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\$1.00 A YEAR

4,000 Years in Prison - That is the total of sentences given political prisoners - It means one hundred lives sacrificed to capitalist imperialism - Let not a day, let not an hour go by without a blow for their Liberation.

Act!

In our minds eye, every square inch of these United States is paved with good resolutions passed by workers.

LOOK AND YOU CAN SEE THE MILLIONS OF THEM YOURSELF!

Whereas and whereas and therefore be it resolved. AND THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED—and the second the last word of the resolution was read every word of it was forgotten.

Are we against resolutions? No—but we are FOR ACTION.

Before action can be taken action must be planned. And before action can be planned, action must be decided upon.

Resolutions passed by the workers in the interest of the workers, if they are to be worth more than simply the ink they are written in, must decide upon ACTION. They must contain a call to amass the workers, so that by their power they win their demands.

The formula then is this—DECIDE WHAT TO DO—PLAN HOW TO DO IT—CARRY OUT THE PLANS.

Resolutions decide what we must do. The reason the millions of resolutions passed by the workers have not been effective is because the second step in the formula, namely to plan how to do what is decided upon, is never taken.

AND BECAUSE OF THIS, ACTION IS NEVER HAD. WE ARE FOR ACTION!

The working class ran have anything it wants if it ACTS unitedly politically and industrially. United action at any time for the release of political prisoners would be political action. United action by the workers must be had if political prisoners are again to take their place beside us as comrades in the cause that knows no defeat.

Debs has given his answer. "All or none" So it shall be. We have always been given to the principle of "ALL TOGETHER".

But we wanted to save Debs' life. And now Debs has chosen to die in jail. We bow to his choice. Only one in a million men is man enough to make a sacrifice so great.

Debs has chosen to die in prison rather than gain freedom for himself alone.

DEBS WILL DIE IN PRISON—and so will many others—others who have been sentenced to ten, twenty, thirty years—UNLESS—

WE GET ACTION!

To get action we have planned to tour a number of speakers to the labor unions in the larger cities. We shall appear before them with a request for help—help not in sympathy or dollars and cents—but the kind of help which will open the prison gates and free all political prisoners.

DOWN TOOLS—that's the slogan.

Down tools, look your masters squarely in the face, point your finger toward Atlanta, Leavenworth, Alcatraz and say—"OPEN".

And so we again call upon you to assist and keep on assisting in the preliminaries.

Have you a LIBERATION FUND CONTRIBUTION LIST?

If you have, get the dollars from your fellow workers and acquaintances AT ONCE.

If you have not, send for one AT ONCE.

DOLLARS ARE NEEDED.

Many dollars are needed—thousands of them.

REMIT NOW! And next we will report to you our action in the Liberators' campaign to GET ACTION from the workers, all of whom we know are READY to do all they can to FREE DEBS and ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.

BROWN TO SHARTS

My dear Comrade:

Your article about the visit of the Liberator committee to the great Spartan is profoundly interesting and deeply touching. Mrs. Brown and I read it together. I doing the reading, and I could hardly proceed because of blinding tears.

She feels that dear Gene should have taken the chance of getting out by signing, but I am glad that he declined.

He will live longer in prison with the approval of his conscience, than he would at home without it, and, in any case, under present conditions, his burning soul will do more where it is than it could do where we would like to have it towards spreading the ris-

ing, sweeping, consuming flames of the pending revolution by which all capitalists shall be hurled from the earth and all gods from the sky, a burning upon which the salvation of the world is dependent, for otherwise it must be lost. The virtuous man, Who, great in his humility, as kings are little in their grandeur; he who leads Inevitably a life of resolute good, And stands amid the silent dungeon deaths More free and fearless than the trembling judge, Who, clothed in venal power, vainly strove To bind the impressive spirit.—Shelley, Wm. M. Brown Galion, O.

Good News from New York

Organization work in the Communist Labor Party is speeding forward in a most encouraging manner. A telegram just received from New York gives this good news: National Headquarters Communist Labor Party.

In addition to other branches already reported to you, the following have joined the Communist Labor Party: In Manhattan the 1st and 2nd Russian Branches; the 3rd, 5th, 10th and 17th A. D.; three German Branches; rganization formed in the 8th A. D. Bronx, 3rd Russian Branch; German Branch: 3rd and 4th A. D. organizing. In New Jersey, 1st Russian Branch and the Newark Fort Lee Branch.

Benjamin Gitlow.

WE HAVE ORDERED THE PRESS!

Yes, we have written the manufactures that we are ready to sign a contract for a printing press for the Ohio Socialist to be delivered at the earliest possible moment.

This action has been made possible by the generosity of the hundreds of comrades who have so loyally stood by us these last few trying months and by their hard work and self denial contributed over \$4,000.00 for the purchase of the printing plant.

Early last spring we opened a campaign for twenty thousand subscribers. We hoped that with this list of readers to be able to make the Ohio Socialist a twice a week paper, thus laying the foundation for a daily. Our readers worked hard and faithfully with us in this laudable effort and our mailing list was doubled in a very short while. From a list of 6,000 we mounted to 13,000. Then came the White Terror of the capitalist class beginning with the notable first of May.

It was then the capitalist printers of Cleveland refused to publish the Ohio Socialist. Without an hour's notice we were told they would not print for us. At the last moment we were able to make arrangements with Local Dayton, Socialist Party, whereby we were able to print on their press. This arrangement was very unsatisfactory on account of the distance and added expense of expressage.

For the last few weeks we have been printing on an ant of date press in Cleveland. But this too, is very unsatisfactory. The press is old, nearly worn out. It frequently calls a strike of its assembled parts and refuses to either work or walk out. It has learned to perfection the art of "striking on the job". It is because of these trying conditions, and realizing that the Party must own its own press if it was to continue unhampered its great work of education and organizing the workers, that we were moved to take up the campaign for \$10,000 for a press and printing plant for the Ohio Socialist. The response of the comrades to this call has been truly generous. On October 1st, over \$4,000.00 has been contributed for this purpose. This generous support assures us that we can rely upon our comrades to stand by us until our press is paid for and a full and up to date printing equipment is acquired.

The capitalist class is organizing to defeat the workers. We may soon expect capitalist printers to refuse to print our publications. Unless we are prepared to publish our own papers, books, pamphlets and leaflets, our propaganda power will receive a set-back that will be a tremendous injury.

We have ordered a press of sufficient capacity to print a daily.

A linotype must be installed just as soon as possible, and other equipment added as funds permit.

We are preparing for not only the needs of today but of the future. We must prepare to make the Ohio Socialist a greater and still greater power in the working-class fight for emancipation. We hope that when our new press is set up we will be able to print a semi-weekly

And now comrades, and we mean every reader, every Party member and every sympathizer, every class-conscious worker—we say this: we are going to do every thing within our power to make the Ohio Socialist a bigger, better paper; a more powerful weapon for the workers in the class struggle. We want every one of you to help us realize our aims. For they are your aims too. You have helped before. But the fight is not won. You must help again. It is your fight and as you fight so do you deserve to win. Therefore take up the matter of securing funds for the new press among your comrades and fellow workers. Give another dollar toward it. Get a comrade to do the same. Don't let the press fund drive lag, for now that the press is ordered, it MUST BE PAID FOR. Let's have your dollar—NOW.

As you fight so do you deserve to win!

As you fight so do you deserve to win!

The Land of Black Despair

Berlin, August 30. It is impossible to describe the black pessimism which is all but universal in Germany today. People hopelessly, without faith in God, themselves, their rulers, the Allies, or the future in capitalism or Bolshevism; democracy, revolution, or monarchism; they are too tired and half-starved to care. The casual visitor to Berlin, Frankfurt, or other German cities, may find little changed—the streets a bit dirtier, the police laxer; but the theatres full, the cafes crowded, the main streets gay. Behind the facade is a despair such as only people with the intense self-consciousness of the Germans can know.

It is startling to find a constant consciousness of the im. fia of the abyss. You find all sorts of men—Professor Nicolai, for instance—looking forward to the worst winter of the war and to a victory of the workmen's councils (soviets) as its consequence, then to their failure, and then to utter chaos. "If only we had leaders," began a young doctor who sat with us. "Leaders don't count any more," Nicolai broke in. "It is only the mass. It can go whatever it wills, and as in every country the mass is stupid and blind and without intelligence." In Russia the Revolution ashered in a radiant era of new hopes. Even the Bolsheviks have a kind of religious fervor. In Germany the November revolution brought a glimmer of light, but since then the night has steadily deepened. The revolutionary leaders themselves make no glowing promises. They say with Nicolai: "The revolution will come, not from idealistic motives, but from harsh economic pressure, from the bitterness of despair; and once it comes, it will be impossible to control it."

You hear little complaint of the treaty. It is accepted with a curious combination of fatalism and conviction that it cannot endure. You find no intention to resist it, simply a calm assumption that it cannot possibly be executed. Nationalists deplore the "absence of national self-consciousness" which takes territorial ambitions with such a shrug. The only provision much discussed is that concerning coal.

According to the treaty, Germany is to deliver forty million tons of coal per year to the Entente, beginning in September. The Frankfurter Zeitung calculates that this leaves Germany about thirty million tons of anthracite per year for her own use—less than a fifth of her peace-time annual consumption. Germany produced 191,500,000 tons in 1913, and used 171,000,000 tons at home. If she loses Upper Silesia as well as the Saar and the Aachen regions as coal sources, she loses 50-12-3½=66½ million

tons, leaving her, at her peace-time rate of production, 126,000,000 tons. But the lowered strength and productivity of German workers, the shorter work-hours, and the intense fort-strike which even Herr Noske has been unable totally to suppress, have reduced the production to fifty-five per cent. that of peace-times, or about seventy million tons per year, and it threatens to become less still. The peace treaty obligates Germany to deliver more than half of this to the Entente. Assuming that the amputated regions accounted for a quarter of the coal-consumption of 1913—probably a large figure—her need would be for 143,000,000 tons a year. Against this she will have scarcely enough coal to run the railways on reduced schedules without providing for heating homes or running industries.

Many communes are laying in supplies of wood for household use, and the production of lignite fort-strike is not so catastrophically slight as that of coal. But small dependence can be placed upon the schemes for recruiting regiments of volunteer miners—especially when labor regards such plans as capitalist camouflage—and Germany is face to face with the fact that she cannot reckon on a sufficient coal even to operate her railways and warm her houses, without beginning to supply her industries. Low as is the present operation of her factories, the general expectation is that more than half the factories now in operation will have to close down next winter for lack of coal. The consequences of the resultant unemployment and discontent can only be guessed.

The food situation is slightly better. Prices are high, but fats and flour are beginning to come in. The week I arrived in Berlin the city was flooded with American chocolate—the first shipments since the lifting of the blockade. Cripples—legless, armless, noseless, or eternally shaking their diseased heads—and old women and little children, and worse still, healthy-bodied ex-soldiers with nothing better to do, shouted at one on every street corner, even out in the-suburbs. "American chocolate—ten marks a cake!" People bought it—at what to them was \$5.00 a pound. The first chocolate in years—no other city ever sold so much chocolate in six months as was sold in that first week in Berlin.

In this desperate situation—high food prices, coal shortage, forced unemployment—the social revolutionaries see their hope. The political revolution workmen will tell you that but workingmen will tell you that they have been cheated of the social revolution. Steps have been taken toward socialization, but they have been faltering steps, and the Russian

soviet system is pictured in sharp contrast as something truly proletarian and, whatever its defects, at least equalizing. Your German workman is very bitter about the reverses of the rich, determined that the present inequalities shall not persist, unwilling to toil on for the benefit as he sees it, of people who do not toil beside him. You find the same temper in the scores of socialist and communist pamphlets which are on sale on every news-stand, in the posters and stick-noses posted through the cities; in the meetings of workmen and women; in workers' children; of revolutionary students.

Revolts are spasmodic throughout Germany today, but they are not products of deliberate underground campaigns of agitation; they break out against the will of the leaders growing out of the desperation of present misery. When Hamburg sausage-makers are caught using cut-meat, the workers temporarily Bolshevist; when Dancowitz is breadless for weeks, it revolts. The revolts are put down with monotonous brutality by Noske's half-million volunteer guards.

In the German militarism of today there is no menace to France. The new German army, made up of professional officers, of young boys who have never through five years of war fever without seeing war realities, and unemployed men in desperate need of steady pay, may stubbornly fly the flag of the old regime, but it is directed against communist uprisings at home. The ubiquitous recruiting posters, calling upon volunteers to defend law and order, all raising the scarecrow of Bolshevism, are evidence enough. It may be menace or salvation to Germany, but it is nothing to France.

The prophets of social revolution in Germany—Ernst Daumig, Richard Muller, Kurt Geyer, Ledebour, the Left Wing Independents and the Communists, are praying for the demobilization which the treaty promises, in the hope that if Noske's army is reduced to 100,000 the revolution may be bloodless. They are sure it is coming. The next revolution may find their reader. In November, 1918, the change was personal rather than organic. Next winter may find a national network of workmen's councils, homogeneously organized, prepared to take over the functions of government and operate as an effective national soviet system. The Communists and Independent Socialists are working to that end, but their bitter feud with the old Socialist party retards their progress.

Workers' peasants', and soldiers' councils were formed anarchically in 1918—some by self-appointment, some on nomination by the two socialist parties, some by shrewd emp-

loyers or old regime officers. There are no soldiers' councils in the army today; the peasants' councils have died of inanition; and there are two sets of workmen's councils. The Independent Council of Workmen's Councils is in the old Prussian House of Lords! Noske periodically raids or sacks the other group, and thereby gives them added power in the working class. The Independents now control the vast majority of Berlin workmen and the Saxon industrial field, and are threatening to win control in Westphalia and elsewhere. Utterly disregarding the Government's property laws regarding councils, they are proceeding to call new elections for workmen's councils throughout Germany, in which the factory will be the basic unit rather than a geographical district, and only employed bond or hand workers may vote rather than any one with an income under ten thousand marks. Their strength revealed itself on July 21 when the independents called a general strike; the Right Wing Socialists denounced it, but the strike was general.

No immediate betterment of the workingman's economic position is foreseen as a result of this social revolution—only an equalization of misery. Workmen would be quartered in the half-empty homes of the rich—so much may be accomplished before winter even by the bourgeois municipal governments of Berlin and Charlottenburg, which, however, will pay for them, as the Communists would not. The unhealthy gentry of Berlin-West and the Friedrichstrasse would end. And in a community of poverty they would start to rebuild on a new and fairer basis. So they picture it—they, the most hopeful group in all Germany. A Verzweigung revolution, they call it—a revolution growing out of desperation. Whether the hungry workmen who have got out of the habit of steady work, will work harder or more regularly for a communist government, is a question.

One comes out of Germany utterly at sea, uncertain of the future. As men's salaries have deepened; professors' barely changed. Old values have gone by the board. Yet one suspects that if Entente diplomacy were a little shrewder and less revengeful, it might still save the old business regime.

Three dangers Col. Robbins pointed out in the American economic order with the statement that the point of stress in the present unrest is in economic conditions. "I have been a laborer and I am now, in a small measure, a capitalist," the speaker continued. "In my boyhood days I worked as a coal miner twelve hours a day and seven days a week at the rate of \$1 a day. But from my gold mining in Yukon, I have been able to qualify as a small capitalist. So I have had experience on both sides of the present issue. "Capitalistic production has shown in the last two years that it is equal to the demand made upon it. The keen competition of free industry is an economic asset. It is only when capital attempts to monopolize, to cut off the incentive of competitive production, that it becomes dangerous.

"Regarding labor as a commodity is the second danger. We must remember that the rights of capital are the rights of property, but that the rights of labor are those of persons. That is fundamental personal rights are superior to those of property in any clash of the two." Quoting from Lincoln's first message to congress in December, 1861, Col. Robbins asked for a show of hands from those who knew the authorship and secured but a scant half-dozen in response: "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the highest consideration."

In emphasizing this quotation from Lincoln, the speaker indorsed the strike as an instrument to compel the attention of capital. "A strike is a school kept for those who won't learn in any other," he asserted. The tendency to trust force rather than justice was cited as the third grave danger in the existing economic order. "Reliance on the power of the bayonet should be placed secondary to the rule of reason. The bayonet is an emergency instrument and only as such should it be used."

From The Nation.

Europe Has More Faith in Marx than in Christ.

Col. Robbins tells Ministers in discussion of American Economic Problems.

"Out of Russia comes a challenge that is more vital and fundamental than the issue which confronted the western world in the autumn of 1914. Though the challenge comes from Russia it is not peculiar to that country. It is a challenge that represents the crystallization of the protest of the disinherited against a class state, a class church and a class economic order as they have existed."

Extending his arms to quiet the applause of 200 clergymen upon his introduction, Col. Raymond Robbins, former Red Cross representative in Russia, thus announced what he considers the paramount issue in "The Church's Outlook in the Present Social and Industrial Unrest."

Before the ministers of the Cleveland Federation of Churches at a luncheon September 30th in Euclid Avenue Baptist church, Col. Robbins outlined conditions in Russia as he saw them in his service abroad as a Red Cross worker, and pointed out the challenge to the American economic order with the prophecy that "unless America can produce a better system for the welfare of human life than that coming out of Russia, America is doomed."

Heartily applause and choruses of "amens" by the clergymen punctuated the noon address by Col. Robbins. The speech came at the close of the forenoon program in which the ministers were addressed on industrial and social questions.

"America is at present the only nation whose assistance are available enough to meet the challenge of the world's unrest," asserted Col. Robbins.

"We have the capacity if our intelligence is equal to our resources.

"This protest of the disinherited against state, church and economic order of the class regime expresses the loss of faith in those institutions as they have existed. The people of Europe trust Karl Marx more than Christ.

"Britain, even under Lloyd George, has not been able to enforce the public law in the cases at Liverpool, Belfast and Dover because the law has not had the supporting sentiment of the mass of people. Clemenceau's rumored retirement upon the conclusion of the Paris peace conference and the strength of the socialist following in France are but other significant straws in the current of the world's history. Italy is masquerading over a potential volcano.

"The fundamental characteristics of weakness in this European situation is that the masses, 93 per cent. of the people, have been betrayed by the classes, the other 7 per cent., and have lost faith in the institutions of state, church and economic order."

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THE THREE CHICAGO CONVENTIONS

By Max Eastman in *The Liberator*.

The convention of the old Socialist Party began with a belligerent apology by the national secretary, Adolph Germer. The convention of the Left Wing began with a great singing of the "Internationale," three cheers for Revolutionary Socialism, three cheers for the Russian Soviet Republic, three cheers for Debs, and three cheers for the I. W. W. The convention of the Communist Party began with an announcement that "the management committee has decided that there shall be no smoking during the convention," followed by an accurate rendition of the "Internationale" with full orchestra and brass.

These different ways of beginning were characteristic. In the old S. P. convention, the "parent body," the emotional tone was a little apologetic throughout, a little wistful and anxious, and yet at the same time indignant criticism about what you might expect of the mother of twins. The Left Wing convention—which became the Communist Labor Party—had a little of the quality of a revival meeting. The delegates were always singing and shouting and feeling that the true faith was about to be restored in their hearts and homes. At last they were, until the Program Committee made its report, training some big guns from the Manifesto of the Third International on them, and they realized that they must either put their names to a program of deliberate, headstrong revolutionary science, or go back where they came from. They took a long, hard breath then, and most of them "came through," but they did not come through singing.

The Communist Convention—more properly called the Slavic-American Communist Convention—was characterized by a spirit of youthful but sophisticated efficiency. It was a consciously expert convention. It showed the rest of them what a convention ought to be. It was almost incredibly neat and clean and regular. I was sitting there some time before the formal opening, admiring the way the big sheets of heavy yellow paper were spread over the delegates' tables and folded and tacked underneath; I was admiring the smooth high railing of new wood which divided the delegates' stalls from the audience room at the back; in particular I was admiring the soda-water fountain shine and polish on the white oil-cloth which covered the press-table where I had laid my hat; I was just reflecting that these things had surely been prepared and arranged by an unmarried lady of advanced years, when a young Russian comrade came up with a damp cloth and asked me kindly to remove my hat so that he could "clean" that oil-cloth!

A Little History

In order to understand how these conventions came to be, and what they came to be, it is necessary to apply the mind to some rather complicated history. I will generalize that history as clearly and fairly as I can.

There have always been elements in the American Socialist Party who were more revolutionary than the majority, and in a state of continual protest against the official conduct of the party. They were more devoted to the principle of the class struggle, less willing to waste energy in office-seeking, reformism and parliamentarianism. The Manifesto of I. W. W. They believed in the Communist Manifesto of 1848. These elements were for the most part distinctly American; they were never very conspicuous in the "foreign federations" affiliated with the American party. And also they were never very strong.

The proletarian revolution in Russia and the surrounding countries—proving the literal truth of almost every word in the Communist Manifesto—gave them their strength. It sent a wave of militant or Bolshevik, or Communist, Socialism around the world. And this wave naturally reached the Slavic federations first, and affected them the most. They became almost unanimously and automatically Bolshevik. At the same time their membership increased enormously—the gospel being accepted by thousands of new recruits, both through a genuine emotion not unrelated to patriotism, and through expediency, it being generally understood that a Russian would not amount to much at home unless he had been a socialist here. This very willing membership was organized into a magnificent political machine by the brains of the Slavic Federations, and it supplied both revolutionary will and revolutionary power to the scattered elements of the American Left Wing.

These officials were able to cast the vote and appropriate the funds of about 40,000 out of the 100,000 members of the Socialist Party. They made the Slavic Federations the dominant power in the party, and their wide circulation, possible. They made it possible, in spite of the Postoffice censorship, to carry the "Left Wing Manifesto and Program," and the motto, "Capture the Party for Revolutionary Socialism," into the hands of almost every Socialist in the country. No one can estimate the amount that this propaganda accomplished—as compared with the direct efforts of the European revolutions upon the party membership—since it is certain that by last May or June an overwhelming majority of American Socialists were committed to the Left Wing Program in general, and the Slavic Federations formed the solid and well-organized heart of this majority.

That all sounds very simple, but it was not so simple. In the first place the Left Wing took to itself a degree of organization and autonomy, which gave the Right Wing officials who controlled the party, plenty of emotional, and not a few legal, grounds for expelling Left Wing members. The Slavic Federations were expelled in a body from the State of Michigan; other states, locals, branches and members were expelled. The membership of the party was reduced by and during these proceedings—according to the report of its own secretary—from 109,000 to 39,000.

In the second place, the leaders of the Slavic Federations—partly as a result of their expulsion, partly through their veiled nationalistic egotism, and partly through a sincere if somewhat theological desire to exclude all wavering or "centrist" elements from the new organization, decided at the national Left Wing conference in June, that the idea of capturing the American Socialist party, or even attempting to capture it, was wrong, and that a call should be issued for the immediate organization of a "Communist Party."

In the third place, the expelled "Michigan Crowd"—although really too political-minded to be called communists—joined with the Slavic Federations in this particular demand, and the Federation Leaders made every use of this increase of their voting power in the Left Wing, although privately condemning the Michigan ideas and intending to suppress them when it came time to adopt a platform.

Even so, however, they were unable to control the Left Wing conference. It decided by a considerable majority to adhere to the original program of capturing the party, and it elected a "Left Wing Council" to carry this out. The Slavic Federation and the "Michigan crowd" then decided to ignore the decision of the conference and call a Communist Convention, whether the rest of the Left Wing agreed to do it or not.

The majority of the "Left Wing Council," together with the Revolutionary Age—the organ of the whole movement—denounced them as "traitors" for a week or two, but then suddenly capitulated in the middle of the summer, abandoned the slogan, "Capture the Party for Revolutionary Socialism," upon which their paper had built up its constituency and united the American revolutionaries, and joined in the call for an immediate Communist Convention to meet in Chicago on September 1st.

This sudden change of front occurred so late that there was no time left, even if there had been a moral possibility, for those who had had upon the original plan to unite upon the change. For better or worse, the Left Wing was split into two camps.

On the one hand there were the heads of the Slavic Federations and the Michigan Socialists, with the Revolutionary Age and all the National Machinery of the Left Wing organization, in the hands of Louis C. Fraina of Boston, I. E. Ferguson of Chicago, C. E. Ruthenberg of Ohio, Maximilian Cohen of New York, John Ballanz of Massachusetts, Hilzik of the Left Wing Jewish Federation, Jay Lovestone, Rose Pastor Stokes and a few other non-Slavic delegates.

On the other hand, adhering to the original program of attempting to capture the party, there was the minority of the National Left Wing Council, Ben Gitlow and John Reed of New York, with other prominent Socialists of the Left like Kate Greenbald (Isale Sadler) of Washington, Joe Caldwell of Rhode Island, Fred Harwood of New Jersey, Max Bedacht of California, Jack Carter of Duluth, William Bros. Lloyer of Chicago, Ludwig Lore, Editor of the Volkszeitung of New York, Margaret Prevev of Ohio, Tichenor of St. Louis, Owens of Illinois, Wagenknecht of Ohio, Katterfeld of Indiana, Mrs. Harmon of Kansas, and 92 other delegates from 22 States. To this group there was also promised the adherence of the Italian Socialist Federation, and the Scandinavian and Left Wing German Federations, together with 19 Slavic Federations who were expelled from the major organization for resisting the machine.

Each of these groups would like to think that the rank and file of the American Communist movement was represented in its convention. But it is impossible to decide that question now. The rank and file never had time to consider and act upon the issue between them. It was a division among leaders, and a very vague and queer one too. Delegates were coming from one convention to another under indefinite instructions to form no inventory of all, except the understanding that they were to form a party in accord with the Manifesto of the Third International. Out of this unhappy confusion almost everybody hoped and strove for a unity of the revolutionary elements, except the heads of the Slavic Federations, whose absolute control would have disappeared if unity had been achieved, and who maintained their absolute control was necessary to the formation of a pure and perfect party of communism.

The Parent Body

If this confusion of elements represented is exasperating, it is at least a relief to know that the conventions occurred in some historic order. The Socialist Party Convention was convened in Machinists Hall on Saturday morning, August 30. The Left Wing delegates who were seated in that convention, walked out and joined with the rejected delegates waiting in a room downstairs to form the Communist Party, on Sunday afternoon. The Convention of the Communist Party was called to order in "Smolny Institute," a hall leased by the Russian Federation of Chicago, on Monday, September 1st, at about noon.

Art Young and I arrived at Machinists' Hall early Saturday morning—early enough to find Julius Gerber looking like an unsettled thundercloud, less willing to waste energy in office-seeking, reformism and parliamentarianism. This is not because Julius was vanquished and Jack Reed victorious, but because Julius doesn't enjoy a fight and Jack does. It seems that some of the Left Wingers arrived early at the building, and decided after a caucus to go upstairs and take possession of the hall, putting their own national secretary, Wagenknecht, in the chair when the time came, and proceeding to organize the Convention, having elected their National Executive Committee by an overwhelming majority, and having through their committee duly appointed their secretary, they felt justified in this procedure notwithstanding that the election had been set aside as fraudulent by the old National Executive Committee. So they proceeded upstairs in a rather formidable frame of mind. They were met and opposed at the door by Julius Gerber, the secretary of local New York, and it seems that Gerber in his turn was "set aside."

We heard a good many different stories of this incident by the eyewitnesses, and none of them were quite so blood-curdling as what we read in the newspapers. It seemed to me of our informants that Gerber could have licked Reed, if Reed hadn't hold him so far up in the air that he couldn't reach down." Another comrade said that Reed acted just like a nice big dog, shaking himself. Another reported that there was "a little wind-pipe work on both sides." Gerber stated to the convention that he made Reed understand that swinging on referendums, which were in his possession, and had a preparation for life's battles as playing football at college. At any rate the "Left Wingers" got in, and there they were and what was the right wing going to do about it?

Some of them didn't know what they were going to do, but Adolf Germer knew. He may not have consulted anybody when he arranged to have the police there, but he consulted the membership figures and the record of recent votes for officers, and votes on referendums, which were in his possession, and he decided that if the official minority were going to exclude the voting majority from the convention, they would have to do it with the forces of the capitalist state. In that he was entirely right.

Germer never denied that he had arranged to have the police there, although some members of the national committee denied it for him. When he was asked pointblank across the floor of the convention whether the officials of the Socialist Party brought the police to that building, he said, "What officials? Do you mean?" and withdrew his attention while some interrupter took up the talk. But he did deny that he told the police to "treat 'em rough," as two passionately indignant delegates subsequently informed the convention. He said that he asked the contested delegates two or three times "in a comradely spirit" to leave the room, before he told the police to put them out, and that he didn't tell the police anything else.

There were some among those who put out, swore to the truth of the following account on their part. Mrs. Harmon of Kansas, was later seated in the Convention, and made the convention believe what she said: "The first thing I saw was that they were trying to eject Reed through the door. Soon after that Germer came up to us where we were sitting, and said, 'You'll have to clear the room.'"

"I'm a delegate," I said. "It don't make any difference," he said. "Clear the room if you don't I'll call the police." "I said to myself, 'Well, I have a right to the convention floor, and I'm going to sit here till the police tell me to go.'"

"Pretty soon a policeman came up to me and said, 'You'll have to go, Misses.'"

"I went, but I went kind of slow, and I heard Germer say, Officer, clear the hall, and if they don't go, policemen, do your duty!"

Officials prove the revolutionary and non-Scheidemann character of the party."

It is characteristic of old people to attach a great importance to what they have done in the past. And the majority in this convention were old. Even some of the young ones were old. They seemed to think it was personal and important for any one to be chiefly concerned about what they were doing now, or what they were going to do in the future.

"There is no issue at stake!"—"We are all agreed in principle!"—"It is all a matter of personal jealousy!"—"If a few so-called leaders would get out of the way, we could have a united party!"—that was the burden of the talk and feeling in the ante-rooms of the convention. I suppose it will be a rather exasperating thing to say, but I felt sorry for a good many of the delegates. They had served their time, they had born the heat of battle when some of us were in our cradles, and then to crown it all they had stood up under the bitter test of the St. Louis declaration, going around their home towns for two years, solitary, vilified, whipped with the hatred of their neighbors, beaten and worn down by the universal war-madness of a nation, and not flinching. They could not understand why they should be shunted aside. And I could not either, any more than I can understand death. But it is significant that in the conventions of the young, the conventions whose eyes were on the future and their muscles ready for action, there was not a single person to be found who would say that the split was personal, and that there were no vital issues at stake. They could not think of saying it; they were wholly absorbed in the issues at stake.

Germer's speech did not sail very clear after he began denouncing the Left Wing leaders as "Harry Orchard of the Socialist movement," describing them as going about "in the dark like midnight thieves sneaking from ear to ear, whispering, indubitably hoping thereby that the comrades may think there is something wrong with those selected by the comrades to manage the affairs of the party." Cries of "Count the Ballots!" "Is it in the Constitution that you have to make a speech!" brought his defense to an end, and the balloting for temporary chairman began.

Seymour Stedman, the Right Wing candidate, received 58 votes, and J. M. Caldwell of Rhode Island, the Left Wing candidate, 37. There were enough Left Wing delegates in the building to have elected Caldwell with a substantial majority, even though 40,000 of their members had already gone over to the Communist Party, but only these 37 had trickled through the official sieve. The rest were "contested," and most of them never got through the credentials committee, and many of them never tricked.

The pulse of the convention rose noticeably when Stedman took the chair. His sturdy and winning grace of voice made the delegates feel a little surer they were not wrong. But his speech, like Germer's was a summing up for the defense. And his defense, like Germer's, rested upon a record that is past, and in this time of rapid movement, stale and ready to be forgotten. He did not say that the Socialist Party would join the Third International and loyally stand up with our Russian comrades who are starving and dying and pouring out their blood in battle for socialism, and everybody knew that it was not.

Stedman scored a point as chairman when some impatient delegate, "rose to inquire" why we should elect a sergeant-at-arms when we have the police force? "Well," he said, "that election was provided for at a time when it was understood that all the comrades would be gentlemen at least." But the police question would not go down. It would not let itself be forgotten for two hours at a time. One day was a white-faced ministerial comrade in the audience room, at the side of the hall.

"Comrades, I demand the attention of the delegates!" he shouted. "I just heard one of these policemen threaten to throw a comrade down-stairs, and he said 'You won't light on your feet either, you'll think you came down in an aeroplane.' I ask you, if that is the way visiting Socialists are going to be treated by the convention?"

"What kind of Socialists are they?" from the New York delegation.

From Stedman: "I should suggest that it would be a good idea to forget what occurred this morning. At the present time Chicago is under the police department, whether you like it or not."

From George Goebel: "I say anybody who says we've 'lived the police here are God damn hers!'"

From Germer: "I'm glad they're here!"

And this second storm was no sooner past, and the bubble hearts quieting themselves a little, when in pops a letter from the Chicago Machinists—that one dread sovereign of all political socialists, a real labor union:

Dear Comrades and Friends:
On behalf of the Die and Tool Makers Lodge No. 113, International Association of Machinists, and the Machinists Society of Chicago, we protest against the harboring and use of police in this hall. This hall is the property, as well as the sanctuary, of a progressive and militant labor organization, based upon the class struggle. We do not permit our members to work under police protection; we can not conceive how we can let any meeting in this hall be carried on under police protection, when we as an organization condemn it and oppose it. While we are not represented in your convention as individual members or representatives of an organization, we nevertheless are with you in spirit. For all these reasons we can not let the police remain as your protectors, or perhaps as your invited guests, without submitting our deepest protest. We call upon you to take steps to remove the police or make such arrangements as will satisfy us that you are not responsible for the presence of the police.

We are not bringing this to put hardships on you, but for the best interests of the Socialist party and the labor movement in general.

Yours for International Solidarity,
Executive Board Die & Tool Makers Lodge No. 113
L. P. Vance, Carl Haring,
G. T. Franckel, P. Pokora.

the National Executive Committee, before the status of all contested delegates was determined, J. M. Caldwell of Rhode Island simply rose in his chair and said, "At this point I am going to leave this convention and I call upon all delegates of the Left Wing to withdraw."

"That is your privilege," said Stedman, and the business of the convention proceeded. It was a business largely as he indicated, of selfjustification upon the part of the official machine for resisting the Left Wing machine up to the point of wrecking the party—although the Left Wing Machine had organized a clear Majority of the members. And this business was made interesting by the fact that a lively handful of semi-Left Wingers, or at least conscientious objectors against tyranny, was seated on the floor. They were led by Kruse, who stated that in spite of his disgust at the acts of the officials he held it was a question of "same Socialism against direct action," and he intended to "stick by the party and make it what he thought it ought to be."

Judge Panken of New York was less moderate. For him it was a question of "tying up with a bunch of anarchists," and he was glad of everything they did.

A delegate from Maryland supported him with the statement that "Every organization has an inherent right to preserve itself." He said "we lawyers" and the course of his remarks, but it was not quite clear whom he meant to include.

Another delegate offered the prudent remark that "We've got to endorse the action of the National Executive Committee, but we've also got to be able to inform our constituents that we gave the N. E. C. hell!"

Barney Berlin of Chicago, for twenty-five years a worker in the Socialist movement, was the old man Nestor of this council, presenting what seems to me the only justification for the National Executive Committee that there is. He reminded the convention of historic instances in which legal and constitutional forms and formulas had been violated in the interest of a deeper principle, and concluded, "I have not been in harmony with certain tendencies in the N. E. C., but I glory in their spunk in having saved the party."

That is a pretty final attitude to adopt toward all the acrobatic stories that have accompanied this conflict, and it applies equally to both wings. The people who created the Socialist party all of them have enough healthy anarchy in their blood, to transgress the forms of law when they are aroused over a principle. There is no doubt that they were so aroused, and did so transgress on both sides. And while I think that the principle on the Left side is the true one, and therefore I can applaud their "spunk," a little more heartily than that of the Right, nevertheless I recognize a similar moral quality in them both. "Necessity knows no law," is a maxim that lives in the heart of every live man.

Somebody will ask me just what the principle is upon which this split occurred, and which enabled trustworthy people to commit so many moral and legal atrocities. And I answer, in the most general terms, as follows:

It is a question of whether the Socialist theory shall be permitted to recede into the cerebellum, where it becomes a mere matter of creed, ritual and sabbath-day emotion, as the Christian theory has done, or whether it shall be kept in live and going contact with every-day nerves and muscles of action.

Before parting from the picture of the Right Wing convention, I ought to state that a motion endorsing the action of the old N. E. C. in setting aside as invalid the recent election of a new N. E. C. was passed by those remaining in the convention, without "dissenting votes," ought to record also some of the indignant demands for "justice" to the Left Wing, or what remained of it, which were occasionally voiced by comrades of the right. In particular I preserve a picture of George Goebel's long earnest and excited figure, darting about over the convention like a superintending dragon-fly. "Aw comrades, let's take a chance on fair play!" was one of his characteristic interpellations.

It was twilight when the Left Wing delegates convened in the billiard room down stairs—twilight that came dimly through ground glass windows into a low room with dull blue walls. But there was more life to be felt there—if life is spontaneous volition than anywhere else during all the conventions. It seemed as though a thing with growth in it were being born in that place. In the other places whatever came was engineered into being by the perceptible workings of an established machine. This may be in cold reality—either a good or a bad sign for the Communist Labor Party. I record it simply as a fact.

Wagenknecht, who had been made National Secretary by that Executive Committee whose election was declared invalid upstairs, opened the convention here. The sound of his gavel was greeted with a song and three cheers for which all the delegates stood up. Wagenknecht's speech was a simple statement that having done everything else in his power to give the membership a change to express itself, he had summoned the delegates here "as the Regular Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States." He then presided during the election of Owens of Illinois as Temporary Chairman.

Owens is a cripple—pale, but jolly and fearless as any people sometimes are. I can remember one sentence of his speech: "We must be ready to back up the revolutionary implications of everything we do here, and if it leads us along with Debs we must be willing to go there."

Margaret Prevev was elected vice-chairman, and soon took Owens' place in the chair. It would have been well if she had stayed there throughout the convention, for she was not prepared in her mind for the actions which were taken on the floor, but she was the most able and good-humored and best-looking chairman in the place. In his initial mood of exaltation the convention hesitated a little at the election of a sergeant-at-arms, and finally appointed William Bros. Lloyer "a sort of page boy." But there was no demur after about three hours of work, when Lloyer asked the chair to appoint "two assistant sergeants-at-arms for the purpose of clearing the aisles."

After sending a greeting to Debs and all class-war prisoners, and accepting the report of the National Executive Committee, the convention proceeded immediately to attempt to achieve unity with the "Communist Convention." C. E. Ruthenberg of Ohio, who had joined in the call for the Communist Convention, but nevertheless took his seat here for the time, introduced a motion that would have delayed organization of a party here, until after a consultation could be had with those who were to organize the Communist Party the next day. It would have been a humble act on the part of these delegates, leading towards a possible admission to the control of the Slavic Federations. It was vigorously, and at times violently opposed—especially by Jack Carney, who declared "before God," as irreligious Irishmen always do, that if this convention went over to the Federations, he would go home and tell the workers of Duluth that there was no party of communism in existence.

John Reed offered to amend Ruthenberg's motion somewhat to the following effect: "We declare ourselves to be the party of Communism in the United States and we invite all other revolutionary groups to join us."

Katterfeld of Kansas offered a further amendment to this effect: "We declare ourselves to be the official Socialist Party of the United States, and we invite all other revolutionary groups to join us, and we will elect a committee of five to confer with the Committee of the Communist Convention in order to find a basis for uniting the Communist elements in one party. It was this amendment (I

regret to say not accurately quoted) which finally passed with an almost unanimous vote.

The principal points advanced by speakers in favor of sacrificing everything to unite with the Communist Convention were these:

- (1) No principles divide us.
- (2) Our unwillingness to do so is due to the personal pride of a few leaders.
- (3) The whole trouble is that "there are too many statesmen in New York."
- (4) The capitalists are uniting, and they will be glad to see us divide.
- (5) It is a cheap satisfaction to say that we organized the party of Communism first.

These points were acknowledged by the opposition, who advanced the following points in favor of organizing a party nevertheless:

- (1) The delegates of the Slavic Federation have already made it clear to us that they will admit us, except upon terms which leave their machine in control of the convention.
- (2) They are politicians and political bosses.
- (3) They are at heart against industrial union action in the class struggle.
- (4) They were traitors to the Left Wing program, and the decision of the Left Wing conference in June.
- (5) They are incapable of co-operating with American comrades; they will demand autonomy, and another split will follow.
- (6) It is impossible to start a Communist movement in the American proletariat with a Russian nationalistic group in control.

It was midnight when Katterfeld's motion was passed and the committee elected. And thus having declared itself to be a party—indeed the party—the convention adjourned until morning, when the election of committees for routine work would begin.

The Communist Convention

The Chicago police supplied the best of all arguments in favor of the Communist Convention. The Right Wing was protected by the police; the Left Wing was ignored, but the hall of the Communist convention was raided, photographs taken, decorations and revolutionary placards destroyed, and two men arrested. Perhaps this argument is a little crippled by the fact that one of the men arrested was a lawyer, and the other was Dennis E. Batt of Detroit, one of the leaders of that Michigan group whose excessively political or educational brand of Communism is the chief weakness of the Convention.

A glowing tribute was paid to the female sex by Detective-Sergeant Egan when he arrested Batt. Rose Pastor Stokes called out: "They are arresting our comrade—three cheers for the revolution!" Egan yelled back: "Shut up—it's always a woman that starts the trouble!"

Batt was informed of the presence of a detective with a warrant for his arrest just before he went on the platform to open the convention. But he was not much disturbed by it. He stood up there looking very four-square, as he is, with a long cigarette holder in his mouth, and a lighted cigarette—defying the regulations just laid down by his own committee if not the laws of the land—and his speech was brief and quiet. He hoped that the delegates would "exercise forbearance in their deliberations and conduct themselves as men and women who have the good of the American working class at heart."

The Platform at the Communist Convention

Louis C. Fraina was elected temporary chairman, and made the "key note" speech. It was the same note that had been sounding all along in the Revolutionary Age, with this significant, if somewhat incredible, addition: "We now end once for all, all factional disputes. We are at an end with bickering. We are at an end with controversy. We are here to build a party of action."

Considering that the convention was to spend the remaining hours of that day until well after midnight, and all of the next day until late afternoon, in a locked battle between its two factions on the question whether or not it would deign to elect a committee of five to meet the committee elected by a third faction represented in the Left Wing Convention—Fraina's promise seemed a little bit premature.

To anyone interested in brains for brains' sake, this battle was vividly entertaining. It was brilliant, sharp, rapid, full of poignant contrasts in personality, far more philosophic, more erudite, more at ease in the Marxian dialect, than anything to be heard at either of the other conventions. The points made by either opposing the election of a conciliatory committee was that the elements who he expelled from the old Socialist Party with the Left Wing were not true Communists. They were "centrists," "Kautskians," in some cases mere radicals who objected to the tyranny of the party officials. All but a few, at least, of the true communists had abandoned the Left Wing program of capturing the party, and come directly to this communist convention.

This point made by these advocating conciliation was that, although undoubtedly some Kautskians and centrists were to be found in the other convention, they were not predominant, and they were not any more predominant than the centrists in this present convention—the "Michigan crowd" being those alluded to.

Having already attended a session of the other convention, and satisfied myself that there were really many delegates there who had no understanding of the Moscow program, and whose revolt against the old party was but an emotional reaction against the acts of its officials, I was rather friendly to the opposition in this debate. I cannot divide and classify people, and place them so accurately in the various pigeon-holes of the Marxian theory, in advance of their acts, as most of these speakers could; but I fully realize the necessity of casting out of the concept of proletarian solidarity, not only the Scheidemanns and Noskes who murder the revolution with machine guns, but also the Kautskys, the Longuets and MacDonalds, who poison it with passivity and negative thoughts. The peculiar state of mind described by Lenin as the "wavering centre," expressing the fluctuating will of those economic classes not wholly bourgeois nor yet wholly proletarian, is an identifiable thing, and a thing that must be regarded as hostile in the period of the actual breakdown of capitalism.

In spite of my realization of this fact, however, and a prepossession that had been growing in favor of the "Communist Convention," I was discouraged by what I heard in the course of this debate, and when the opposition won, and the Left Wing convention was given the cold shoulder by a vote of 75 to 31, I felt like going back to the Left Wing convention.

It is not easy to tell exactly why, but after I recovered from admiring the mere quantity of abstract intellectual activity which filled the air, my mind began to grow little tired, and I began to chafe at the check, with so many problems that are unrelated to reality or action. Along towards ten or eleven o'clock a realization stole into my head that there was something a little childish, a little sophomoric, in all this exaggerated statesmanship. I saw in the "dash that academic and rather worldly self-importance which has characterized the official literature of the Left Wing, and made it get so much on my nerves, as well as in the nerves of the I. W. W. editors. The political and educational expression of the class struggle is always exceedingly loud and distressing, like the racing of a motor when you detach it from the running-gear without shutting off the gas, and in this group of self-consciously detached and perfect Bolsheviks that impression was exaggerated almost to the point of burlesque.

"Our purpose is to organize a real, a pure com-

(Continued on page 3.)

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Omaha; a Prelude and a Warning

The recent mob activities at Omaha sound a warning to thinking people and to the working class in particular that must not go unheeded. For hours the city was ruled by mob violence which culminated in the most revolting atrocities. Three unspeakably monstrous acts were committed and hundreds of lesser ones. The mayor of the city, in attempting to quiet the mob, was lynched and narrowly escaped death. The negro accused of a criminal act, and for whose punishment the mob was aroused, was riddled with bullets, burned and dragged at the tail of a wagon thru the streets; the new court house was gutted with fire.

Race riots, the American Black and White Terror, are becoming more and more a matter of common occurrence. It is only when some such catastrophe as that which occurred at Omaha takes place that attention is drawn to the race question and even then it is treated as a mere manifestation of hoodlumism to be put down by the bayonet and the machine gun. The capitalist press finds the solution for all social questions in the use by the authorities of the armed power of the state. Such solutions are no solutions.

Capitalism has erected false barriers between the white and black workers of America. It has pitted them against each other while mercilessly exploiting both. In this nefarious work which is now bearing such terrible fruit, the A. F. of L. has aided by its refusal to admit black workers to its membership. In doing so it has played the bosses hand for him and sown seeds of its own destruction. The I. W. W. extends the cordial hand of fellowship to all workers of whatever race or color. The black man is finding his place in its ranks, a place which he is filling with honor to his race and his class. Where the I. W. W. is strong there can be no race riots, no race antagonisms. Race riots can arise only where the identity of the interests of ALL workers are not recognized.

We do not expect that the present capitalist state will find a solution for the race question. It does not affect directly the stability of the capitalist state, only indirectly as a training school for "direct action" can it be construed as a menace to the power of capital.

After all it is the workers, both black and white who become the victims as well as the actors in the armed conflicts which arise between the two races. Therefore it is their concern to seek a solution for all differences.

The fact which deserves attention in this question is that the negroes are being forced to learn the bitter truth that the law of the land is not equal in its regard for black and white men. Where a negro is concerned equality before the law ceases. When accusations are made against a negro, whether he is guilty or not, his chances of a fair trial are extremely uncertain. More likely a rope and a stake will finish the matter for him. He sees the law violated by white mobs, he knows not all are guilty who are burned at the stake. He realizes his helplessness before the white man's administration of the law. He is disfranchised where he is in the majority in the population.

The Three Chicago Conventions

(Continued from page 2)

munist party," said comrade Lunin. "We will allow the delegates of the other convention to come to our credentials committee one by one, and we will examine them thoroughly to find out if they are communists or not. For you can not become a communist in one day—no, nor in two days, nor in three days, nor in a year. Even in Russia, it takes plenty of time to make a true Bolshevik." Like most of the Slavic Federation leaders, Lunin was himself a Menshevik only about a year ago.

"Give them the test of humiliation," said another earnest youth. "Demand that they come here and ask admission to this convention. This humiliation will test the sincerity of their revolutionary principles."

"Let them come here and sit in our convention without a voice," said Nicholas Horwich. "We are perfectly willing to allow them to sit here. They might learn something. They might even learn enough to go next time to the communist convention." Horwich is the editor of the Russian daily, Novy Mir—a strange, intense and intensely impractical intellectual gnomish, with feminine gesture and attitude, but a kind of obdurate unsentimental force. He observed the ruthless workings of his political machine with so infinitely complacent a smile on his features, that I could not help feeling glad he was so happy.

The only effective opposition he received was from Fraina and J. E. Ferguson of Chicago, who made gnashing and spirited attacks upon his machine that was rolling over them, to the added delight of its engineers. "That man is a communist," said Fraina, "who happens to agree with your particular purposes at a particular moment. While you were boasting of the purity of your communism, you have made unholy deals with those whom you know and admit are not communists."

"The real question is," said Ferguson, "Do you want to exclude English speaking delegates from the floor of this convention. It is not whether you want to exclude centrists. The test of a communist for you is when or where one chooses to organize the communist party."

At the conclusion of the same speech he said: "I don't want you to lose control of this convention, because I know that your control means that we will have a real communist party in the United States. I do not know how to reconcile these two statements, and I do not believe Ferguson does either, but he was sincerely convinced of them both.

My impression was—to sum it up—that the heads of the organization of a Russian Bolshevik church, with more interest in expelling heretics than winning converts, and with a pretty deep opinion that although Americans must perforce be admitted to the church they must not be admitted in such numbers as to endanger the machine's hold upon the dogmas and the collection box. (It is in their mood, not their conscious intent, that these words describe.) And it seems to me that what has compelled some at least of the American comrades to accept the dictation of this machine, and try to form an American proletarian party with so preposterous a handicap, is that inward dread of not proving sciently revolutionary which hounds us all. It hounds us because we see so many of our fighting comrades lose their courage and fall by the wayside. It is a wholesale dread. But we ought to

He has no part in the making or the enforcing of the laws. Yet he is human and it is human to defend one's life. He resorts to weapons following the precedent of the whites. He has no other choice.

Nearly half a million negroes experienced military service in the late war. Over two hundred thousand were over seas. They fulfilled their military service with credit. They have learned the value and use of force. Also they have learned that they have rights and a value in society. They hold a vision of a better place in the social scheme than to merely serve in the capacity of unrequited utilitarians of the white race. They are seeking a way out of the wilderness and a place in the sun.

The future is grave with possibilities. Race hatred has been sown for too many generations to expect that other horrors on a greater scale than has yet come about will present themselves in the not far distant future. We are not pessimistic we believe, when we assert that a chronic state of civil war between the two races is setting in. To that state of war Omaha may be viewed as a prelude. Let all workers take it as a warning and set about to avert it if possible.

The socialist movement has failed miserably in making headway in the enlightenment of the workers upon this question. Literature appealing to the black workers of the nation is scanty and of meagre circulation. Socialist Locals in the industrial cities where negroes in large numbers have located have been singularly amiss in this respect. It is time we took this matter seriously and prepare to align the negro workers with the white in our industrial unions and our political locals.

We must arouse the class consciousness of all workers and by education upon social and economic questions avert further violence between the two races.

Camouflaging the Robbery

A recent news dispatch from London states that on account of the great unres; and criticisms of the immensely wealthy, the mansions of London are being converted into needed dwellings and business blocks. Mansions provoke unrest. They fill the homeless with envy. The appearance of magnificence does not fit well into the picture of the novel and the tenement occupied by London's workers. Therefore, as a means of quieting social unrest, one visible result of the exploitation of the workers are doomed to disappear.

The philosophy which seeks to allay popular discontent by such laughable means has a slightly superior quality to that of the Russian rich who stubbornly occupied their mansions until the Bolsheviks seized them. But as a means of satisfying the demands of labor, it is a punk one. Of course the capitalists of England realize that what the workers want is economic power, and that the evil day (for them) when they will have to turn over their power as well as their mansions to the workers draws nearer daily.

It is quite possible that capitalists may resort to the dress of the laborer in a short while. We may reasonably picture them going about in overalls frequenting the cheap movies instead of grand opera, conducting himself much like you or we in our daily lives. Certainly, the spice of life will fade for them when that time comes, but one consolation will remain to them—they will still have a strange hold upon the machinery of production and the jobs by which we live—that is unless the workers decide that camouflaging won't go any longer.

THE STORY OF \$55.50

Guy L. Tappen of Newport News says: "I thought I might get ten dollars, but the ease with which I collected \$55.50 from my fellow workers and the Carpenters Union members, plainly proves that the workers are alive to the dangers confronting them."

story and told because it's time for you to GET BUSY. You also can do what Tappen did. Go to your union meeting and make a motion that a sum of money be voted out of the treasury to help liberate Debs and all political prisoners. Get a Liberation Fund contribution list and secure contributions from your fellow workers. Tappen showed the way. Go thou and do likewise.

We are sufficiently sure we are revolutionary, so that we have a good deal of energy left for trying to be intelligent. And it is not intelligent to start the American Communist Party with a mixture of theological zeal, machine politics and nationalistic egoism in control.

Taking Fraina's and Ferguson's own characterization of these Federations, without adding a word, there is enough reason for desiring that they should function by themselves as a Slavic Communist Party, and that the American party should begin elsewhere, more modestly, and more in proportion to the actual state of the revolutionary movement in America. I could not help thinking what Lenin himself would do to this group who are trying to bluff us in the name of our internationalism, into accepting a nationalistic control of the movement.

Some similar thoughts must have entered the minds of the American delegates, for after this session was over and the vote taken, they delivered an ultimatum to the Federations, stating that they would bolt the convention and go home, if the vote was not rescinded, and the committee appointed. Accordingly the convention was adjourned, and the next morning and afternoon devoted to the cases of the Slavic machine. Then the Convention was called together again about five o'clock, and the vote rescinded—unanimously. It is a formidable machine that can reverse 57 votes without a slip, without allowing one single individual opinion to record itself. It comes with admiration. But I think there is a discouraging lack of realism and the sense of workmanship in a convention that will spend twenty-four hours fighting over the appointment of a committee, when it is clearly obvious all the time that the committee will do exactly if the committee had not been appointed.

The committee did, of course, go up to the convention of the Left Wing—by this time already the same thing that the convention would have done if it had not been called off. It was a type-written document embodying the will of the Slavic Federations. Beneath a good deal of diplomatic and rather Wilsonian indirectness, this document simply stated that the Slavic Federations would not permit a union of the two elements upon terms that would endanger their control, which they consider essential to the formation of a party of true communism.

The Communist Labor Party adopted a resolution making a standing offer to the Communists to unite the two parties upon equal terms. That is the end of the matter, until the rank and file of the revolutionary workers take action upon it.

The Communist Labor Party.

It was something of a relief to wander down to the I. W. W. headquarters, after all this theoretical striving after wind, and examine the new rotary presses they are installing, and hear the clicking of two accomplished line-o-type machines in the back room. And it seemed a good omen for the Communist Labor Party that when they found themselves too large and busy for the downstairs room in the Machinists Building, they moved over to the I. W. W. Hall on Throop Street.

There a battle was fought and won, which for me seemed to contain the heart of the drama of these two machines. It was not a battle between two machines, for there was no time or possibility here for the formation of a machine. It was a battle between those who understood and accepted the Moscow manifesto, and wanted to apply it in a concrete realistic way to American conditions, and those who did not understand or accept it, dreading its practical application, and wanted to take refuge in more vague and old fashioned socialistic pronouncements. The most powerful figure in the militant group—the best speaker, I should say, in all three of the conventions—was Ben Gillow. The function of furnishing forth drafts of documents, making motions,

OHIO PARTY NEWS.

The municipal campaigns in Toledo, Akron, Piqua, Bellaire, Girard, Hamilton, Kenmore, Lima, Marietta, Portsmouth, Tiffin and New Bremen are being fought with fervor by the comrades. Other locals are undoubtedly also carrying on creditable campaigns, but the state office has had no recent report of their activities.

Ohio is the first state in the country to carry on political campaigns upon a clear communist platform. Thousands of these platforms, adopted at the recent state convention and since endorsed by referendum vote, have been circulated by locals, the state office printing the names of the candidates thereon gratis. Ohio is also the first state to adopt a uniform municipal platform for all locals and in this respect is far in advance of other states in its development toward communist propaganda.

Dues stamp sale have been very gratifying lately. Toledo sent in a very large order for the new stamps, as did also Youngstown, Columbus, Hamilton, Uhrichsville, Piqua, Seneca County, Clark County, Power Point and Massillon all sent in substantial orders.

Ella Reeve Bloor has been dated in Ohio as follows: Dayton, Oct. 7; Hamilton 8, Cincinnati 9, Akron 10, 11, Toledo 12. Ella Reeve Bloor is a very impressive speaker, has had years of experience in the workers' movement and Ohio intends to secure her for an extended tour.

Chas. Baker will tour Ohio for the next two weeks. His dates are: Portsmouth Oct. 6 and 7, Springfield 8, Cambridge 10, Bellaire 11, Akron 12, Niles 13, Girard 14, Youngstown 15, Warren 16, Conneaut 17. Some of these dates are subject to change. Comrade Baker, upon his return from a short western tour, held successful meetings in Lima, Columbus, Dayton, Hamilton and Cincinnati.

An order for 10,000 Debs leaflets from Otto Hofer constituted the prize literature order of the week. Toledo came second, with an order for 500 ten cent pamphlets sent in by Comrade Willwecker.

John DeQuier addressed a crowded hall in Toledo last Sunday. Tom Clifford and Tom Lewis addressed meeting in Tiffin and Findlay lately. Comrade Clifford will go to Portsmouth for a series of meetings the middle of the month.

The Communist Labor Party Song

Men of thought and men of toil
Men whose labor tills the soil
Stand together, tyrants foil
RISE! RISE! RISE!
Long we've waited in the night
Working for the dawning light
Now it's coming, all unite
RISE! RISE! RISE!

Rise majestic in your might
Put the coward foe to flight
Fearless in the cause of right
RISE! RISE! RISE!
Far in Georgia's prison cell
Lies the Gene we love so well
Wrest him from that living hell
RISE! RISE! RISE!
All who right and justice seek
Burst your bonds, no longer weak
Unite and join the Bolshevik
RISE! RISE! RISE!
Gertrude Harman

Press Fund Notes

Here are the latest press fund receipts. You will note some new names among them, and again some that have grown familiar thru repeated contributions. Among those who deserve special honorable mention are the Lorain Ohio Socialist Booster Club, the Repeaters Club of Akron and that of Local Marietta, O.

Comrade Patrick Henry of New Reigel, O. sends a dollar. From New Castle Pa., comes another dollar. Comrade Mrs. P. M. Daytner is the honor. An old time O. S. Booster, G. E. Allen of Painesville, O. stepped into the State Office the other day for a moment and deposited a dollar in the press fund. Comrade O. R. Johnson of Akron is here again with another dollar. Our old time friend and comrade De Forest Sanford of Atascadero Cal., sends a five spot which he states is an "appreciation" of our work in the movement. To which we reply, there is nothing like a word of appreciation to keep up one's spirits and determination to keep going. Thanks for both comrade Sanford.

Comrade Mary G. Waters, secretary of Local E. Liverpool O., sends in a list containing the following names: W. Malone, San Angelo Tex. Comrade John Iovic of Lorain O. adds a dollar to the fund. Comrade Wm. J. Dick of Cincinnati, sometimes called Red Flag Bill, sends in 50c.

The Socialist Boosters Club of Lorain, O. remits \$6.50 on a list containing the following names: Wm. Now Jr., \$1. Albert Banahyk, \$2., Wm. Barrett, \$1., Emil Fisher, 50c, Frank Vaillant, \$2.

"Enclosed please find \$12.00 from your comrades, the Repeaters Club." S. Bryant, Akron, O. Some repeat, eh? Another Akron booster is comrade J. Kroons, who sent a dollar this week. Comrades Mr. and Mrs. G. Christen, of Akron remit two dollars for their new press. "One dollar to help build our press," is what comrade John Maonick of Yorkville, O. writes us, and he sends the dollar too.

Local Secretary, T. J. McKenna, of Marietta, O., remits \$25.00 for the press fund which contain these names and amounts: A. H. Hart, \$5.00; Elmwood Spindler, \$1.00; T. J. McKenna, \$1.50; Savage Cigar Co. 50c; Ben Ralston \$1.00; J. J. West, \$1.00; Mrs. G. L. Schuch, \$2.; Selden Cole, \$12.50. Comrade Cole has agreed to duplicate all funds subscribed by Marietta comrades to buy the new press. This is the third remittance he has duplicated.

Comrade H. T. Auckerman of Kalamazoo, Mich., remits a dollar. Another dollar is added to the press fund by comrade P. L. Manning of Newark, O. A remittance totaling \$6.70 comes from comrade Local secretary, H. Weavers, of Columbus. Comrade Fred I. Thompson, of Barabaton, O. remits a dollar. Comrade Louis Kram, of the German Branch of Bellaire, O., remits \$6.50 collected on lists. Here are the names appearing: John Filzenger, 50c; Mrs. Julia Filzenger, 50c;

THE THIEVES OF ADENA.

We've heard of thieves in the night. In Adena, Ohio, we have thieves in the day who steal from miners who work in the night, who in fact slave in constant darkness to provide warm firesides for you and me.

The coal operators of Adena, so it is alleged, have been stealing from 500 to 1400 pounds of coal a day from each miner employed. Jos. Vegh, member of the party and two of his comrades, headed a committee to confer with the mine operators about this steal. Result—Jos. Vegh was arrested for violating the Freeman law, the law which prohibits violence, crime and sabotage.

It was the mine owners who were committing the sabotage and crime, but Vegh is not to suffer for it. And now, like a thief in the night, comes the mine owners' sheriff and spirits away Julius Simon, Joe Haborka, Geo. Kozari, Joe Toth, Jim Demoszlaj and Steve Bogo. These comrades were taken from Adena to Cadiz and thrown into jail. No one is allowed to see them.

The Liberators Army however, is always ready for such emergencies. Jos. W. Shars was immediately sent to Cadiz and he is now at work upon this case. Even the United Mine Workers officials refused help—it became these men were guilty of the offense of calling for a district convention to clean out these officials who, from all indications, seem to be hankering in glove with the coal operators. All of which means—JOIN THE LIBERATORS ARMY and help free all political prisoners as well as aid those who are still being arrested in the sacred cause of making the world safe for the workers.

Machinists Begin Fight for Debs

Resolution adopted by District Lodge No. 31, International Association of Machinists, and endorsed by Summit Lodge No. 203 of Akron, Ohio:

"Whereas one of the foremost champions of the working-class of this country, and the courageous, uncompromising foe of the class-privilege is destined to rot in the Prison Penitentiary, because of the abridgement of guaranteed constitutional rights of free speech, be it therefore

RESOLVED, by the Delegates of the Ohio State Federation of Machinists, District No. 31 in special session assembled, go on record to do their utmost towards securing the liberation of Eugen W. Debs, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the secretary of the district be instructed to immediately circularize all lodges within the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, requesting said lodges to join us in securing the liberation of the grand old man of the Revolution.

Mrs. Gustav Flux, 25c; Joe Becker, 25c.; Louis Krem, \$1.00 Mike Treich, 50c.; Louis Gmeinold, 50c.; Math Gmeinold, 50c.; Frank Potetz, 50c.; John Jallopa, 25c.; Rudolph Meyer, 25c.; Rudolph Schiller 25c.; Fred Makofsky, 25c.; Louis Poininger, 25c.; Steph. Dutsh, 50c.; Louis Potetz 25c.; Comrade G. W. Coleman, of Buenna Vista, Va. remits one dollar. Total amount contributed to the press fund to Oct. 1st \$4,103.74.

It was an all day debate. I recall a few sentences somewhat at random. The first is from Margaret Prevey, whose friendship for Debs and her consecration to the task of liberating him from prison, gave a special interest to her opinions. "We came here," she said, "to form a political organization to supplement the industrial organization of the workers. If not why are we here? We must use the political power in order to get a hearing for the working class. I want to see a working class judge to pass sentences upon the workers, a working class jury to open the doors of the prisons for the working class. I want to see the working class get control of the police and the United States Army, so that they can be used on the side of the workers, instead of against them in their industrial battles."

John Reed answered her in the one burst of oratory that came out of him. He reminded her that when a socialist Mayor of Minneapolis wanted to use the police to protect the meetings of the workers, his policemen were superceded by a body of special deputies appointed by the Governor of the State; when a radical governor of Illinois (Altgeld) tried to use the state power to protect the workers in the Pullman strike in Chicago, Grover Cleveland sent the United States Army into Illinois to protect capital; and if you had a Socialist present in the place of Grover Cleveland, the Supreme Court would come to the protection of capital; and if you had a Socialist Supreme Court, J. P. Morgan would organize a volunteer White Guard, and the interests of capital would still be protected! So it would always be. The struggle is between economic forces and it cannot be settled upon the political field. He asked Margaret Prevey and the others who opposed the program which he had drafted, and who wanted to elect Centrists to the executive committee, to explain candidly to the convention just what kind of program they wanted, and what they conceived communism to be. After some hesitation the answer came that they wanted to go back to the language of the previous Manifestoes of the Left Wing. The special significance of this lies in the fact that those more academic and therefore less revolutionary Manifestoes were written by the very delegates in the "Communist Convention" who were now scorning this other not sufficient revolutionary elements!

If that makes the reader dizzy, he has the satisfaction of knowing that he would have been a thousand times dizzier if he had actually tried to attend those three conventions. Kate Greenbald said that she had often heard working men in the northwest say that they would never again put their name and address down in a poll book to be used in hunting them out by the master-class, but still she believed in political action as a means of acquiring a "political status" for the revolutionary propaganda.

Jack Carney supported the amendment with the vehemence of one who doesn't really care whether the propaganda requires a "political status" or not. "I resigned from the Socialist Party," he said, "not because they expelled the members and refused to do their job, but because I want the American workers to get well to the real fight, and the real fight is on the job."

Margaret Prevey's position was supported by Baker of Ohio, who said in the course of his remarks that, "The old guard used to be always telling us how they do things in Germany; now we have a crowd that are telling us how they do things in Russia; I thought we were here to decide how we are going to do things in America!" Ludwig Lore asserted that the absence of "imminent demands" was enough to distinguish this platform from the reformist platforms of the past. Zimmermen of Indiana was on the same side, although with a different note: "When the revolution comes," he said, "then we know what kind of

methods we are going to use, and we won't have to ask any platform."

But the ever-present voice on the side of the Mensheviks was that of Louis B. Boudin of New York. Boudin is a Marxist scholar of great erudition, so great that he was given an honorary chair in the international university established by the Bolshevik Government at Moscow, although he happened to be employing his erudition in an attack on the Bolshevik Government at the time.

Boudin laughed with a learned scorn at one of the phrases which John Reed had embodied in an amendment to the platform. Reed said nothing, but quietly slipped out of the building and pretty soon came back with a copy of the Communist Manifesto, in which he showed Boudin the identical phrase at which he had been laughing. The scholarly brows were bent in perplexity. "It's a very poor translation," he said.

Boudin has learned a great deal about Karl Marx in spite of a busy life, but he has never learned to control those neural conduits which lead from the cerebral cortex to the organs of articulation. An idea of his mouth pops into his head than it pops out of his mouth. And this makes it very difficult to conduct a parliamentary assembly in which he sits. Therefore it was a practical, when Ben Boudin was talking up to the front of the hall like a great somber mountain, gradually unloosed the crackling thunder of his eloquence to the effect that Boudin had liberally employed his knowledge of Marx to dilute and destroy the scientific integrity of this platform, and Boudin, crying "It's a lie, it's a damn lie!" got up and fled like a leaf out of the storm.

Reed's amendment was then soon adopted, and the question whether this should be a communist or a "centrist" party actually settled by a vote of 46 to 22. There was clear sailing for the "program" after that. It was adopted substantially as reported by the committee. A kind of anticipatory "St. Louis Resolution" on the war with Mexico, was also adopted, and it was called to every organization in the Communist International. An executive committee will meet once in a while, but of members of the party who are going to work—all of them ultimately it is hoped, on salary from the party. With these goods signs of life the convention was over.

Its program is upon the whole a vituperative realistic application of the theories of Marx, and the policies of Lenin, to present conditions in America. It contrasts with the program of the communist convention in no point of principle, but it applies its written program more specially to existing conditions, it is the language of action rather than of historic theory, organized labor, but somewhat humbly instructive and promising of concrete help. In these respects it seems to me superior to the program of the Communist Party, although I have not had time to study and compare them at length.

It would be foolish to pretend that The Communist Labor Party, any more than the Communist Party, is a wholly satisfactory nucleus for the growth of Communism in America. Nothing that happened in Chicago was satisfactory. But the Communist Labor Party has a certain atmosphere of reality, a sense of work to be done, a freedom from the logical dogma on the one hand and machine politics on the other, which is new in American socialism, and hopeful. A strong movement of the rank and file of revolutionists to the Communist Labor Party would and at the same time leave the Federations where the attitude of their leaders naturally places them, in a separate or autonomous Slavic Party of Communism.

Communist Labor Party Bulletin

UNITY RESOLUTION

Adopted by UNANIMOUS vote of the Communist Labor Party Convention.

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

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

COMMUNISTS—COMPELL YOUR OFFICIALS TO ANSWER.

WHY DO THEY SUPPRESS THIS?

On September 6th, at the first meeting of the N. E. C. of the Communist Labor Party, the following letter was drafted, mimeographed, and over one hundred copies were distributed to the delegates at the Communist Party convention:

Not only have the officials of the Communist Party failed to answer this communication, but they have suppressed it. You will not find it published with the other "documents" in their official paper.

FINAL COMMUNICATION TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY, ISSUED BY THE N. E. C. OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY.

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 6, 1919.

To the delegates and members of the Communist Party,

Comrades—

The Communist Labor Party Convention by unanimous vote adopted the following resolution:

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

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

The convention has now completed its work and has adjourned. Obidient to these instructions from the convention, the national Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party addresses this letter to you.

Comrades, the organization of two Communist Parties is a crime. We have made every effort possible, short of turning traitor to the membership that sent us here, to avoid this deplorable situation. But our repeated attempts to unite all revolutionary Communist hosts seem to have been thwarted for the time being by certain elements in your convention.

As far as we can discover there is no fundamental difference of principle between us. The platform, program and resolutions that our convention adopted are uncompromisingly revolutionary. They conform to the Left Wing program and are in strict accord with the principles laid down by the Communist International of Moscow. We are affiliating with the Third International.

We are confident that the great majority of your delegates and your membership agree with us in this. Why then should we remain apart?

We hereby announce that we are ready at any time to meet your representatives to consider the question of unity on a basis of equality.

If certain elements in your Party make this impossible, we invite all individuals or groups, who may agree with us in our desire to unite all Communist elements of the United States into ONE Party of Communist Socialism, to join forces with us.

ALL who agree on the fundamentals of Communism, ALL who desire to affiliate with the Third International of Moscow, are WELCOME in the Communist Labor Party.

Comrades, let us unite against our common foe:

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

(Signed)

JACK CARNEY

MAX BEDACHT

L. E. KATTERFELD

EDWARD LINDGREEN

ALEXANDER BILAN

A. WAGENKNECHT, Executive Sec.

To date no answer has come from the officials of the Communist Party to this straightforward request for a Unity Conference. Their only proposition is that we should disband and apply as individuals for admission to "their" party. They refuse to meet with our organization on any equal basis. They assume an attitude of superiority toward the membership of the Communist Labor Party, and deny our Comrades the same respect as Communist that they demand for themselves. The only unity that they consider is the unity offered by the yoke of Rome. "Join MY church, and then there will only be one church." We demand that we meet on an equal basis of comradeship.

Since the officialdom of the Communist Party has suppressed this unity offer it is our duty to give it publicity and to carry it direct to the rank and file of the Communist Party. Let every Comrade help with this task, and show this article to as many members of the Communist Party as possible. When the membership of the Communist Party finally learns how it is being deceived by its leaders, it will make short shrift of those that now stand in the way of uniting all Communist elements of the United States under ONE banner, and a United Communist Party will emerge to rally the revolutionary hosts.

THE SPLIT PHILOSOPHY

Some of the "leaders" of the Communist Party frankly admit their adherence to the SPLIT PHILOSOPHY. This is, briefly, that the more you split, the "clearer" and stronger you become.

Houwich of New York for instance explains that in order to have a group of uncompromising leaders competent to lead the workingclass when the final crisis comes, you must constantly "split and split and split". You must keep the organization small and constantly bring about situations within the Party that will result in splits. In that way he intends to rid the Party of all "unclear" elements, reserving to himself and his group the right to determine what is "clear" and what is "unclear", of course.

The Communist Labor Party on the other hand has but little faith in so-called leaders and places its dependence rather upon the increasing consciousness of class interest among the workers. It is not opposed to a split upon a fundamental difference of principle. But it tries to unite ALL that agree on fundamental principles of Communist Socialism into ONE Party to become a real and growing power in the land. It proposes to develop its own educational institutions, so that instead of being split off the new elements that come in may be educated and assimilated, and as nearly as possible make its entire membership competent to assume the responsibilities of leadership when the crisis comes.

COMMITTEE ACTION OR MEMBERSHIP MANDATE.

The Communist Party is largely the result of Committee action. A Committee in New York, called National Left Wing Council, made a deal with another Committee in Chicago, calling itself a National Organization Committee, and produced a Party of its own, which they still control. Most of the delegates of their convention although purporting to represent great masses of membership, were really selected by small committees in different cities and federations.

On the other hand, with but half a dozen exceptions the delegates of the Communist Labor Party Convention were elected by regular membership referendums, and represented directly the expressed will of the membership in the districts and States from which they came. The mandate of that membership was to affiliate the Party with the Third International. This implied the instruction to transform the Socialist Party into a Party of Communist Socialism. This they did, and the Communist Labor Party is the result.

Today the committees that organized and still control the Communist Party act against Unity. The officials of the Communist Labor Party obey their membership mandate and offer unity to all Communist elements united in principle.

Of which policy do you approve, Comrade?

RESOLUTION OF GERMAN COMMUNISTS OF CHICAGO

A mass convention of former members of the Socialist Party who belonged to the German Federation, was held in Chicago recently. This convention passed the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, by the convention of members belonging to the German Federation, which met in Heidelberg Hall, Chicago, on September 20th, that the affiliated branches be instructed to recognize the national committee elected in New York and shall immediately communicate with this committee relative to dues stamps purchases and organization work. (The national committee referred to is that which voted 41 to 8 to affiliate with the Communist Labor Party.—Ed.)

"Adopting this resolution however

does not mean that this meeting, in any way agrees to the split in the communist ranks, but asks all branches, state organizations, the federation, the national organization of the Communist Labor Party, as well as its officers to do all in their power to bring about unity between the two communist parties.

"Be it further resolved, that this resolution be sent immediately to the national committee of the Federation, the national committee of the Communist Labor Party and the national committee of the Communist Party so as to demand action tending to solve the unity question.

JOS. FALKNER, Secretary,
German Federation of Chicago.

West Virginia - Attention

Delegate Firth's Report of National Convention.

Jesse Bird, State Secretary, Barrackville, W. Va.
Dear Comrade and Comrades of West Virginia:

As your Delegate to the National Emergency convention August 30th, 1919, I wish to make the following report.

I presented my credentials to ex-National Secretary Adolph Germer and was informed by him that the old N. E. C. had decided to contest my seat on the technical ground that I was not a resident of the State of West Virginia. Under an iron clad construction of the Constitution this was probably correct but I went before the Contest Committee and told the members that I was not a legal resident of Illinois yet and would not be until I had resided here a year, that the financial condition of the Socialist Party in W. Va. would not permit the sending of two delegates, that I had been State Secretary of your state for three years, that I had just left the state a few months before and that the membership was anxious to have me back.

Everybody knew that in a normal year no question would have been raised in connection with my credentials. I was too left this year. However, the Left Delegates gathered in the convention hall for the purpose of demanding our seats at the hands of the convention. While seated there Adolph Germer approached and said "I ask you in a comradely way to leave the hall." We claimed our right to be judged by the convention. He then said "If you do not leave at once I will have the police put you out." We said "Then the will have it to do." He then gave the order and the police, six or eight in number, drove out the Left Delegates. The police remained in force during the entire proceedings. The National Executive Committee of the Labor Union that owns the hall that they forwarded a formal request from the Executive Committee to Adolph Germer demanding that he and the Socialist convention no longer disgrace the labor movement by being responsible for having the police powers of the capitalist state in control of a so-called labor convention. The police were not removed.

The National Executive Committee that was elected in the recent referendum that was thrown out by the former N. E. C. then called a caucus of the Left Delegates on the first floor of the convention building. A general discussion of the instructions received by the various delegates from their constituents then took place.

The majority had instructions to try in every way possible to rescue the Socialist Party from the reactionaries leading it. They were to organize for revolutionary Communism. I had no definite instructions from West Virginia but I know the membership of that state and I was positive that the great majority were ready for a radical change in the policy and tactics of the American movement and were for casting the die for going forward shoulder to shoulder with the Bolsheviks of Russia and the Socialists of Germany as against further temporizing with the putrid corpse of parliamentarism and Moderate Socialism. I therefore entered wholeheartedly into the organization of a force to represent honestly and scientifically the proletariat of the world and carry out the program of revolutionary Communism such as you and the other 110,000 members of the Socialist Party voted for eleven to one in a referendum. This was also thrown in the waste basket by the former N. E. C., namely, the referendum for affiliation with the Third or Communist International. Comrade Snider approved my course and made application for admission to the Left convention. He was seated but, as he stated, for the purpose of being able to report the proceedings of the old party convention, he would remain in the old convention. I doubt that he has any wisdom, but he can make his own explanation.

The organization of an instrument to give expression to the aims and purposes of the American proletariat in the international crisis now confronting us all was next in order. The membership had unmistakably registered its desire to affiliate with the Third International and adopt the principles of the struggling communists of Russia and Central Europe. The Communist party of America was scheduled to meet and organize Monday September 1st. The first work for us to do was to clear the ground for a meeting of minds of the delegates of the revolutionary elements in Chicago as represented in the two Communist conventions. In this we failed. Each side invited the other to participate in the deliberations. The C. L. P. invited the delegates to participate on a basis of equality, delegate for delegate, and we agreed to go to their convention on this basis. The C. P. agreed to admit us as fraternal delegates or visitors until the Communist convention decided as to who represented Communist organizations. These were to be seated with voice and vote. This was not acceptable to the majority of the delegates in the C. L. P. convention, permanent organization was perfected and the matter squarely put before the rank and file. In closing this part of the report I wish to say that the C. L. P. convention instructed the new N. E. C. to issue a standing invitation to the officials of the C. P. to meet to adjust the insignificant differences that now divide the Communist elements in America. I am confident this will be done.

I would suggest that just as soon as all members get a copy of the program and platform of the Communist Labor Party that you immediately hold a referendum for the purpose of determining whether you shall unite with the revolutionary Communist movement or whether you shall continue to stay with the reactionary elements who have prostituted the American Socialist Party to the purposes of parliamentarism and stubbornly refused to allow you to align yourselves with

ILLINOIS COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY CALLS STATE CONVENTION

The outstanding fact of this, the most momentous period in the world's history, is that Capitalism is tottering to its ruin. The Great War, heralded throughout the Allied nations as "the war against war" to "establish self-determination of all nations" and to "make the world safe for democracy" has inaugurated the era of Capitalist Imperialism. The Peace of Versailles has proven more ruthless than Brest Litovsk. Labor's Bill of Rights, written into the Peace Treaty by Samuel Gompers is but another chain binding the wage slave to the master class. And now we behold the Capitalist World in chaos.

Out of this chaotic condition came the challenge of the Third International held in Moscow last March. Here was a call to action, based upon the wisdom gleaned from the Russian Revolution. The Call was sent to the Socialist Parties of the world urging that all revolutionary organizations affiliate with the Third International.

The official Socialist Party of the United States has failed utterly to measure up to its historic task. On almost every issue which concerns the vital interests of the working class it has shown itself weak, vacillating and reactionary. The despotic acts of the old Executive Committee and the proceedings of the recent, National Emergency Convention have laid bare the miserable, compromising spirit which animated those in control of the Party's destiny. The Socialist Party has broken faith with the workers. At the Emergency convention it repudiated the Third International by a vote of 61 to 33.

In a communication dated Sept. 9th State Secretary Oliver C. Wilson declares that no Local or Branch may take under consideration those matters of controversy within the Socialist Party, thereby making himself the censor of what the membership shall or shall not act upon. It was just such usurped power as this by the old National Executive Committee that tore the Socialist Party asunder at the recent National Emergency Convention.

Honest and sincere socialists can no longer remain in the Socialist Party. Thousands of class conscious comrades have already left the Party, and, recognizing the need of a party of revolutionary Socialism have joined the Communist Labor Party which was born in Chicago August 31st, 1919.

In response to the demand from comrades all over the state this Call goes forth for the organization of the Communist Labor Party of Illinois. A state convention will be held in Rock Island Sunday Oct. 12th at Workmen Hall, 712 Eighth St. The convention will be called to order at 9:30 A. M. and all business logically coming before such a convention shall be transacted, such as drafting a state constitution, selection of state executive committee, state secretary, and such other committees and officers as the convention may decide. The basis of delegate representation shall be as follows:

where a county organization exists it shall have one delegate for every fifty members or major fraction thereof. In districts where there is no county organization every organized group of ten or more members who subscribe to the Principles, Program, and Platform of the Communist Labor Party shall be entitled to one delegate.

Comrades: We urge all branches and locals of the Socialist Party to consider fully the failure of the Socialist Party to measure up to its historic task and responsibilities. Secretaries are urged to immediately call a meeting of their membership and if they subscribe to the Principles, Program, and Platform above set forth, to select delegates to the state convention of the Communist Labor Party of Illinois. Send the name and address of your delegates, together with the number of members represented, to Edgar Owens, 433-16th Ave., Moline, Illinois, at the earliest possible moment. This is absolutely necessary in order that proper arrangements may be made.

Comrades: A splendid opportunity awaits us. The steel workers strike; the impending clash between the workers and owners of the railways; the proposed general strike of miners—these are of far-reaching political significance. Illinois is so conditioned industrially that the decisive battle will take place here. Let us not prove delinquent. Let us measure up to our historic task.

Fraternally yours,
SAMUEL HANKIN,
Secretary Cook County (P.T.)
EDGAR OWENS,
Secretary Down State (P.T.)

SOCIALISTS
By J. B. Guimes
Our room is perfect with so many books,
And music, and the paintings on the wall,
My fiddle, and the piano, and your song,
The night air fragrant, and the moon is out
To guide the steps of lovers through the parks;
And while you lean your head against my breast,
And life is more than living, and our love
So warm and holy, one black thought
To mock our freedom and our hopes;
Gene Debs, our friend, our leader,
Still in jail!

the struggling proletariat of Russia and Europe and manuevered things so as to put you in the tact position of kicking the Bolsheviks in the face. In building the Socialist party of America under the domination of those who have brought about the present state of affairs I am positive that you are building a similar Kerensky-Scheidemann regime in America that will one day prove as disastrous to proletarian triumph in the day of trial here as it did in Europe and Russia.

Fraternally submitted,
EDWIN FIRTH.

A TELEGRAM FROM OREGON.

Alfred Wagenknecht,
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland.
OREGON AFFILIATES, FORWARD STATE CHARTER, STAMPS AND SUPPLIES. REMITANCE FOLLOWING: BY MAIL. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, WARREN, SAULT, LAUNDY, MILLER, CUSACK—Secretary.

WASHINGTON AFFILIATES

At a meeting of the state executive committee of Washington, the following motion was carried: "That we concur in the report of our delegates, approving their action and endorse the Communist Labor Party of the United States and we instruct our state secretary to transact all necessary business with the national office of the Communist Labor Party until sanctioned or rejected by the rank and file of state."

THE RHODE ISLAND CONVENTION

At a special convention held in Rhode Island, the comrades voted 11 to 13 to affiliate with the Communist Labor Party, after hearing a report from Caldwell and Reid, the Rhode Island delegates to the national convention.

A representative of the reactionary Socialist Party was present, and a motion made, by this advice, to postpone affiliation for six months, was voted down overwhelmingly.

Jan. P. Reid was elected temporary state secretary.

KANSAS AND MISSOURI HOLD CONVENTIONS

Communist Labor Party convention held in Kansas City, Kans., and Kansas City, Mo., on September 21st.

The Kansas convention was attended by delegates from all really alive locals in the state and the only alive locals in the state are the left wing locals. Ernest F. McNitt was elected state secretary for Kansas. It is estimated that the fourth of the Kansas membership will affiliate with the C. L. P. The Missouri convention was also well attended. A majority of the Missouri membership is left wing, and now that the split is definite, big roads have been made into the St. Louis organization by the C. L. P. J. P. Cannon has been elected state secretary for Missouri, and he will also act as district organizer-secretary for the states of Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri.

BEDACHT DEBATES FERGUSON.

Max Bedacht, national executive committee member of the Communist Labor Party and I. Ferguson, national executive committee member of the Communist Party met each other in debate in St. Louis, Mo., on September 26th. Bedacht followed the tactics of the C. L. P., namely argued the question of unity from an impersonal and fair standpoint, claiming that there should be unity between the two parties because they are alike in principle and that personal differences between leaders should not longer separate them. Ferguson launched an attack upon the comrades prominent in the Communist Labor Party, called the delegates to the C. L. P. convention mislead ignoramus, and as seems to be the method of those in high office in the Communist Party, did everything he could to engender further division by uncalled for bitterness. Bedacht, in a clear manner, stated the history, the two parties before the convention, cited the decision of the Left Wing National Conference, and proved that the C. L. P. delegates lived up to that decision while Frains, Ferguson and others violated it.

The result of the debate was a complete victory for Bedacht and Communist Labor Party. The Left Wing section of St. Louis voted to affiliate with the C. L. P.

CHICAGO C. L. P. CONVENTION

Organization work is progressing splendidly in Chicago. Edwin Firth has been selected as organizer for Chicago by the national office, and Arthur Proctor, 204 North Clark street, is the new Cook County Secretary.

The preliminary organization meeting took place Sunday, Sept. 28. A good attendance was had. Chas. Baker, Ohio, was named as special organizer. Delegates were elected to the Illinois state convention. The work in Chicago and Illinois will go forward with added impetus, now that the work of organizing the State machinery of the C. L. P. is about finished.

YOUNGSTOWN UNITY RESOLUTIONS

The City Central Committee, a delegate body composed of representatives from language branches who belong to the Communist Party and representatives from branches (English and others) who are affiliated with the Communist Labor Party, passed the following resolution: That the C. C. C. of Youngstown protests against the split in the left wing ranks and urges that the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party find some way to unite.

(Signed) WALLACE METCALF, Sec'y.

NEW YORK NEWS

"By January 1st we are sure to have local organization of over 2,000. As was expected, the Communist Party elements here are already fighting it out among themselves as to who shall control the controllers. All the active revolutionary elements have joined the C. L. P.

Russia Federation branch 4, of Kings, by a vote of 27 to 13, voted to withdraw from the Russian Federation, and this branch, together with four other Russian branches in New York have decided, after a recent joint meeting, to affiliate with the C. L. P. As regards the S. P., it is practically lifeless, an organization of "leaders" without a rank and file. The future is bright for the C. L. P." Morris Zuker.

The rumor, circulated by Communist Party adherents, that Alexander Bilan (Cleveland) and H. S. Warren of Oregon have joined and are organizing for the Communist Party, is without foundation. Both of them have joined and are actively working for the Communist Labor Party.

We want to warn all comrades against extravagant statements made by enthusiasts for the C. P. Speakers and organizers for the C. L. P. stand instructed not to employ personal attack and invectives in their field

Debs Goes To Prison

By DAVID KARBNER

(Continued from last week)

We walked down the hall with Debs, and he assured us that he had had three good meals, and that everything was all right, his usual expression in cases of extreme nervousity. The Warden made it plain to us that he did not wish our visit to be of length. We tarried a moment while Debs said that he had received a number of telegrams from his Comrades in all parts of the country.

All day Monday two Negro convicts were at work in Debs' little room, scrubbing the floors, washing the windows and fumigating it so as to put it in order to receive the most celebrated prisoner this country has ever known.

As we passed the door of the room that Debs will occupy during his stay, Debs looked in at the Negro convicts at work.

"The Warden won't let me help you," said Gene, "but I sha'n't forget your kind favors." Debs replied "Don't all right, Mr. Debs," replied the shorter of the two Negroes, "we mighta had a worse job dan dis."

The Moundsville prison had just recovered from an epidemic of Spanish influenza. One hundred convicts were ill and there were two deaths. The Warden seemed particularly concerned about Gene's health, and admonished him to take it easy and rest.

"Remember that I am responsible for your health, Debs," said the Warden, "and I want you to leave here in as good shape as you came."

"I will leave here in better shape than when I arrived," said Debs. He smiled and joked a little and told us that he had been treated "excellently."

Debs would say the same thing were he bound to the stake and burned. He would kiss the hand of the man who would light the pyre under his feet.

Just before we entered the prison we met three messenger boys, and all of them owned they had just delivered messages for Debs. The Warden insisted that England, Wagenknecht and myself take dinner with him. We did so. The Warden was interested to learn something of Debs' history.

Warden Terrell told us that 25 years ago he was a telegraph operator on the B. & O. railroad when Debs was organizing the railroad men in the American Railway Union. "I remember when Debs went to prison at that time," he said. The Warden admitted that he had never seen Debs before, but added, "He has a wonderful mind, a fine brain and bubbles over with kindness."

As we talked with the keeper of the great liberator in his private apartments on the top floor of the prison overlooking the Ohio valley and the river that flows at its feet, Terrell's little girl romped and played on the floor.

The name of Debs was mentioned frequently, and finally the little brown-eyed baby looked up in her father's eyes and asked:

"Daddy, who is Debs?"

The Warden blushed. "Ask these gentlemen here, my dear. They seem to know better than I."

The little girl, her name was Barbalee I think ran over to me and climbed up on my lap. I had just been playing "Patty-cake, patty-cake baker's man" with her.

"Who is Debs?" lisped Barbalee. "Debs is a good man, kind man," I told her, "who loves all little boys and girls. And all little boys and girls love him, too. If he were up here now he would get right down on the floor there and play with you." The little girl danced off my lap, and ran over to the Warden clapping her hands with glee.

"Oh, Daddy, Mr. Debs is a kind man who loves little children and he plays with them, too; do you think he will ever come upstairs and play with us?" There was anxious hope in the sweet voice of the Warden's daughter as she put her question.

The Warden was nonplussed. He did not know how to answer this innocent question of his little girl whose imagination had been gripped by the simple description I had given her of Debs.

"No, my dear," replied the Warden. "I don't think Mr. Debs will ever have time to come up and play with you, but you shall see him some day." Barbalee ran back to me as though I could rescue her possible playmate.

The C. L. P. will continue the policy of demanding unity and refuses to contribute even one epithet which would make for further estrangement and bitter feeling. Just why the Communist Party officials persist in their tactics of personal abuse, is a mystery, for in the end they will disgust their own membership.

Beatrice M. Sedgewick, state secretary of Delaware, has placed her first order for dues stamps.

CLEVELAND GERMAN BRANCH DEMANDS UNITY.

A resolution passed by the German Branch, Cleveland, reads in part as follows: "We pledge ourselves and urge all members of the Communist Party to refrain from any and every tactic that may create enmity between the workers and to do our utmost to bring about unity between all revolutionary factions, especially between the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party."

The part of this resolution which reads "we urge the Communist Party to refrain from any and every tactic that may create enmity" is well directed. Tactics which are being pursued by the Communist Party at present are not such as will lead to a unity between all revolutionary factions in this country.

15,500 STAMPS ORDERED

The machinery of the Communist Labor Party, only a month old, is just beginning to move, yet already 15,500 stamps have been ordered. Only two western states have so far been supplied. Due to the distance of these states from the national office, orders for stamps and supplies will be received a week or so later than those received from locals and states in the

"Some day," I told her, "some day, Barbalee, when you have grown to be a big girl you will be glad and proud that you lived in the same house with Gene Debs. Lots of his friends would wish they might say they had lived in the same house with Debs." She looked at me wonderingly. Her big, brown eyes were sad and I felt that I had given Barbalee just a little pain.

"I don't know what you gentlemen may think," said the Warden at one point, "but I want you all to know that I have had no instruction from anyone—none from the Governor nor from Washington—to show Debs any special favors or consideration. What I am doing is purely my own affair."

The Warden seemed to want to impress us with that view of the matter. We all had hazarded the guess that in the case of Debs unusual consideration would be the policy, and that this consideration was like to come from high authority. The Warden denied it. The order may judge for himself. The fact is, however, that Gene Debs was being shown every consideration. His breakfast and his dinner had been brought to him Monday morning and he ate them in his cell. The Warden said he wanted to save Debs the first humiliation of walking in to lockstep and from the mess hall. Debs would have felt no humiliation in that regard. He felt a little bit pained that all the other 895 convicts were not receiving the same treatment.

While we were all talking in Debs' room the Warden spoke about Gene's new job as hospital attendant.

"I am going to do whatever you think is best," said Debs. "I want to earn my board here, at any rate," he added, and the tall classic frame of the great Socialist humanist bent almost double with silvery laughter.

The book that Debs had been reading was John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World." I had been reading Debs with my own copy of that book.

"If you ever need a painter," said Debs, "call on me. That was my first trade. I may be a little slow at it now, but I can learn it in a jiffy." The Warden smiled and said: "Good, I may call on you for that some day. Debs, but, in the meanwhile, you take good care of your health. I want you to leave here as well as when you came."

Tuesday afternoon we journeyed to Moundsville, taking the Warden at his word that we would be permitted to see Debs whenever we came. The Warden seemed stiffer than usual. We asked for pictures of the prison, which were given to us. The Warden's manner indicated that he would refuse to let us see the Debs, so we did not press the matter. He merely said: "The matter is a closed book now, gentlemen," evidently meaning that Debs was Convict No. 2523. Debs is the quietest prisoner at Moundsville. He is spending his days learning his work under the direction of the prison physician, and in a little while he will have full charge of the hospital records. Debs has asked Warden Terrell that he be permitted to do some manual labor.

Before we left the Warden permitted us to leave with Debs a box of cigars, a cake of chocolate and a bag of apples and oranges. In the corridor we passed several convicts painting the banisters. Debs patted each on the back. It was a spontaneous outburst of affection which he could not refrain from. The Warden smiled.

In spite of this kindness, in spite of this manifestation of official consideration for our Gene, let the workers not relax one iota in their efforts to get Debs out of prison. He is a prisoner behind bars. He cannot come out of jail for 10 years, unless the organized power of the workingclass presses the capitalist class to swing the lever of that automatic machine through which Debs passed Sunday night, April 13, 1919.

Debs knows this as much as any. It is liberty that Debs wants, and insuring liberty for himself he demands it for every breathing being. As I write this I am reminded of Debs' classic statement, printed and read to many hundreds of times. Shall we write again?

"WHILE THERE IS A LOWER CLASS I AM IN IT. WHILE THERE IS A CRIMINAL CLASS I AM OF IT. WHILE THERE IS A SOUL IN PRISON I AM NOT FREE."

November the national office hopes to report 30,000 dues stamps ordered, as well as an affiliated membership equalling that number.

LOCAL CUYAHOGA COUNTY JOINS C. P.

A delegate convention of Local Cuyahoga County was held Sept. 28th. By a large majority, the delegates, most of them from federation branches, decided to join the C. P. Action of many of the delegates was predetermined by the wish not to split the local movement and so they voted for the C.