

# The Ohio Socialist

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## ALLIED INTERVENTION CAUSED "RED TERROR" IN RUSSIA

### Insult Added to Injury

The reported reduction of the sentence of A. L. Hitchcock, former Cleveland School Board member, from ten years to two years, on the recommendation of former Attorney General Gregory, is a confession that Hitchcock was unjustly dealt with.

The facts in the Hitchcock case show this conclusively. Hitchcock was elected a member of the Cleveland School Board in November, 1917. As a member of that body he made an aggressive fight against the reactionaries and reactionary ideas that controlled that body.

His first resolution called for rescinding of the rule which barred teachers from organizing a union for their own protection. He followed this up with other working class measures and injected the working class viewpoint in all the debates on measures which came before the board.

Through these and similar activities Hitchcock became a thorn in the flesh of the school board reactionaries and the business interests which they served. Again and again the two men who are particularly active in serving the ruling class of Cleveland in shaping the work of the schools to its liking—the pompous president of the board, Mark Thompson, and the slick Mr. Williams—tried to squelch Hitchcock, but without success.

When in the spring of 1918 the board took up the question of assisting in the Liberty Loan Campaign then under way, Hitchcock in a pointed and outspoken speech protested against any coercion to compel underpaid school teachers to purchase Liberty Bonds.

Hitchcock had been elected a member of the Cleveland School Board to represent the workers of the city. He personally knew of scores of instances in which working men had lost their jobs because they had refused to purchase Liberty Bonds. As a representative of the workers he refused to commit himself to similar treatment of workers toward whom he, as a member of the school board, stood in the position of employer. Hence his outspoken protest.

This protest, which hit the entire employing class of the city as well as the capitalist representatives on the school board, brought down upon him the anger and enmity of the entire capitalist class of the city and through the tools of this class in public places and newspaper offices the hue and cry against him was raised and the plan to oust him from the school board got under way.

As has been pointed out before, Assistant District Attorney Breitenstein said, after Hitchcock's protest before the school board and before his arrest:

"Means can be found to remove him from the board. This is no time to dilly dally over the niceties of legal technicalities," Cleveland Plain Dealer, April 11, 1918.

There was nothing in Hitchcock's protest before the school board that was illegal, or otherwise the district attorney's office would have proceeded against him on the basis of that speech, and not because he made that protest before the school board.

Later Hitchcock was indicted for some chance remark made in a conversation with an old friend—a renegade Socialist—at Sandusky. For making this remark, which had to do with the use of the money derived from the sale of Liberty Bonds, Hitchcock was sentenced to serve ten years in the Atlanta federal prison AND WAS REMOVED FROM THE SCHOOL BOARD.

It is not to be wondered at that the attorney general's office is ashamed of this record and recommended the reduction of Hitchcock's sentence from ten years to two years. But reduction of the sentence will not wipe out the infamy of action against Hitchcock.

In our opinion and the facts bear out this view—the prosecution against Hitchcock was begun for the sole purpose of removing him from the school board. It was the brutal use of its power by a class dominating the machinery of prosecution to rid itself of a workers' representative whose criticisms were making things unpleasant for that class.

Reduction of Hitchcock's sentence will not wipe out the disgrace of this persecution. What is due Hitchcock is immediate freedom and reparation for the financial loss and suffering which has been his lot while in prison.

The attorney general has confessed that Hitchcock was unjustly treated by his recommendation for reduction of his sentence. It is for the workers whose fight he made to win freedom for him by making a united demand that not only Hitchcock, but every man and woman imprisoned under the anti-free speech and free press section of the Espionage law, be released at once.

### British Workers Firm In Making Demands

London.—Failure to grant the miners' demands will result in a general strike of the "triple alliance," which would paralyze British industries and probably force a change in the government, Robert Williams, general secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, declared today.

The "triple alliance" is the common term for the transport workers, railway men and miners. Williams' organization alone numbers close to 300,000.

Williams, who, next to J. H. Thomas and Robert Smillie, is the most influential laborite in Great Britain, is not optimistic regarding the result of the inquiry being conducted into the mining situation by the government.

### To Meet Socialists Of Other Countries

Chicago.—James O'neal, member of the Socialist Party National Executive Committee, leaves for Europe this month, to re-establish relations between the organized Socialists of the United States and those on the other side of the Atlantic.

O'neal secured passports to attend the International Socialist and Labor Conference at Bern, Switzerland, after the conference had adjourned. He will make use of these passports, however, to visit Europe and get in touch with the officials of the various National Socialist Parties and with the International Socialist Bureau.

Dan Hogan, member of the party executive, has made application for passports to attend the Pan-American Socialist Conference to be held at Buenos Aires, Argentina, April 26.

James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, was originally selected for this service, but pressing duties will keep him at home. Hogan will therefore act as alternate.

The Buenos Aires conference will be the first gathering of representatives of the various Socialist Parties on the western hemisphere.

He does not believe the miners will accept a compromise. He is optimistic, however, regarding negotiations now under way between the transport workers and employers regarding a 44-hour week with no decrease in present wages.

"Nationalization of all natural monopolies, with the workers participating in the management, is the only solution to the present labor unrest," said Williams. "It would go a long way toward preventing profiteering and decreasing the cost of living."

"I do not see any possibility of averting a strike of the triple alliance (the alliance is pledged to act together), unless the parliamentary committee investigating the miners' demands recommends nationalization of the mines, a 6-hour day and a 30 per cent. wage increase."

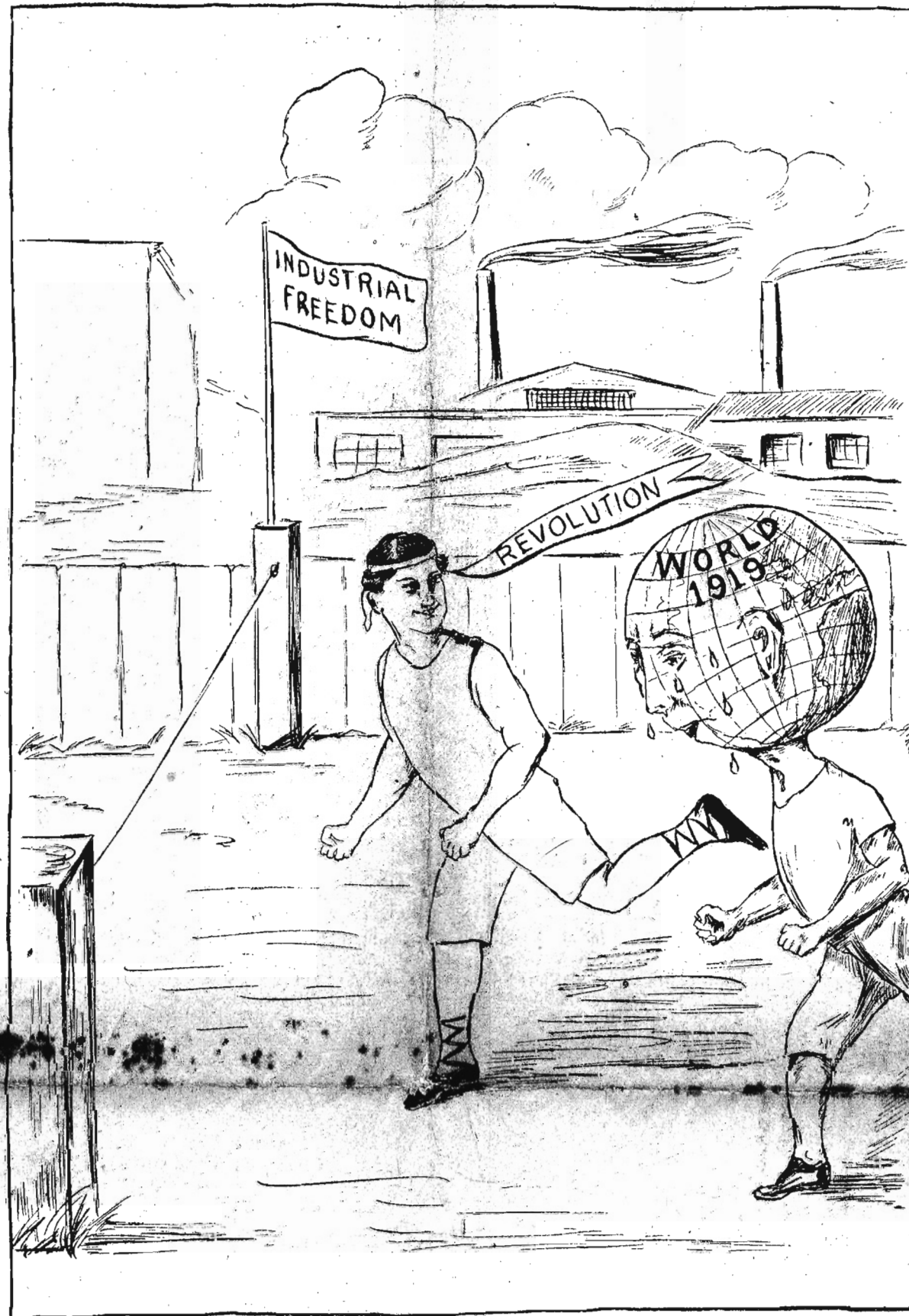
"As long as the workers read newspaper stories of discharged soldiers and sailors returning to their old jobs as footmen and butlers, as long as they see carriages equipped with two coachmen and two footmen, as long as they read of Lady So-and-So's Continued on Page Four.

### Kate O'Hare To Go To Prison

According to a Washington dispatch of last week the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of Kate Richard O'Hare sentenced to serve five years in a federal prison for alleged violation of the Espionage act in a speech delivered in North Dakota last year.

The court did not pass directly on the case, but simply denied the petition for a review. At the same time the conviction of Charles T. Schenck and Elizabeth Baer, of Philadelphia, and A. L. Sugarman, of Minnesota, all Socialists, were upheld.

In passing upon these cases the court did not express any opinion in regard to the constitutionality of the Espionage Law, which is put squarely up to the court in the case of Eugene V. Debs, upon which the court is still to act.



SETTING THE PACE

## DEBS GOES TO PRISON

The machinery of capitalism has completed its work and ground out the decision that Eugene V. Debs must go to prison.

No one who has studied the class character of the governmental institutions of this country expected a different verdict than that which has just been rendered by the United States Supreme Court.

It was inconceivable that the Supreme Court would declare the Espionage law unconstitutional.

The interpretation of the constitution follows the needs of the ruling class. Only unsophisticated persons with a ludicrously naive belief in the "democracy" of modern capitalist government could imagine such a contingency as the Supreme Court declaring a law in the interest of the capitalist class unconstitutional in the hour of capitalism's greatest need.

But if there was no hope for Debs, even though, as many people believe, the Espionage law violates clearly expressed provisions of the national constitution in regard to the right of free speech and free press, it did seem that the selfish interests of the ruling class of this country might save Debs from prison.

Capitalism in this country is resting upon a slumbering volcano—the volcano of a suppressed, oppressed and exploited working class.

In Russia and Germany the volcano has burst and is flinging the debris of capitalism to the four winds.

In England, France and Italy the rumbling which forecasts a similar activity can be distinctly heard.

Even here the warning signals are not wanting. Unemployment, strikes, discontent, Seattle's and Lawrence's, all suggest a growing bitterness that is the sign of a coming eruption.

Well might the ruling class hesitate before adding another grievance, a grievance that will deepen and make more bitter the hatred of the working class of the system that holds them under its iron heel.

That is what the sending of Eugene V. Debs will mean to the ruling class of this country.

Millions of men and women of the working

class of this country know Debs. For thirty years he has fought for better things for the workers. For thirty years his voice has been constantly raised in appeal for the workers. Millions have heard his speeches; millions have read his writings; a million men cast their ballots for him for the high office of president of the United States.

These millions know that there is not a man with a cleaner heart or a greater purpose in the United States than Eugene V. Debs. They know that he has given his all and sacrificed all in order to make this country a better place to live in for those who are now condemned to empty lives of misery, poverty and suffering.

Now the ruling class puts this man in jail. At the age of sixty-three there is laid upon him the savage sentence of ten years in prison—the death sentence.

And for what?

For publicly stating the truth as he saw it. For voicing his conscientious beliefs. For this he is condemned to ten years behind iron walls and iron bars; ten years behind the walls of a prison where everything that is cruel and dark and gruesome grows, where humankind is warped out of all recognition as human beings, where foul words fill the air and fouler deeds are committed. This for Debs who desired nothing but to make the world a brighter place to live in for those who toil!

Will the American workers permit this?

There is still time to call a halt. A united protest, a united demand for Debs' freedom and the powers that be will change their minds before Debs goes to prison. Let the capitalist class hear the rumbling of the volcano and Debs will not go to jail.

Are the minds of the American workers enslaved as well as their bodies? Are they such craven cowards that nothing will arouse their resentment? Is there none of that rebellious spirit which is ridding Europe, not only of czars and kaisers, but of the plutocrats who rob and oppress the workers, among the American workers?

Their action to win freedom for Debs will tell.

### Note to President Wilson Kept From American People Made Peace Offer and Gives Facts About Violence

The Allied governments and the United States, by sending troops into Russia compelled the Soviet government to use force against the counter-revolution. This is the charge made by Maxim Litvinoff, former representative of the Russian Federated Soviet Republic in England, in a note offering to enter into peace negotiations, addressed to President Wilson.

The fact that this note, which throws much light on the actions of the Soviet government, although an official communication from the Soviet government of Russia to the President of the United States, has been, up to this time, kept from the people of the United States, indicates the kind of tactics that are being used to discredit the workers government of Russia.

The note, which reached this country through the Bureau of Information on Soviet Russia, conducted by Santeri Nuorteva, who is the representative of the Finnish Workers Republic in this country, say that "for eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment which abolition had been part of their program," and that "it was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terroristic acts against the popular members of the government and invoked the help of foreign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their wrath and bitter feelings, against their former oppressors."

Note Sent Dec. 24.

The note was transmitted to President Wilson at London from Stockholm, on Dec. 24. The full text follows:

Mr. Woodrow Wilson,

President of the United States,

American Embassy, London.

Mr. President: In addition to general peace offer recently addressed by the Soviet government to the allies I formally informed today the Stockholm ministers of the United States and of allied countries that I am authorized to enter into negotiations for a peaceful settlement of all questions making for hostilities against Russia.

The principles proclaimed by you as possible basis for settling European questions, and your avowed efforts and intentions of making settlement conform to demands of justice and humanity, induce and justify me to send you this statement, inasmuch as most points of your peace program are included into the more extensive aspirations of the Russian workers and peasants now rulers of their country. It was the who first proclaimed and actually carried to nations rights of peace, justice and humanity, and sacrifices in fighting imperialism and militarism both at home and abroad, who dealt severest blow to secret diplomacy and inaugurated open diplomacy. And it was partly for these innovations in policies that they have been severely attacked by the former ruling classes of Russia and their counterparts in other countries.

SOVIET LIED ABOUT.

To justify this attack a network of lies and calumnies has been woven round the activities of the Soviets and forged documents put into circulation. Unfortunately allied statesmen accept all monstrous accusations against Soviets at face value without taking trouble to check them. While agents of anti-Soviet parties are allowed and encouraged to move freely in allied countries and disseminate untruthful representations of the accused side have never been allowed to put fully their case and to answer charges made against them.

In fact the chief aim of the Soviets is to secure for the toiling majority of Russian people economic liberty without which political liberty is of no avail to them. For eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment which abolition had been part of their program. It was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terroristic acts against popular members of the government and invoked the help of foreign troops that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their wrath and bitter feelings against their former oppressors. For an alleged invasion of Russian territory not only compelled the Soviets against their own will to militarize the country and to divert their energies and resources so necessary to the economic reconstruction of Russia, but also to the vital sources of foodstuffs, and to material exposing the population to most terrible privation bordering on starvation.

"RED TERROR" EXAGGERATED.

I wish to emphasize that the so-called red terror, which is grossly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause but the direct outcome and result of allied intervention. The Russian workers and peasants fail to understand how foreign countries, which never dreamed of interfering with Russian affairs when czarist barbarism and militarism ruled supreme, and which even supported that regime, feel justified in intervening in Russia now when the working people itself after decades of strenuous struggling and countless sacrifices succeeded in taking power and destiny of their country into their own hands, aiming at nothing but Continued on Page Four.

### Deported for Holding Opinion Contrary To Interest of Ruling Class

In spite of the protests from labor in all parts of the country, the government is going ahead with the deportation of the aliens held at Ellis Island for shipment abroad as undesirable. According to a letter from one of the victims of the action of the government, five men were shipped to England last week, and others are to follow soon.

This letter clearly presents the issue involved in the action of the government and the danger which threatens the workers of this country. The letter in full follows:

Immigration Station,  
Ellis Island, New York Harbor,  
New York, Feb. 27, 1919

Editor of The Call:

Five men were shipped to England yesterday.

This was the first contingent to be deported of the forty odd members of the I. W. W. held here for deportation. However, they were not shipped in opposition to their wishes.

With the editor's permission, I should like to express a few of my opinions regarding the law under which these men were arrested, and under which I was arrested, and may be deported. I have been in direct contact with its influence for nine months, and so should be fairly well familiar with all its features of injustice.

It occurs to me that the Espionage act, with all its oppressive features, is no more dangerous to the traditionally liberal institutions of America than this typically Russian deportation law.

To govern is an art; if the acts of a governing body cannot stand the acid test of honest criticism, regardless of whom its critic may be—alien or native—that governing body is dishonest in its policies and purposes.

A true artist welcomes criticism even from a novice, because he knows that there is a latent spark of genius in the dulllest of men; but the artist who apparently holds the reins of government in the United States are evidently trying to fortify themselves behind laws intended to suppress, not only criticism, but even opinions contrary

to those held by men who have the governing power.

Seven Spanish radicals were brought here from the city yesterday. They probably will be followed by hundreds of other aliens who have enough backbone to hold an opinion believed to be undesirable.

In Russia, in the palmist days of the Czar, imprisonment or exile did not result from holding an opinion, but from expressing an opinion intended to incite to certain unlawful acts.

The law under which we are held for deportation, and under which hundreds of other radicals and union men may be deported, prohibits the individual, or a group or organization, from holding opinions opposed to what is believed to be the best interests of the ruling class. However, it does not specifically mention the capitalist class; it does prove by its wording that it is aimed only at the worker and his class opinions.

It is up to every liberty-loving person, especially of the working class, in America to uphold his right, both with old an opinion and to express that opinion.

Only through criticism of the acts of those men who represent the people in public office can good government, justice for all and the greatest possible amount of liberty consistent with justice be obtained and maintained.

It is for trying to extend and maintain American liberty and justice that many will be deported, unless this law is repealed.

It is possible under this law to "frame up" on any alien, or even an American who does not know his birthplace, and through the connivance of a corrupt official, obtain his or her deportation.

THE ONLY ALIEN WHO, IN MY OPINION, SHOULD BE DEPORTED FROM ANY COUNTRY IS THE ALIEN WHO WILL NOT TRY TO EXTEND THE LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY WHERE HE RESIDES. OR AT LEAST, MAINTAIN THOSE LIBERTIES AT ALL COSTS.

Yours for industrial freedom,  
E. E. McDONALD.



# DARROW'S VIEW on BOLSHEVISM

What is "Bolshevism"? Is it as horrible as it is pictured in the minds of many people? Here are Clarence Darrow's views on the matter. While Mr. Darrow is not in complete accord with the Bolsheviks nor the Socialists of America either this article tends to clarify in a broad-minded manner some mooted questions concerning this new force in the world affairs.

It is quite evident that Bolshevism has alarmed and terrified the world. There is Bolshevism everywhere. We are told, and even the United States senate is to investigate its alleged activities in this country. Irish strikes of an unusual character have been ascribed to Russian Bolshevik agitators. Ministers of state are sitting up nights ruminating over the new phenomenon.

But what is Bolshevism? What is the meaning of the word, to begin with, and what the nature, essence, and quality of the thing so named—and certain idealistic, radical, Americans are known to say that unfortunately the term itself has a sinister, dark, forbidding sound.

Well, as to the name, the story is simple and prosaic. Bolshevism means an adherent of a majority wing of a party or school. The Russian Social Democratic Party is divided into two factions, as is the German Social Democracy, as is the French Socialist Party, and as is the British. In Germany we hear of the Majority Socialists and the Minority, or Independent, Socialists. The word majority alarms none. Bolshevism means the majority party—neither more nor less. Menshevik means the minority party. We have Republican Bolsheviks and Republican Mensheviks—and at one time the standpatters were the Bolsheviks—and perhaps they are even now, despite insurgency.

At any rate the word Bolshevik has no terrors for any one who has a smattering of Russian or of radical and reform literature. As to the thing—that's another story.

To comprehend the phenomenon of Bolshevism it is necessary to know something about Russian political and revolutionary history. There are, or there were at the last general election, eighteen political parties in Russia. The Social Democrats are one of the few major and really important parties. They are, for Russia, an "old" party. To this party, roughly speaking, belong all those who follow the teachings of the late Vladimir Lenin.

The revolutionary Socialists, and who regard "Das Kapital" as their Bible. There are other Socialist factions and schools of thought in Russia; these holding, again roughly, that Marxism does not apply to the Slav

empire—backward, undeveloped, dark, and with traditions of its own—or, as some Russians say, a lack of binding and galling traditions. The Socialist Revolutionists (to whom "Grandmother" Catherine Breshkovsky, Tschakovsky, Bourtsch, and many other famous Russian radicals belong) are not Marxists, but mild, national Socialists, "peasantists," so to speak, who believe in gradually establishing a form of Socialism based on certain supposed typical Russian institutions, the Village Mir, or Commune, the Artel, or Workers' Industrial Union, and the like.

Perhaps it is well to explain that in Russia the radical or revolutionary is usually a Socialist of one kind or another. Even non-Socialist writers have said that "in Russia one is born a Socialist," and in Prof. Paul Mil-yukov's book on "Russia and Her Crisis"—a standard work, I am told—there is a long chapter of Russia's Socialist tendencies and Socialistic seed, as it were, that is planted in a favorable soil. In Russia the non-Socialist radical is a rare bird. He is sneered and scoffed at. He is dubbed a reactionary. This has been the case for forty years or more. Individualism or philosophical anarchism as a philosophy has never flourished in Russia, although communistic anarchism had a considerable following at one time.

If, then, the great majority of Russian radicals are, and long have been, Socialists, nothing is more natural—for Russia—than a split in each of the major Socialist parties. Russians are theoretical, academic, garrulous, disputatious, uncompromising. They have not had sufficient contact with real affairs to learn to practice give and take. They split when they can, not agree on points of theory or of method. They do not feel bound by decisions of majorities at conventions or other gatherings.

Years ago, then, the Social Democrats, or Marxists, of Russia disagreed and parted company. The differences were not very important. They concerned questions of method, of control of the party and its organ. After the split the majority called themselves Bolsheviks and the minority Mensheviks. Nothing serious happened after the split, for neither faction had much chance under the czar. It was indeed a crime to belong to the Social Democratic Party. Members of the party were again and again indicted for that offense, tried, and exiled to Siberia.

After the revolution of March, 1917, the conditions in Russia, economic, political, moral, were such that the purely academic differences among Russian Socialists, at home or abroad, were inevitably precipitated into

burning practical differences. The autocracy was gone and dead. The people of Russia were sick of the war and determined to have peace. They could not and would not fight for territory, money, prestige, or honor. They needed peace and expected the free government to secure it for them. The Lvov or bourgeois government could not secure peace. They were too gentlemanly and diplomatic and honorable to talk of a separate peace. The Kerensky government was more "leftist," and had several Socialists in the leading departments, but it, too, hesitated, waited, argued, pleaded, and counseled patience and moderation. The masses were in no mood to wait and suffer, to starve and die. The Soviets, spontaneously formed all over Russia, because the old governmental bodies lacked authority and were not democratic or representative, insistently demanded peace and fundamental reforms. In Russia the most fundamental of all reforms was that of the tenure of land. The peasants—80 or more per cent. of the population—wanted land; they had wanted it for generations and had hoped the czar would break away from the barons and landlords and give them the land. To them the revolution, freedom, the new life, meant primarily the land and secondarily plenty of home rule, village autonomy, plus light taxation and the abolition of conscription.

The Kerensky stop-gap government could not give the masses, the peasants and wage workers, the few basic things they wanted and demanded. It had to go. It went. It fell just as czarism fell, without a struggle. The only party that was ready to promise the people the reforms and blessings they demanded—the land, peace, self-government, etc.—were the Majority Social Democrats, led by Lenin and Trotsky. Those men had audacity, faith, courage, fanaticism and revolutionary fervor. They were not diplomats and cared nothing for conventions and manners. They seized the reins of power with the acquiescence of the masses. There were no effective opposition to them. Then they proceeded to make peace—the best peace they could get from Germany. They sacrificed much, they gave up much, they most reluctantly yielded to the German militarists.

This is not the place to discuss their mistakes or their fallacies. They got the peace they had promised to the masses, and the fighting stopped. The soldiers and sailors could go home—they had already been deserting by the thousand.

But peace was not enough. What of bread? What of the land question? What of liberty and self-government? The Bolshevik cabinet turned at once to these internal questions and issued their famous decrees—the land decree, the nationalization of industry decree, the constitution of free Russia, etc. They knew they had numerous and strong enemies in and out of Russia. They expected serious opposition to their Socialist reforms, so sweeping, so uncompromising, so unheard of except in books, from the nobles, the landlords, the manufacturers, the merchants, the bankers, the non-Socialist professional groups, the richer peasant proprietors, and the conservative workmen. So they boldly proclaimed "a second revolution," a social revolution.

In other words, they made it quite plain that they were not mere revolutionary reformers, but untiered, resolute revolutionists. They had, they said, a great, a historic opportunity to establish Marxian social democracy in Russia. They had the right and the duty, they contended, to make the effort and to make it at any cost. They were prepared to resist opposition and to give it no quarter. He who was not with them was against them. They had to act quickly and decisively, they said, or else fritter away the chance and prove themselves weaklings and cowards.

They established a dictatorship of the proletariat. They made their appeal, not to the "dark masses," the peasants, but to the class conscious, advanced, and literate or half-literate wage workers. They abolished everything of the old, or new-old, Kerensky order that stood in their way. They repealed the universal and democratic suffrage act. They declared themselves enemies of "bourgeois democracy" and all its machinery and works. They were not democrats, or liberals, or evolutionists. The familiar tests and yardsticks of the "free countries" they laughed at as stage tricks designed to delude and fool the average person.

They were revolutionary, international Socialists. They knew exactly what they wanted. They had their own philosophy of history. They argued that revolution was as legitimate as evolution. Why shrink from a little violence, tyranny, bloodshed? Why make a fuss about free speech and free assembly? If political revolution is justifiable, and if dictatorships might be created in time of such revolutions to prevent reaction and treachery, why were not strong measures, a dictatorship, disfranchisement of counter-revolutionists, fully justified at a critical time of social and economic upheaval?

The Bolshevik leaders asked and are still asking these questions, and their answers are given in deeds and in words. Their task is colossal—to establish Socialism after Karl Marx in Russia, or in such parts as they

now control. They believe that they can succeed in spite of the bourgeoisie, the nobility, the mild revolutionaries, the non-Socialist reformer, the richer peasants, the "reactionary" workmen. They believe that the masses, though ignorant and "unconscious" politically, feel instinctively that the Bolshevik program alone can give Russia freedom, prosperity, local self-government, culture and human brotherhood. To educate the peasants is a task of decades and generations. Meantime the few really class conscious, intelligent supporters of the Bolshevik leaders must rule Russia and introduce Socialist changes as fast as possible.

After Russia, the leaders say, will come Germany, France, Italy, England and at last even the United States, the fast, sleek, bourgeois, individualistic United States. The social revolution "is coming" they cry. Marx proves this. History proves it. Russia is merely, owing to the war and a combination of amazing circumstances the pioneer and pathfinder in this glorious movement. Russia, as it happened, is fresh, unspoiled, democratic at heart, and her plutocracy and bourgeoisie are not powerful enough to prevent the great adventure or gravely to endanger its success.

Elsewhere the struggle will be bloodier, sharper, longer, but capitalism and the wage system are doomed and discredited and Russia would be criminal if she were to allow these evil things to take root. Hence, at any cost, Socialism must be saved, defended, and given a trial in Russia. Compared with what it offers to mankind, the violence, disorder, graft, oppression, suffering complained of by the various opponents of Bolshevism are said to be trifles hardly worth mentioning. What of the French terror? What of the American revolutionary war and the war over slavery and secession? asks Lenin.

"Let the allies evacuate Russia," he continues in effect, "and we shall rehabilitate and reconstruct her whole fabric and set an example to the world. We are seeking to establish permanently the highest form of democracy. We are seeking to abolish slavery, exploitation, poverty, private monopoly, and flagrant, unwarranted, unnatural inequality. Give us time and a chance to go to work and to revive commerce and trade, and our experiment will astonish humanity. After a while, may we mention the disfranchised aristocrats and bourgeoisie, the clergy and investors, and bring the dictatorship to a close. Our tyrannical measures are temporary—a necessary evil. We stand for equality and liberty and fraternity. We are fighting counter-revolution and are adopting war measures—that is all."

The Bolshevik leaders asked and are still asking these questions, and their answers are given in deeds and in words. Their task is colossal—to establish Socialism after Karl Marx in Russia, or in such parts as they

## RESOLUTIONS FROM CANTON

Canton, O., Feb. 27, 1919.  
The following resolutions were adopted by Local Canton of the Socialist Party, at their regular session, Thursday, Feb. 27, 1919.

Whereas, Numerous resolutions have been formulated by Socialist Party members throughout the country, demanding that a National Emergency Convention be arranged for by the National Executive Committee, and the committee declines to call such convention, and

Whereas, To initiate a referendum under constitutional provisions would defer the holding of such a convention for at least several months, and further that the American Socialist Party no longer published, the provisions of the constitution in regard to calling a convention by a referendum cannot be adhered to, therefore,

Be It Resolved, That the National Executive Committee be instructed to arrange for the holding of a National Emergency Convention, in the City of Chicago, on May 1, 1919, and that all Socialist locals throughout the country be hereby requested to endorse this resolution, and at once notify the National Executive Secretary of the results of their actions.

Be It Further Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to all State Secretaries, who are hereby requested to lay the matter before the members of their respective states, and that copies also be sent to all Socialist publications.  
(Signed) ERNEST SYKES, Sec.

## APPROVE LEFT WING PROGRAM

At our local meeting, Sunday evening, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

"That Warren local approves the Manifesto and program of the left wing of the Socialist Party as published in the Ohio Socialist of March 26, 1919. And that a copy of this resolution be sent to the State Office."  
J. F. DENISON, Sec.

## MEETINGS AT HUBBARD

Local Hubbard has arranged a series of meetings which will place that local far along in its work of organization and propaganda. The series of meetings will consist of about four. The speakers will be Comrades Tom Lewis, C. E. Ruthenberg, Thurber Lewis and Charles Baker. Local Hubbard is alive to the needs and the opportunities of the hour.

## INCREASE THEIR GAIT

"Ever since Comrade Baker was here, we have been moving along at a splendid pace. Have secured Waldmen's hall two evenings in the month and have arranged tentatively for an entertainment to be held probably on March 13. Last meeting was the most encouraging we have had for a long time. We are now working on a new program. Comrade Stoenerville, who is a very able speaker, has been to be placed on the Red map of Socialists."

## MAKING SOCIALISTS OF SOCIALISTS

That's what Local Niles is doing. To do it they organized a study class in proletarian science. By this means they hope to lead gradually to the knowledge of the comrades upon the principles of our movement. The local is also a few days paid up membership. They hope to reach the 100 per cent. mark within another month.

## LORAIN REORGANIZES

"Revolutionary Socialism will not down," writes Comrade Carl Glading of Lorain. The comrades have reorganized under a new charter and feel very enthusiastic over the prospects of a grater and more active local in Lorain.

## BOLSHEVISM AMONG THE FARMERS

Local Tilton reports a successful meeting March 5. Three new members were admitted. Seneca county is keeping up its record for activity as was shown at this meeting when a debate was staged upon the question, "Bolshevism a Menace to the Farmer." Reports from many parts of the county seem to indicate that many sections of the farming communities are as ready to support the industrial workers in their demands for a wage deal—even to the extent of furnishing the necessary food in time of stress.

## ROCKFORD MAY ORGANIZE

From Rockford, O., comes the word that there are Socialists there abouts and the chances of organizing a local are good. This word comes from Comrade Mrs. Myrtle King, at present a M. A. L. from Ind.

## NEW LOCALS IN BELMONT COUNTY

The comrades of Belmont Co. are up and doing these days as the following account will show. Comrade J. J. Hoge, member of Bellaire branch has been secured for organization work in that county. An English speaking branch has been organized in the county with ten members. Since organizing they have added four more. A Polish branch was organized at Shadyside with seven members. Local Belmont Co. is disposing of considerable literature concerning the truth about Russia. The local is organized with ten members and prospects are good for a growing organization among the boys and girls.

## NEARING 100% EFFICIENCY

Comrade Weichers of Local Columbus states that the local is gradually nearing the 100 per cent. mark in paid-up members. Twenty members were admitted in February. One hundred and fourteen are in good standing out of 153 on the roll. The local is selling Industrial Freedom Certificates. A check for the first two sold accompanies Comrade Weichers letter.

## STUDY CLASS FOR MANSFIELD

An order for 20 copies of the Communist Manifesto from Comrade E. C. Showers of Mansfield and a letter stating that the comrades have organized a Study Class in Scientific Socialism. Keep your eyes on Local Mansfield. Comrade Weichers has been to be placed on the Red map of Socialists."

## LOCAL COSHOCTON GROWS

An increase of three new members in Local Coshocton's proof of meagre business. This newly reorganized local is among the live ones now as this increase shows.

## China and Social Revolution

By KIANG KANG HU.

Secretary Socialist Party in China.  
The idea of collectivism or Socialism is very old in China. It can be traced back to the very beginning of Chinese civilization, over 4,000 years ago.

When, about a decade ago, modern Socialism thought began to be propagated in China, it met with two sets of critics, each holding opposite views, yet each equally severe in their criticism of the new doctrine. One set said: "Socialism—why, that is nothing new. We have had that for ages." The other set said: "Socialism is an importation. It is foreign to our soil. It may fit European conditions, but it certainly does not fit Chinese conditions."

Both of these critics were partially correct, and yet, because of their narrow view, both were wrong. True, the traces of communistic thought are to be found in Chinese life and history for centuries. But their ideas are distinctly utopian in their character and cannot be identified with modern scientific Socialism. True, likewise, was it at that time (a decade ago) that scientific of Marxian Socialism was an imported plant which could not flourish in Chinese soil. But China is changing. Machine production is rapidly displacing handicraft. Where yesterday stood the little cobbler shop, today the great shoe factory rears its ugly form. Where yesterday the collier porter trotted with his burden, the automobile truck

rushes on its way. Railroads have come, and power looms. This is the soil in which scientific Socialism will grow. Nothing can stop it.

The Chinese, like the whole human race, have natural collectivist leanings. If we mine into the mountain of Chinese philosophy, we will soon find a rich vein of collectivism running throughout, persisting throughout its entire length and breadth. Materialism is at hand to fill a bulky volume.

In the last decade, here and there, were to be found individuals and small groups scattered throughout the empire of China who studied and advocated humanitarianism, communism and Socialism. But these groups had no connection with one another, and their ideas, for the most part, were vague and misty.

Kiang Kang Hu, a professor at the University of Peking, was publishing a radical newspaper which had for its aim the introduction of new ideas in China. This paper translated and published portions of the works of Balzac, of Victor Hugo, Byron and Shelley, Goethe and Heine, and toward the end of its career some of the works of Peter Kropotkin, Karl Marx, and August Bebel.

Kiang Kang Hu, thus coming into contact with Socialism, became interested and, finally, was converted to the new doctrine. He began an agitation for the freedom of woman immediately, and went on many lecture tours in the interest of Socialism.

In Shanghai, on July 10, 1911, at the Chang Shu Ho Gardens, Kiang Kang Hu organized a Socialist club, and on the same day the first Socialist paper in China, "The Socialist Star," made its first appearance.

The Shih Hui Tong, or Socialist Party, was the first political party as such in China. The Socialist Party, although not being composed of clear-cut Marxians, was nevertheless earnest and enthusiastic in its desire for the establishment of a Socialist Republic. On November 9, 1911, the Socialist Party of China met in its first annual convention at Shanghai and adopted a preamble and a platform.

The subsequent revolutions in China played havoc with the Socialists. The secretary of the party, Chen Ye Long, was beheaded on August 8, 1917. The party headquarters at Peking were raided by the government authorities and a decree of dissolution was issued against the Socialist Party. A similar decree was issued later.

After these decrees had been issued, the Socialist Party branches everywhere were forcibly dissolved. Many of the comrades were thrown into jail and a number were executed. The party, as a unit, ceased to exist, although individuals secretly kept up a sporadic agitation.

But the Socialist movement in China will reassemble its forces, and will fall in step with the great Red International and march with it to victory.

## The Dead Hand

By SCOTT NEARING

A little group of old men, spokesmen for the five great powers, is assembled about a green table at Versailles. All but one of these men were born before the Franco-Prussian War. Most of them had grown to middle life before the capitalist world entered its present stage of financial imperialism. These old men meet four or five times a week for a few hours. Most of their days are spent in offices, in private committee rooms, and in secret sessions where they seek to re-establish the world as they knew it in their youth and early manhood. They resemble children, trying to re-dress a tree with dry leaves blown about by autumn winds.

The representatives of the great powers who meet around the Peace Table are very, very old. Five of them were born before 1850. Ten were born between 1850 and 1859. Six were born between 1860 and 1869. Only one, a Frenchman, Andre Tardieu, was born since 1870. The oldest man in the delegation is Clemenceau. He is seventy-eight. Four of his conferees are over seventy. Fifteen are over sixty. Twenty-one out of twenty-two are over fifty. The Peace Conference is a conference of old men.

The dawn is breaking, but not around the Peace Table.

## The Michigan Convention

By W. E. REYNOLDS

The Socialist Party of Michigan held its convention in Grand Rapids February 24th, with 51 delegates present.

State Secretary Bloomer resigned. John Keracher of Detroit was elected at the convention to serve the unexpired term of the former secretary or until such time as the locals can elect a new State Secretary. The convention was a harmonious gathering of boosters, the utopian element being either absent or without spokesmen.

Convention repudiated the National Office delegates to the Lausanne International. A constitutional amendment was proposed to be sent to referendum, calling for the abolition of all social reform planks in the Socialist Party platform.

A platform was adopted without any immediate demands and calling for the abolition of the wage system. As first drafted it called for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat but when it was pointed out on the floor of the convention that the dictatorship of the proletariat was a transitory measure and not an ultimate end the wording was changed to mean the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of an Industrial Republic.

A resolution on religion was adopted to the effect that religion was a social phenomena and as such required explanation, and all agitators and speakers were called upon to avail

themselves of the opportunity to make such explanation "on the basis of the materialist conception of history."

A resolution endorsing the study class idea was unanimously adopted. The work of the Proletarian University of Detroit endorsed and all locals and individuals were urged to work for circulation for the Proletarian, Ohio Socialist, Revolutionary Age.

The convention adopted a part of the Left Wing program in its centering the attention of the abolition of Capitalism instead of working for petty reform—but it did not adopt the Left Wing program of urging economic organization amongst the workers.

The ladies of Local Grand Rapids served an exceptionally well prepared banquet which was enjoyed by all during the noon recess.

Convention finished its labors and adjourned at six o'clock.

GET OFFICIAL BULLETIN.  
The minutes of the recent meeting of the National Executive committee appear in the monthly Bulletin, published by the National Office, Socialist Party, just out.

One Bulletin only is sent to each local secretary. Comrades interested in the party work and desiring to read the minutes of the National Executive Committee, as well as the officers' reports, can secure a copy of the Bulletin by addressing the Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

## News From State Locals

## RUSSIA'S CO-OPERATIVE EMBASSY

"The All-Russian Central Co-Operative Committee on Atrocities in America" is the inscription which is now being lettered on the door of a suite of offices, covering the whole floor of a downtown modern office building in New York City, to be open after March 1. Nothing that ever went under the name in Washington came so near to being a Russian embassy in the United States, for in this New York office will be found the representatives of the Russian Co-Operative movement, a democratic organization which includes over half of the people of all of Russia. As for this American committee, it has been appointed by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, elected by the last All-Russian Co-Operative Congress, held in Moscow two years ago.

The Russian Co-Operators have been sending representatives abroad during the past year or more, hoping to have the blockade raised and to establish trade relations. The Narodno-Co-Operative Bank of Moscow, the financial center of the whole Russian co-operative movement, which did over a billion dollar business in 1917, opened an office in London, where it published a monthly magazine in English, The Russian Co-Operator. Then

a branch office was opened in New York.

Later came Vladimir Kolesnikov representing the Siberian Agricultural Central Union, to purchase agricultural machinery. A month ago he purchased and shipped to Siberia an order of several hundred thousand pairs of shoes. He is executive secretary of the new Co-Operative Committee to America.

"We ask no charity, not even credit," he told a gathering in the office of the Co-Operative League of America. "Russia is a rich country, and we have the labor to create wealth from our natural resources. We are not bankrupt. We are only starving because of the dislocation of transportation and because of the blockade."

Within ten days another member of the committee will arrive from Moscow, representing on it the Central Union of Russian Consumers' Co-Operative Socialists; the federation of the Russian co-operative store societies. This is the organization which, beginning with open hostility toward the Soviet government, has now signed a treaty with it, whereby the two are now working together, the economic supremacy of the co-operative organization being recognized. When Bolshevik shop committees find

they can't agree on the running of their factory, they turn it over to the Consumers' Co-Operative Union, which is taking over industrial plants as fast as it can organize their working forces. The co-operative and the Bolshevik theories of industrial organization are by no means identical, but they have at least this in common, they are both anti-capitalist. Between the two there is not much left of Russian capitalism. As Trotsky remarked, they are being left only their shippers.

## RESOLUTION BY LOCAL HAMILTON

Resolved, That no literature shall be sold or distributed by any division of the Socialist Party that has not been endorsed by the National or State Executive Committee.

Seconds for a referendum are requested.  
WM. FEIGHERY, Sec.

Three yearlies from Comrade C. Case of Hamilton makes us feel sure Hamilton will get their quota of the 20,000. How about your town, comrades?



**THE OHIO SOCIALIST**  
Official Organ of The Socialist Party of Ohio and Ken-  
tucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

<b>One Year</b> <b>\$1.00</b>	<b>BUNDLE RATES</b> <b>50c Per Hundred</b>	<b>50c</b> <b>Six Months</b>
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Address all mail and make all checks payable to  
**SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO,**  
R. F. D. 2, Box 55, Brecksville, Ohio.

Entered as Second Class Matter, February 21, 1917, at the Post-  
office at Cleveland, Ohio, Under Act of March 3, 1879.

**EDITORS** ..... Elmer T. Allison  
Published Weekly by The Socialist Party of Ohio at Cleveland, O.  
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12, 1919 ..... 108

## THE BIGGEST DOLLARS WORTH YOU EVER BOUGHT—AN INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

You have spent many a dollar, but the dollar you are going to spend for an INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE will be the best investment you have ever made.

This world and this nation needs doctoring badly. In our mad scramble to make the world safe for democracy, a good deal of that favorite tonic was lost in the shuffle. Free speech now carries with it a penitentiary sentence. Free press and a tyrannical thought controller, are not soul mates. Free assemblage went to smash when hundreds of halls were closed to us.

**FREE SPEECH—FREE PRESS—FREE ASSEMBLAGE MUST  
BE RE-ESTABLISHED.**  
And Your DOLLAR Will Help.

Political prisoners MUST be given their freedom. Already, through pressure brought to bear by a general demand made by Socialist and labor union bodies, President Wilson has granted amnesty to several Socialist and other prisoners. A. L. Hitchcock, formerly Socialist member of the Cleveland school board, and who is now serving sentence in Atlanta, has had his term of imprisonment reduced from ten years to two years. Frederick Kraft, a New Jersey Socialist, and member of the National Executive Committee, has had his five-year sentence reduced and he will walk forth from the Atlanta penitentiary a free man on April 1.

Our constant AGITATION for the release of political prisoners has accomplished this. It has brought the injustice of these extreme sentences to the attention of the chief executive of this nation, and has induced him to act. We want him to ACT again. We want him to release ALL political prisoners.

**FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS MUST BE  
SECURED**

Your DOLLAR Will Help

Prisoners' families must be sustained while the bread earners of these families are serving sentences for being true to their convictions. In Ohio the Socialist Party State Office has contributed on an average of \$20 a month to families of imprisoned Socialists. We must continue to assist these families—all families of imprisoned Socialists. In many instances the mother can not go out to work, having children to take care of. These children must not want for food.

**WE MUST HAVE A SUSTAINING FUND FOR PRISONERS'  
FAMILIES**

Your DOLLAR Will Help

Comforts for Socialists in prison must be provided for. The Socialists of Ohio, through the State Office, have remitted regular sums to Socialists in prison. These sums averaged \$2 a week for each prisoner. This money is used by our comrades in jail to buy tobacco, fruit and other eatables. Prison fare is, at best, a poor excuse for a meal. In time, prison fare becomes nauseating. Our comrades in prison must be given an opportunity to secure a variety of food stuffs.

**HELP BUY COMFORTS FOR SOCIALISTS IN PRISON**

Your DOLLAR Will Help

**YOUR DOLLAR—**The dollar you are going to invest in an Industrial Freedom Certificate will be most judiciously spent by us. Literature and leaflets must be printed. Meetings must be held. All these cost money. Speakers must be toured. In Ohio from four to six speakers are constantly in the field agitating for free utterance and the release of political prisoners. Your dollar will help place more speakers in the field. Your dollar will help pay for leaflets which will convince others that what we demand is just and right.

SEND YOUR DOLLAR TODAY

**BUY AN INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE**

**NOTE:** Socialists who hold membership in Ohio locals are requested to buy their Industrial Freedom Certificate direct from their local secretary, who has a supply on hand. Others should address The Socialist Party of Ohio, R. D. 2, Box 55, Brecksville, Ohio.

## Hard and Fast the Blows are Falling

Swiftly they fall, the blows for freedom. Hundreds of willing comrades are putting into these death blows to capitalism the energy and spirit that brings victory. The drive for twenty thousand subscribers and a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist is but in the first days of its successful course, but already the comrades have shown a response and a willingness to help reach the goal that is truly astounding. Letters reach the State Office from enthusiastic comrades in all parts of the country encouraging us to keep up the fight until the goal is reached and pledging their support until it is accomplished.

These letters bring the where-withal to do it, too. Subscriptions, they bring, and many of them. And that is indeed what is needed. Subscriptions alone will make it possible to make the Ohio Socialist fulfill its mission as an aggressive factor in the battle for Industrial Democracy. Therefore, comrades, let our work be to get more and more subscriptions for upon this foundation alone is it possible to fulfill our object.

Below are names of comrades who have this week answered our call for 20,000 subscribers by sending in subscriptions to the number opposite their names. Let every comrade who has not yet joined the Red Army of Ohio Socialist workers follow their example and help boost our subscription list to 20,000 before Sept. 1.

### FIRST HONORS

The honors for securing the first subscriptions on the lists sent to readers in the big drive for 20,000 subscribers and a twice-a-week Ohio Socialist go to Comrade Thomas C. Devine, Socialist Councilman of Toledo. Two half-yearlies Comrade Thomas Devine sends us and to prove that he lost no time in getting them he has made a notation on the list to wit: Received 2-25-19, returned 2-25-19. Quick work, we say. But we want to remind Comrade Devine that there are still ten vacant lines on his list. Now that he has secured the first honors we shall expect him to keep right on until he has secured a full list.

Harry A. Counts ..... 1  
J. Forest Potts ..... 1  
Oscar Bloomberg ..... 1  
V. W. Merritt ..... 1  
Lawrence Dean (yearlies) ..... 12  
H. T. Auckerman ..... 7  
Ralph W. Headley ..... 3  
Jerry H. Shipman ..... 1  
J. Rehn ..... 1  
J. P. Baker ..... 1  
E. C. Wolfe ..... 2  
J. H. Chastain ..... 2  
J. A. Feldhaus ..... 10  
W. L. Garver ..... 12  
H. Hein ..... 1  
Lewis Yarnell ..... 1  
H. L. Ricker ..... 3  
R. P. Rineck ..... 5  
Frank B. Hamilton ..... 2  
S. C. Stair ..... 2  
E. L. Rodgers ..... 4

J. H. Sims ..... 1  
H. F. Derr ..... 1  
W. F. Norlin ..... 4  
Allen Cook ..... 1  
Alex Allison ..... 1  
Ralph Herbert ..... 3  
Charles Baker ..... 29  
C. L. Steinbrock ..... 1  
George W. Boyd ..... 1  
Scott Wilkins ..... 1  
J. F. Dennison ..... 1  
Fred Holloway ..... 1  
W. H. Resegnie ..... 1  
Wm. C. Schultz ..... 1  
C. P. Marchand ..... 1  
O. E. Reed ..... 1  
L. K. England ..... 1  
G. F. Schaefer ..... 8  
J. Forest Potts ..... 1  
Oscar Bloomberg ..... 1  
V. W. Merritt ..... 1  
Lawrence Dean (yearlies) ..... 12  
H. T. Auckerman ..... 7  
Ralph W. Headley ..... 3  
Jerry H. Shipman ..... 1  
J. Rehn ..... 1  
J. P. Baker ..... 1  
E. C. Wolfe ..... 2  
J. H. Chastain ..... 2  
J. A. Feldhaus ..... 10  
W. L. Garver ..... 12  
H. Hein ..... 1  
Lewis Yarnell ..... 1  
H. L. Ricker ..... 3  
R. P. Rineck ..... 5  
Frank B. Hamilton ..... 2  
S. C. Stair ..... 2  
E. L. Rodgers ..... 4

## Piqua News Meetings in Ohio

By ROBERT JOHNSON

A Piqua asks this question, "Who will do the dirty work under Socialism?" We hate to bowl them out, but we think that the republican and democratic politicians will get the job. They're used to doing dirty work. See!

It is surprising to some people how the Socialist movement is growing in Piqua. They rub their glasses and pinch themselves to see if they are awake. Later they will be kicking themselves for letting the other fellow get into the movement ahead of them. Investigate. Subscribe for the Ohio Socialist—there is no better working class paper published. Buy a book on Socialism. The literature agent will supply you with the best.

Comrade Katterfeld spent five days in Piqua during the second week of February. The meetings were a success from the opening on Monday evening to the closing Friday with a free oyster supper served by the women comrades of the local. All the meetings were held in our newly remodeled headquarters which holds in the neighborhood of 300 people.

Some workmen of Piqua have still obsessed with the idea that while Socialism is a very beautiful and desirable thing, yet it is a dream that will never come true. This view is not new, of course. It has been advanced against every good thing we have.

The charge against Cyrus Field, who laid the Atlantic cable was that he was chasing rainbows. Marconi proposed to telegraph without wires and was laughed at as a visionary, yet his dream is a practical reality in the world today. Professor Rontgen (?) announced his discovery of a light ray that would penetrate solid substances and was jeered at for his pains, yet the X-ray is part of the essential equipment of all modern hospitals and up-to-date medical men. It is but a few years ago that people sneered when the Wright brothers announced the invention of a flying machine that would fly, yet the human bird has flown millions of miles since. Everything in human progress that is desirable was once a dream. Thank God for the dreamers. The scriptures declare that "where there is no vision the people perish," and it is true. An Edison dream, and lo, the electric light turns night into day; a slave of man, but time fails us to tell of all dreams that come true. Now upon the scene steps the Socialist, hard-headed, practical, scientific, able to give a reason for the hope that is in him and the old, old charge is thrown at him; dreamer, visionary, rainbow chaser, idealist, impossibilist, pro-German, etc. Is he daunted? No, indeed. He is filled with the vision, glorious, soul-thrilling vision of the co-operative Commonwealth, where justice, love and truth abide. And it's coming swiftly, surely. Say can you see it?

"The world is gray with morning light."

The membership drive is on in Local Piqua. Our goal has been set for 500 members by June 1. High aspiration, you say? Of course, but WE CAN DO IT. Bring in the name of every possible prospect. Hand them to the Secretary and watch the membership grow. Local Piqua means business, every workman in the city will receive a personal letter to ally himself with the Party. The time has come to unload the capitalist.

### TELEPHONE

BELL, WALLINGS 13-Y.  
SEND ALL TELEGRAMS TO  
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO  
R. D. 2, BRECKSVILLE, O.  
PHONE, WALLINGS 13-Y.

"The better the day, the better the deed," says comrade Lewis Yarnell, of Wapakoneta, who speaks Sunday evening Ohio Socialist Subs. We should say he is correct, since the worker must use the other six days in the interest of his master. Make Sunday "subscription day," comrades.

### BAKER SPEAKS AT WARREN

Go hear Charles Baker, state organizer of the Socialist Party, at Warren, Thursday evening, March 13, 7:30 p. m. Woodmen hall, So. Main St.

C. E. Raymond	3
J. F. Giles	4
W. Grau	4
W. Lebersen	12
John Mueller	14
C. J. Dollman	1
E. J. Hewitt	1
W. B. Heaton	1
W. J. Gilmore	1
John W. Ellison	14
Fred W. Seibert	2
Joseph Evans	6
Carl Maxwell	17
Clifford King	4
George Dok	4
Local Columbus, O.	13
John H. Potts	2
W. G. Evans	4
H. A. Leeds	4
Frank Cemezar	1
C. H. Hulce	1
W. E. Reynolds	1
John Kollstedt	1
B. H. Buckner	1
A. V. Anderson	1
D. B. Dale	3
C. F. Smith	1
Local Niles	1
Fred W. Seibert	7
Peter Stefanchik	1
George T. Brown	1
C. H. Cassin	1
Local Massillon	5
Ernest Fitch	5
Local Coshocton	10
Fred Hucky	2
Local Troy	5
Delos Cairns	1
Charles Lusk	1
R. R. Read	2
J. S. Faubus	3

Comrade A. G. Myers of Bluffton is no bluff when it comes to selling subscription cards as a bunch of five received goes to prove.

Comrade Chas Peterson of Davenport, Iowa, sends two half yearlies.

## THE IMPORTANT QUESTION

"Last month we gained 27 new members, but how to keep them active in Party work still remains to solve".  
O. Ruchtaesche, Cin.

### A LIVE LITERATURE AGENT

Comrade Jno. M. Cahalane, local Hamilton's live literature agent is looking after the interest of the Ohio Socialist. He orders a bundle of five for his sales table. He reports a good meeting held by comrade Ella Reeves Bloor, on the last Sunday in Feb. Local literature agents will hear from the State Office in regards to building up the distribution and sale of Socialist literature in a few days. Great work along this line is in contemplation.

### A SMALL ONE

"Am sending you a small list," says Comrade Carl Maxwell, of Newark.

O. Well, there were 16. If that is Comrade Maxwell's idea of "a small one," we wonder just what a big one would be. Little ones like this certainly keep up the average. Thanks, Comrade Maxwell.

### WANTED—ADDRESS

Any one knowing the address of F. F. Berry, former editor of The Torch of Reason, will confer a favor upon Comrade Van Edison Prayter, Rockvale, Tenn., by sending it to him.

### ENCOURAGEMENT

A short but very encouraging letter from Comrade Wm. M. Brown of Galion this week states that Local Galion may be relied upon for the purchase of an Industrial Freedom Certificate for each of its members. Comrade Brown pledges the support of the local to help the Ohio Socialist in its progress toward a twice-a-week paper. The Galion comrades endorse the program of the left wing of the party.



## Lilith Martin to Tour Ohio

Another field worker will be toured in Ohio beginning April 1. Lilith Martin, who lectured in this state during the municipal elections of 1917, will be a tour of organizers. Comrade Martin KNOWS HOW to organize. She has made organization work a special study. Socialist locals under whose direction she will speak are asked to make it a point to invite women to attend the meeting. All men comrades should induce their wives to come to hear this lecturer and organizer.

Many locals in the state have written the State Office that they are preparing to engage special organizers for long periods. If these locals are now in a position to attend to and pay for special organization work we do not know of any one we would rather recommend than Lilith Martin. A routing is now being arranged. Locals desiring Comrade Martin for more than one or two days, should write the State Office at once. The State Office earnestly requests the full co-operation of all locals in making the Martin tour a success.

## TELEGRAM TO HITCHCOCK

Press reports your sentence reduced to two years by President Wilson. Accept congratulations. Wish to express convictions of Socialist Party of Ohio in your innocence and protest against our longer confinement as an act of gross injustice. Will continue fight for your release and that of all political prisoners.  
(Signed) HORTENSE WAGENKNECHT,  
Acting State Secretary.

## A WORD AS TO DUAL STAMPS

Orders for dual stamps to come into the State Office of Ohio. We have decided to again sell them. It seems that some locals find it hard to understand that husband and wife can retain membership by paying one dues per month by use of regular stamps the same as if dual stamps were used.

An amendment to the National Constitution raised the price of dual stamps. One dual stamp now sells for 22c in Ohio. Two regular stamps sell for the same amount. Locals wishing to use dual stamps can purchase them from the State Office for \$2.20 a book. A book contains ten husband and ten wife stamps.

### NOTICE TO LOCALS.

Get in the local directory. The price has been reduced to \$2.50 per year. Locals which have had notices of their meeting places and dates inserted at the rate of \$2.50 for six months will have their time extended to one year. Get in the directory. Tell readers, where and when your local meets.

### ORGANIZER BAKER MEETINGS

Comrade Charles Baker, state organizer, will speak at the following places the next several days: Hubbard, March 14; Hazard, 15; Youngstown, 16. He will probably work in Toledo after this date for a week.

### THURBER LEWIS MEETINGS

These dates will be filled by Comrade Thurber Lewis. Comrades in these places should do everything possible to get the comrades together for these meetings and push the work along with the assistance they can render. He will be at Harshman, March 14; Xenia, 15-16; Dayton, 17; Fairview, 17; West Milton, 19; Tipppecanoe City, 20; Troy, 21; Osborn, 22, 23d is open.

### KIRKPATRICK DATES

George R. Kirkpatrick speaks at Dayton March 24; Columbus, 25; Boltaire, 26; Toledo, 27. Hear Comrade Kirkpatrick by all means.

### EUGENE V. DEBS

Comrade Debs will speak at Girard March 22. He will speak at Canton March 23, at Culp's Rink, 631 Mahoning Rd.

### RUTHENBERG MEETING

C. E. Ruthenberg speaks at Lorain March 30.

## GREETINGS FROM A RETURNED PRISONER

We are in receipt of a letter from Fellow Worker N. L. Welch, just released from Leavenworth prison after serving an eighteen months' sentence. An article dealing with the cruel conditions under which members of the I. W. W. suffer in that bastille accompanies his letter which we shall publish in next week's issue.

To show how the Ohio Socialist looks to an Industrial Unionist we publish part of Fellow Worker Welch's letter as follows:

"The Ohio Socialist is a fit Socialist publication in every respect and should receive the enthusiastic support of comrades in all localities. I am glad you give equal prominence to the industrial as well as the political end of the movement in your columns which leads us to believe that before long the party will become a factor in the class war and will not stand aside watching the conflict and occasionally offering up sage advice to the men and women who are in it day after day."

In some localities, at least, it seems the Socialist Party was one thing and the working class quite another thing, but happily that is disappearing and we are falling in line with the harvest hand, bundle stuffer, lumberjack and factory hand, which are, after all, the working class in spite of their shortcomings and their seeming inability to grasp an understanding of their class position."

## THEY'LL SUBSCRIBE — WHEN ASKED

The way I get subscribers for the Ohio Socialist, says Comrade Perry H. Shipman of Rock Island, Ill., the comrade who holds the record for number of subscriptions secured, is to give two or three copies to a sympathizer and ask for his subscription. They will usually subscribe but don't expect them to sit down and write for the paper. They have to be solicited. Now you know how he does it. And proof that the method pays is seen in the fact that never a week passes but we receive subs from Comrade Shipman. You can do it too. Try. He says the Ohio Socialist is destined to be a great national weekly. What do you think about it, comrade?

### ATTENTION—NEW PHONE

Our new phone number is Wallings 13-Y. Use this number when calling on phone. Call through Cleveland.

### VICTOR CLUES DEAD

Comrade Victor Cules, a member of Local Byesville, died Feb. 1. The comrades of Local Byesville extend sympathy to his bereaved family.

## 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.

<b>LOCAL AKRON</b> Socialist Party of Ohio Meets Every Friday Evening at 50 South Howard St.	<b>LOCAL COLUMBUS</b> Socialist Party of Ohio Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M. Lectures every 2d and 4th Sun- day of the month, 2:30 p. m. Hall, 50 1/2 W. Gay Street.
<b>LOCAL CINCINNATI</b> Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M. Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M. <b>SOCIALIST HALL</b> , 1314 Vine St.	<b>SOCIALIST PARTY OF AM- ERICA YOUNGSTOWN, O.</b> Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M. at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.
<b>LOCAL WARREN</b> Meets every Sunday at 7 P. M., rear room Woodmen's Hall, South Main St., Warren, O.	<b>LOCAL HAMILTON</b> Meets Every Friday Evening, 8 P. M. Lectures Every Sunday, <b>SOCIALIST HALL</b> , 38 High St., Third Floor.
<b>Local Kenmore</b> <b>SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO</b> Meets Every Friday 7:30 P. M. <b>BITTIKOFFERS HALL</b> , Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard Kenmore, Ohio.	<b>Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY</b> Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M. at Socialist Headquarters, 323 Tuscarawas St. E.

## WEST VIRGINIA Official Organization News

H. F. OBERHOLTZER, STATE SECRETARY.

### WEST VIRGINIA STATE AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Executive Committee Members Marked Ex.  
State Committee Members at Large, C.  
W. Kirtland, Sistersville.

First District.  
(Ex.) Howard Boston, 1114 10th St.,  
Moundsville.

J. M. Snyder, 1405 8th St., Fair-  
mont.

J. B. West, Mannington.

Second District.  
R. S. Dayton, Edinburg.

(Ex.) E. L. Smith, Martinsburg.

Third District.  
P. R. Garrett, Harrisville.

(Ex.) J. W. Wright, Weston, chair-  
man.

J. W. Flint, Weston.

Fourth District.  
(Ex.) H. F. Oberholzer, Huntington.

H. L. Franklin, Huntington.

Sixth District.  
George E. Glass, Heizer.

C. W. Harper, Charleston.

(Ex.) M. P. Link, Renevort.

**FINANCIAL STATEMENT**  
February, 1919.

**RECEIPTS.**

Lithuanian Federation ..... \$3.32

955 State Constitution ..... \$10.32

Cedar Grove dues stamps ..... 1.50

Fairmount dues stamps ..... 3.00

M. A. L. dues ..... 6.75

Donation, C. L. Allender ..... 2.00

**Total** ..... \$24.57

**EXPENDITURES.**

Postage ..... \$3.80

Envelopes ..... .25

500 letter heads ..... 2.50

Secretary's commission ..... 9.86

Ex. Chgs. literature ..... .36

**Total** ..... \$17.27

Surplus ..... 7.30

**Total** ..... \$24.57

Balance from last report ..... \$10.32

Surplus for February ..... 7.30

**Balance in treasury** ..... \$17.62

**RESOURCES.**

Dues stamps ..... \$33.65

955 State Constitution ..... 47.75

3 Sets Local Sec. books ..... 9.00

500 Think or Surrender ..... 5.00

900 application cards ..... 1.80

500 How to Organize ..... 2.00

500 How to Conduct a Local ..... 1.00

Miscellaneous books ..... 5.00

**Total** ..... \$105.20

### MONTANI SEMPER LIBERI.

"Mountaineers are always freemen," is such in the motto of our state. It was undoubtedly presumed that West Virginia and earned the right and title to such a motto when she separated herself from the parent state on the issue of slavery, and joined the Union a free state. We mountaineers do love freedom, some more than others; but, just at the present writing, there are not very many mountaineers breaking their necks trying to get into the ranks of the only party that promises freedom—especially the industrial brand.

In response to call for nominations for members of the State Committee and State Secretary, issued February 12, only a few locals have been heard from. Three of these report very little doing, but see some signs of a revival of interest. The Socialists of Cabell county are still mostly "heaven up" let us hope that of this kind, like Mr. Ground Hog, will feel it safe to come out of their holes very soon.

### LET'S FIRE OUR LANDLORD.

I have before me a picture of the handsome, substantial, and commodious Chicago residence, which the National Committee has purchased for National Headquarters of the Socialist Party. I am informed that the National Office has been paying \$2,000 per year rent for the present quarters, that the new premises are large enough for all purposes, including a printing establishment, and that the total cost of the property including remodeling and enlarging to suit our



# NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

(Edited By C. E. Ruthenberg)

## The Senate and the League

Opposition to the League of Nations plan on the part of the reactionary Republican senators should deceive no one as to the character of the proposed league.

The League of Nations, as outlined in the constitution tentatively adopted at Paris, is an organization of the capitalists of the five great powers to conduct the exploitation of the rest of the world through international capitalism rather than through national capitalism.

It may be well asked, if this is true, why do the senators who are the representatives of the great capitalists of the United States oppose this international organization?

The usual explanation given in answer to this question is that it is the desire to gain a partisan advantage that determines their attitude.

This explanation overlooks the fact that party politics are determined by the economic interests of the class the partisans represent, and it is necessary to go deeper to find the real reason for the attitude of Senator Lodge and those who support him.

It is generally acknowledged that the United States has gained a dominant position in the world as a result of the war. It has not suffered at all economically. Whereas the countries of Europe have sacrificed their man-power by the hundreds of thousands and their industries have been disorganized, the United States has improved and made its productive machinery more efficient during the last four years. In comparison with the mountain of debt accumulated by the European countries the United States owes very little. Its resources are intact and are many times greater than those of any other country.

The senators of the Lodge variety are for taking advantage of the dominant economic position of the United States to the limit. They want the United States to enter the world arena unfettered by any ties and to grab everything that its present position will enable it to take. They stand for the selfish policy of economic nationalism. The chairman of the Republican National Committee said in a speech in Chicago a few days ago that the issue of the next campaign would be nationalism and by nationalism, it is to be understood, of course, he means economic nationalism.

These senators represent that section of the capitalist class which has learned nothing from the world war. They see a great opportunity and they propose to take advantage of it to the limit.

The Wilson program is the program of the capitalists who see that their only hope of saving the capitalist system is an international organization of capitalism. They realize that the whole structure of capitalism has been shaken and is ready to topple to the ground. They are not sure that they can save it now, but they are going to try. They are certain that another shock such as capitalism received will shatter it forever, and hence their effort to replace the economic nationalism of the Lodge variety with an international organization, which they hope will at least minimize the danger of the recurrence of what happened during the past four years.

The contest which is agitating Washington and the capitalist press is the contest between national capitalism and international capitalism. The workers can afford to look on and smile while the capitalists fight, and—continue to build the organization of working class that will wipe out all of the capitalist system.

## Raymond Robbins Speaks Out

Colonel Raymond Robbins, American Red Cross representative in Russia, appeared before the senate committee which is investigating Bolshevism the other day, and in two days knocked into a cocked hat all the lies that the capitalist press have been spreading about the Soviet government.

Colonel Robbins said:

That the Soviet government offered not to ratify the Brest Litovsk treaty if the United States and England would furnish certain assistance in the war against Germany, but that neither the government of the United States or that of England made any reply to this offer.

That the Bolshevik propaganda undermined the morale of the German soldiers and that Germany financed anarchist campaigns to hamper the Bolsheviks.

That until Allied intervention took place there was more disorder reported in the average American newspaper than there was in Russia.

That Czech-Slovaks were the agents of French imperialism with designs that had not been laid upon the table and that they committed many atrocities against the Bolsheviks and people of Russia.

That there had not been any general suppression of opposition newspapers under the Bolsheviks and added, "during the war many papers in this country were suppressed without apparent reason."

He said that the Russian masses were in control and could get rid of Lenin and Trotsky and the Bolsheviks in general whenever they desired.

Colonel Robbins has personal knowledge. He was in intimate contact with the affairs of Russia. His statements are in direct contradiction to the stories given to the American people by the capitalist press and stamp these stories as lies. Will the capitalist press stop lying about Russia now that a man who was an official representative of capitalism in Russia has told them that they lie? Nothing of the kind. Tomorrow they will repeat the same old lies or newly invented lies to slander the workers' government of Russia.

The history of the world does not contain a record of degradation and prostitution to equal that of the men and women who write the capitalist lies about Russia.

## Solving the Problem

Coatesville, Pa., has discovered a new method of solving the problem of unemployment.

During the four years of mass murder in Europe, northern manufacturers, in need of labor to enable them to reap the big profits of war-time production, induced tens of thousands of southern Negroes to come north and go to work in the war industries. Gloving promises describing "a land of milk and honey" were held out to these Negroes to get them

to leave their homes. When they reached their destination they found, as a rule, that they were condemned to live in squalor and misery, because, although they received higher wages, it cost them much more to live.

Now that the war is over and the employing class has an over supply of labor on its hands it finds these southern Negroes a serious burden. This was the situation in Coatsville, but Coatsville found a way to solve the problem, a way that will undoubtedly commend itself to the employers elsewhere. Coatsville rounded up all the unemployed southern Negroes in the city, escorted them to the city limits under armed guard, and told them to "head south and keep on going."

That is a fair example of capitalism. The capitalist class use the workers as part of the machinery of production which yields them big profits. It pays them just enough to keep them working. Some times it wrecks their bodies and throws them into the discard. When it cannot use them profitably it washes its hands of them and tells them to go—"south and keep on going."

The workers will remain slaves until they follow the example of the workers of Russia and establish an industrial republic in which the capitalists will have to go to work and all the workers will control the industries and enjoy the product of those industries.

In an article reprinted by the Civil Federation, Samuel Gompers endeavors to draw a damning indictment against the French Socialist Party. Among the evidence he submits is the following resolution, adopted by the French Socialists three days after the signing of the armistice:

The French Socialist Party welcomes the German Republic and the taking over of the power in Prussia and the Confederated States by the working class.

As in the Russia of the Soviets, Socialism has appeared in all Central Europe as the proper liquidator of the political and social situation left by the war.

The party thus sees justified the confidence which it has always had in the action of the people.

Considering that certain of the conditions of the armistice leave the sharply defined fear that the Allied governments have the intention of further extending the criminal military intervention against revolutionary Russia, the party declares that it will appeal to all the forces of the French proletariat to prevent the Socialism which is being born in Russia, as well as in Germany and Austria, from being crushed by coalitions of foreign capitalism.

The party urges the French working people most vigorously to rally to the support of their unions and the Socialist groups, to sustain their class journals, and to keep themselves ready to make Socialism triumph in France as it has in the other countries of Europe.

We are not surprised that this declaration of working class solidarity against "national capitalism" gave "Sammy" the cold shivers. It threatens the thing which he is fighting so hard to protect from the onslaught of the workers that he has so long misled.

The capitalists of Canada are very much aroused over what they call Bolshevik propaganda among the soldiers and workers of that country. One of the manifestos issued by the Provisional Council of Soldiers and Workers' Deputies, makes the following appeal to the workers and soldiers:

Comrades, Soldiers, in camps and barracks, form your councils at once. Hold secret meetings and appoint your delegates, so that you will be ready when the time comes when you have to conduct the business of society; make an end of the tyranny of your officers; down with your officers; down with the court-martial; you can use the army for your freedom and you must do it now!

Comrade Workmen in the factories, mines and railroads, form your councils immediately! Organize councils to take over each industry to be run for the benefit of the workers only. You must do this, nobody else will do it for you. Seize each factory, each mine, each railroad for the working class. Your committees can conduct the policy of production and distribution.

The circular goes on to urge the soldiers and workers to demand the withdrawal of troops from Russia and points out that in the latter country the workers and soldiers have swept away the capitalists and set up their own government and their own control of industry.

The Swiss Socialist Democratic party decided by a vote of 238 to 147 not to participate in the Bern International Conference. The following quotations, which typify the dominant spirit of the convention, are taken from a report of the convention which has just reached this country:

While the cry of the blood of millions of workers is still ringing in our ears, we sit here and consider whether we should attend a conference with those who were responsible for the war. We have damned and cursed the betrayers, because they abandoned the cause of the proletariat. But what has changed since A. Thomas clasped the bloody hand of the czar?

We refuse to be represented at a conference where those morally responsible for the murder of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will sit beside comrades who even in the next few weeks will fall, new sacrifices to the government Socialists.

We greet the Russian Revolution and take up the battle cry of the Russian and German revolutionists, calling upon the proletariat to the world revolution.

"Why compose a new formula of principles, when our own constitution of the United States contains every good principle now put forth by the more intelligent among the radical element," asks an apologist for capitalism in a diatribe about the red flag and what it stands for. Among the good principles that the constitution contains is that which forbids the congress of the United States from passing a law forbidding the employment of children of tender age in the factories of the country. It also contains a section guaranteeing the rights of free speech and a free press, but still the writer of this paragraph risks being sent to prison for twenty years if he expresses his conscientious opinion about the quotation above. What this writer has to learn is that

constitutions may contain fine phrases and provisions, but these constitutions are interpreted to suit the interest of the dominant economic class.

A Washington dispatch from the correspondent of the Cleveland Plain Dealer states that the woman suffrage amendment to the national constitution will pass the next congress because the support of the southern senators has been secured for the amendment. The southern senators have agreed to support the amendment on condition that "a slight change in the text of the resolution" is made, which slight change will permit them to debar Negro women from voting in the south. We suppose these same senators are among those who are shouting loudest for the blood of the Russian workers because they have debarred their enemies, the capitalists, from voting in Russia. Verily the hypocrisy of the ruling class representatives smells to high heavens.

The National Association of City Editors, affiliated with 14,000 newspapers, are behind a movement to organize an American Anti-Anarchy Association, for the purpose of killing Bolshevism in this country. The slogan of the organization is "kill it on sight—even the name." For this work it asks the modest sum of \$300,000. One of the phases of the campaign is to be a full-page newspaper advertisement. That looks rather as if the A. A. A. is to be an organization to boost the business of the employers of the city editors rather than to kill Bolshevism. That's about all the result will be, anyway.

According to Washington advices, foreign exchange transactions between the United States and Russia have been stopped in order to prevent the financing of Bolshevik propaganda in this country. But how will that prevent the workers here who have caught a vision of the new world for which the Bolsheviks are fighting from financing the same propaganda through their nickels and dimes and dollars. It is not the money of the Bolsheviks that capitalism here need fear; it is the Bolshevik ideas that are causing them trouble, and there are no bars that will keep these ideas from spreading.

The Paris conference has found a reason for calling the Prinkipo conference off. Andre Tardieu, one of the French delegates to the peace conference, states that the Bolsheviks have failed to comply with the conditions laid down, because they have not stopped in their effort to drive the invaders out of Russia, and therefore the conference will not be held. He added that new methods would have to be devised by the peace conference to deal with Russia. Everybody knows the kind of methods the French holders of Russian bonds would like to employ.

The Central Labor Council of Seattle is considering a resolution calling upon the American Federation of Labor to reorganize the workers in that body in twelve industrial unions. The resolution was referred to a committee for study after a heated debate.

## Mother of Humanity

By LAURA JIM REYNOLDS.

During the darkening days of civil strife, while the women were immersed in merciful errands to relieve the suffering of the politicians, who then as now, represented the business interests, seized the opportunity to rescind all legislation favorable to progress. Consternation, despair and horror went thru the little camp of suffrage workers. The results of the almost superhuman labors of Miss Anthony were wiped out.

The little Quaker woman showed an indomitable courage in the winter of 1854-5 as she tramped in New York from house to house, gathering recruits to help get ten thousand signatures to petitions demanding equal property rights and suffrage for women, organized clubs, and held innumerable lectures. Added to all this work she helped organize and attended fifty-four conventions that winter.

Headless rooms, buckboard wagons, frozen roads, all manner of food, bearing her own expenses, relying on collections to finance the suffrage cause, figuring ways and means to keep out of debt so as to be on with the next venture, arousing the unthinking women to the danger of one set of people making regulations that another were all part of the hardships and work that she encountered in the task she had voluntarily undertaken.

When the north and south clashed a small band of women, including Miss Anthony, refused to be swayed from their self-appointed task of advocating woman suffrage. The politicians crying, "This is the negro's hour," induced many women to relax their efforts.

"The negro's hour." The republican party needed votes and was it not logical if they passed a law giving the male negro the vote that in gratitude the negro would vote the republican ticket.

The negro woman's right to suffrage was eliminated as that meant that the white woman would demand political recognition and there was no telling what these women would do with the vote. At home the politician did not always succeed in getting his wife and daughters to see things his way, so how could he hope to line up the woman vote and keep it in line?

When the northern politicians needed help they thankfully accepted the services of women operators. It was the eloquence of Anna Dickinson that turned the tide in favor of the union that gave the republican party the election of 1862. Her gift of words the logic and plea for the union and abolition of slavery, brot forth such enthusiasm that wherever she went men listened and joined the party whose spokesman she was. The clever politicians led the women to believe that when the negro question was settled, they would champion woman suffrage.

Miss Anthony warned the women against the smooth words and when

she tried to hold conventions, she met with vacant seats. The women allowed their cause to be shoved in the background while they worked for the union and the slaves.

The social forces drove the northern manufacturer to demand "free labor." This meant to him the labor he could hire by the day; wage labor.

The southern slave holders were large land owners. The cost of the slave's maintenance was a negligible factor. The slaves were housed in a sort of primitive communism, raised on their own corn, ground their own meal, raised sugar cane and made their own sorghum and the warm climate necessitated few clothes.

The northern manufacturers were not land owners. The slave owners of the north had to rent the shelter for their slaves because they did not own land upon which to build shelter. They had to buy food for the slaves. The colder climate of the north made it necessary for the slaves to have far more clothing.

The slaves of the south were directly engaged in producing food stuffs and the slaves of the north were engaged in factory work.

It was thus economically easy for the southern slave-holders to maintain their slaves. The economic burden was too heavy for the northern slave-holder who had learned that it was cheaper to hire a slave by the day, turning him loose at the end of the day's labor, to shift for himself under the guise of a so-called freedom, than to claim ownership of his person.

A chattel slave had to be fed, clothed and housed during the dull season, the same as the farmer cares for his horse during the winter. In slack seasons the employer can turn the "free laborer" out of the industry. When left to his "freedom," if he cannot get a job, he may partake of "free soup" at ten cents a bowl, and the charity lodgings of missions and the police stations.

A chattel slave, the same as a horse if he died was a distinct money loss. A wage-slave's death was no concern of his employer who had no money invested in his body.

Herein lay the economic basis of the civil conflict.

Three years of shedding of brothers' blood had resolved itself into the question of the union versus the state rights. The negro was almost forgotten. The abolitionists saw thirty years of work fade into nothingness. They decided to arouse public opinion so that out of the bloody war would come freedom from chattel-slavery.

The economic demand of the changing order was ripe for the abolition of chattel slavery so the capitalist interest taking advantage of the humanitarian abolitionists, helped them instead of as they did a few years previously, drag them thru the streets and break up their meetings. So a league was formed in New York city of the "loyal women" to get signers to a petition to end the negro slavery.

Who could do this work? All agreed that Miss Anthony, who for nearly three decades had been petitioning. The born an American, because she was a female, she had been able to do as to petition.

Heart sick at seeing her former co-workers forget the woman problem, she helped them petition for the negro. When they assured her that after the war, they would get the franchise because of their services, she sadly shook her head because she knew that the woman question would be lost sight of in the problems of reconstruction. So it came about that Miss Anthony planned getting the greatest petition that any congress up to her time had ever received.

Without a cent she opened headquarters in Cooper Institute. Thousands of dollars were needed for sending out the petitions. She sent a call to the former workers for the franchise and sent out the petitions. Each signer was requested to give a penny. In those days a penny was a considerable sum. In this way over three hundred thousand dollars was gathered. Lectures were given to arouse the people's interest.

Every mail brot huge petitions to encourage statesmen to take up the negro's cause. Public opinion was tangibly known and the women were showered with praises but when they later petitioned for themselves they were ignored.

The civil strife was over. Congress was debating the MALE negro suffrage question.

Worn, wearied and worried Miss Anthony went to Kansas to meet Tired little woman! She had fought to keep the organization together. It had dissolved before the fair promises of the politicians that "after the war" they would get justice.

There was no rest for her as the newspaper brot her tidings that the word "male" was to be inserted in the Fourteenth amendment. The old vitality, the old fighting strength returned to her as she read. She must go. She must warn the women. The danger must be met.

Eastward she speeded, stopping to hold meetings, gathering the forces of suffrage for the battle. She hastened to see Elizabeth Cady Stanton and they planned how to avert the writing of the word "male" in the constitution. She hastened to get Lucy Stone and Lucretia Mott. They went to various cities to communicate personally with all the other suffrage workers.

The women, at last conscious that they had been used as tools by the politicians to further the business interests, rallied their forces and declared war on congress.

Mrs. Stanton again appeared before the public and demanded that the word "persons" be used. The women held conventions and got ready for the fray. Lecturers were sent out to urge all people to work against the word "male" being in the amendment. With fiery words they attacked the obnoxious wording of the proposed amendment that would bar women from getting the vote. They wanted this to be submitted to the people.

Congress of 1865, like the congress of 1918-19, was obstinate and fossilized in ideas. They could not see the trend of events and insisted on trying to stay the stride of Progress.

In Kansas, where the legislature decided to submit the amendment to the white male voters, the republican party fought the women. Having learned the bitter lesson of deviating from her cause, Anna Dickinson's voice was again heard in the woman's cause. In spite of the indifference and work of the republicans the women almost won in Kansas.

The politicians had said that this is "the negro's hour." A mere catch phrase. They meant that it was the negro man's hour. Northern politicians catering to the southern officials who feared the "southern women" vote wanted to amend the constitution so that women were barred from participating in the affairs of a nation, that is "of the people, by the people and for the people."

In the battle with the statesmen of a "free nation" the women lost.

## NO COMPROMISE!

The new labor party will again separate the wheat from the chaff within our midst, and it will be the test of the development of our class-consciousness.

The new party may temporarily mislead some workers, now led up a blind alley from time to time by the two capitalist parties.

There is but one labor party—the Socialist Party, and we, as uncompromisers, must assert our position to the bitter end.

Our party has stood the test of war and what's more, we shall survive the new attempt of the capitalist class to split the forces of the workers, by party. The capitalists haven't taken the trouble to read up and find out what "Bolshevism" is. Let me tell them. It is not Anarchism, it is not Vegetarianism, it has no connection either with Free Love or the New Republic; in a word, it is Applied Socialism, and that is all there is to it. It is therefore a useless waste of time to send operatives to cover the Russian Workers' Convention, they not being Bolsheviks—or to send operatives to ask, "Say, what is this here Non-Partisan League? Where's their New York office at?"

"Immediate action will be taken," says the Evening Sun, "to efface these rascals."

I understand the Department of Justice. The armistice and the coming Peace will reduce the staff, and a lot of perfectly good detectives will have to go back to the ribbon-counter. But the Evening Sun puzzles me. Why print that stuff when there is such a wealth of good lies to print about Russia?—John Reed, in the February Liberator.

Government Ownership Will Curb Packers, Says Heney.

Declaring that the entire food supply of the country would be under control of the "Big Five" packers within ten or possibly five years, Francis J. Heney, former counsel for the Federal Trade Commission, testifying before the House Interstate Commerce committee at Washington last week, came out flat-footed for government control of refrigerator cars and stockyards as the only remedy in sight. The activities of the packers, Mr. Heney stated, had been enlarged until they controlled the butter, oleomargarine and cheese markets and had become a menace to the country.

Through their special privileges with the railroads and their immense capital they were able to "smother

## Great Bolshevik Conspiracy

"Secret Bolshevik Organization Has Net-Work of Agents All Over Country," screams our morning newspaper. "Lenin Sends Four Hundred Thousand Dollars to Spread Bolshevik Propaganda in the U. S." bellows our evening newspaper. "J. Edgar Hoover of Dynamite Concealed in This City," Department of Justice Says," howls the 23d Edition of the Evening Clobber, which is published at 8 o'clock in the morning.

Honest to God, everybody's scared to death of us Bolsheviks!

The papers of today, Jan. 7, are full of menaces from Special Attorney General Alfred L. Becker and the Department of Justice, to the general effect that there is going to be a "clean-up" of Bolsheviks and "sympathizers" in this country. Those of us who happen to have been born abroad are going to be deported; and the rest of us are going to jail.

"The propaganda," says the Evening Sun, "evidently on the authority of the Department of Justice, 'is directed against the use of American soldiers in Russia' (Oswald Garrison Villard, twenty years for you; how about deporting Senator Hiram Johnson?) (What shall we do to Bourke Cochran and the commission appointed by President Wilson, both of whom are guilty of the same offense?)—and demands the release of political prisoners." (Good gracious, are Jane Addams and Lillian Wald criminals, too?)

Even yet, New York newspaper editors and Department of Justice officials haven't taken the trouble to read up and find out what "Bolshevism" is. Let me tell them. It is not Anarchism, it is not Vegetarianism, it has no connection either with Free Love or the New Republic; in a word, it is Applied Socialism, and that is all there is to it. It is therefore a useless waste of time to send operatives to cover the Russian Workers' Convention, they not being Bolsheviks—or to send operatives to ask, "Say, what is this here Non-Partisan League? Where's their New York office at?"

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competition" and were driving wholesale grocers to the wall.

In order to establish an even footing with possible competitors, Mr. Heney said that cold storage plants should be built in every large city so that small packers would be able to dispose of their products.

## Solidarity Will Win

(From a Miner)

I doubt if you have heard from this locality before. I mention this to show that a little work was necessary to secure these four yearly subs. Keep on with the work. Since we made the world safe for democracy we miners have been working but two or three days a week, owing to the manner in which we were betrayed by our leaders about eighteen months ago when the last agreement was made.

The probabilities are that the miners will strike before summer when it is hoped that they will act according to the knowledge gained in past experience which is that it is useless to strike one district at a time, while the other districts work. We know the result of Colorado and have not forgotten our own five months that we had. Past policies seem to have been to keep one district starving and striking and the rest working and paying as though we could ever beat the operators in a financial game!

There's only one way that we can win fellow workers, and that is summed up in the word "solidarity." Yours for the International, D. COCKLIN, Bergholz, O.

## Intervention Caused Terror

Continued From Page One

their own happiness, and international brotherhood, constituting no menace to other nations.

The Russian workers and peasants are determined to defend their dear liberty won by blood and against invaders with all the means their vast country puts at the inevitable. But mindful of the inevitable wanton loss of life and treasure on both sides and wishing to avert the further ruining of Russia, which may result from the continuation of internal and external fighting, they are prepared to go to any length of concessions as far as real interests of other countries are concerned, if they can secure thereby conditions enabling them to work out peacefully their social schemes.

TWO ROADS OPEN.

I understand that the question of relations with Russia is now engaging the attention of allied statesmen. I venture then to submit to you, Mr. President, that there are now only two courses open to them. One is continued open or disguised intervention on the present or on a still larger scale, which means prolongation of war, further embitterment of the Russian masses, intensification of internal strife, unexampled bloodshed and perhaps total extermination of the Russian bourgeoisie by the exasperated masses, final devastation of the country and in case of the interventionists, after a long struggle, obtaining their end, a white terror eclipsing the atrocities of the Finnish white guards, inevitable introduction of military dictatorship and restoration of monarchy, leading to interminable revolutions and upheavals and paralyzing the economic development of the country for long decades.

The other alternative, which I trust may commend itself to you, is impartially to weigh and investigate into the one-sided accusations against Soviet Russia, to come to an understanding with the Soviet government, to withdraw the foreign troops from Russian territory and to raise the economic blockade, soothing thereby the excited passions of the masses, to help Russia to regain her own sources of supply and to give her technical advice how to exploit her natural richness in most effective way for the benefit of all countries badly in need of foodstuffs and raw materials.

periences which is that it is useless to strike one district at a time, while the other districts work. We know the result of Colorado and have not forgotten our own five months that we had. Past policies seem to have been to keep one district starving and striking and the rest working and paying as though we could ever beat the operators in a financial game!

There's only one way that we can win fellow workers, and that is summed up in the word "solidarity." Yours for the International, D. COCKLIN, Bergholz, O.

The dictatorship of toilers and producers is not an aim in itself but the means of building up a new social system under which useful work and equal rights would be provided for all citizens irrespective of classes to which they had formerly belonged. One may believe in this ideal or not, but it surely gives no justification for sending foreign troops to fight against it or for arming and supporting classes interested in the restoration of the old system of exploitation of man by man.

I venture to appeal to your sense of justice and impartiality. I hope and trust above all that before declaring any course of action you will give justice to the demand of "audiat altera pars." (Let the other side also be heard).

MAXIM LITVINOFF, Late Representative for Great Britain of the Russian Federative Republic, Stockholm, Dec. 24, 1918.

## British Workers Firm

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20 mads; they will be unable to see why their demands are not granted. Discussing possible failure of the miners' case, Williams said:

"The triple alliance is pledged not to strike singly. The strike of one of the member elements means the strike of all three. It would paralyze the country. It may mean a change in the government."

Williams said that acceptance of the miners' demands would "do much to help settle other difficulties." Although the miners postponed their strike—which was favored by a large majority in the recent referendum—to allow the government committee an opportunity to investigate, they will meet with the railway men and transport workers next week. At that time the work of the investigating committee will have reached a stage where the miners are likely to know the probable outcome of the probe. If it is unfavorable, the question of a general strike of the "triple alliance" will be taken up at once.

In the meantime, other strikes continue bobbing up here and there. The most recent was the walkout of 4,000 colliers in southern Wales.