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Hands off Soviet Russia

The imperialists of the world are continuing their infamous armed intervention in Soviet Russia. The counter-revolutionary Czarist generals, backed by allied troops, allied ammunition and allied money continue shedding the blood of the Russian workers and devastating the territory of the proletarian Republic. Moreover, the Allies are tightening the iron ring of the blockade around Soviet Russia, thus dooming millions of women and children to unheard of misery, starvation and disease.

All this is being done because the workers, and peasants of Russia have cast off the yoke of exploitation and oppression and have devoted themselves to the talk of reconstructing their life on such foundations as will eliminate all oppression of the poor by the rich, all exploitation of the toilers by the capitalists. This is why the capitalist countries, where all the power is concentrated in the hands of the big commercial and financial interests, are waging this predatory war against Soviet Russia. Defending their class in Russia they are thereby protecting their own interests, for they know that the example set by the Russian workers will inevitably be followed by the workers of their own countries.

Hence, America's participation in this war against Russia!

American troops still on Russian territory, and American ammunition and money are still being used for the purpose of strangling the only proletarian Republic in the world.

America's intervention in Russia is frequently referred to as President Wilson's private war. This is correct only insofar as the formalities required for the waging of the war have not been complied with: It is being carried on without the consent of Congress. Yet, as a matter of fact, it is not altogether President Wilson's private war. It is rather the class war of the American plutocracy, the class war of the international money bags. American capital is vitally interested in crushing Soviet Russia and it does not stop at mere technicalities, even if it means the violation of laws of its own creation. In waging this war, President Wilson plays the part of the faithful servant of the American plutocracy.

American workers, you must realize this and bear it firmly in mind. You must know that every American soldier sailing for Russia, goes there to shed the blood of the Russian workers and peasants who are now engaged in a desperate struggle against the capitalists of the world — those brigands of the international highways. You must bear in mind that every rifle, every cannon, every machine gun which is being sent from the United States to Russia means death for the many Russian workers and peasants who are sacrificing themselves in order that the workers of the world over may be liberated from the yoke of international capital.

Workers of America! it is not sufficient to know and to bear all this in mind, — you must act accordingly. Hands off Russia!

This slogan has already been adopted by the British, French and Italian workers. In Great Britain, in France and in Italy the workers are refusing to load ships with ammunition and provisions destined for the foes of Soviet Russia.

American workers, you must follow their example! To every invitation to play the part of Cain towards your Russian brothers, to every request of the American government to enlist for active service in Russia, or to load ships for the bloodstained Russian White Army, there must be one answer: "HANDS OFF SOVIET RUSSIA."

THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA.

Resigning and Newly Appointed State Secretary



ALFRED WAGENKNECHT

After serving three years as State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Ohio, comrade Wagenknecht resigns to go to New York as National Secretary of the Communist Labor Party.

Comrade Wagenknecht grew up in Cleveland, but spent several years on the Pacific coast. He was active in Washington state as organizer, speaker and assistant State Secretary, which position he resigned to return to Cleveland.



E. T. ALLISON

He was born in Mo. Emigrated to Wash. when fifteen and grew up with the country. Joined the Socialist Party when eighteen.

Is a shingle weaver by trade, being a member of No. 500 of the I. W. W. Two years ago he came to Cleveland and has since served in the capacity of assistant State Secretary and editor.

He now succeeds comrade Wagenknecht as State Secretary, being appointed by the S. E. C. to fill his unexpired term.

Miners Revolt Against Government By Injunction

The government has played the high card of the coal barons. Government by injunction became an accomplished fact of American life during the administration of Grover Cleveland of odoriferous memory. The democracy destroying principle of government by court injunction has been revived by Woodrow Wilson in his war upon the working class for the benefit of high finance and profiteers.

Government by injunction abrogates every constitutional right of American workers. By its action men politically free become political slaves of the ruling class. Government by injunction never works toward freedom, but always toward slavery. Men who love freedom, who have red blood in their veins will defy it, they will fight it to the death.

No class of workers labored harder or sacrificed more for the winning of the war than did the miners. Now they find all the powers of the government they backed up attempting to drive them into submissive silence and abject slavery thru its made-to-order laws.

The government has taken the side of the coal operators against the miners on the pretext that the welfare of the "public" is at stake. Who is this public? Is it any but the workers? The government creates a fictitious bait for the workers to bite upon and to give it plausible excuse to wage war upon them.

The miners have revolted. In spite of their officials' capitulation before the mandate of the courts' injunction issued at the request of the government, they have refused to enter the mines, to labor for the enrichment of their exploiters, beneath a governmental lash. They are men, fighting as men fight, for their wives and children and a chance to live like free men in a world of freedom and justice. They refuse to bow the neck for the steel of those who thrive on their misery. The government has won a "victory" of a very questionable character. And victories of this nature mine no coal. Back up the miners with the strength of your organization. Back them up for their fight is your fight.

A Letter To Ohio Locals and Comrades

COMRADES:

For two years it has been my pleasure to work in your State Office as assistant State Secretary and co-editor of our state paper, The Ohio Socialist. I have witnessed the great cooperation between the state office and the membership which has been so conducive of progress of our state movement. Cooperation between all elements in our party has been the keystone of the rapid growth which has marked the Ohio movement for the last few years. During this period we have built up from a small monthly bulletin a weekly periodical that now has the largest circulation of any Party paper in the country. We may well be proud of our victories of the past.

But we face ever new problems. I now assume at the request of your State Executive Committee, the greater and graver responsibilities of State Secretary. I am not unaware of the problems which we face at the present time, nor do I flinch before them. I shall pursue with all the ability which many years experience in our movement has given me and in an aggressive manner, all the duties which now devolve upon me. In this work I ask and urge the cooperation of every comrade. This office will always be open for suggestions for bettering our movement, for getting out more propaganda, for organizing in a more efficient manner the workers of this state in order that they may achieve their emancipation.

Ohio, as a great industrial state furnishes a ripe field for our propaganda. Industrial unrest is rampant. The workers are awakening. They are ripe for organization. They are eager for a message that means emancipation from the galling chains of wage slavery. This is our work. Let us be up and at it at the earliest possible moment.

It is my hope that the cooperation that has existed in the past between the locals, comrades, and the State Office may continue in the future to the great growth of our Party.

Yours for cooperation and victory
E. T. ALLISON
State Secretary

Elect Delegates To Conference

Local Cleveland, C. L. P. at its regular meeting last week elected six delegates to the State Conference to be held soon. Comrades Anna Morgan, Lawrence Zitt, Elizabeth Bertram, Tom Clifford, Alexander Bilan, Walter Bronstrup were the chosen delegates.

ATTEND STATE CONFERENCE
Locals have been advised of the State Conference to be held by the Communist Labor Party of Ohio the last of November.

A letter stating place where conference will be held will be sent out in a day or two to all locals.

All locals which have not severed connection with the State Office will be given representation. Get this letter before yours locally immediately, call special meeting if necessary. Send names of delegates to State Office. Members of Locals which cannot meet should attend. Representation will be allowed then. Notify the State Office of your intention to attend.

BLOOR AND PREVEY IN OHIO
Attend these meetings.

Ella Reeve Bloor:
Nov. 19—20 Toledo
21 Sandusky
22 Akron
23 Akron (2 P. M.)
23 Youngstown (8 P. M.)
24—25—26 Charleroi, Pa. and vicinity
Marguerite Prevey:
Nov. 22 Mansfield
23 Lima (2 P. M.)
24 Massillon.

Socialists in Military Prisons Worse Treated of All Objectors

Brutalities to which conscientious objectors were subjected at Port Riley and Camp Funston were directed mainly against prisoners who differed politically from the administration. Joseph Brandon, a conscientious objector who was freed recently after being sentenced to die by court-martial in October, 1918, and whose sentence was twice commuted by President Wilson, asserted this yesterday.

He charged that the Socialist conscientious objectors and practically all those classed as "radicals" suffered indescribable cruelties, which were directed by the War Department. "Men are not kept in jail because they are opposed to war," he said, "but because they are Socialists. Those who took part in the hunger strikes and openly declared their opposition to the present regime were stamped as 'radicals.'"

Solitary for Any Offense.
"We were choked, beaten, kicked and dragged whenever we sought to gain our rights as citizens, and not as criminals, as we were kept. At occasions we were thrown under cold showers, sometimes even five times a day. Once they threw a hose of cold water on me while I was asleep, although I was at that time in poor health."

Schools or Cabarets

On the "Educational" Policy of the Siberian "Government"

The following is translation of an article which appeared in the New York Jewish Daily, "The Day," of October 16th. As the reader can see from the article, its author, Mr. Boris Dinkov, the Siberian correspondent of "The Day," is an anti-Bolshevik and considers the work of the revolution as purely destructive, and this makes his description of the policy of the Siberian Government the more interesting.

What would be of greater benefit to a wild, illiterate country: schools to educate the future generation, or filthy, dissolute, foul cabarets? In the United States and in Europe, merely asking such a question would land one in an insane asylum. But what is our Siberian Government, whose members have felt on their own shoulders the results of the Russian illiteracy, and have seen the destruction which was wrought in Russia by the dark and savage mob — what is this Government doing now to prevent such excesses?

What is it doing to enable the future generation to reconstruct at least a part of what their fathers have destroyed?

Absolutely nothing! Has the Government built any new schools? Not a one! Has it at least made improvements in the miserable schools which it found in existence? Not at all! But do not assume that no appro-

Brandon declared that for the least thing a conscientious objector did he was thrown into solitary confinement. He charged that during the showers, through which many of the objectors contracted influenza and pneumonia, their backs were scrubbed with latrine brushes. Many guards, he said, also spat at them, kicked and punched them while doing this.

At Camp Funston, Brandon declared, about 20 objectors were denied cooked food.

"This happened," he continued, "in an open field under unsanitary conditions. Bugs and other insects were creeping and flying about us, but we were nevertheless told to cook our meals there. We refused to do any cooking at all, and went on a hunger strike."

"On the 11th day after the hunger strike began some of us were sent to the hospital. We were broken down for lack of nourishment."

Thrown Into Latrine.

"I reached the hospital too weak to walk. But, regardless of this, I was told to sweep the latrine. I complained that I was sent to the hospital."

(Cont. on page 4th)

prisons were made for the Government's "Ministry of Education." Not only was an appropriation made, and quite a large one, but a few millions of rubles were spent. Ten millions of rubles and not a single school built! Ten millions of rubles, and not a single school improved!

But, as Popristchin said: "They write — China, and it reads — Spain." They write, "an appropriation for educational purposes," and it reads, "for drunkenness" — to spread drunkenness among the people.

You encounter them in every Siberian city, at every corner, near every cafe.

Some of them are eighteen years old. They are prospective candidates for houses in which the windows are enclosed in iron gratings. They are without teachers. And, indeed, who should care for them? The parents? But the cost of living is so high that to assure at least sufficient bread for the family one must work, and

(Continued on page 3.)

THE ENGLISH SHOP STEWARD MOVEMENT

From "The World."
Yesterday a treasure ship came into port — a ship carrying a treasure of information, all concealed in one well-shaped head, poised on a pair of brawny, sailor shoulders — in short, a comrade British sailor-man, by name Wallace Hill, who rolled into the office with all that cargo of knowledge of what the workers are thinking and doing in England stored away in his head where the censor could not see it. His ship was scheduled to stop at this port only four hours, but the longshoremen's strike delayed matters a bit, and we had time to ask and hear about the shop steward system, the different political parties, the recent strikes, the old trade union movement, and innumerable personal anecdotes about the workers' struggle for emancipation in the British Isles.

After shaking hands, inquiring about each other's health, and exchanging a few other Bolshevik high signs — we naturally led off with:

"Tell us about the shop steward movement over there."

The Old Craft Unions Break Down.

"To understand the British shop steward movement," he replied, "it is necessary to go a bit into the pre-war trade union movement. First of all, the old line trade union movement has gone into the discard. This is not a prophecy, but an accomplished fact. It was broken once and for all during the war. For example: One of the cardinal principles of the trade unions was the restriction of output; and this principle came directly in conflict with the demand for a maximum production to win the war. The workers themselves, being at that time patriotic, willingly gave up this point to help 'defeat the Hun.' The leaders of the trade unions gave up all that the unions had won in a century, to the government, with the understanding that after the war, everything would be returned to the

old status quo, thus demonstrating the ignorance of these leaders of all social forces. Like that earlier reactionary, Jehovah, they would set the sun backwards."

"Who are some of these leaders?" we interrupted.

"Brownness of the engineers; Thornes, of the gas workers; Col. John Ward, at the present time fighting the Bolsheviks in Archangel, representing the Liverpool dock workers; Ben Tillet—"

"Where is Tillet now?" we asked.

"At the last election he succeeded in getting into office — with the support of the Lloyd government. All of these men belong to the generation that is past — like Gompers — and they no longer represent nor receive the support of the workers."

"And did the shop steward movement come in to take the place of the trade unions?" we inquired.

"Yes and no. The shop stewards will never function like the old craft organizations. It is better to say that the shop steward movement will do what the old craft unions always pretended to do, but never did. The war demanded intensified production. The movement for intensified production was led by Sir Eric Geddes. This effort to increase production led directly to the dilution of labor, and—"

"What is this dilution of labor you speak of?" we interrupted.

Great Gains in Solidarity.
"For years and years the British working class has been separated into crafts. The engineer was an engineer, and the laborer was a laborer, and they did not mix. The workers were held apart by their crafts. But with the advent of intensified production, the craft lines became indistinct, until now

they have practically disappeared as far as the consciousness of the British workers goes. The old line leaders had entered into an agreement with the government to the effect that if they sanctioned any strike during the war, they would be subject to a heavy fine and to 12 months imprisonment. Thus the workers found themselves tied hand and foot. 'Sold out.' Then it was that the workers ceased relying on their leaders and took matters into their own hands. The result was the shop steward system. One thing which bulked larger in the mind of the British worker than would seem possible to an American brother, was the change from the plan of restricted output to that of intensified production. Restricted output had been a cornerstone in the British labor movement. Without this safeguard — unemployment loomed large before the eyes of the toilers for after-war period. It was this fact that first moved the British worker to seek control of his job. When their trade union leaders would no longer function for them they found it necessary to function for themselves. Through the shop committees they sought control of the working conditions in the shops and factories. At first the new movement was fought by the trade unions, but now the shop steward movement is recognized by both the reactionary and progressive trade unions."

"Tell us something about how the system works out when it is actually applied to the job," we asked.

"Well, every department of a factory has its shop steward, who is elected by the men of that department, and the stewards from all the departments form a committee and elect a chairman; who, with the chairmen from other factories or industries, forms another committee, which roughly

corresponds to the district councils of the American labor movement. When any trouble arises in a factory, it is brought to the attention of the shop steward, who immediately takes it up with the management. If the management does not adjust the matter, we have the call for 'down tools' and thus arose our numerous strikes during the formation of the new system. Under this plan no time is lost in going to union halls, seeking interviews with bosses, etc. You will also observe that the structure of the shop steward system is an industrial one and that the plan lends itself to a ready co-operation with the plan of the One Big Union. In fact, the shop steward system will lead, anywhere it is tried out, directly and inevitably, to the industrial union."

"Now, can you give us some concrete examples of how the plan worked over there?" we pressed him.

"I was just coming to that," he replied with enthusiasm, "the shop steward system, unlike a great many other systems for labor organizations, justifies itself in practice, not in words, or in theory. In 1916, when the war menace was extreme in England, Lloyd George and Lord Burleigh went to Glasgow to meet the 12 shop stewards of the Clyde districts, who were representing something over three quarters of a million men. Lloyd George was introduced to Kirkwood, the chairman of the shop stewards. Immediately, without waiting for any formalities, Kirkwood told Lloyd George to be careful what he said, because whatever he said would be used against him with the workers; and that on the whole it would be best for him to go back to Parliament and tell his lies there. (!) The great Premier was taken off his feet at being so addressed by a mere greasy, grim machinist! But

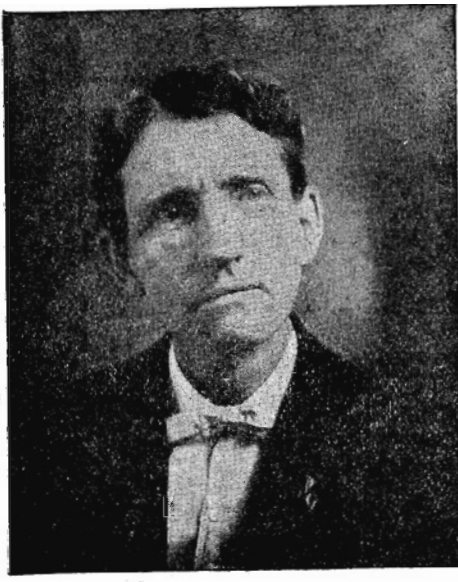
somewhat recovering himself, he left with the threat that he would give the men conscription for their impudence. And in a few days England had conscription for their impudence. Not only this, but the 12 men were arrested, and then deported to various industrial centers throughout the Isles. Immediately there sprang up among the workers a demand for the release of these men and their return to their homes. The merely verbal demand failing, the workers whom these men represented proceeded to down their tools, which plan was successful in gaining the return of the men. At a meeting of one hundred thousand workers on the green at Glasgow, the 12 returned men were presented with an entire set of the works of Eugene Sue, and Kirkwood was elected the first foreman under the shop steward system.

Another illustration," he continued after a pause, "is the use of the same tactics to secure the release of John McLean from prison. McLean was arrested and the workers downed tools. He was released. The workers returned to the job, and McLean was re-arrested. Again the toilers laid down their tools. And again McLean was released. Three times process was repeated — and finally the officials gave up in disgust."

"Is there any chance of the shop steward system losing the ground that it has won in England?" we inquired.

"No chance now," he answered, smiling confidently, "in many places the shop steward system controls the factory, from the office down, everything included, and simply turns over the finished product to the owner. The results that the system has accomplished have been its justification, and it is here to stay."

Five Members of State Executive Committee, Communist Labor Party of Ohio



TOM CLIFFORD

Born in the pottery village of Rossville Ohio, 64 years ago, Tom Clifford has spent most of the years of his life an active worker in the labor movement. He is a printer by trade, being a member of the typographical union.

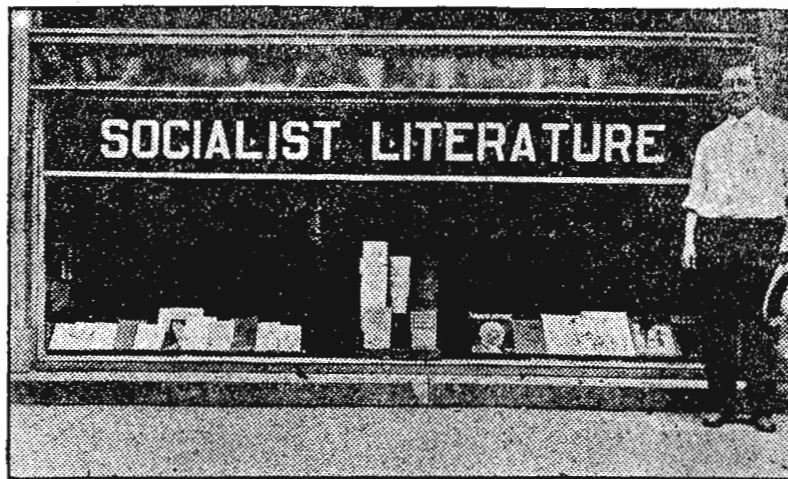
For the last twenty years comrade Clifford has labored as speaker, organizer and committeeman in the socialist movement. Repeatedly he has answered the call of the comrades to stand as a candidate for political office. He was the Party's candidate for Governor in two separate campaigns.



LOTTA BURKE

Not comrade in Ohio is held in higher esteem than Lotta Burke, whose untiring labors as organizer and speaker and member of the State Executive Committee have repeatedly proven her fidelity to the cause of Socialism. Her Party membership of 16 years has been filled with activity.

Cincinnati is her home and place of nativity. She is a member of Garment Workers Union No. 113. Her recent election to the S. E. C. marks the beginning of a sixth term in that capacity.



M. A. TOOHEY

Mike Toohay, of Toledo, fully deserves the high estimation in which he is held by the socialists of Ohio. As organizer of Local Toledo, he has just carried to great success a most aggressive campaign.

He was born at Steubenville, O., and is President of the Molders Union of Toledo. His service in the labor union movement has brought him in bad repute with the steel kings and as a result he is on their honor roll — black-list.

In the above picture, he is seen standing before the display window of Local Toledo Headquarters.



MARGUERITE PREVEY

One of the founders of the Socialist Movement of Ohio, is Marguerite Prevey of Akron. Of Canadian birth, she grew up on the farm and experienced all the out door hardships and pleasures of that life.

The an opinion by profession, she long ago cast her lot with the proletariat and has fought his battles at all costs and sacrifices. A few years ago she led the Akron rubber workers strike. She is one of Gene Debs' best friends and just previous to his incarceration at Moundsville Penitentiary, toured northern Ohio with him for the Socialist Party.



J. J. HOGE

A new member of the State Executive Committee is J. J. Hoge, of Bellaire. Comrade Hoge is well known in Ohio as an organizer for the Party, having delivered a course of illustrated lectures and done organization work in Belmont County.

He is a native of England having been born in County Durham. He emigrated to America in 1904. He is a miner and a member of the U. M. W. of A. His Party affiliation dates from 1911.

Minutes of State Executive Committee Meeting November 8-9

State Office, Nov. 8, 1919
The meeting was called to order by the state secretary and Tom Clifford was elected chairman for the session. Minutes of the previous meeting were read and filed.

Applications for membership at large were read from E. C. Ilkenhans, Wm. M. Brown, Ella B. Brown, W. S. Owens, C. R. Hartlieb and Frank Philip. By motion the issuance of membership cards to these comrades by the state secretary was approved.

Applications for charters were received from Power-Point, Adena and Youngtown, the latter two being language branches. Granting of charters approved by motion. (These charters were granted July 15 and 31 respectively.)

The report of the state secretary was next declared in order. After its reading a motion was carried to consider recommendations and suggestions serially.

Motion carried that the state executive committee make a loan to the national office of the party in the amount stated by the state secretary.

Motion carried that the state secretary at once place a number of organizers in the field, as well as a speaker who understands a party controversy and who can give the locals visited the information that seems desired.

Motion carried that the Liberator's campaign be turned over to the national office so that it may assume a national scope.

Motion carried that the resignation of A. Wagenknecht as state secretary, be accepted. The resignation was tendered because Comrade Wagenknecht is soon to move to New York to conduct the national office of the party.

Motion carried that questions of selecting a state headquarters, as well as the location election of an acting state secretary, be postponed until the evening session.

Communications:

From E. J. Hewitt of Ashtabula, asking rebate upon press stamps. Motion carried to file.

From Carl Ulrich, suggesting a May Day stamp for the party. Referred to the national office of the party.

From Luther McIntyre, regarding colorizing. Filed.

From several locals supporting a motion made by the succeeding local in Cleveland for a state referendum. Motion carried that these several locals be informed that — First: The state executive committee has not the power to initiate a state referendum. Second: That the motion as made by the Cleveland organization making it has succeeded from the state organization. Third: That under no circumstances does the state executive committee favor a joint convention with locals which have rejoined the reactionary Socialist Party. Also that an answer including these points be sent to the locals seconding the Cleveland motion, in the name of the state executive committee.

From Jos. W. Sharts suggesting an initiative petition to annul the original syndicalism law. Motion that no action be taken, carried.

New Business:

Motion carried that in accordance with Article 1, Section 1, of the state constitution, we, the state executive committee, just elected by referendum vote of the state membership, consider the Ohio state organization of locally affiliated with the Communist Labor Party, all but two of the delegates attending the national convention from Ohio having followed the instructions of the state membership on this matter. That a committee of two be elected to write a statement to the Ohio membership asking for full cooperation with the state office in its party work.

Committee elected — M. A. Toohay, J. Hoge.

Adjourned to reconvene at 7 P. M. Evening Session, Nov. 8th.

Report of committee on declaration of the party membership heard. Motion carried to accept the report and that be sent to the state membership and locals.

Nominations for acting state secretary declared in order.

Motion carried that Elmer T. Alford be elected acting state secretary.

until nominations are made and an election can be held in conformity with the state constitution.

Motion carried that a delegate conference of Ohio locals and branches that have not severed their connection with the state office be held.

Motion carried that selection of a date and time and place be made at a late hour.

A lengthy discussion ensued as to the state organization, the state office, the state membership and their interrelation.

Motion carried that we ask all locals and branches to send as many delegates to the state conference as they can afford to send, and that the conference decide the basis of proportional representation of all delegates attending.

Motion carried that the expenses of this conference, in-so-far as fare and hotel expenses of the delegates is concerned, be borne by the locals sending delegates.

Motion carried that a call be extended to members at large and other members in the state whose locals may not be functioning for the time being, to attend the state conference, providing they have not severed their connection with state organization.

Motion that Tom Clifford and the acting state secretary be a committee to prepare an agenda for the conference, subject to change by the conference, carried.

Motion carried that the name of the "Ohio Socialist" be changed to "The Toiler".

A motion carried to hold a State Conference of the Communist Labor Party on Nov. 29 and 30, location of same to be selected later and locals advised by mail.

Motion carried to adjourn.

A. WAGENKNECHT
State Secretary.

STATEMENT TO THE MEMBERSHIP BY THE STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

To the Locals and Members of Ohio.

COMRADES:—
Your state executive committee, in meeting assembled this 8th day of November, issues the following declaration to the members and locals in the state.

After due consideration we hold that the Ohio state organization is officially affiliated with the Communist Labor Party by referendum act of the state membership. This conclusion is reached in compliance with the mandate contained in Article 1, Section 1, of the state constitution, which states that the party in this state shall be affiliated with that section of the Socialist Party which adopts the left wing program.

The national convention of the Socialist Party held in Chicago, Aug. 30th, split into two factions, a right wing faction and a left wing faction. The left wing faction, consisting of 92 delegates, adopted the left wing program and subsequently adopted the name of Communist Labor Party, to differentiate it from the right wing faction and its reactionary officialdom.

The delegates attending the national convention of the party is already publishing books and pamphlets in number it is issuing a national fighting organ, "Communist Labor", and a labor paper for the party, the "Voice of Labor". The party's monthly magazine, "The Class Struggle" should be read by every party member, and hundreds of thousands of leaflets are now ready for the locals for free distribution.

The Communist Labor Party is a party of action. We call upon you to become locals and members of action. Become active at once in the Communist Labor Party, distribute its literature, get subscriptions for its

papers, engage its speakers. The fundamental differences between the three parties are well analyzing in the accompanying statement. Read it carefully. Then decide your affiliation and enter the work we must all continue active in; that of establishing workers' control so that we may gain Industrial Democracy.

REPORT OF STATE SECRETARY.

TO THE STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

COMRADES:—
Many events have taken place since the state executive committee of the Ohio party last met. The great change taking place in the world has demanded new adjustment in every walk of life, and new adjustments have also been forced upon the revolutionary movements of the working class.

The split in the Socialist Party, the consequent organization of two communist parties and the activities of all three parties call for study on the part of the membership. Many comrades were a goodly amount of time before they can mentally digest the causes for these controversies, and as a consequence there are many comrades yet in the transition stage, gradually growing into revolutionary Socialists, gradually accepting the program of the Third International.

To the comrades who look askance at the inter-party differences, we have this to say. The same divisions are occurring in all European countries. In Sweden, England, France, Italy, Norway, Germany — in all European countries in which a Socialist movement existed before and during war time, a division has occurred, the comrades dividing themselves into right wing Socialists, those who are pure political actionists and parliamentarians, and into left wing Socialists, those who realize that we participate in political campaigns for purposes of propaganda and education, and who make the industrial struggles the major campaign, and who know we can hope to establish industrial democracy by having legislators make a motion for it in Congress! The slogan of these left wing Socialists is "all power to the workers" and their one immediate demand is "workers control".

In the United States the situation among the left wing Socialists is somewhat complicated because of a split in the left wing movement. This split occurred in New York in June, when certain comrades demanded that a new party be organized, whereas others, a majority, demanded that the fight for left wing principles be continued in the old Socialist Party until the national convention. The result of this split was that some comrades began immediately organizing a new party, whereas others continued their fight in the Socialist Party for left wing principles. This resulted in two left wing conventions in Chicago, out of which were organized the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Labor Party.

The Communist Labor Party, while in convention and thereafter, made sincere attempts to unify the two communist groups, but without success. The national officials of the Communist Party seem determined to perpetuate their clique control and to do so, they do not feel inclined to unite with the Communist Labor Party upon a basis of equality. The last unity attempt on the part of the Communist Labor Party was made October 13th. In it are amassed the hundreds of Jimmy Higginses of the old Socialist Party. It does not lack for either platform, executive or organization talent. Just as soon as this talent can be put to work, and this is being done gradually, the progress of the organization will be phenomenal.

Fraternally submitted,
A. WAGENKNECHT
State Secretary.

The present state secretary, having been elected national secretary for the Communist Labor Party, desires to fix his office in the Ohio movement, O. S.

This resignation to take effect at once. The national office of the Communist Labor Party will remove to New York next week, and this will necessitate the removal from Ohio of the present state secretary.

At least two organizers, well posted upon the party controversy, should be placed in the field at once. Information of party differences should be carried to the locals first hand, and by so doing the minds of many comrades can be cleared as to the party situation.

In closing we desire to again state that the new adjustments which are taking place need time to mature. Members need time to think. Eventually the party which shows the greatest activity along the lines of revolutionary principles, will gain the confidence and support of the membership. We claim that in time, the party which will show most life and action will be the Communist Labor Party.

In it are amassed the hundreds of Jimmy Higginses of the old Socialist Party. It does not lack for either platform, executive or organization talent. Just as soon as this talent can be put to work, and this is being done gradually, the progress of the organization will be phenomenal.

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Three Parties are right now seeking your support. Your support means added power. Each party wants more power. To which party are you going to add strength?

You realize that alone you are helpless before the organized strength of the capitalist class. You know that you must join with your fellow workers to achieve your emancipation. You feel that ALL TOGETHER the workers are strong.

Which one of the three parties is your party? Which one is the best instrument for the expression of the principles and tactics you believe in? WHICH Party can you depend upon not to support the capitalist State and betray you when the crisis comes? WHICH Party has the form of organization that gives YOU the best opportunity to express yourself and to function for your class? WHICH Party has the proper tactic to avoid becoming a mere sect under the control of a clique of leaders? WHICH Party has a policy that will result in a great working-class movement, competent to achieve its ends?

HERE THEY ARE — MAKE YOUR CHOICE

The Communist Labor Party:

Accepts the principles of Communism.

Affiliates with the Third International.

Holds that employing class and working-class have nothing in common.

Considers existing political state a ruling class instrument, whose sham democracies are useless to the working-class.

Teachers that workers must develop their own power, abolish the existing political State and under their own dictatorship work out their problems.

Deems ballot box campaigns for this purpose of secondary importance. Makes the great industrial struggles its major campaigns.

Participates in political campaigns for purpose of propaganda. Has only ONE immediate demand: The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. ONE slogan: ALL power to the workers.

Propagandizes Industrial Unionism. Points out its revolutionary nature. Organizes shop committees. Actively helps to build the one big union.

Is the logical outgrowth of the revolutionary Left Wing Movement. Was organized in obedience to the decisions of the Left Wing Conference and the mandates of the Old Party's revolutionary membership.

Has a policy of INCLUSION. Constantly offers unity to all organizations that agree on the fundamental principles of Communism.

Has a nationwide organization, steadily growing in membership and power.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY:

Agrees with the Communist Labor Party on fundamental principles. (Not even the most orthodox C. P. member has yet denied this).

Differs from the Communist Labor Party in ORIGIN, FORM OF ORGANIZATION and POLICY.

Originated when the National Left Wing Conference refused to surrender itself to the complete domination of the Central Executive Committees of a few language groups.

Is the logical product of those that bolted from the Left Wing. Started gradually, the progress of the organization will be phenomenal.

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Has officials that openly voice their hope that the Russian Revolution will not succeed, because it did not come by the "ballot box route."

Is the counterpart of the Kerenskys of Russia and the Scheidemanns of Germany, who turned the machine guns upon our Bolshevik and Spartacist Comrades.

Has lost nine tenths of its membership since last May.

DECIDE!

If you still have faith in the palaver of politicians and distrust the workers on the job; — if you actually believe that the co-operative Commonwealth will spring full orb'd from the ballot box, — if you are afraid to join hands openly with the Bolsheviks and the Spartacists in the Third International, — then stay where you belong — in the old Socialist Party.

If you are the kind of Communist that blindly follows leaders, organized in a little clique for Party control, — if you are willing to waste your energies building a Party that has within its very form of organization the seeds of its own destruction, if you are opposed to unity of all true Communist forces, then you should join the Communist Party, until experience teaches you its costly lesson.

But if you want a Party that is solidly based on Communist principles, — if you want a Party that is uncompromising in its revolutionary tactics and that at the same time has a form of organization and a policy that makes possible the developing of a workingclass organization, militant and victorious, — then you should at once join the Communist Labor Party.

Do not delay. The laggard is lost. The compromiser is shoved aside. Make your choice. Take your stand NOW with the Bolsheviks and the Spartacists in the Third International. Become a member of the Communist Labor Party, and GET BUSY on the job among your fellow workers. That is the road to workers' power.

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The Ohio Socialist

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

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EDITORS Elmer T. Allison Alfred Wagenknecht

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, NOVEMBER 19th 1919.

War On The Reds

The war against the reds is on, if press reports of activities of the department of "justice" are reliable and they seem to be in this respect. Wars come so thick and fast these days it keeps one wide awake to keep up with them. They are somewhat confusing too. First there was a great war in which we were too proud to enter. But we got over that and got in some-what bewildered as to what, it was about, but got in nevertheless. Of course it was a war for DEMOCRACY — wars generally are, you know. Lots of people were convinced that we would have democracy to lend and give away as soon as the fracas was settled. They are slowly coming out of this delusion.

But the big doings were scarcely over before fifteen or forty-seven smaller ones started adding still more to the general bewilderment. Here at home of course, we were largely out of these little tin-horn scraps — except Mr. Wilson's personal onslaught against Russia — which certainly confused a lot of people who accepted Wilson's words and promises as genuine. This little war continues to date the it's a losing game for Wilson and fellow "determiners of peoples."

A few weeks ago the hubbub grew loud against the profiteers and another war was declared. It was the shortest war ever discovered. Also the loudest. Not a public "servant" in all this free land, but who vowed in print, that he'd get the profiteers, the it caused him, to miss a meal. The tangible results of this big-little war are about equal to these of the big one across the pond in so far as the victims are concerned there aint none — not for them.

It seems necessary to start a brand new war about ever so often in order to make us common folks forget the promises made us by the proponents of the previous ones. So now we have a war on the reds. It seems that this great big country isn't big enough to hold a real man-sized idea any longer. So, in order that the idea may "squeeze" no one, it becomes necessary to destroy it by jailing, deporting and raising general hell with the heads in which the idea has lodged.

And so, with the speed and judgement with which all our governmental activities are carried on, the war against the red idea proceeds. Houses are raided, men and women are jailed on charges or no charges. Meetings of workers are broken up, literature destroyed. Halls are raided, and all contents carried into the street where an inspiring bon-fire is made in honor of the Goddess of liberty and democracy. Newspaper offices are raided, the plants destroyed, the editors laid under the charge of "criminal syndicalism" — the wet blanket which was made to order to dampen the ardour of all who get too warm at the profit system.

So merrily goes the game. The funny thing about it all is, that the principles which you and we were taught to revere in our school days are being violated every day by this government which we were taught was established for the perpetuation of those ideas. Yes its a very bewildering world — unless you look at it from the standpoint of economic determinism. When you get that view-point you can see thru a ladder — even a governmental ladder.

Thru Persecution to Victory

No cause, it seems, can thrive without persecution snapping at its heels. "Persecution is the seed of the Church," wrote St. Paul. St. Paul knew, for he lived in rebellious times and witnessed the growth of Christianity thru persecution.

No organization ever had heaped upon it the amount of persecution which been heaped upon the I. W. W. No organization ever thrived as has it. None have affected the labor movement in the creating of class-consciousness to the extent as has it. None has given the workers such ground for hope as has this militant and aggressive union of workers.

Winning by its clear cut class-conscious action the hatred of the ruling class, it has been the special target of the prostitutes of the hired press. Avalanches of oprobrium have been heaped upon it; tons of white paper have been consumed, and barrels of ink spread in reviling it. Its organizers have been mobbed, shot and nanged. Its songsters illegally executed; its members jailed.

Thru it all, it has born the attitude of true philosophy. Never doubting the correctness of its fundamental teachings, it has unwaveringly stood before the onslaughts of the workers' enemies.

The truth of the recent occurrences at Centralia, Wash., are coming to light. When the full truth is known, the I. W. W. will be cleared of guilt. The capitalist press has wallowed for a week in adjective vituperation against the I. W. W., but truth, like murder, will out, and the blood which was spilled at Centralia drips red from the hands of others than members of I. W. W.

When the history of the I. W. W. is written by future historians, the persecution which it has undergone will serve as a mark by which to judge this present era of "civilization."

Thru persecution it passes on to victory for the toilers and humanity

This deportation stuff gets our goat. This country has been hell on the foreigner for two years. He wants to get out but can't get passports. They try to get to Mexico or Canada but government agents trail them and throw them into jail. Jim Larkin is in jail in New York. He wants to go to Ireland but the British government won't let him in. Now he will be deported — maybe. And on top of that the Irish workers threaten to go on strike to force Britain to give him a passport. The quickest way to get the foreigner out is to hand out the passports — They WANT to go.

If some one will please tell us how to carry on the fight against capitalist exploitation by straddling a fence, we will be glad to take a seat along side. But until they can prove that a fence is an instrument of the proletariat, we will have to wander on our little way, doing what looks like effective work for our class.

Booze Reds and Water Reds

BY ANISE IN SEATTLE UNION RECORD

Everybody's worried
These days
Trying to find out
What makes the REDS GROW?
Is it BOOZE
Or the LACK of it;
Is it Russian gold,
Or LACK of gold;
Is it a little germ
From Eastern Europe
Or from below Yesler?
Friend Gompers still repeats
His theory that BOOZE
Was the great saviour
Of the nation,
He says that prohibition
Upsets the worker's habits,
And so the man
Who formerly went HOME
To read and talk
In the evening
The CONSOLER
Of discontented workers!
Kept men AT HOME nights
Has now become disgruntled
And hangs about the streets
Meeting other disgruntled men
And talking Bolshevism!
I never knew before
That the SALOON
Instead of mixing
Downtown with other men.
But then it seems
We LIVE and LEARN!
For Gompers SAYS the reds
Thrive best in WATER

And booze is the preserver
Of the FAMILY
And so it MUST BE true!
But hist, here comes
A candidate for governor
In New Jersey
Who says he'll make that state
As WET as the Atlantic
In spite of ANY LAW!
That's RED enough, I think,
Defying law like that,
I guess that man must be
A BOOZE-RED
Instead of a WATER-RED,
For now I remember
Long ago in the Bible
It said that folks who looked
On booze when it was RED
Were likely to become
VIOLENT!
And now the president
Of the Anti-saloon League
Declares, in spite of Gompers,
It's the WET towns
Where ANARCHY thrives best
Because when men drink booze
They get BEFUDDLED
And follow ANY leader!
It rather looks to me
These awful REDS
Will thrive most anywhere
Either in booze or water
Only the WATER-REDS seem
To do more THINKING
Than BOOZE-REDS do,
And so I guess they are
More DANGEROUS!

PETROGRAD FALLS

By Alden W. Welch
HAVE you ever seen Niagara, heard the thunder of its power, Never silent for an instant, irrespective of the hour?
Come the roaring of ring torrents, leaps the brim, and surges down:
Would you try to still the turmoil with a silly human frown?
Would you try to turn the river from its ancient natural course,
Or would you, rather, harness up its vast hydraulic force,
Transform it into energy that skims along the wires,
To light the lamps of Buffalo and still more distant fires?
There's a paper on my table and it reads, "Petrograd Falls!"
And I seem to see before me swift Niagara's wat'ry walls,
Always falling, never fallen, ever tumbling, never gone,
Crashing in the dreary midnight, smashing at the gates of dawn!
Would you try to dam the torrent, that is gushing wild and free
From a hundred million human hearts that beat across the sea
Or will you, rather, do your bit to lift the yoke that galls?
Not try to dam — but rather, damn the lie — Petrograd Falls.

MUSINGS

By Dr. Cowley Cowles
While we have always advocated "Votes for Women", as a matter of simple justice, it does not follow that the granting of the franchise is a matter of expedience. There will now be again as many votes to count as previously, and the opportunities for election frauds are increased that much. While it is true that women will never be able to make greater asses of themselves than men have, by voting for what they do not want, it is equally certain that, as a whole, the gentler sex is not intellectually superior to men and will be just as easily led into the political shambles called elections.

Aggravating as the capitalist system is, it is nevertheless doing more for socialism than all the socialists can do. In its desperation it is forced to resort to lie after lie. This is aggravating to us, but should not be so. The people have been lumbugged they cannot digest and assimilate that many more and just at the psychological moment the capitalist press will find its influence gone.

Every ass who cares to bray says there are no classes in this country. According to an article in a recent issue of the Tampa, Fla. Morning Tribune, the government offered nitrate as fertilizer to the farmers at a certain price. But suddenly these sales were stopped without explanation. Investigation proved that the government was selling the nitrate in bulk and at a lower figure to a capitalist middleman who sold it to the farmers at a good big profit. If this is not a case of your capitalist government looking out for the interests of the capitalist class, then what class distinctions can a Henry Dubb ask for?

THE CLASS STRUGGLE JUST OUT. Second Anniversary. Soviet Republic issue. 25c A COPY. READ IT. ORDER OF Communist Labor Party 3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, Ohio.

THE QUESTION BOX

Under this heading we will, each week answer questions regarding the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, their principles, tactics and form of organization. Are you in need of information? Write us.

L. M.— Oakland: The national office of the Communist Labor Party is moving to New York City mainly because that is the seat of several of its official publications, namely, "The Class Struggle" and the "Voice of Labor".

C. H.— Lima: The official organ of the German Communist Party branch in Cleveland, known as the "Echo", and published weekly, carried at the top of the first page, in black face comrades of the Communist Party to go to the polls and vote for "personal liberty" by voting "wet". At this same time the Communist Party had out a call to boycott the elections.

A. F.— Phila: The Greek branch of Chicago joined the Communist Labor Party subsequent to a debate between Katterfeldt of that party and L. E. Ferguson of the Communist Party.

J. K.— Cleveland: Katterfeldt of the C. L. P. has challenged Ruthenberg of the C. P. to debate the issues between the two parties. The latter comrade has not yet accepted the challenge.

J. E.— Boston: Hyman Bloomfield of the C. L. P. met John Ballam of the C. P. in debate in Worcester. John Ballam as editor of one of the C. P. official organs. From accounts received at this office Bloomfield won the debate easily, because Bloomfield had first hand knowledge of the origin of the present clique control of the C. P.

B. L.— Cincinnati: The Communist Labor Party now published the following pamphlets and books: Program of the Communist Labor Party of Russia, by Buehner; Development of Socialism into Action, by Hadeck; Old order in Europe and the New Order in Russian, by Price; Terror, Soviet Russia and Intervention, by Price; Crisis in the German Social Democracy, by Luxemburg; From October to Brest Litovsk, by Trotzky; Education and Art in Soviet Russia, by Eastman; Rader and Ransome on Russia; New Letter to Workers of Europe and America, by Lenin. Other books and pamphlets are on the press.

D. M.— Columbus: We have said and we repeat and we hold that we are right when we say that if you desire unity between the communist parties you should join that party and strengthen that party which demands unity. This is the C. L. P. To refuse to join either communist party until they unite means that you thereby refuse to lend your efforts to unity, but would rather stand aside, an on-looker rather than a fighter for unity.

L. M.— Minneapolis: The criticisms of the Communist Labor Party and some of its officials made by Communist Party officials are most unjust. These criticisms are made to induce the comrades not yet affiliated with either party to join the Communist Party. The claim of 55,000 members is made for the same purpose, the Communist Party officials understand that most people like to flock with the big crowd. Communist Labor Party officials are ready, yes anxious, to meet Communist Party officials in debate so as to face the criticisms launched against the C. L. P. which in many instances are not in accord with facts.

C. B.— Kansas City: Read the article headed "The Three Parties — Which one is yours" in this paper.

A. B.— Niles: The C. L. P. has suffered severely in the recent raids. From press reports we glean that the "Oakland World", the California C. L. P. paper, was practically wrecked by hoodlums and that numerous arrests have been made in every part of the nation. It is now the duty of every member of the C. L. P. to give dollars to make good the loss and for defense.

V. T.— Baltimore: The C. L. P. can not at this time divulge the source of its information relative to the deals made between the Russian Federation executives and the Fraime-Ferguson clique because more information is forthcoming from the same source. It is these "behind the curtains" deals which are dangerous to any organization, for the membership will eventually become suspicious of officials who "fix" things behind the scenes.

SOW'S EAR

A clever chap named Will Shakespeare once got one off to the effect that "You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear."
This had a certain definite meaning in Will's day and was considered some wheeze. It was so well considered that countless notables, near comedians and others have repeated it for hundreds of years.

But lately it has an entirely different meaning. Show me the man extravagant enough to make of a sow's ear any kind of a purse!

Purses are out of fashion anyway and affected only by bloated monopolists. The honest working man can put all he has left in an empty Durham sack, except for a few minutes on pay day. A little while later he doesn't even need the empty Durham sack.
Zounds! That for you—sow's ear.—
The Echo.

THE BLACK SHEEP

By Long and Lanky.

Chapt. VI. Charley Whiskers.

A few days of rain suspended the threshing activity and gave the trio an opportunity to range over a great portion of the universe of abstract thought. It would be hard to conceive three men whose intellect were so equally developed, altho the intelligence possessed by the two older men with reference to life and its problems was of course far superior to that possessed by the boy. Yet the boy had something that the older men lacked. He had a wide knowledge of life and living things as they are, untrammelled by the influence of civilization.

When they were seated on some feed boxes in a barn he told the older men that he considered civilization to be but the logical outgrowth of over-population. He maintained that the earth with its flora and fauna could only carry a certain amount of individuals in each species. That when the species multiplied beyond the limits of its natural subsistence that then, one of two things was bound to happen; either the species ceased multiplication or they went into artificial production. Artificial production, increased the life sustaining power of the earth, which enabled the species controlling such production to multiply in greater numbers, thereby becoming a dominant power in nature. They upset what naturalists called the balance of nature and transferred the struggle for existence to an entirely different field. He illustrated it by saying that in the days before men had developed artificial production his natural enemies were the animal world and climatic conditions; but with the advent of tools and the consequent multiplication of human numbers we had protected ourselves from climatic conditions, by means of houses, clothing and fuel. Also by the art of preserving and conserving food, we had enabled ourselves not only to live thru long winters, but with the aid of transportation the race was able to survive in un-favored communities, even long periods of non-productivity. Man, he maintained, had conquered nature and was now engaged in a struggle with his fellow men over the products of industry. This struggle goes on unrelentingly between those who make it their business to own the resources and implements of production and those who, because they do not make it their business to own anything, have to use these resources and implements in order to live.

Artificial production, he contended, has taken the struggle for existence out of the domain of pure nature and transferred it to the marts of trade. Man has ended the struggle among species as far as he is concerned and has begun a struggle among types. I can see two distinct mind tendencies in the human race even as there are two physical tendencies among animals. One tendency is to conquer the other the tendency to be served. One that has the tendency to be served is of course always on the lookout for atomisms of the serving type. That, to my mind explains the early death of the men you spoke of, I forget their names, Christ was amongst them I believe.

The two men looked at the boy in amazement. That is the only word that adequately describes their feelings. In a few sentences he had practically expressed the sum total of what they had taught him and had drawn from purely economic data a conclusion of which themselves had not been aware. He had pointed out that the relation of master and slave beginning in the middle period of barbarism and coming upward thru the historical epochs of evolution in the Aryan race; thru many changes in form, but always the same in essence, was bound to have an affect upon the mind processes of the people.

Into the brain of George there flashed two phrases from the literature he had read. The first was special selection, and the second was heredity. These two factors so powerful in the animal world surely must have had some effect upon that section of animal development which we are pleased to call "The genus homo."
Herman's brain was also busy. Jack had mentioned the fact of slavery among the ants. The ant masters have held their tenure so long that they have become physically unable to help themselves. And the ant slaves have been enslaved so long that the care of their parasitic hosts seems to be second nature to them. This evidently was not true to the full extent in the human race, either of the master of the slave; but was it not true to some extent? And if so, how far had this condition developed in the human race? And if it had developed was there a way out? And what was that way? These and similar questions flashed thru Herman's brain, as he nervously rolled a cigarette, while tracing telegraphically with his toe, the dust of the barn floor.
"It was George who broke the silence. "The thing that differentiates the kid from the great mass of mankind, if by the theory he has just outlined is true, is that he belongs to a biologic third estate in the human species. If I follow his reasoning correctly, he has come to this conclusion: that long ages of enslavement during which it was to the master's interests to weed out the rebel types of both the slave and the atavistic order. They have succeeded "unbeknownst" to themselves in perpetuating the more or less servile types until a great bulk of the productive element of the human race has come to that negative state of intelligence, where they say, "What ever is, is God's design." On the other hand we find in the world another class that by long selection, training and development have come to look upon their fellow men as legitimate prey. Their attitude might be summed up in the words "whatever we want is God's decree." Of course these types are still horn amongst the working class, because the blood of the masters descends into the working class. Witness the mulattos of the South and occasionally an atavistic rebel runs off with her coachman. This blending at the edge of the serv-

ing and the served gives rise to what I termed, while Jack was speaking, the third estate."

"There is a story to be found somewhere in mythology that a Greek officer by the name of Pandora seduced a girl by the name of Miriam of Galilee and that the result of this seduction was the man Christ. Thus we have Pandora the master, Miriam the slave, producing Christ the rebel who was neither master or slave and therefore an undesirable citizen in the Roman world."

"From facts such as these we may explain a numerous variety of individuals who are not true to type, such as masters who delight in work and slaves who rejoice in idleness. Robbers, adventures, pioneers, idealists, prison-birds and martyrs are the various grades of mental manifestation in that human. No man's land that lies between the masters and the slave; the taker and the maker."

"But then, where would you put the middle class?" Herman objected. "Do not they comprise the middle ground, between mastery and slavery?"

"Yes, economically speaking, they are the middle ground of the industrial processes." Physically they work like slaves, and mentally they think in the terms of masters. Really they are economic hermaphrodites. They are neither the one nor the other. The middle class are the Sociological parasites, fostered by capital, mothered by labor and despised by both.

"The middle class is not what Jack referred to. He referred to definite mind types. People having definite manifestations of intellect. But who in hell ever attributed intellect to the middle class?"

"Between the masters and the slaves' psychology there is a middle ground due to variations from the true type on both sides, as well as atavism, back to upper savagery or lower barbarism and lower civilization. The adventures and robbers of Robin Hood's day, the Buccaneers of the middle ages were a sort of a mental third estate, with strong master proclivities. The idealist of the Socrates, Christ, Savan-erola, Bruno, Spinoza, Robert Emmet, Lloyd Garrison, John Brown, Eugene V. Debs type are members of that mental third estate with leanings towards the slave psychology. The first mental group that freedom to acquire and destroy, the last mentioned group want freedom to develop and conserve, and it may be that in the blending of the two, may be found the secret of the redemption and resurrection of the human race."

"Your philosophizing would make Charley Whiskers turn over in his grave. If your development of Jack's suggestion is correct then what becomes of the materialist conception of history, economic determinism, surplus value and the other bricks with which we have built the temple of our socialist faith? Seems to me, that you kick it over rather thoughtlessly. Besides, both you and I have been trying to make Jack economical dear. I want him to be thoroughly familiar with the works of old whiskers before he becomes a second Prof. Jordan."

"I do not see where his ideals logically worked out do any violence to any of our whiskered friend's theories. Economic determinism forces men to pick up the tool. The tool gave him protection; protection caused him to multiply; multiplication forced him to develop the tool; thru the further development of the tool he was forced to develop his social organization; with the development of social organization he conquered the earth, with the conquest of the earth developed the struggle between the types; it is this type struggle between the schemers and the workers that has developed into the modern class struggle of which to a great extent neither class is objectively conscious. The bulk of them do not fight over principles but over concrete things. The vast mass of labor, however, as yet does not fight, but accepts its lot in life as "God ordained." Between the two mental forces in the world, protection at the bottom and acquisition on top, there lies a revolutionary ferment, made up of different germs. A very mild germ with very little acid producing power is the modern trade union movement. A very rank smelling but comparatively mild germ is the anarchist movement, more or less troublesome to the masters, and to an extent inconvenient to the congenial slave type, is that many do not like the socialist "dirt" which he likens unto pneumonia bacillus. There are three or four types of them, whose function in life it is to destroy the master "slave organization."

"They are all different but they're all bugs," interposed Jack. "But tell me who was Charley Whiskers!"

"Oh! That is Herman's pet name for Karl Marx, the man who discovered and expressed the laws that underlie our modern system of wealth production and distribution. His greatest achievement, however, was that he gave us the Law of Surplus Value."

"But who and what was he? Jack persisted.

"Well, I might tell you something about his life, but that really is not important. He was a man and now he is dead. What is important is that he showed us how millions lived their horrid lives by making other millions die! How it happens that wealth is always concentrating in the hands of a few and poverty spreading out over the masses of mankind. He explains it by what he terms the Law of Surplus Value.

"What do you mean by Surplus value?" Jack asked.

"I think I have explained this to you before," said George, "but it is this, the difference between your share of the wheat you thresh in co-operation with the crew and what the farmer gets when he sells it perhaps a little plainer, if I say that it is the difference between what the boss has to pay you for a day of your labor power and what you give him as the result of the expenditure of that labor power. He gives you wages, that is the price of your labor power. (Continued on page 4.)

THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA - VERY HOPEFUL

MILITARY AND PROVISION CONDITIONS — SITUATION OF FOREIGNERS AN INTERVIEW WITH FREDRIK STROM.

Folkets Dagblad Politiken called on our Comrade Frederik Strom yesterday, to ask him whether he had any news from Russia.

"Is there anything new?" we asked.
"I have just received mail from Moscow," answered Strom.

"Well, how is the situation, in the opinion of the Soviet Government?"

"On the whole pretty good, and better than ever before. A portion of Siberia has now been freed from Kolchak's oppression, and the Red Army is full of enthusiasm and determined to settle this enemy once and for all. The Red Army is now marching on Omsk, the seat of Kolchak's reactionary Government. Kolchak has already left Omsk and fled eastward. Turkestan has been liberated, and in the Southeast the revolutionary troops are approaching the Persian boundary. To no slight degree these victories are the result of the numerous uprisings that have broken out in Kolchak's rear and are spreading all over Asiatic Russia, even as far as Vladivostok. By his cruelty and savagery, by re-introducing the Czarist despotism with all its methods and governmental devices, the tyrant and devastator of Siberia has aroused against him all sections of the population, even the well-to-do peasantry, on whom he chiefly depends. Whole regiments, even whole divisions of Kolchak's armies desert to the Soviets or surrender after having captured their general and officers.

Situation in the West and South.

"Well, how about the West front, where Finns, Letts, Lithuanians and Poles are being instigated against Socialist Russia by the Entente?"

"The Poles advanced quite well during the summer, but have now been brought to a standstill and are in some places retreating. On the Lithuanian front there are no great fights. Dvinsk remains in the hands of the Soviet troops. On the Estonian front, since the taking of Pskov by the Red Army, there has been on the whole no activity. The White Russian troops at Narva, reinforced by Noske's guards, are stationary, unable to advance on Petrograd."

"But how about Denikin's front, the South front?"

"It is true that Denikin's armies, led by Entente officers and extremely well equipped, have had certain successes and conquered certain important cities, thanks to treachery and vacillation among certain detachments of the Red Army, but the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs informs me that these successes are merely transitory, and that the Government is full of confidence, and declares that Denikin in a short time will be put to flight. This is made certain by the increasing uprisings and revolts in Denikin's rear. On the whole, Denikin follows Kolchak's methods and introduces in all occupied territories the Czarist regime. Now that the population in these regions has had ocular demonstration of the counter-revolutionary art of government and has thus had an opportunity to compare the latter with the Soviet system of government, they may draw the inevitable conclusions. They will

become more revolutionary than before, and will be the best support to the Soviet system."

Conditions as to Provisions

"How is the provision situation now? Has the Moscow Government made any statement in this connection?"

"The shortage of foodstuffs in Russia is partly a matter of the past. The two most critical months — July and August — are now passed. Litvinov, Head of the Scandinavian Section of the Foreign Commissariat, has informed me literally as follows: 'While during the corresponding months of last year we were unable to offer anything to the populations of Moscow and Petrograd, we are this year in a position to give full rations throughout this period. The extraordinary good harvest now affords us great help! From another source I am informed that one can now buy, for example, in Moscow, as much meat, butter, milk, eggs, etc., as one may wish. In other fields also, the Soviet system is being consolidated and strengthened and productive labor is increasing and steadying itself more and more within the forms of Socialism.'

Relations Between Russia and Sweden.

"Is anything mentioned about the relations between Russia and Sweden: What is the attitude of the Soviet Government on this matter?"

"Swedish industry has not succeeded in cutting a breach in the blockade and probably the navigation period will be lost for this year. The consequences of this will hit Sweden just as hard as Russia. The policy of Socialist Russia should be directed towards a shaping of the foreign relations

as to make the inconveniences of the blockade, as well as the isolation of Russia, strike the other countries in the fullest possible manner. Until the neutral states broke off their relations with Russia, the citizens of these states enjoyed special privileges. After breaking off relations, these privileges were gradually curtailed and their supplies in Russia were put on the same footing as those of native capitalists, i. e., they were subject to requisitions. The delegation of the Danish Red Cross was deprived of its special privileges for the protection of foreigners, since several of its members had been caught in counter-revolutionary activity, conducting anti-Bolshevik propaganda among the Russian prisoners of war whom they accompanied on their trip home from Denmark by way of Finland. In fact, they were conducting a recruiting campaign for the White Guards under Yudenich and Denikin. In addition, the Danish Red Cross delegation undertook to export Russian money amounting to millions, as well as other articles of value belonging to the Russian and foreign bourgeoisie. Finally, they served as an intermediary between Russian and Entente counter-revolutionaries both within and without Russia, forwarding their correspondence, even letters to members of the Czar's family. After all these things had been ascertained, the Danish Red Cross delegation found itself obliged to leave Russia at once."

Sweden in Russia

"Well, how about the Swedes over there; how are they acting, what is their position?"

"It is clear that when the Swedish Government so brutally severed its relations with Socialist Russia and banished the Bolsheviks from Sweden, this was not without consequences for Swedes in Russia, who

had been very popular before that. I have, of course, done all that I have been able to, to help them, and have often written to Moscow to learn about their situation and only a few days ago tried to obtain permission for forwarding provisions to them from Sweden. But it is exceedingly difficult to get anything done, partly because the telegraph is shut off, and partly because the Scandinavians—some of them at least—in Russia are acting very badly. Thus, for instance, at the time of the treason at Krasnaya Gorka, and the English bombardment of Kronstadt, a military conspiracy was discovered at Petrograd and the clues led also to quite a number of foreigners. In the house-searches undertaken as a result, as well as in the inspections of the former foreign consulates, a very extensive material was found. Thus, for example, in the Swiss consulate at Petrograd and in the Danish consulate at Moscow, plans were found for a military conspiracy, extensive lists of counter-revolutionary agents in the Red Army, secret reports as to the movement of our troops and our provision depots, etc. Fortunately such gross violations have not been found in the case of Sweden. But considerable supplies were found, as well as valuables and money which the Russian bourgeoisie had delivered to Swedish officers for preservation, and had thus sought to withhold from the state. In this connection a number of Swedes were also arrested, but were almost all immediately freed again, although their trials were still in progress. While these trials are coming on, they are forbidden to leave the country. The Soviet Government is willing to send a Red Cross delegate to Sweden to deliberate with the Swedish Government as well as with the other questions involved in the status of foreigners in Russia."

— From a recent number of Politiken, Stockholm.

BREAD AND ROSES

— BY ROSE PASTOR STOKES —

"Wear a red flower, tonight."
This was his invitation to the thousands of conscious workers who flocked to hear Gershuni a few years ago, Gershuni the Russian Revolutionist, who escaped from Siberia, arrived in New York and was to speak in Carnegie Hall that night — but a short while before he returned to the land of the Tzar, to die.
"Wear a red flower, tonight."
And when Gershuni stood before his vast audience in the evening, and saw Nature flaunting her scarlet beneath the multitude of pale faces raised eagerly for his message, he said:
"I wanted you to wear this symbol of the joy and beauty of life because we demand not only bread, but roses."
Yes, Bread and Roses! When the Revolution was successful, did our fellow workers think only of bread? No. Great and terrible as the need was, they lost no time securing to themselves in the fullest measure possible — Roses! Roses! The flowers of Song, the Dance, the Opera, Drama. The flowers of Science — of Knowledge.

The Orchid of Culture, a hot-house plant nurtured exclusively for the Few has been transplanted in Russia to the fields and the meadows, where it blooms freely as the common daisy for all the common folk to pluck at will.

The king and queen of Belgium visited the United States. There is a great stir of interest in the ranks of the exploiters. The Opera House here makes a gala night of their visit to that temple of music.

The Workers take control of Russia. Their Opera becomes the Soviet Opera. There is a great stir among the common folk. The workers fill the Opera House. It is a gala night.

Just as it is natural for Capitalist America to give a special performance at the Metropolitan Opera House in honor of the king and queen — charging incredible prices for seats; so it is natural for Soviet Russia to give Opera daily for the Russian worker — where he is entitled to a seat by virtue of his useful labor.

The masses, lovers of song, inspires of all the great music that has ever been written — it is for them that the great artists of the Moscow Opera vie with one another to give their best. For are they not themselves sprung from the people? And are not the people at last masters of all life? Tzars and Emperors, drainers of the people's life-blood, are no more! and no more do they "grace" the "royal" box. All space is the people's. They grace the house from pit to gallery. The sparkle of diamonds and precious stones, symbol of tears and slavery, have given place to sparkle of happy eyes, new-lit with the fires of liberty.

Not alone in music may the Russian worker now satisfy his hunger. Imagine yourself quitting after a half of a short day's work to hear a great singer of the people's songs — in your own factory, now become a fit place to learn and enjoy, as well as to work! Or to get the instruction and entertainment of an illustrated lecture; or perchance it is a fete where you recreate body and spirit in the joy of the dance. Or maybe a troupe of Soviet players whose itinerary includes your factory, arrive to entertain or instruct you through the drama.

This is but hint of what the workers are doing for themselves in Soviet Russia. All who have anything of art or science or general knowledge or literature to give, are giving freely to the people and, the people in turn support them in security. The doors are opened wide to the vast treasure house — the doors that once were slammed in the workers' face! The priceless gifts that the workers in bent backs have painfully piled up, that the parasites have abused for the creation of a false and narrow culture, are now the heritage of all, to be used in the creation of a true and general culture.

Libraries, traveling on swift wheels to every village and hamlet in Soviet Russia. Books, books, books! brought to the doors of all! Traveling instructors, lecturers, professors and teachers giving courses in even the remotest parts, bringing knowledge to the workers far from the permanent centers of learning. Traveling picture galleries, theatres, concerts, touching the humblest in the land with the fairy-wand of Art. True Art, not that tawdry, cheap thing that parades in her name to corrupt the common taste in every

commercial country in the world. Thus the masses, through their own government, are developing in themselves the highest possible conception of art, the keenest possible appreciation of true culture.

Art institutes endowed as never before by any government, in which the talented spirits among the masses receive the training they craved vainly for in the past; research laboratories open to all who show any real interest in using them; Universities no longer exclusively the province of the exploiter's son. The common school becoming the universal school, the college and university becoming the common school, the higher culture the general culture. Is it any wonder that Soviet Russia is spending more on education than any country in the world?
Industry, agriculture, yes. Bread, security, yes. But Roses, Roses, yes, a thousand times yes! Are we workers hungry for joy and beauty for art and culture? Today, Russia answers for us until the day when we shall answer for ourselves. The worker, starved through the centuries amidst the very plenty he created, is satisfying his hunger at last — in Russia. Having taken control of his own industrial and social destiny, he has in that same moment grasped with all of a creator's enthusiasm the tools of the old bourgeois culture with which he is already modelling for himself the art forms that will express the new culture — that of the Communist society, the Workers' Commonwealth.

Sorrounded as she is by world-capital's armies, fighting for her very life on every front of her vast territory, Russia is still able, by virtue of working class rule to give to Art, Truth, Beauty a freedom they have not known and do not know in any other land on the face of the earth. And we workers are invited, by every subtle blandishment, to join with our capitalist Governments in a war of extermination against our fellow workers of Russia.

We may not do the shooting ourselves, but we are no less guilty if their freedom is lost through the guns we make. Longshoremen load the guns on ships, railroad men bring them to the piers, sailors, workers too, carry them over seas, and soldiers, (also workers) receive them and use them to shoot down Bolshevik workers, (but what workers!) fighting in the front trenches of the world in the cause of the Social Re-

volution that will set the world's workers free! Yet despite this tragedy, than which there can be no greater in all history, the Russian worker, wounded, bleeding, half blinded with blood and tears, still marches erect, bearing aloft the standard upon one side of which is inscribed the appeal "Workers of the world, unite!" (This side faces outward to the fighting front). An on the other (facing in toward Soviet-Russia) the inscription "Art, Truth, Beauty!"

They are dying for us, and we are killing them for Capitalism! If the Russian workers and their culture are destroyed by us, we shall not only have played the Judas to our own Comrades, but we shall also by that same act bare our backs to the lash of exploitation for a period that Hope dare not contemplate. A lash that will be laid on with a more cruel hand than Master has ever laid on Slave before. And who shall then say that we are not receiving justice!

But this surely will not be! Everywhere the workers are awaking to consciousness. In Italy the workers forced their Capitalist Government to recall their troops from Russia. The transport workers refused to load the ships with goods or guns for use against Soviet Russia. In France and in England there is an awakening; here too, though less through, the protest is being made effective. There are workers everywhere who are refusing to destroy their own Hope of emancipation by destroying the freedom of the Russian Working-Class. We are learning that if we rise to power, we rise by Russia, even as Capitalism has learned that it falls if Soviet Russia stands! The Associated Press and the Associated Powers may combine to lie about the Soviet-Government until they make old Ananias sound as truthful by comparison as a wireless message from Moscow. It will help them not one iota. If the Allies' workers stand by Russia, Russia stands — lied about or not. If Russia stands, Capitalism falls and the workers everywhere rise to power.

Stand by Russia, Workers of America! Stand by your own cause. The issue is joined; the fight is on. Unite, use your power. For Russia — for ourselves — For Bread and Roses! —

Haase Is Dead

BERLIN, Nov. 8.— As the result of three wounds received when he was shot by an Austrian Johann Voss, Hugo Haase, president of the Independent Socialist party, died yesterday after several operations had failed to alleviate his condition.

The shooting occurred October 8 as Haase was about to enter the Reichstag to deliver a speech charging the government with encouraging the retention of German troops in the Baltic and with fostering attacks upon radicals by "murder bureaus."

On October 27, Haase's fight for which had been crushed by a bullet, was amputated. The three bullets lodged in the thigh, forearm and abdomen. Blood poisoning set in and could not be checked.
Haase, who had a record of indefatigable Socialist endeavor, succeeded August Bebel as president of the German Social Democratic party, but broke with the party in 1915 on the question of voting war credits.

Entered Cabinet.

He believed it was necessary to refuse financial support to the government. After the fall of the imperial government he entered the first coalition Cabinet, where he opposed Dr. Solf.

He fought Minister of Defense Noske and the methods of the Noske guards in suppressing strikes and revolts. He declined to become Chancellor at a time when Germany was seeking a government willing to sign the peace treaty.

It is said that his assailant, Voss, was prompted by personal motives, because Haase was prosecuting him at the time for extortion.
Haase's position in the radical ranks is described as being the center of the Left. He was not only an opponent of Noske and Scheidemann, but also of Kautsky.

Was Friendly to Russia.

He was in strong sympathy with Soviet Russia, but opposed recognition of the Moscow government on the ground that such recognition would offer the Allies an excuse to invade Germany.
His acceptance of a position in the coalition Cabinet, which he is said to have regretted, was used to obtain support for the existing regime from his followers.

In his opposition to the Socialist-Democratic-Clerical government he did not hesitate to co-operate with the Spartacists.

The Independent Socialists, of which he was a leader, were credited with encouraging by underground means the discontent in the army and navy which resulted in the revolt of the German sailors in August, 1918.

at will, limited by the rulings of the humane society and his own economic considerations. The wage worker owns his body and can sell his labor power in the open market, for such price as he can get for it, in competition with his fellow laborers, all of whom must sell their energy, that is their labor power, in order to live. Slavery sells man, body and soul into bondage. Wage labor forces man into bondage in order to keep body and soul together. It is really a distinction without any great difference. What Marx did was to make us conscious of your position in society as propertyless wage slaves, dependent upon a market for our life energy."

"He made us conscious of our class-position in society," added Herman. (Continued next week.)

Socialists in Military Prisons

(Cont. from page 1th)

tal for medical treatment, and when I tried to go to my bed the captain in charge choked me and threw me to the ground.

"About half an hour later I was examined and thrown into the latrine again, where I remained about three hours."

Brandon related how Majors Adler and Truett came to the hospital a week later and examined and questioned the prisoners. He said he had the following conversation with Major Adler:

"Why do you refuse to prepare your own meals?"

"Because I was taken away from home against my will, and it is up to the government to take care of me here. I want to be treated like a man. It is up to the authorities to take care of me or let me die."

Silver Chains—Steel Chains.

"Well, you are having good conditions here. You're not a prisoner, and there is no reason why you should not take care of yourself."

"Do you say I am not a prisoner? Does this mean I can go home whenever I want to?"

"Oh no. You have to stay around here, but you have the liberty of the camp."

"If you were to place silver chains on my hands instead of steel I would be chained all the same."

"What will you tell people when they ask you what you did during the war?"

"I will tell them I went to jail for democracy."

Brandon declared he now found out that a short time after his conversation with the major, his father received a letter from the War Department, in which he was described as an agitator. His theories on Socialism and his constant agitation, the letter stated, were the cause of his troubles.

One day, Brandon related, a company of 14 objectors, all branded as "radicals," were hurried out of their cells and forced to military marching. Joseph Kaplowitz, one of the objectors, who was tired and weary unable to march fast enough to keep up with the company, was thrown to the ground with a rifle and remained unconscious for a long time.

Because of this Brandon said, the 14 objectors went on a hunger strike as a protest, and were all thrown into a small cell. There, he said, a letter to the post commander, complaining of the treatment given to Kaplowitz, was drawn up and signed by every one of the 14 objectors, and because he handed the letter to a prison officer, Brandon continued, he was taken to solitary confinement.

Brandon related how Gen. Leonard Wood came to Fort Riley while Major Funston was interviewing the objectors, and spoke to Post Commander Colonel Waterman. The following evening, he charged, those who had been

on hunger strikes were transferred to Camp Funston.

'Radicals' Transferred.

"I was included among those who were transferred," continued Brandon. "At first not one of us knew the reason for this, but later it became visible to us that all Socialists and those listed as 'radicals' were transferred, and that it was an attempt to subject us to cruelties again."

Brandon stated that he was not among the first to be transferred. He had been confined in the hospital with influenza, but a week later, although still ill, was also taken to Camp Funston. The sergeant who brought him there, he said, had the following conversation with the officer of the guard.

"He is a ringleader and agitator. Take good care of him."

"We know how to handle these fellows."

On November 27, 1918, Brandon

was transferred to Fort Riley again, where he was court-martialed and sentenced to death. Practically every objector there was put into solitary confinement. A 13-day hunger strike was resorted to by the prisoners as a protest.

Driven Around Field.

While he was at Camp Funston, Brandon said, a 10-day strike was on. The officers refused to give them water on the eighth day, but the prisoners held out until the 10th, when they collapsed.

The method of treatment, Brandon charged, was issued by the War Department. He said officers often informed the prisoners that they were instructed to give them "exercise."

"If we did not want to walk when they ordered us they dragged us. They had no mercy on any of us."

Brandon continued: "One day, in a large, open field, surrounded by a wire fence, we were

driven around the field several times. Many people stood around the field grinned and shouted at us, and gave the guards commands to mistreat us which they obeyed.

Food, cigars and other necessities were barred. Everything was thrown away instead of being returned to the senders, he charged.

The Black Sheep

(Continued from page 3.)

as measured by the clock. You give him commodities which are the result of your efforts."

"What is a commodity?"
"A commodity is a product of labor that enters the market. It is produced to be sold. When you make something for your own personal use it is called a product. Now the thing that Karl Marx explained to the world is this: that the working class sells its labor power as a commodity to the capitalist class and gets from the capitalist class in return, a commodity called money with which to buy the necessities of life. The difference between slave labor and wage labor, is this, the slave is owned body and power by his master. The master disposes of the slaves body and power