and the other political and industrial prisoners of this country. Shortly after, the card was returned to me with the following scribbled across it in red ink:

"If you want to send me like this to me, please put it in an envelope. I don't want it coming to my name uncovered."

Immediately I sent the following reply:

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

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

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

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

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

"These are harsh words, perhaps. But they are vitally necessary in a hardish case such as yours. There is nothing fundamentally the matter with your brain—only certain conclusions are hardened and impervious to new ideas. Your sphere of activity seems to be confined to eating, drink-

(Continued on third page.)

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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

One Year \$1.00 BUNDLE RATES Six Months 50c

Address all mail and make all checks payable to SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO, R. F. D. 2, Box 55, Brecksville, Ohio

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Editors Elmer T. Allison Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 28, 1919.

THE NEW FORMS OF DEMOCRACY.

Turning from the task of "making the world safe for democracy" world capitalism is now attempting to "make democracy safe for the world." In its efforts to play the part of seeming a certain kind of world benefactor, it is aided by every boot-licking editor who can be corralled by promises, intimidation or open threats.

An investigation of the peculiar form of democracy for which so much solicitude is felt reveals some interesting phases of the ever growing class-struggle. Democracy, we have been taught heretofore was the only certain cure for such evils as arose under its rule. This was in the distant past before Roosevelt was outclassed by a super-word mongerer and we had more democracy but heard less about it.

Democracy, it seems, in order to be safe for the world, must be of a certain form and with measurable limitations. It must not be of an "extreme" type. It must conform to certain standards commensurate with the welfare of the capitalist class and must be so cribbed with limitations that the economic position of the world's exploiters is left unmolested while they ride safely upon the backs of the workers. Democracy within these bounds is "safe." When it becomes rebellious and seeks to break through the cribbage, it becomes "dangerous" and a "menace to the world."

The attempt of the apologists of capitalism to justify the Allies' violation of Wilson's pet point—"self-determination for all nations"—as applied to Russia is one of the most illuminating bits of mental gymnastics which it has been our pleasure to witness.

In one of the biggest household magazines of the country we find this wonderfully logical bit of reasoning: "We are not at war with Russia and never have been. Then why does not President Wilson withdraw our armies from Russia and allow the Russian people to decide for themselves what sort of government they will have?" And the editor proceeds to answer his question. "Simply because the present government of Russia is but destructive of civilization." Then he proceeds to claim it is the duty of the Allies to stamp it out.

And right here we want to know of what value is this point of Wilson's "self-determination for all peoples," if it is to be cast overboard at the whim of any group of commercial pirates strong enough to do it and to institute a reign of slaughter against another race and people when their government of their choice does not suit the plunderers? Wherein lies its potency for world peace? If it has any why is it not used for that purpose today? Is it not a fact that Wilson is the first to prove the shallowness of his own program when he violates in Russia his heralded point of "self-determination"?

As a matter of fact the only "democracy" the capitalist class of this country or of any other will voluntarily submit to is the kind that leaves the slaughter of the workers in their hands. The kind that allows them the privilege of untold robbery, or exploitation, of control through the economic resources of the lives and welfare of the workers of the world. All else is anarchy and "dangerous democracy." This is one point the workers of the whole world are fast learning, whatever they know or care of the famous "fourteen."

WHAT GOMPERS CANNOT SEE.

A tidal wave of restless humanity is sweeping across the world. A social calamity threatens the peoples of Europe.

Our land is not altogether free from the sparks of the fires of human dissension, strife and turmoil, which are threatening the very foundations of some of the European nations.

So writes Samuel Gompers in an article purporting to give a solution for the economic evils of the nation. If Gompers were anything but a congenial compromiser and crumb picker, his mind would react to the march of democracy across the world. Born with a temperamental inclination toward "keeping things as they are," he sees in the violent upheavals in Europe nothing save an eruption of dissension and a crumbling of all that seemed staple and sound.

So used is he to view the world and the race as a static quality, that the slow evolution that has been going on in society, having reached the stage of evolution, he is immediately thrown into a state of querulous panic.

Those forces which seem to be "threatening the very foundations of some of the European nations" are but the birth pangs of a New Society breaking asunder the walls of the parent system. The "dissensions" which Gompers deprecates are a natural product of the conflicting interests of different social classes.

"The social calamity" which threatens the people of Europe is not the New Society which is bringing forth in suffering, but the old, outworn and broken down system of private ownership of all men's means of living, which if longer continued would indeed have brought chaos to the race. It was the inadequacy of this decrepit economic system to minister satisfactorily to the needs of humanity in the hour of its supreme trial that is at bottom the cause of Europe's agony.

Just how far in the rear of the world's march is Gompers is seen in his view of world events. While the world's workers hail the Social Revolution as the great hope of the race, he looks on through the smoked glasses of reaction and compromise.

Since the Bolsheviks took control of Russia's industries capitalists have learned the meaning of the apostle's words: if a man will not work, neither shall he eat.

It's all right in a song to raise the question of how to keep the boys on the farm after a sojourn in Paris, but we observe that the whole cry of the boys over there is for one more chance at the old home place and the sanity that surrounds it.

One thing the daily press has not exploited—that is, the joy of bullying the Bolsheviks in six feet of snow with frozen feet.

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, Ohio.

Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.

Tom Lewis, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.

Thurber Lewis, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio.

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 Ruemmele, 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood, Ohio.

J. J. Hoge, 980 Central, Bellaire, O.

Party News and Views

LIKE HOLMAN AT PLEASANT CITY.

"Comrade Holman was with us on the 11th. Although we had short notice of his coming, we had a good meeting and were well pleased with his lecture. We would like to have him come again."

A. G. DEEREN.

READY FOR SERVICE.

A dollar from Comrade J. S. Pausus for May Day sub cards. If I can be of further help to you please command me, adds Comrade Pausus. We'll keep you in mind, comrade.

PAYS TO TAKE A CUSSING.

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

CANTON SOCIALISTS ATTENTION.

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

EVERY KNOCK IS A BOOST FOR SOCIALISTS.

Every knock is a boost so far as the Socialists of East Liverpool are concerned. As a result of the agitation stirred up in that city on May Day and several strikes which have been inaugurated since, the owners of the hall in which the local met closed it to them. The local soon secured a better place in the Trades and Labor hall and are now better satisfied than before. The East Liverpool Tribune gloats over the fact that a new city ordinance provides that a permit be granted all street speakers before a meeting can be held. This is supposed to curb Bolshevism, etc. If the editor of the Tribune had an ounce of brains he would know that the strikes of labor in that city are evidence that the growth of Bolshevism has retarded the doors of the American Socialist Party. But who expects him to see what is before him?

OUR JOB, SAYS THIS COMRADE.

Beuena Vista, Va., May 5, 1919. Dear Comrades: We must, must build up a larger circulation. We are the only party in the American canastles; the families of our imprisoned comrades must be provided for. All this can be done and the system of injustice can soon be removed if we will work to that end. I feel that old Virginia is beginning to wake up from its long sleep. Yours for humanity, J. W. HUMPHREY.

FOREIGN BRANCHES ORGANIZED.

A Russian branch has been organized at Steubenville. The new local consists of 10 members at time of organization. Comrade J. Pishko is to be credited for the work of organization.

At Alliance an Lithuanian branch has been organized by Comrade Thomas S. Astrauskas. The branch has five members.

CHAS. BAKER ORGANIZES AT FREMONT.

Another local has come back into the fold of active ones. The comrades of Fremont have effected reorganization by the efforts of Comrade Chas. Baker. Local Fremont consists of 10 members. To all our new locals we extend the heartiest comradeship and wish them a generous growth and development.

JOSEPH ROBB AT GIRARD.

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

Workers' Council Resolution

Whereas, organized capitalist hatred has thrown into the jails the bravest spokesmen of labor for terms more savage than those meted out to political prisoners by the old autocracies of Russia and Germany, because they dared to speak what they thought the truth, and refused to prostitute their consciences, and

Whereas, laws ostensibly intended for the punishment of enemy spies, have been used by the powers that be to crush every expression of labor's solidarity and forward-looking thought, and

Whereas, the imprisonment of these people is primarily a manifestation of the struggle between capital and labor, a war which transcends the war between groups of nations, be it

Resolved, that we call upon the class-conscious workers of the country to exert their industrial powers to force the release of the class war prisoners.

Adopted at conference of Workers' Council of the Waist and Dress Industry May 4, 1919, New York.

A LEGITIMATE USE OF RIDICULE

(Continued from first page.)

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

Jos. Robb of Cleveland delivered a good address there the 17th. Despite bad weather, a good crowd was on hand. They showed their appreciation by giving undivided attention and a good collection.

PREACHERS AND REACTIONARIES COMBINE.

From Tiffin comes the news of a new city ordinance compelling persons desirous of holding a street meeting to obtain a permit from the mayor. Along with this latest development of the kind of "democracy" we have been fighting for, the preachers of Tiffin combined in a Sunday morning onslaught upon the Socialists and Bolsheviks. True to their historic policy the ministers may be expected to follow where their paymasters lead.

ANOTHER \$5.00 FROM COMRADE COOK.

Another check for five dollars comes in from Comrade Allen Cook of Canton for O. S. subscription cards. We don't know just how many five spots Comrade Cook has turned in for subscriptions, but they come in mighty regularly. Comrade Cook is one of our best boosters.

LILTH MARTIN ORGANIZES NEW LOCALS.

Comrade Martin is having great good fortune of late. At Forest she secured five members-at-large. Owing to peculiar conditions there she did not organize a local. At Dunkirk a local of five members was organized.

At Dola, Comrade Martin held one of the best meetings on her tour. Owing to the fact that the trustees of the school took some time to debate whether the meeting could be held in the school house, a good deal of free advertising was secured.

When they decided that the meeting could be held providing the speaker was not "unpatriotic," a full house greeted Comrade Martin. The population thereabouts is but 150. Nevertheless a local of eleven members was organized. A collection of \$9.50 was taken and \$2.50 worth of literature was sold.

AKRON SOCIALISTS ACTIVE.

Local Akron is doing business at the same old stand and its activity is increasing from week to week. The American branch holds a regular business meeting every Friday night at 50 S. Howard street. At every one of these meetings some speaker, who has been engaged in advance, winds up the meeting with about a half hour talk, after which a general discussion is held until the subject is threshed out.

Through this method new members are constantly being admitted. At the last meeting of the City Central committee there were over 30 members taken in. The German branch is especially active and always doing business.

On May 30th, the last Friday in the month, there will be held a mass party membership convention for the purpose of reorganizing the City Central committee. Under its present form the C. C. C. is inefficient and not representative of the active movement.

It is hoped the general party meeting will be able to work out a form of organization which will be more workable and more satisfactory to all the branches.

The undersigned was elected regular correspondent for the O. S. and will try to keep the readers informed of Socialist activity in Akron.

Fraternally, JOHN C. CHASE.

STOP IT!

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

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

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

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

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.

Table listing local meetings for various cities: LOCAL AKRON (Meets Every Friday Evening at 50 South Howard St.), LOCAL CINCINNATI (Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M. Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M. SOCIALIST HALL 1814 Vine St.), LOCAL WARREN (Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., Labor Organization Hall, E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.), LOCAL KENMORE (Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M. BITTIKOFFERS HALL Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard Kenmore, Ohio.), LOCAL SANDUSKY (Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M. FUCHS HALL Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.), LOCAL TOLEDO (Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.), LOCAL COLUMBUS (Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M. Hall 50 1/2 W. Gay Street), SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O. (Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.), LOCAL HAMILTON (Meets Every Friday Evening 8 P. M. SOCIALIST HALL 38 High St., Third Floor.), Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY (Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters, 328 Tuscarawas St., E.), LOCAL NILES (Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m. Study Class every Sunday, 10 a. m. Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m. MASONIC HALL 164 N. Chestnut St.), Branch Meets TIFFIN Every Wednesday, 8 P. M. No. 93 1/2 Washington St.

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

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

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

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

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MAY DAY IN PRISON

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

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

For us it was no occasion for light hearted gaiety, but one for serious reflection and determined preparation for the task which lies before us when we get out of this place. The morning program began in cantonment 6 when all the conscientious objectors arose and sang the International. Next the hardy Russians stood and sang with lusty voices their Memorial Hymn. I thrilled within to see these simple determined men stand up and echo the melody which inspired their patriots to their supreme effort in 1917, when Russia broke her chains and autocracy fell thrundering to the ground.

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

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

HAVE RED PARADE.

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

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

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

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

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

A RED PROGRAM.

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

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

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

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

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

The floor being then thrown open for discussion, Markowitz explained that a "dictatorship" in the U. S. must not be winced at, for it was a familiar modus operandi here, where less than five percent of the people control the means of production, and the channels of intercourse. Isn't a dictatorship of the proletariat just as justified as one of the bourgeois? Snyder followed with a warning against leader worship and blind devotion to leaders from the intelligence. He told us to rely on leaders from among the workers and thus preclude the danger of being misled

by some upstart intellectual, who would not lead straight in a crisis.

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

ERLING H. LUNDE.

VICTOR BERGER, SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN

(Continued from first page.)

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

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

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

BERGER'S STAND ON WAR UNCHANGED.

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

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

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

Although the Socialist-hating officials of the department of justice charged Berger in the indictment with having conspired to interfere with the armed forces of the United States, the Socialist congressman charges that the entire trial proceedings at Chicago conclusively demonstrated that he was not being charged for alleged interference with the armed forces of the United States, but rather for his pronouncement of individual ownership for profit of the socially necessary means for the production and distribution of wealth and the substitution of that ownership with its consequent indictment, trial, conviction and execution of labor exploitation.

It is Berger's impression that the jury which convicted him was dominated by the prevailing psychological of the anti-Socialist and plutocratic newspapers whose owners believed that the time had come, for the continued safety of the capitalist regime, a representative Socialist must be sent to jail. This atmosphere resulted in a jury being picked composed of anti-Socialist retired farmers and real estate dealers—a jury which knew about as much regarding the constitutional rights of American citizens and the fundamental principles underlying democratic forms of government as a Hottentot.

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

Berger discussed the extent to which the government authorities have used the espionage law to suppress and abolish the fundamental rights guaranteed every citizen by the Constitution of the United States. "Free speech and free press have been abolished," he exclaimed. "If one speaks or writes the truth as one sees it, one dies at the risk of being sent to the penitentiary for 10, 15 or 20 years.

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

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

BERGER FIRST SOCIALIST CONGRESSMAN.

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

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

REBELLION IN INDIA

By NOMAN THOMAS, Editor "The World Tomorrow."

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

These figures give the background of Indian unrest which is today economic even more than political. The Montague-Chelmsford home rule bill will not meet this economic situation. Meanwhile its passage has been held up in Britain while in India not constructive legislation but extremely coercive anti-sedition laws have been passed. In consequence of this miserable situation there have been a series of strikes among the grossly underpaid laborers in British owned industries, and political riots in the leading cities. Finally—and most significant of all—the hitherto apathetic peasantry have rebelled in district after district not only against British rule, but in favor of the an-

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

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

But in spite of all the indictments and in spite of all the clamor of the capitalist papers and the so-called "loyalist" societies, the voters of the Fifth district gave Victor Berger a clear majority of 5,560 over Joseph P. Carney, Democrat, with Stafford, Republican, trailing along in the rear with 10,550 ballots to his credit.

It is the express election-day mandate of the 17,822 Socialist voters in Berger's district that certain anti-Socialist politicians in the house of representatives are to try to nullify by refusing to permit Berger, Socialist, to take his seat in the senate. In the meantime his right to his seat is recognized by prompt payment of his wages.

DICTIONARSHIP OF PROLETARIAT

(Continued from first page.)

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

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

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

ONE BIG UNION.

(By GORDON GREY.)

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

CHICAGO LABOR ORGANIZED FOR MOONEY DEFENSE

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

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

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

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

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

Madame Creery of Milwaukee, one of the women who addressed the National Mooney Labor Congress of January, lectured the organization committee session, especially on details of the acceptance of the General Protest Strike in Wisconsin. The rank and file of organized labor is being aroused there and elsewhere as never before.

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

The permanent organization of the Chicago Mooney Defense League elected F. B. Meister, Coopers' Union No. 15, chairman, and A. Johansson, representing the Carpenters' District Council and the International Workers' Defense League, as secretary. These are assisted by an organization and publicity committee of seven members. Permanent office headquarters have been granted by the Chicago Federation of Labor free of all charge to the Defense League until Mooney and Billings are freed or guaranteed a new trial and a square deal. Organized labor and the progressively-minded public before the Ottawa settlement in their desire to see this case settled right.

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

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

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

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

EUGENE DEBS

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

—Ellis B. Harris.

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

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

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

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

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

American Federation of Labor unions in western Canada are now voting on a referendum to form "One Big Union" and secede from the Federation. The vote is favorable in many important cities and industrial sections. In certain other places, however, the result is in doubt. It is the opinion of employers as well as of employees that labor in Canada will soon frankly adopt the "One Big Union" method of battling for its rights and for its ultimate triumph. —The Nation.

Clifford and Ruthenberg Held

(Continued from first page.)

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

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

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

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

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