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ALLISON, KATTERFELD, BRONSTRUP, BAKER and WAGENKNECHT ARRESTED Charged with Violating Syndicalist Law

**Loyal American League
Continues Its Campaign of
Intimidation - Attempts to
Sweep Back the Tide of
Revolt Against Criminal
Capitalism with a Broom**

The Czar is dead, but his spirit lives in America. His spirit has found an abiding place in America's ruling class and its henchmen.

In Pittsburgh the labor unions have been denied the right to meet in halls to protest against criminal capitalism.

In Gary, Lorain and other cities the steel strikers have been forbidden to freely assemble to voice their grievances. Their homes have been raided. The military rule.

In the Ohio mining region, miners are being thrown into jail, charged with violating the syndicalist law, because they

had the audacity to demand that they be paid for the full weight of the coal they mined.

At the special organization meeting called by the Communist Labor Party of Cleveland, L. E. Katterfeld, organization director and national executive committeeman of the Communist Labor Party; Walter Bronstrup, Cleveland secretary; Chas. Baker, organizer for the party; A. Wagenknecht, its national secretary and E. T. Allison, editor, were taken into custody by an army of police and operatives for the Loyal American League, hustled to the jail and charged with violating the Freeman act, which makes it an offense to "advocate reforms by the use of crime, violence, sabotage or terrorism."

Acme hall was filled Thursday evening, Oct. 16, with Cleveland comrades who came especially to inform themselves upon the party situation and to hear a personal message from Debs. The walls of the hall were decorated with blue-coats. The meeting was allowed to proceed without interruption. Katterfeld made an impressive speech.

He traced the development of the Left Wing movement within the party and cited reasons why affiliation with the Communist Labor Party should be preferred by those present. A call was made for applications for membership. A surprisingly large number of applications were made. Many in the audience also subscribed for the Ohio Socialist. Marguerite Prevey gave the audience a personal message from Debs. The meeting was adjourned. And that was the signal.

Immediately the army of police together with a score of operatives of the Loyal American League surrounded all those who took an active part in the meeting, confiscated the applications for membership, the signed subscription cards,

the literature, and carted it all, together with the five comrades, to jail.

By the use of crime, violence, sabotage and terrorism, the Loyal American League, agents for the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, are attempting to intimidate workers who gather in meeting to discuss their organization affairs. Branch meetings in Cleveland have been broken up. Hall owners have been threatened. Comrades have been lodged in jail without charges. All means, ruthless in the extreme, have been used in an attempt to make impotent the organization machinery of the revolutionary workers of Cleveland.

There are none so blind as the capitalist class. Russian history seems to be a closed book to them. What the Czar started in Russia, and could not finish, the master class is now starting in the United States. It means their finish. Senator Pomerene's "patient and long-suffering" American workers are even now showing their teeth. The strike of the steel workers; the hundreds of strikes thru-out the country; the strike of the dock workers; the threatened strike of the miners — all this attests to the growing spirit of revolt against criminal capitalism. And there shall be no rest to the unrest until the great working class has come into its own.

So the call goes forth to you again, comrades.

Solidify your ranks. Permit no inconsequential differences to divide you. Where there is unity or purpose there must be unity in organization. Sweep aside those who would barter unity for personal advantage. As a solid mass, come to the rescue of your persecuted comrades.

Terrorism and intimidation will cease when we assert our power as a mass.

And this WE WILL DO—FOR WE MUST.

Seven Mine Workers in Cadiz Jail Look to You for Help

Seven members of the United Mine Workers Union are languishing in the Harrison County jail, at Cadiz, Ohio. They are charged with violating the syndicalist law.

This charge was placed against them because they demanded from the operators of Atmore full weight for the coal mined by the miners of their union.

The answer of the operators to the appeal for full weight, to the demand that this double robbery cease — was jail.

The officials of the Miners' Union were called upon for assistance before the arrests took place. These officials asked to intercede for the miners to secure full weight for all coal mined.

When the union officials learned that the fight for full weight was led by

radicals in the union, they turned their backs upon the men. Arrest of the committee of seven, which toured the surrounding mines to ask for a general strike of miners, followed almost immediately.

Encouraged by the success of the response in calling numbers of the working class, the operators have been passing special laws under the title of "Criminal Syndicalist Bills," ostensibly to be used against the workers. In California active members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor were arrested, jailed and charged with "criminal syndicalism" for their strike activities. The same tactics are being used against the organizers of the steel industry in Pennsylvania.

Unable to cope with the growing power of labor and the developing

spirit of solidarity, the employing class have cunningly devised this new means of fighting organized labor by passing laws with the avowed purpose of checking the activities of radicals, but virtually these laws are so constructed as to enable them to arrest the active workers in the union.

The courts can make a strike illegal and break it by calling it "sabotage," and under such legislation can send workers to jail for long terms.

For self-protection the men and women of organized labor must see that so far as the great economic struggle is concerned, any one that threatens the regime of the bosses is the enemy of the capitalist class and is dealt with accordingly.

The American workers does not yet realize that he is as likely to go to

prison for twenty years because of his participation in a strike as any radicals who proclaim the strike as the most powerful economic weapon labor has. In the years to come political and labor prisoners will no longer be counted by the hundreds but by the thousands—the jails will

be filled to overflowing and

social vision—unless labor, recognizing its own power, refuses to allow it.

In Wichita, Kansas, thirty-two workers were confined since November, 1917 until a few days ago in a jail so filthy and unsanitary that we cannot tell about it and pass the censor. One of these men went insane, one attempted suicide and one has died on account of the filthy condition of the jail.

There are over fifteen hundred such prisoners in the American jails today. It is not only labor's absolute right, but if labor is to maintain its self-respect, it MUST stand back of every man who is now in prison be-

cause of labor's struggle. We must stand back of the seven jailed miners at Cadiz.

The majority of them are members of the Hungarian Federation of the party. Secretary Leo Frankl of the federation has issued a call to all federa-

tion members to give financial aid

which is badly needed and at once. Jos. Erdelz organizer for the federa-

tion in Ohio and Pennsylvania re-

ports that the Hungarian branch of Cleveland has already taken a collection among its members and has cov-

ered the initial expenses of sending Jos. Sharts, attorney, to Cadiz for the preliminary hearing.

Let us repeat—AN INJURY TO

ONE WORKER IS AN INJURY TO

ALL. There is not another word to say.

You know your duty in the matter.

Marguarite Prevey and Ella Reeve Bloor Take Field for Liberators

You will grant that we have not been idle.

Comrades have sent us hundreds of dollars and we have printed thousands upon thousands of leaflets for distribution, propagandizing our call to free them all — to free every last one of our comrades now penned up in vile jails at the mercy of guards brutalized by capitalism.

Leaflets have been distributed—as high as ten thousand in a single city by the effort of a single comrade. We have more of these leaflets for you — ENTIRELY FREE — paid for by the Liberators' Army. You can help materially toward the freedom of all political prisoners if you will help place these leaflets into the hands of the workers.

Yet, what's immediately important is to arouse the working class to a realization of the class character of this battle to free our comrades. We must awaken their class instincts for

united action in a class demand. We must secure unity of thought—then unity of action will follow.

We must UNITE the workers in this thought—that all political prisoners can be freed if the workers will unite to free them. And to help to UNITE the workers in this thought we have secured the services of Ella Reeve Bloor and Marguerite Prevey. These two comrades will take the field as soon as routings can be arranged, and their special mission will be to visit labor unions to deliver the message of class action.

More organizers will be toured as they can be secured. If you arrange a public meeting in your city, write for one of these speakers. Ella Reeve Bloor will be available in the New England states and Marguerite Prevey in Pennsylvania and states west from there.

Mainly however, help to secure an audience for these speakers before the labor unions in your city. If you can, send

us the names of the labor unions, their meeting nights, and which are most revolutionary in tendency.

Locals of the party should take action at once. Write to this office and state how many days you can keep an Army of Liberators' organizer busy in your city.

AND NOW LOOK HERE—You have financed this campaign to free all political prisoners. This is not the end of your duties. The fund on hand must now be used for the purpose for which it was gathered. The purpose for which it was gathered was to ORGANIZE the workers to SECURE FREEDOM for all imprisoned comrades.

Without you as our field agent for our field organizers we are impotent. Will you now do what is immediately necessary to organize the workers for UNITED ACTION?

WE AWAIT YOUR ANSWER!

May Not Be Sentenced

CINCINNATI, O.—Will the thirteen Cincinnati Socialists, convicted of conspiracy to defeat the conscription act, escape punishment through the sudden death of United States Judge Hollister?

This question was asked frequently last week in court and legal circles, and the answers of leading judges and attorneys disclosed a divided opinion. The facts in the case are these:

The thirteen defendants were found guilty by a jury at a trial over which Judge Hollister presided.

The law provides that the trial judge must pronounce the sentence, basing it upon the evidence which he heard during the progress of the case.

Judge Hollister delayed the pronouncement of the sentence until he had heard the arguments of the motion for a new trial. He was to have heard these last week.

One group contends that only Judge Hollister could pronounce sentence because he alone was familiar with the evidence and all the details of the case. The other side holds that the judge who succeeds to the bench will have the record to study and will therefore be just as able to acquit himself with the history of the whole matter. Judge Sater was expected to come to Cincinnati Monday to hear arguments on the motion for a new trial. The general opinion exists that if the trial of the Socialists is rendered nil by the death of Judge Hollister they will never again be taken before the court. Over two and a half years have already elapsed since their arrest, in June, 1917.

A Very Sick Man at Atlanta.

Atlanta, Ga., October 15, 1919.

The Ohio Socialist,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Comrades:

I have been visiting Debs regularly since his incarceration in the Federal Prison at Atlanta, Ga. I have observed him in his different moods, and it is my humble opinion that unless something is done for him immediately he will be shipped to Terre Haute, Indiana in a coffin. I picture the associated press, at any moment, flashing this news over the country: "EUGENE V. DEBS DIES AT THE FEDERAL PRISON, ATLANTA, GEORGIA."

If we want to see our beloved comrade, together with the other political prisoners, out of the penitentiary we must get busier than ever before in developing the power of the workers to protect their own.

While Eugene Debs is a sick man, his morale, his spirit, his faith in the revolution was never stronger, never more inspiring. In reading the rapid changes in the political, social and economic forces the world over, he sees the close approach of the workers regime.

Debs has inspired all the political prisoners down here. He has brought about a spiritual revolu-

tion among them, and from his hospital room he is radiating immeasurable influence for good.

While he will gladly die here as an uncompromising revolutionist, we owe it to ourselves to demand the immediate release of the political prisoners more vigorously than ever. If we fail to do this it will be too late to greet comrade Debs in life. Debs sends his love to all the comrades. He visualizes more than ever before an international league of the peoples—the proletariat of the world.

There is a sick man at the White House whose ideal is a league of nations—a capitalistic league of nations—for the governments of the world. Daily bulletins are being issued regarding his health. There is another sick man, a sick comrade, at the Atlanta Federal Prison, who advocates a league of peoples—a league of the proletariat—for the people of the world. Although there are no daily bulletins being issued about him, millions of comrades who have an undying admiration for the man's courage and for his life work in behalf of the proletariat, are increasing his influence so rapidly that it is only a question of time until the power of the prisoner overshadows not only the White House but the whole nation.

Yours very sincerely,
SAMUEL M. CASTLEON.

COOPERATE for LIBERTY

WORKERS' LIBERTY BONDS FOR LIBERTY.

Liberty Bonds held by socialists and I. W. W. members of Ft. Wayne, Ind., to the extent of \$5,000 were put up as bonds for the release of fellow worker, Roland Stevens, when he was arrested in that city charged with violation of the syndicalist law in having I. W. W. literature in his possession.

After six hours spent in jail the previous day, he was released on his own recognizance. In court on the 30th, he was bound over to the circuit court on \$5,000 bail.

National Organizer Chas. Baker, of the Communist Labor Party spoke in Ft. Wayne that evening and at his meeting made a stirring appeal to the comrades to come to the rescue of their comrade with their liberty bonds. It was only a few minutes until sufficient bonds were pledged as bail and comrade Stevens released.

Indiana comrades are requested to take an interest in this case and to make it their business to lend all assistance possible. This is the first case in the state where a violation of the syndicalist law has been charged. The united power of the workers can make it the last. Comrade Stevens stands high in the estimation of his comrades and his character is such as to win and retain the trust of all radicals.

Goodbye America

(From The Voice of Labor)

Well, good bye, fellows! Yes, I am leaving, going home, going back to the first workingman's country in the world — Soviet Russia.

For seventeen long years you and I have been toiling side by side.

Together we cussed and swore about the lousy bunks and punk grub in the rain-soaked logging camps of Washington and Oregon; together we "humped" lumber and railroad ties in the California seaports; together we "mucked" in the tunnels and grading camps of Nevada and Utah; together we hayed in Colorado and harvested in Kansas and the Dakotas; together we smelled the stink of Chicago stock-yards, hustled in the machine-shops of Cleveland and the steel mills of Pittsburgh, sailed on the Lakes; together we worked in half a dozen ship-yards, all along the Eastern Coast.

We know each other, you and I. And now let me tell you why I want to go back.

Somehow you fellows have got it into your heads that this is the best country in the world for a workingman to live in, and that it will remain the best. More than that. You say that this country, as it is now, is good enough for you — and you'd just as soon have it as it is for ever and ever. Anybody who disagrees with you is unpatriotic, or an ungrateful knocker.

"If You Don't Like Your Uncle Sammy" —

It is a hundred to one bet that an American-born worker's answer to a dissatisfied foreigner will always be: "If you don't like this country, get to hell out of it. Nobody invited you to come here; who's keeping you now?"

Many American-born workmen think that this is a very smart answer — a regular knock-out; in reality, it is the silliest sentence in the world to be spoken by a working man.

Let me show you why. Who owns this country — the great shops, the railroads, the big banks; the forests, rich mines and fertile soil? Do the workingmen own them, or a handful of millionaires with their comfortable and well-paid managers, foremen, superintendents, guards and private detectives?

Who make the laws, who enforce them, who appoint the judges, police and jail-keepers? The workers or the bosses?

True enough, every little while the politicians — paid and controlled by these same bosses and millionaires — come around asking for your votes. And you swallow all their bunk, vote for them, and think you're ruling the country. Then you go on strike. A Judge (the one you voted for) issues an injunction forbidding you from picketing. A Sheriff (you voted for him) gives deputy badges to scabs and private detectives. A Governor (you helped elect him) calls in the militia to break the strike.

A band of thugs hired by John D. Rockefeller shoot down striking coal miners in Colorado, and burn their women and children to death — nobody's punished. A band of thugs hired by the Phelps-Dodge Company at Bisbee deport five hundred striking copper miners into the desert at the point of a gun — nobody's punished. A servant of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, a District Attorney named Fleckert (you helped elect him, too) sends Tom Mooney to jail; for life on a frame-up — nobody's punished except Mooney.

Yes, you rule the country — like Hell!

Millions of you don't know yet that it doesn't make a particle of difference whether Republicans, Democrats, Progressives or "Independents" win the election. It's nothing to you whether this or that "friend of labor," whether this "good" man or that "great" man gets a soft political job.

How many more times must you be fooled before you begin to see it? The great industrial and financial barons of this country hold every politician in the hollow of their hands. If the politicians do as they are told to, they get promoted; if they do what they promised you to do, they are down and out.

As for us working men — you American-born and we foreign-born — we get work if they can make money out of us; if they can't, we can go hang ourselves. When we have jobs, we get barely enough to feed, clothe and shelter ourselves. When we have jobs, we get barely enough to feed, clothe and shelter ourselves and our families. When we are out of work we face starvation. And when starvation comes, they tell us: "Don't make trouble, or you'll get your head cracked by a cop's club. Stand in line. Patronize the soup-soupers. Charity will take care of your family — if there's enough to go around. Shut up, and be thankful for the slops!"

America, at this moment, is the biggest gold-mine for the capitalists that ever existed in all history. The capitalists of America have made so many millions of dollars (yes, they skinned it out of you and me), that they are searching all over the world for places to invest it; for countries in which to build new shops, mills and railroads, to dig new mines, and skin more millions out of the workingmen of other countries — Mexico, China, Siberia.

But when it comes to pay the war-debts, these hundreds of millions of profits are scarcely touched. Instead, the wise men in Washington, D. C. (your Government), have the nerve to tax the workingman, to take it out of

One cent tax on each ice-cream cone! One cent on each nickel ticket to a moving-picture show! Twenty cents on the poor man's dollar! A blind man ought to see by whom and for whose benefit the laws are made!

Of course the capitalists are satisfied with this country as it is now. Of course they want to "kick to hell out of this country" every foreign workingman who sees and doesn't like the great skin-game that is going on.

And the American-born worker who slings the same words against his fellow-worker born in another country, is simply echoing the sentiments of the boss who robs him, beats him and breaks him.

Capitalism's New Weapon

The "criminal syndicalism" bill which has been passed by more than a dozen states and which was enacted by the Ohio legislature last April and signed by the governor in May, places a new weapon in the hands of those who are oppressing and exploiting the workers.

Following we print this law in complete form:

AN ACT

Defining the crime of criminal syndicalism and prescribing punishment for it.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio:

Sec. 13421-23 Section 1. That criminal syndicalism is the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, which is defined as the malicious injury or destruction of the property of another, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. The advocacy of such doctrine, whether by word of mouth or writing, is a felony, punishable as in this act provided.

Sec. 13421-24 Section 2. Any person who by word of mouth or writing, advocates or teaches the duty, necessity or propriety of crime, sabotage, violence or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform; or prints, publishes, edits, issues or knowingly circulates, sells, distributes, or publicly displays any book, paper, document, or written matter in any form, containing or advocating, advising or teaching the doctrine that industrial or political reform should be brought about by crime, sabotage, violence or unlawful methods of terrorism; or openly, wilfully, and deliberately justifies, by word of mouth or writing, the commission or the attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence or unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to exemplify, spread or advocate the propriety of the doctrines of criminal syndicalism; or organizes or helps to organize or becomes a member of, or voluntarily assembles with any society, group or assemblage of persons formed to teach or advocate the doctrine of criminal syndicalism; is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the state penitentiary for not more than ten years, or by a fine of not more than five thousand dollars, or both.

Sec. 13421-25 Section 3. Whenever two or more persons assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrines of criminal syndicalism as defined in this act, such an assemblage is unlawful, and every person voluntarily participating therein by his presence, aid or instigation is guilty of a felony and punishable by imprisonment in the state penitentiary for not more than ten years, or by a fine of not more than five thousand dollars, or both.

Sec. 13421-26 Section 4. The owner, agent, superintendent, janitor, caretaker or occupant of any place, building or room, who wilfully and knowingly permits therein any assemblage of persons prohibited by the provisions of section 2 of this act, or who, after notification that the premises are so used, knowingly permits such use to be continued, is guilty of a misdemeanor and punishable by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year or by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars, or both.

Sec. 5. This act is hereby declared to be an emergency act necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace and safety. The emergency necessitating the enactment of this act arises out of the fact that there are persons in, and also persons threatening to enter, the state for the purpose of teaching the doctrine of criminal syndicalism as defined in this act, and advocating such doctrine and the commission of the other acts and practices declared by this act to be unlawful, the tendency of which will be to destroy our institutions and government, and put the people into a condition of unrest and terror.

The danger to the working class is not in what this law seemingly says but in what it may be twisted into saying.

For seventeen long years—the best years of my life—I have slaved for the American money-bags. All I got for it was a bare living, like a farmer's mule or a contractor's team-horse.

So did you, my American friends and fellow-workers—Yankee of New England and Native Son of the Golden West. The only difference between you and me is, that I understand it and feel it every day and every hour, while most of you don't understand it and don't feel it even now.

When wages were \$15 a week, we bought pork chops for 10 or 12 cents a pound. Now we get \$20 a week, and the same kind of pork chops cost us 45 cents a pound. Wages have doubled; pork chops cost almost four times as much. Where do we gain when in the face of the unheard-of cost of living, our wages don't increase in proportion, but fall more and more behind the price of necessities?

Our jobs are getting more uncertain every day — you know that as well as I do. If we are too old, if we can't work fast enough, if they can get cheaper men, if we give back-talk to a cranky straw-boss, if we open our mouths in Union meetings, if we kick for better conditions — then we get fired. Isn't that right?

But the most pitiful figures are those workingmen who think they are well-off; by scraping, saving, working themselves to the bone, have managed to get a two-by-four house and lot on a ten-year installment plan. Being afraid to lose their jobs in that vicinity, they cease to be men, and turn into worms. They are afraid to kick, afraid to protest, afraid to strike; they do not dare to open their mouths.

On top of all this, when, on account of the speeding up of production, or unsettled industrial or financial conditions, the millionaire bosses have on hand too many unsold products, or they can't sell them at a big enough profit — then they shut down mills and whole industries, and millions of workers are turned out on the street.

By all the signs it looks as if the workers of America will get one of those vacances in the near future — not only a good long one, but a long one.

Is there any help for it? Is there any way out?

Yes, there is! And not a theory, either, but a practical scheme that is low working.

Every one of you has been reading for the past two years the fake newspaper stories about Russia, and the hair-raising tales of the "terrible Bolsheviks." The bigger the lie, the better it is paid for by the capitalist papers, who are owned and controlled by the same millionaire bosses who own the industries.

Why?

Because the working men and soldiers of Russia, hand in hand with the farm-hands and the poorest farmers, overthrew, not only the bloody Tsar and the slave-drivers, but also the shyster Kerensky, behind whose coat-tails the millionaire bosses of Russia expected to keep on skinning the workers.

Because these same workers organized their own Workers' Government. Because the Bolshevik Soviet Government took away the factories, mills, mines, banks and land from their millionaire owners — did not pay a cent for them — and turned them over to the workers, farm-hands and poor farmers.

Because in spite of all difficulties, the workers of Russia are learning how to manage and run the industries for the benefit of all who work.

Because the workers of Russia are succeeding, and are defending their own Soviet Government against all attacks from the capitalist Governments of Japan, England, France, Italy and America, who are assisting the old millionaires and the Tsarist generals in their attempt to restore the Russian workers to slavery.

Because the American millionaire bosses are shaking in their stolen shoes for fear you American-born workers learn something about the real conditions in Soviet Russia. They are afraid that you might begin to think that the way of the Russian workers is a good way out of the present capitalist swamp toward industrial freedom.

They fondly hope that you American-born workers will believe all the lies they tell you, that you will forget your own conditions and join in the hunt for Bolsheviks in America.

They are trying to split the workers into an American-born and a foreign-born section, set them fighting each other, and thus skin both of them.

They are not afraid of the foreign-born workers. They know that the few foreign-born rebels cannot harm their looted money-bags. But they fear worse than fire that you American-born workers will become revolutionaries. And they are right. The future of America, the future of the working class of America, rests in the hands of the American-born workers. If you turn revolutionaries, the American millionaires and their flunkies are doomed.

As for me, I am getting weary of slaving for any millionaire; I am sick and tired of being at the mercy of a bone-headed straw-boss for a job; I am disgusted with lots of things that are still proud of.

I want to live and work among free workers. I want to spend the rest of my life working for a better future for mankind, liberated from all the parasites. Yes, I would prefer to die fighting against the enemies of the New Social Order in Workingmen's Russia, than to spend the rest of my strength working for American millionaires, and then, worn out, die like a stray dog by the roadside here in America, leaving behind me sons and daughters to go through the mill that I went through.

But I believe that time and experience will change your minds, fellow-workers born in America. Then you will act—as the working class of Russia acted.

And when you do perhaps some of you remember that the "damned Polak" or the "crazy Russian," as you so often called me, wasn't so "damned" or so "crazy" after all.

Yours for a free world for the workers,

IVAN IVANOVITCH.

Notice

To
Readers

The paper shortage has been very acute for months, more so than during the war. Recently the paper mills quit making newspaper for flat bed presses and it is on a flat bed press that the Ohio Socialist is being printed. Last week we were compelled to use book paper costing twice as much as newspaper. To avoid this big increase in cost we are compelled to print this week and possibly next a six instead of a seven column paper.

THE BULLETIN BOARD

To say that the newspaper press represents public opinion is to administer insult to intelligent men. It is the property of speculators, political leaders, large contractors and railway directors. Can we expect the truth through channels of falsehood, light from regions of darkness or fairness from those whose business is to calumniate, pervert and deceive? Certainly not. Hence the need of an organ that should be beyond stain of corruption, invulnerable against attacks and inspired by men who feel it their mission to teach the truth they have acquired by hard toil and bitter sufferings.

KARL MARX, Sept. 16, 1865.

Support the Workers' Press
Order a Bundle of
The Ohio Socialist for distribution
One cent a copy

The Communist Labor Party does not teach or advocate "crime, sabotage... violence or unlawful methods of terrorism", but this law has already been used as the basis for the arrests of five of its officials at Cleveland last week.

Under this law it becomes a crime to tell the story of the Russian revolution and how the workers achieved power in that country, for that would be to "exemplify" what is forbidden by the terms of this law.

While not even mentioning strikes the law will prove a very handy weapon against pickets for the activities of pickets may very easily be interpreted to be "unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reforms."

While the law forbids "unlawful methods of terrorism", it does not tell us what unlawful methods of terrorism are, possibly because we can learn that from the operation of the law itself.

THE BLACK SHEEP

By Long and Lanky.

(Continued from last week.)

CHAPTER II. THE HARVEST FIELD

Westfield, the place of his nativity, seemed to pride itself on its antiquated methods and ideas in all things. They lived as much as they possibly could in the mental atmosphere of the sixteenth century. Crude was every where in evidence. Jack hated crudeness. Not only in the mental world, but also in the realm of practical affairs. Ever since he had become interested in biology, he had endeavored to persuade his parents and neighbors that farming should be conducted in harmony with the laws discovered in biological and chemical laboratories. It was in science that he found an answer to many of the questions that had vexed his childhood brain and he believed that only applied science could emancipate mankind from the thralldom of contradiction. But as Westfield resented his questions concerning their creed, so they resented his suggestions for improved methods. At every turn the brain of today was confronted with the tombstones of the past. Westfielders worshipped at the grave of Calvin and Knox, and refused to come out into the light of the twentieth century. There was nothing for him to do but to go out into the world and leave a path for himself.

He wanted to become a scientific farmer, not an easy task for a penniless boy, who by nature is more of an investigator and thinker than a worker and financier. It pre-supposes high tuition in the school of hard knocks before a man with such a mind type such as Jack's can win a place in the sun.

Ever since his eleventh year he had been on the look out for reading matter of a scientific nature and for phenomena in nature that would justify or contradict the statements made in the books of science. He had accumulated notes on all the natural phenomena that came under his unaided observation. He had evolved definite ideas of evolutionary processes in the inorganic as well as the organic world. In fact he might have been considered well read in the biological and physical sciences as far as their popular and current literature is concerned at the time that he left his home to begin his battle with the world. On the other hand aside from farming he was hopelessly ignorant of historical data and man's social and economic relations as they exist in the modern industrial world.

All that he knew he had learned from a few scattered books and from his immediate environment and that environment employed labor, hence with reference he had developed the employer's psychology. Now he was thrust out into the world, not as an employer but as an employee. He found himself in a situation where the facts of life directly contradicted the requirements of his logical mind.

His father raised wheat and hired what he called tramps through out the harvest season. He needed them in the fall—he would have been sadly disappointed if for some reason they had not turned up at harvest time. Yet for the rest of the year he cursed them soundly and saw to it that his vote was cast for a capable sheriff, one who made it his business to see to it that these undesirables were driven out of the country as soon as threshing was over.

Jack who by nature questioned all things, had never questioned this phenomena. They appeared inevitable. This may be explained by the fact that he studied things as they are, and had given but little attention to things as they might or ought to be. As long as he was a member of his father's house, his and his father's interests were one and as a rule a person will defend his mode of existence without analyzing it too carefully. Exploiters do not like to discuss the moral phases of their economic life. So it happened that he who questioned all things that came under his observation had never investigated the cause of this phenomenon of migratory labor.

But such is the irony of existence. The farm youth who the fall before had applauded the election of a particularly vicious sheriff, who was expected to deal vigorously with the tramp problem, was this fall himself a tramp, carrying his blankets and heavy suitcase along the dusty highway.

To his amazement farmers at the cross roads looked at him exactly as he had looked at them making remarks such as—"bohobos are coming early this year—" Well, the sheriff has got a good big rock pile for them, that will keep them out of mischief till harvest starts;" — "I have got a good dog at my house, he will keep 'em out of the barn and chicken coop." Needless to say that these remarks stung him to the quick; he explained to the man that he was not a tramp and was surprised that they laughed at him. His quick wit however, showed him that what these men were throwing at him, he had thrown back at them.

He had changed relations to the facts of life. From a buyer of labor power he had become a seller. He realized even before he had found work that there was a feeling of natural antagonism between him and his prospective employers. He realized that he was looked upon as at best a necessary evil, tolerated only in the fields during harvest times. The class that yesterday looked upon him as a friend, today viewed him as a thief, a firebug and a beast of burden.

On his first job in the harvest field he was thrown into the company of an element that maybe fitly called the Si-wash of the white; the lowest strata of the migratory worker. It was a desolate crowd such as he had never met among the tramps that came to work on his father's farm. They were the spawn of the slums-evil blossoms from the back yard of civilization. He felt bitter toward them. He thought that it was because they were what they were that he was ostracized; that he was unpopular simply because workers as a class were vicious. He thought that the old saying "that a man is known by the company he keeps" explained the farmer's attitude toward him. He felt within him more than ever a burning desire to climb to nobler and better things. But in a few days he went to another job and there he met other men. Men of quite different characteristics. Men from good homes and with education superior to his own and they were considered by the farmers as tramps and

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WEDNESDAY, OCT. 22nd, 1919.

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Symbols of Capitalism

Social systems seek to develop the forces calculated to sustain and protect them from decay, revolutions and such disintegration as time and evolution may bring about.

The armed forces of the capitalist state reveal themselves as symbols which personify the character of such a state. Take the police force of any large city. There is reflected in its personnel, in its character as an organized body, in its methods of carrying on its functions the chief characteristics of its parent, the social and industrial system. As the parent system is arrogant, ruthless, distinguished by a class character of slave and master, so are its armed forces, (the foundation of present organized government), of a like character.

Capitalism is ruthless, inhuman, brutal. So are the police who are its right hand. So are its jails which are even more brutal, with the brutality of inanimosity, the crushing brutality of steel bars and cells and cold stone pavements and dark, shadowed corridors; of confinement and filth and disease.

The psychology of the police is a psychology of force, of compulsion. They are trained in its use. The necessities of capitalism demand such a training. Capitalism has reached that stage of development whereby its dependence upon its armed forces grows ever greater.

In this stage of decay such a state composed of master and slave, the sole sustaining support becomes such armed powers as it can command. Upon such support every decaying social system comes at last to lean when its function of ministering to the welfare of mankind have ceased.

It is now that the glaring mockery of the so-called justice of capitalism is revealed. It is being revealed to-day in many instances of the class war. The sole function of the police and army now is to protect the capitalist class in their exploitation of the workers. Gary is an example and there are a hundred others. The moment the workers seek to wrest even the smallest amount of control from the ruling class, the armed forces of the state are thrown against the workers in the interest of their exploiters and the capitalist state which is their instrument. The dictatorship of the capitalist class is established over the workers.

Under a social system wherein all were workers and the profit system abolished for one of production for use only, under such a system class conflicts would disappear and the character of the social system would likewise be reflected in such corrective institutions as would become necessary. The psychology of force would give way to one based upon sympathy, understanding of human nature and a knowledge of the science of sociology. Under such a system where economic antagonisms did not exist brutality in all its manifestations would disappear and the human race would develop its potential powers for nobility and leave the brute behind forever.

It is for such a social system that all revolutionary socialist are striving; it is the dream of poets and seers and it is the hope of the working-class.

Join the forces that are working toward this end.

Join the Communist Labor Party.

The status of Admiral Kolchak's "government" has recently been a subject for much speculation, and very little light has been shed upon the subject from official sources. Enough however, has leaked out to justify the assumption that the allies have transferred their affections and hopes from Kolchak to Denikin. Kolchak failed to deliver the goods, that is, failed to break the strength of the Russian worker's government and deliver Russia over to capitalistic imperialism. Denikin is now the great hope of allied "democracy" in its undeclared war against the soviet power.

Interesting data upon Kolchak's waning power is supplied by Miss Florence Hoffman of Honolulu, who just returned from service in the American Red Cross at Omsk, the seat of Kolchak's reactionary government. Omsk, according to Miss Hoffman, capitulated to the bolsheviks during the merry month of May and is still held by the reds. She asserts that there is no authentic information that the city has been recaptured by Kolchak forces. Kolchak's sinking ship is now making but very small ripples upon the rising tide of workingclass power in Russia.

The Jewish race in the Ukraine are being wiped out by the thousands thru programs instituted by anti-bolshevik forces according to information received by the Zionist Organization of America. In those sections where the bolsheviks have control everything possible is done to suppress programs and to assist survivors. Where the anti-bolshevik forces of Gen. Petlura have power over 30,000 Jews have been mercilessly slaughtered by the white terror of the reactionaries. It looks as tho the Jewish race might be forced to take a stand for the bolsheviks as a matter of race salvation.

ONCE MORE WE DEMAND UNITY

The following motion, made by Max Bedacht, is now before the national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party for its vote. Already a majority of this committee has voted in the affirmative upon it. As soon as voting upon this motion closes, the communication it embodies will be sent to the national office of the Communist Party.

National Executive Committee motion 3, made by Max Bedacht: That the Executive Secretary of the Communist Labor Party be instructed to send the following invitation to the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party:

To the Central Executive Committee,

Dear Comrades:-

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party invites the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party to meet with it on November 1, 1919, or as near to that date possible, in Chicago or some other place agreed upon.

First—For an informal discussion of a basis for a formal unity conference and a mode of procedure for such a conference.

Second—If a basis is agreed upon, to then and there hold a unity conference.

In all sincerity we await your immediate and favorable answer, and remain,

For a United Communist Movement,

National Executive Committee—Communist Labor Party. Will the Communist Party officials design to answer? Will the rank and file of the Communist Party permit their national officials to continue to ignore the demand for unity?



New Members of the Army of Liberators

And Amounts showing how they have Hustled Liberation Funds

J. E. English, Tucson, Ariz., \$10.00; Martin Gillin, Davenport, Ia., \$5.00; Geo. M. Butler, Batavia, O., 50 cents; Ralph Howell, Springfield, O., \$5.00; Malden Club, Malden, Mass., \$5.00; Eli Gugich, Barberville, O., \$9.??; B. A. Ray, South Bend, Ind., \$1.00; Hans Olson, Kalama-zoo, Mich., \$2.00; Worthy King, Columbus, O., \$5.00; Dr. Robt. J. Shelton, Orchid, Va., \$2.00; Walter B. Dillon, Albuquerque, N. Mex., \$4.00; Rich. Gully, Fairmont, W. Va., \$12.00; Robt. Henkle, Washington, D. C., \$1.00; Mrs. S. Chavinson, Bellevue, O., \$1.00; D. Baetjer, Rochester, N. Y., \$3.00; Sam Futeran, Newark, N. J., \$14.00; J. M. Swinehart, Lake, O., \$10.00; R. N. Heath, Portsmouth, O., \$7.25; J. Kranz, Portsmouth, O., \$7.50; Nich. Weltlich, Massillon, O., \$5.00; T. E. Pendergrass, Roswell, N. Mex., \$1.00; Louis Krenn, Bellsire, O., \$4.75; Rudolph Lessing, Toledo, O., \$11.50; R. C. Swope, Warren, O., \$1.00; Geo. Ashley Jr., Warren, O., \$1.00; T. F. Griggs, Lorain, O., \$1.00; A. D. Chobanoff, Lorain, O., \$11.75; Jno. Golovin, Lorain, O., \$1.00; Jno. Matan, New Brighton, Pa., \$0.00; H. Sharkey, Lorain, O., \$10.00; Teodor Denko, Lorain, O., \$15.00; Geo. Kimmel, Lorain, O., \$36.00; Lewis Yarnell, Wapakoneta, O., \$1.00; Ben Gossman, Jenera, O., \$1.00; Henry Gotthard, Toledo, O., \$17.28; Thos. J. Carmody, Akron, O., \$1.00; J. R. Mumford, Bristol, Va., \$3.00; W. W. Markell, Toledo, O., \$10.00; Jno. Longenecker, New Philadelphia, O., \$5.00; Nick Rosko, Steubenville, O., \$5.50; Frank Platzer, Dayton, O., \$2.50; L. L. Lowery, Clarendon, Tex., \$5.00; O. L. Wadsworth, Odon, Ind., \$1.??; E. Carpenter, Drake Branch, Va., \$1.00; Wm. Rapp, Portsmouth, O., \$10.00; D. B. Dale, Wise, Va., \$4.25; Geo. Koicheff, Lorain, O., \$1.??; G. Counts, Wellington, W. Va., \$5.50; R. R. Kleiline, Columbus, O., 7.75; S. Feiman, Canton, \$5.00; J. Baumler, Lawndale, O., \$8.00; Jno. Gmeinder, Toledo, O., \$1.00; Guy Tappan, Newport News, Va., \$5.50; Geo. Henry, Tiffin, O., \$4.00; J. Partanen, Peabody, Mass., \$6.40; Scandinavian Branch, Arvid Longren, Sioux City, Ia., \$3.50; L. K. England, Moline, Ill., \$1.00; F. R. Scarlett, Carrollton, O., \$3.00; C. E. Gutherie, Uhrichsville, O., \$5.00; Marg. A. Wiley, Sidney, O., \$2.00; Carl V. Swanson, Attleboro, Mass., \$2.00; Proletaria, Kalamazoo, Mich., \$15.90; W. T. Vetterlein, Kalamazoo, Mich., \$1.00; Nick Weltlich, Massillon, O., \$1.00; J. H. Dickson, Springfield, O., \$2.00; Jas. Kivela, Marquette, Mich., \$5.50; T. Louis Majors, Ellwood City, Pa., \$5.00;



FORWARD, MARCH

From Tampa to Chicago, from California to Rhode Island—the Communist Labor Party is gathering power in numbers to a degree entirely unexpected.

Entire state organizations are joining our ranks. State conventions are being held in states where the party machinery is in control of the reactionaries.

Orders for dues stamps are reaching the 20,000 mark and the beginning has only been made.

OUR SUCCESS WILL BE PHENOMINAL WHEN ONCE WE HAVE ESTABLISHED THE PARTY'S MAHINERY AND OUR CONTEMPLATED ARMY OF ORGANIZERS TAKES THE FIELD.

We are winning and the victory against reactionary Socialism is just as important as any victorious tussle with the capitalist class.

We have cleaned the weapon wherewith we intend to battle. The rust of moderate Socialism the dullness of pure parliamentarism has been washed away and we now stand forth bright and keen for the fray.

Comrades from all parts of the country are lending a hand in the initial work of establishing avenues of activity.

No time and energy is spared by these self-sacrificing revolutionists. New York is being welded into an intact and efficient battalion. New Jersey has leaped to the front in the last week and will be a stronghold of the Communist Labor Party. Oregon and Washington have officially affiliated. California has placed its dues stamp order. Ohio is lining up. Illinois has held its state convention. Kansas and Missouri are organized for the party. And so we might go on to tell you the GOOD NEWS, but space forbids.

The Communist Labor Party is now an ESTABLISHED organization. Let those who hate to see us grow die in their hate. Let the insipid criticism, the rag-tail arguments of all who find joy in childishly calling names go on and on. We are strengthened by it all, for only that which is feared is fought.

We shall BUILD. We are in fact building. In a month the Communist Party will be recognized as the virile, forceful party of Communism in the United States.

Join us in our MARCH FORWARD and EVER ONWARD!!

WORKERS WANTED

The Communist Labor Party needs immediately the active service of hundreds of Party workers. It aims as nearly as possible to utilize the talents of EVERY Party member in the service of our Cause.

No matter what you are now doing, if you are willing to quit working for capitalism and go to work for Communism, please let us hear from you.

Address: Organization Department, COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

So far, the blame for recent race riots has not been laid to either the I. W. W., Reds, Syndicalists, or Socialists. Capitalism must therefore, be responsible.

Emma Goldman Tells About Missouri Penitentiary

Speaking of the conditions in the state of Missouri has been officially abolished, but Lilah Smith's vigorous slapping goes on.

There are three methods of punishment. First, the women are deprived of their recreation; second, they are locked up in their own cells for 48 hours, from Saturday to Monday, on a diet of bread and water and then expected to begin their task Monday in their weakened condition; third, they are sent to a blind cell, a cell 52 inches by 104 inches, with an aperture of 7 inches by 1½ inches, supplied with one blanket, two pieces of bread and two cups of water a day. In this tomb they are kept from three to 22 days.

For example, one woman, who is ill, has been sent to the blind cell eight times for various periods because she can not make the required task. Another woman, a foreigner, who speaks very poor English, is subject to temporary fits of insanity. Only lately they confined her to her cell, which was stripped bare, on a diet of bread and water, while she was seized with one of her insane spells. In these United States we seem still to sanction medieval practices on the irresponsible and insane.

Heavy Meal Killed Prisoner.

"The most horrible tragedy which occurred while I was in the Missouri penitentiary was that of a woman who had been ill two weeks," Miss Goldman related. "She was unable to make the task, was locked up in her cell on bread and water for 19 days.

"Thanksgiving Day this woman was brought up and given Thanksgiving dinner of pork and the other stuff, which poisoned her after her long starvation. She became violently ill in her cell and, as we later learned, perforated her intestines.

"I made a vigorous personal protest to Painter. Then the woman was removed at his order to what is known as the hospital, through it is a room with no sanitary appliances whatever.

"She died there in two days, after they had tried to forcibly feed her, though she was already unconscious when they removed her to her own cell. Her death was officially given out as due to influenza.

"Since the death of this woman they do not keep a prisoner longer than three days in the blind cell now. The criticism of Kate Richards O'Hare and myself have also bettered the conditions somewhat, although I am now convinced that they will fall back into their evil ways the moment Kate O'Hare is released.

Shaming or Lazy.

"There are two criterions on the part of the officials in dealing with the prisoners. If they are sick they are told that they are shaming; if they cannot make the task, they are told they are lazy.

"Often and often the women have been sent back to the shop by the physician when they are barely able to drag themselves along. This is more remarkable because he is not an unkindly man and was especially decent to me. The reason for the indifference to the other women there I discovered during my last days at the prison. He is at daggers' points with the board therefore he is unable to do what he would like.

"In concluding Miss Goldman declared that she had been treated well and that she had been treated well and in order to keep the confidence of the prisoners she did as much work as possible.

'ANARCHY' CASES ARE DISMISSED

On motion of Attorney Pierce, Judge Frater, on Saturday, Sept. 27th, dismissed the charges of Criminal Anarchy against T. F. G. Dougherty, J. J. Extel, Walker C. Smith, F. J. Cassidy and Harvey O'Connor.

This is the finale of the aftermath of the famous "Ole's Revolution."

Immediately after the Seattle general strike, every I. W. W. office was raided and those who happened to be there at the time were taken to jail with others who happened to be known and could be found.

Several others who were active in the strike were also arrested. These men were to be railroaded as an example to other workingmen, who might some day become discontented. After a time some were released, but 28 were held and charged with "Criminal Anarchy."

Follow Workers James Bruce was the first to be tried and after a long trial, wherein soldiers, sailors, government officials, college professors and workingmen went to his defense he was finally acquitted by the jury, which remained out but a short time.

Seventeen of those held were released,

stake, with the idea of striking terror into the heart of the negro population. In reality the terrified negro instead of becoming class conscious becomes race conscious. Instead of developing his economic position so as to protect himself from capitalist exploitation, the tendency is to organize themselves into race groups to protect himself from white mob violence. When white and black are organized to kill one another you'll not get them to sit down at the love feast of labor.

What is true of the negro in the South is true of the Jap in the West; as we as Americans hate them because we have been told to hate them, by the news papers. Damned parrots that we are.

(Cont. next week)

Though Prosecutor Brown persisted in holding the other five.

With the dismissal of the remaining cases, Seattle's general strike becomes a matter of history.

Industrial Worker.

A CALL TO YOU TO "UP AND DO"

We've laid away our Sunday suit and donned overalls. We're going to forget about our Sunday suit until Industrial Democracy is with us. We're going to stay in overalls until we've made a clean-up.

We're going to clean-up capitalism, not by reforming it. "Cleaning it up" to us means CLEANING IT OUT.

It's got to go. It's going to go. But it probably never would have gone had we continued our bi-annual, half-hearted spasmodic, childish election day jabs at the monster.

Electoral day jabs will continue, of course. But that's not all nor half. We shall now be on the job every day of the year, schooling, training, assembling our forces, in the mine, mill, shop and field, and political and industrial action henceforth is to be everyday's work. The class struggle is an EVERY DAY struggle and a revolutionary party must be ACTIVE every day if it is to function as the workers' weapon in the struggle.

True enough, we have been rather culpable in the past. We thought that a handful of elected comrades could win us the NEW DAY by making a motion for it in the legislative halls. Most of these comrades never got as far as even a contemplation of a notion of such a motion. Many of them, the minute capitalism's retainers, found out that they could not be assimilated, were kicked out of the legislative halls. And now shall they stay "kicked out" until another election day rolls around? Shall the forward march of the workers be halted because the capitalist class has hung back into the faces of the workers' comrades elected to political office?

We've had real pleasant moments in our election days' experiences. The slogan was—"Vote and it shall be given you". That was a little better than praying for it, but not much. We voted and then we waited. And we're waiting yet. We're still going to vote, but we're not going to wait any longer. There's a job for every one of us every day of the year and every Communist Socialist will be found on the job from this time on. Study the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party. It tells you what to do. And if we do what it commands us to do ALL TOGETHER—

The Three Parties

I.
All over the world the old Socialist movement is breaking in two over a fundamental difference of principle.

First there are those that look upon the capitalist political State as a fit instrument through which the workingclass can gradually bring about reforms that will ultimately result in the Co-operative Commonwealth. These look upon municipal and government ownership as "steps toward Socialism." They emphasize "immediate demands" in political platforms. Their best known world spokesman is Scheidegger. They control the Second International.

Then there are those that consider the capitalist political State with its sham democracies as but an instrument of the ruling class to keep the workingclass in subjection. They hold that no reforms can be achieved through this instrument that will seriously endanger the power of the ruling class, and that to emancipate themselves the workers must organize their own power, abolish the existing capitalist political state, and under their own dictatorship develop the instruments with which to build the Industrial Republic. Their best known world spokesman is Lenin. They are organized in the Third International.

These two viewpoints are fundamentally opposed to each other. Now that their adherents are shooting at each other with machine guns in Europe, they can no longer remain together even here. Those that believe in prolonging the existing political state and those that want to abolish it do not belong in the same Party. One or the other has to get out.

Every member must now make his choice between petty bourgeois reform Socialism, as exemplified in the officialdom of the old Socialist Party, and the revolutionary principles of proletarian International Communism.

II.

Early this year it became apparent that the revolutionary element of the Party in this country had become the majority. The very logic of world events had changed the views of tens of thousands of Comrades. The overwhelming mass of the membership endorsed the principles of the "Left Wing," and elected their candidates for party offices by tremendous majorities.

In order to retain control of the Party organization machinery for the moderates, the reactionary officialdom of the Socialist Party suppressed these election returns, expelled nearly forty thousand members, suppressed the membership motions to reverse their acts, suppressed the referendum by which the membership had voted ten to one to join the Third International, and mobilized the Chicago police against their Comrades, in the Emergency Convention in Chicago.

Over fifty regularly elected delegates were kept out of the Germer convention by the Chicago police under Germer's personal orders. Every possible effort was made by these delegates to secure seats in that convention, and win the official control of the Party's organization machinery for the Party's revolutionary majority. But when the Germer convention proceeded to do business without even waiting for a report from their Contest Committee every Left Wing Delegate that had already been seated withdrew, and joined with his excluded Comrades.

These delegates, representing a majority of the Party membership then met at the call of the N. F. C. that had been elected by referendum held the legal Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, and transacted the business for which the membership had sent them.

Then and there was discarded the outgrown shell of old reactionary officialdom and compromising tactics that had been hampering the revolutionary development of the Party. Then and there was the Party transformed into a Party of Communist Socialism in accord with the mandates of the Party's revolutionary membership. As an outward token of this inward transformation that had already taken place, the name of the Party was changed to Communist Labor Party, and the hammer and sickle of the Bolsheviks was adopted as the Party's official emblem.

Let now the dead old Party bury its dead. Let us leave the opportunist reform elements in the old Socialist Party and the International of Scheidegger. Let us gather the revolutionary proletarian elements in the Communist Labor Party, and set our faces toward the new day, toward the rising sun of the Communist International.

III.

Why are TWO parties of Communist Socialism now emerging out of this glorious hour? Why is there a schism in the Communist ranks?

The germ was planted by the old N. E. C. when they expelled PART of the Left Wing elements and left others in the Party. Sensing the danger in this situation a conference was held in Chicago between representatives of the expelled units and the Left Wing forces still in the Party, and it was agreed to carry on the fight WITHIN the Party for Party control by the revolutionary membership, until it had reached its logical climax in Party convention. The expelled units were to keep themselves intact, ignore their expulsions and reenter the Party at the first opportunity.

Within two weeks the Michigan-Russian Federation coalition violated this joint agreement and began boasting for a separate Party.

The question was again debated at the National Left Wing Conference in New York, and again the majority decided to carry on the struggle WITHIN the Party until the natural climax in convention. The Michigan-Russian convention call was turned down, and a motion by Fraima adopted instructing the Left Wing Council to "call a conference in Chicago for September 1st of all revolutionary elements willing to unite with a revolutionized Socialist Party or with a Communist Party organized by the LEFT WING DELEGATES SECEDED FROM THE CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO BE HELD AUGUST 30-TH."

The issue arose for a third time at the new N. E. C. meeting held in Chicago July 26th. Rutherford and Ruthenberg were again present, and again opposed the Russian-Michigan convention call. Again they agreed to carry on the fight WITHIN the Party until the Emergency convention. They voted specifically to instruct A. Wagenknecht, the Executive Secretary, to rent a separate hall for the Emergency Convention, to convene on August 30th.

Within a week they flopped. The Left Wing National Council which had bitterly fought the Michigan-Russian coalition split, and by majority vote abjectly capitulated before the organized power of the central Executive Committee of the Russian Federation.

As late as August 2nd the following statement, signed by Ruthenberg and Fraima, appeared in the Revolutionary Age:

"Should the Emergency Convention rule in favor of the shameful acts of the present autocratic national Executive Committee, then the Left Wing Delegates to this Convention shall IMMEDIATELY ORGANIZE A NEW COMMUNIST PARTY, representing the vast majority of the PRESENT Socialist Party."

Nothing there about going to the convention called by the "organization Committee" of the Communist Party, but a provision was adopted to "include such Federation groups as might want to join with the Left Wing on September 1st." (Rev. Age, Aug. 2nd, page 6.)

Then The Revolutionary Age turned a somersault, and began to play its financial "basters" tune by abusing as "centrists" all those that did not join it in its flop.

IV.

Those Left Wing delegates that were not keeled over the Russian Federation machine carried the original program, three times agreed to in Conference by Ruthenberg and Fraima, through to its logical conclusion at the Emergency Convention and did all in their power to bring about unity between the two Communist groups.

We sent a Committee of five to meet with the Communist Party Organization committee even before the Communist Party Convention began, but were merely told to wait.

Later the Communist Convention under the absolute control of the Russian Federation machine refused even to elect a Committee to confer with us on Unity. Then their English speaking delegates went on strike and threatened to bolt, and the second day they condescended to elect a Conference Committee.

But they did not even CONSIDER uniting the two organizations. Their only answer to our invitation was that we might apply for admission to their convention as individuals, that their credentials committee would seat those that it approved as delegates, and that the rest of us would be permitted to occupy a special section in their convention hall, to look on!

"ALL TOGETHER"

THE MONTHLY PROPAGANDA PAPER OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

A small paper, priced so extremely low, that locals can afford to order large bundles for free distribution. It will contain the best articles of the month, scissored from the party press, plus a cartoon. As soon as second class mailing rates are obtained its subscription price will be 15c a year. Until that time we call for subscriptions at the rate of 25c a year. However, RIGHT NOW we call UPON YOU and YOUR LOCALS to subscribe for a bundle.

Bundle Rates

50c a Hundred—\$5.00 a Thousand

And we'll produce the BEST propaganda and the MOST propaganda this price will permit.

Send in Your Bundle Order Now

The Workers ALL TOGETHER can do EVERYTHING—Therefore—"ALL TOGETHER".

We did not demand that ALL our delegates should be seated. But we did insist that if we met in joint convention it should be on an EQUAL BASIS OF COMMUNIST COMRADESHIP. We suggested that the two conference committees should act as a joint credentials committee to go over the rosters of BOTH conventions and see whether there were irreconcileable elements, leaving those open for discussion. This FAIR offer was turned down by the Communist Party, and we were told again that we could only come to them as individuals giving them the absolute power to select only those that they pleased.

Our Convention then elected a different Committee, who personally invited the Communist Convention to meet us informally in a joint session, where the rank and file of the two bodies could talk over the heads of their officials, discuss with each other the problem of getting together and avoid the crime of organizing TWO parties of Communism. This offer met with the same answer as the others.

When it became apparent that the officialdom of the Communist Party would succeed in preventing Unity during the conventions, the Communist Labor Party Convention adopted the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, that the Communist Labor Party issues a standing invitation to the Communist Party to meet, on a basis of equality, in Unity Conference, and

"That we instruct our national officials and committees to accept every such invitation from the Communist Party or from any other revolutionary workingclass organization."

This motion was adopted without one dissenting voice. It expresses the official position of the Communist Labor Party on the question of Unity today. We stand ready at ANY TIME, ANYWHERE to meet on an equal basis of Comradeship. ALL that agree with us on the principles of Communism, ALL that desire to affiliate with the Third International, for the purpose of uniting ALL Communist elements here in the United States into ONE powerful workingclass party.

If there was any fundamental difference of principle between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, then we would not favor Unity of the two, for a lasting unity can be achieved ONLY on the basis of agreement on fundamental principles.

That such agreement on principles is a fact will be evident to any one that compares the platforms, programs and manifestos of the two parties. Both conventions based their pronouncements squarely upon that of the Third International. Both are in accord with the Left Wing Program of New York. Both are worthy expressions of the principles of International Communism.

Because of this fundamental agreement some Comrades make the mistake of assuming that the issues between them are MERELY questions of personality and ambitions of "leaders". If that were true, it would make but little difference which Party wins the Communist Comrades to its ranks.

But there is a very serious difference between the two Parties in their FORM OF ORGANIZATION, a difference that must be threshed out if the Parties meet in Unity Conference, a difference that should be noted by every Comrade before he joins either Party.

The Communist Party is being organized as a FEDERATION OF UNITS that are almost entirely independent of each other. The Communist Labor Party is being organized as ONE HOMOGENEOUS MASS.

The Communist Party has copied from the old Socialist Party its form of autonomous foreign federations. Each federation is a practically independent unit. Federation branches pay dues direct to Translators in Chicago. Once a month these translators turn over the Party's share. They and their Central Executive Committee have power at any time, by simply withholding the dues, to split their entire organization away from the Party, and smash the Party to pieces. The Communist Party has within its very form of organization the seeds of its own destruction.

The Communist Labor Party has solved this problem by simply having the foreign speaking branches pay their dues through the same channels as the English speaking branches. They will thus learn to consider themselves as inseparable parts of the Local and State organization instead of mere foreigners in a strange land. Our language federations will be encouraged in their work with a far more generous share of the dues than in the Communist Party, but their Secretaries and Executive Committees will have no power to split them away from the Party unless the membership itself demands it.

The Communist Party is developing an organization divided against itself on nationalistic lines. The Communist Labor Party is putting all, foring as well as American born, on an equal footing of Comradeship within its ranks, on a basis of true Internationalism.

A Party organized like the Communist Party could hold together easily as long as it fought the reactionary Socialist Party officialdom. It may last while it contests with the Communist Labor Party for the affiliation of the Communist elements of the old Party. But when its campaign settles down to the steady grind of literature distribution and the humdrum task of winning members. One at a time, then the discordant elements within its ranks must inevitably assert themselves. and bring about more splits perhaps a final smashup.

Why build a Party on such a basis that a few leaders have the power at any time to tear down what you build? Especially when you know that some of these leaders frankly state that they believe the proper tactic is to bring about situation within the Party that will result in split after split, so as to preserve a Simon pure nucleus of "leaders" to rally the proletarian hosts on the morn of the revolution?

The Communist Labor Party does not follow this policy of "exclusion". It adopts a policy of INCLUSION, and holds that ALL that agree on fundamental principles should be kept united in ONE Party. It places its reliance not so much on a nucleus of leaders, as upon the development of clear vision among the great mass of its membership. It will exert itself to educate ALL its members, and to hold and make proletarian warriors out of all that join it, unless they actually prove traitor to the working class.

The existence of TWO Communist Parties is a crime. But it is far better to have two parties, one of which is being built upon a sound basis so that it can live and grow, than to have only one Party built on such a basis that it must surely die. Already signs of disintegration can be discerned in the Communist Party. They will become more evident as the weeks go by, unless the officials of the Communist Party see their error, come into Unity Conference with the Communist Labor Party and adopt the form of organization that experience teaches to be necessary for a revolutionary workingclass Party.

VI.

It is futile to try "boring from within" the Communist Party. Any member that joins that Party with the idea of thereby forcing Unity, merely strengthens the position of the officialdom that is opposed to unity by paying his dues to them.

Only by REFUSING TO PAY DUES UNTIL THEY AGREE TO A UNITY CONFERENCE can the membership of the Communist Party force their officials to act. Refuse to pay dues to the Communist Party officials. Adopt resolutions instructing them to unite with the Communist Labor Party. Threaten that you will bolt the Communist Party unless they accept the Unity invitation before November 1st. That is the way to get action. That is the load to unity.

Comrades not yet affiliated with either Party can help to bring unity by joining at once the Communist Labor Party which demands unity and is doing all it can, without turning traitor to the membership, to make unity a fact.

If you agree with our platform and program, if you endorse the fundamental principles of Communism, if you desire to clasp hands in Communist Comradeship with the Bolsheviks and the Spartacists in the Third International, and if you believe that ALL Comrades in this country that stand on these fundamental should be in ONE Party, then join the Communist Labor Party AT ONCE.

Join NOW, and help with the tremendous task that confronts us. Help develop the organization, help fashion the instruments with which to reach America's thirty million wage-workers with the message of Emancipation, and rally them to the banners of International Communism to establish the world wide Workers Republic.

TO THIS TASK THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY CALLS YOU.

ANSWER TODAY, COMRAD E!

DOING BUSINESS FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

The Real Job of the Soviet Bureau in New York

By Anise

In the midst of raids by the Department of Justice and rumors of Bolshevik propaganda, the real work going on in the Soviet Bureau in New York is apt to be overlooked. And a very important work it is which Mr. Maartens, business representative of the Soviet Republic of Russia is carrying on in his rather large offices. He isn't spending his time in any stirring up of troubles in this country, as the scared newspapers would have us believe. He is making contracts with business men; and signing up technical experts who wish to give service in Russia.

Thirty Millions on Contracts

He showed me a list of contracts already made — purchases of \$30,000,000 worth of goods from American business men.

Here was \$3,000,000 worth of shoes ordered from one firm and \$3,000,000 worth of underwear from another. Another million went into renovated army shoes, bought from the contractor who had secured them from the U. S. government. Three millions for machinery, and more millions for farm implements.

Condensed milk and canned meats, shoes and shoes over again! Trucks and truck chassis, large tractors!

How Are They Going to Deliver?

Quite a nice little bit of business. Mr. Maartens told me that the American business men were much interested and very glad to get the business.

"We have been offered business from 1,500 firms," he said. "In fact, only one or two firms of all we have approached have turned us down. The contracts are made direct with the Soviet Government, which has a monopoly of all foreign trade. We are ready to pay either in gold or in raw materials."

"This is amazing," I said. "How do you expect to get these goods delivered into Soviet Russia?"

"Oh, well, there is that little difficulty," smiled Mr. Maartens. "Technically, of course, there is no war and no blockade. There is nothing illegal in doing business with Soviet Russia. These contracts are all signed, subject to two conditions:

"We promise to pay as soon as they procure (1) an export license from the State Department, and (2) permission for us to place funds from Moscow in the United States banks. We have the gold in Moscow, but the banking facilities here are yet to be arranged!

Business Men Besiege State Department

"However, the business men are besieging the State Department to ask for their export license. Then there follows long delay. Sometimes they receive no answer at all. If they are too prominent to be ignored they receive evasive answers."

"Do you have offices like this in other countries?" I asked.

"Only in America and Sweden. The Swedish people want to do business

with us, but the English government won't let them.

"We have 216,000 tons of flax, 100,000 tons of hemp, unlimited lumber, and many hides, furs, bristles and other raw materials, all awaiting export. We think the flax situation may help break down the blockade. Belfast needs flax badly; her mills are running part time for lack of it. Her employers are between the devil and the deep sea; they do not dare close down any further, for the workers are full of unrest and know just where flax is to be obtained.

"The housing plan in England is also halted for lack of lumber, and we have plenty. Mr. Hoover states that the ports of northern Europe are full of food ships, and the food is rotting there because Germany cannot afford to buy it. We can afford to buy it; we have plenty of raw materials to offer."

"What excuse?" I asked, "can the Secretary of State give for not allowing American business men to take advantage of such good opportunity?"

"Does Secretary Lansing take his orders from England and the international bankers?"

Mr. Maartens most discreetly refused to answer.

Getting Technical Experts for Russia

Are you an expert in any technical line, wanting to go to Russia? The Soviet Bureau has a technical department and is signing up applicants. It is true they cannot send you over yet, but they will help you prepare yourself.

Mechanists, tool designers, engineers, trained chemists — all these are wanted. Six hundred in New York alone have registered and are training themselves for special jobs. Some of them are learning Russian; others are perfecting themselves in higher branches of their specialty.

"Many inventors are offering us inventions, which they don't want to give to the capitalistic world, but wish used in Russia to help the workers," I was told. "Our technical department investigates them. It is also preparing textbooks in Russian on technical subjects which will be printed in this country, because of the lack of paper in Russia.

Learning American Processes

This technical department is securing information on the methods and processes of American industry, and has engaged men who have worked in American industry. They prepare instruction for Russia. We are to make chilled-iron car wheels, various kinds of steel, vanadium, manganese, the equipment of rolling mills for seamless steel tubing — these are some of the matters we must know. The technical department also furnishes us with the specifications for our purchases here in America.

"What message have you for American labor?" I asked in leaving. But Mr. Maartens refused to be drawn into our affairs. He is the soul of discretion when it comes to interfering with the internal workings of another country.

"They should learn all they can of the precise conditions in Russia," he said, "economic, political and social — and then take such action as seems good to them."

High Lights on Mexico

Collected by Anise from an Address by Louis Lochner at the Fellowship Conference.

Eighty forts and barracks now line our Mexican border. Most of these have been erected since the armistice. Six or seven in Arizona, an equal number in California, the rest in Texas.

"The Yankee Peril" is a common phrase in South America. The reputation we are getting in other parts of this hemisphere is one to make good Americans pause.