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CONDEMNATION OF POLITICAL OFFENDERS PROVES GOVERNMENTAL HYPOCRISY

"Peace? Why, my fellow citizens, is there any man here or any woman — let me say, is there any child — who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry?..."

"This war was a commercial and industrial war. It was not a political war."

These are not the words of a ranting socialist, nor of an I. W. W. agitator, nor of a pacifist, nor of a conscientious objector to war, nor of any of those who at this time are condemned to years of bestial confinement by the present administration in the cells of the federal prisons of this country.

They are the words of Woodrow Wilson at St. Louis Sept. 5th. But President Wilson is not in prison doing the lock step for saying them. He is not confined to a cell for fourteen hours a day for saying what he knew to be the thruth about the causes of the war as was Debs up to a short time ago. He is not facing

death and insanity behind prison walls for saying what HE thot was true of war, as many others have met death and gone insane. He is not locked up for weeks in the "black hole" on a diet of bread and water at the instigation of petty, ignorant and brutal guards. He is not paying the penalties HE has imposed upon hundreds of men and women for sying LESS than that.

The war is not over according to the President's decision in the coal strike, therefore the President is guilty of a violation of the espionage law under which all political prisoners were jailed. But he has not walked into jail and given himself up as a violator of the law. Nor has the Department of Justice sent its officers with handcuffs to bring Mr. Wilson to the bar of justice. Nor will it.

Yet if others are guilty, so is he. If Debs is guilty and deserves ten years in prison, then the President deserves twice the sentence Debs received, for Debs said much less than the words spoken at St. Louis. The jails are filled with members of the I. W. W., conscientious objectors, religious

objectors, pacifists, Socialists and others who, believing in the Constitution of the United States, offended Mr. Wilson by saying much less than he has stated about the war.

Where lies the justice in this procedure? Are the officials of the government immune from the laws they make and put their names too as the law making body? Are the laws made for the many and not for the few? Are the laws made for all the people or are they made only to be enforced upon the opponen of these in pwer.

We have never made any statements in this paper as to the cause of the war. To have done so would have meant the cancellation of our mailing privileges and a term in prison for the editors along with Debs and others. But we feel free to agree with the President's definition of the war's real causes. We will agree with him and accept his statement. — "This was a commercial and industrial war."

The hollowness of the President's claims during the real period of the war are thus seen. A war for democracy, a war for self determination of all peoples; a war

for righteousness and freedom for all the world against autocracy in all its forms— these were given as the purpose of the war times without number.

Out of these slogans a psychological effect was produced which acted to cover all opposition to the war. Millions gave their lives believing in them. The government used them to the limit in squeezing the last cent from the public in its drives for finances to pay the cost of war. And now we are told by the man who acted the leading part in this world tragedy — that it "was a commercial and industrial war" between commercial and industrial nations for world trade and economic supremacy.

We will accept the President's latest definition for the causes of the war. But we will not sit quietly by while our comrades and fellow workers lie in prison with the iron heel of despotism upon them. We will not be silent. We will reveal the hollow mockery of justice at Washington until they who are responsible for the inhuman outrages against our comrades are forced to open the prison doors. No worker with red blood in his veins can rest in

peace with his conscience until this injustice is wiped out. Day by day, the Army of Liberators is growing. Every hour sees the demand for the release of all political prisoners increasing. Every moment they remain in prison brings nearer the day of judgment for the ruling class of this nation.

The ruling class fears to let our comrades out of prison. It knows that the moment they step out of prison they will join the growing army of INDUSTRIAL liberators who are waging a war against them for control of the world and their own destiny. Keeping the political prisoners in jail is a weapon in the class war, used by the ruling class in its programme of repression. They fear to let them out. They may well fear to keep them in!

In this fight for liberation, the support of every worker is demanded. For it will require the combined efforts of all of us to OPEN THE PRISON DOORS. Do your part. Join the Army of Liberators. Agitate for liberation for political prisoners wherever you are — at all times. Make the powers that be FEAR TO KEEP THEM IN!

Ex-officer of Russ Army Gives Views on Conditions in Siberia.

Military expert for "London Express" describes Kolchak rule as state of "unorganized despotism."

Editor, Ohio Socialist, Cleveland, O.

DEAR SIR:— As I am a Russian officer who has seen long service in the Russian army and who served in the British Volunteer Army against Germany, my interest in the military and political fate of my country needs no explanation. In addition to the natural interests of a soldier and citizen, however, I have a special interest as a journalist in seeking the truth concerning the several factions which are at present contending for the control of Russia. (I was military critic and expert in connection with Russian affairs for the London "Daily Express" during the war.)

"Original sources of information concerning Russia are difficult to obtain. Therefore, whenever I am fortunate enough to find anything which throws the least light upon a situation so obscured by censorship and propaganda, I feel impelled to bring the results of my searches to the attention of others who have, like myself, a deep interest in Russia.

"With great difficulty I have recently been able to obtain a number of Russian newspapers from Siberia. These papers include the following: "Nasho Delo", of Irkutsk; "Golos Primoria", of Vladivostok; "Vladivostokskoe Obozrenie", of Vladivostok; "Eche", of Vladivostok; "Usuriysky Krai", of Nikolsk; "Kazachiy Vestnik", and several others. These copies which I have here dates which run from March, 1919, up to the latest issue which have reached America. All these newspapers are known as the "Kolchak press."

"After having studied carefully this extensive evidence, I have come to the following conclusion: No propaganda in the world can turn the opinion of any sound-minded man in favour of the Kolchak and Denikin crowd, after having read the self-accentuations of their own press. It is extraordinary that in spite of the rigorous censorship imposed upon the press in the regions occupied by the Russian reactionaries, these papers should contain so many facts that discredit the administration and expose the conditions of tyranny and disorder in those regions. The papers are filled with the reports of hundreds of cases, before the local courts, of desertion, corruption, theft and other crimes which could only be committed in such excessive numbers in a society without discipline or organization. The many reports of the execution of hostages, described in a most cynical and repulsive manner, reveal the nature of the regime in power. The orders of the day issued by the commanding officers show clearly the lack of harmony within the military organization of the Kolchak armies. The Cossaks are dissatisfied with their reactionary chiefs and are robbing the populations by the orders of the latter. For instance: The Ataman of the third Trans-Baikal Cossack district, Colonel Zelinsky, issued an order of the day trying to stop the depredations upon the peaceful population according to the order of the well-known Kolchak general Baron Ungern-Shtenberg. He even

complained to the All-Cossack Union, saying that in spite of the general complaints of all the Cossack regions to the Omsk government, the accused officers not only escape all punishment, but, on the contrary, are promoted in rank and encouraged by their authorities to continue their "useful" work of crushing Bolshevism. One of these Kolchak satellites, Karmandonoff, flogged and shot a number of peasants, and all efforts to arrest him were in vain, — Omsk refused to interfere. As a result of his protests, Colonel Zelinsky was dismissed from his post (Order of the day No. 145 — "Echo" 19, June 1919). I have known Colonel Zelinsky personally for many years and I can state with authority that he is an officer singularly devoted to Kolchak and Denikin. In general the Cossack Ataman (chief) are constantly quarrelling with the central military command. The general insubordination of these chiefs is plainly shown in the drastic measures which the military authorities have had to apply, and often in vain, as is the case with General Rozanoff, who has not apologized to the Americans for having flogged an American soldier, arrested an American officer and shot an American boy, Kolchak was unable to force his General to do that.

"These papers, to my great surprise, are only moderately critical of the Soviet Government of Central Russia. They do not fail, in some cases, to pay tribute to the honesty and organizing ability of Lenin.

"The following extract is taken from "Echo" of June 6th 1919, Vladivostok.

Press Review. "The Japanese press on the recognition of the Omsk government." "The fact that Japan has been the first country to recognize the Omsk government and has compelled the United States to join in this proposition is not only a diplomatic success. We think it will be no exaggeration if we say that this step which Japan has taken is of world importance". Osaka Mainichi.

(Continued on page 4.)

Travels Far for Tom Mooney

Robert E. Blackstone, "For Mooney Agitator" who spent several months recently in Ohio in the interest of the Tom Mooney Defense, is now in Canada. In a recent letter to the State Office he states that freedom of speech exists in Canada to a far greater extent than in the boasted land of the free.

Recently he spoke in the most Easterly point in the Western Hemisphere, Port Morian, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, where he delivered a speech on the Mooney case to the miners.

Comrade Blackstone writes that he is still driving his "Red Devil" car in which he travelled from San Francisco across the United States in a Mooney campaign. He has met many interesting people in Canada and made the acquaintance of numerous labor organizations which he had never heard of before. Comrade Mrs Blackstone accompanies him.

He is meeting with great success in his effort for Tom Mooney's release.

Capitalist Press Paints Glaring Picture of Its Ability to Lie.

The present propensity and capacity of the capitalist press for lying is without precedent in the realm of journalism. Unblushingly, without the shadow of shame or retraction visible upon its scurrillious pages, it perpetrates day after day and year after year its preposterous fakes upon its readers. Its pages, devoted to the interests of financial privilege and the economic system which make legalized graft possible through the robbery of the workers in production, are in these times blatant with lies, corrupt with a corruption unparallel in the history of newspaperdom.

One of the most striking examples of the depraved depths to which it has sunk is furnished by the Plain Dealer of Cleveland. In bill-board advertisements as large as the side of a barn, new posters proclaim "knowledge means power." "Read the Plain Dealer" — and of course grow successful thru imbibing the truth and knowledge gleaned there from. To prove the truthfulness of its claims, the front page of a recent issue is shown on the board. "Fall of Petrograd Confirmed" reads the headline across the page. This is indeed convincing argument!

The posters appeared recently at the time when the capitalist press ran wild on one of its periodical sprees against the Soviet Government of Russia. More than a month has passed since the latest concerted national campaign of lies was started simultaneously in the masters' press. Denikin was hailed as the savior of Russia, who even then was stated to be in Petrograd safely ensconced in the seat of power with his "patriotic" army of "decent" Russians. Bolshevism, according to the statements made, was on the point of vanishing as darkness before the rising sun.

In the world markets the effect too was felt. Stocks and bonds rose as did the hopes of financiers as they viewed in prospect a steady of their grasp upon the world and its resources. A wave of reaction swept over the country and the representatives of "law and order" expanded their activities in wholesale encroachments upon the constitutional rights of the workers. All that smacked of revolt against the powers that be was branded as "bolshevik" and ruthless repression was prescribed as a prelude to the stamping out of the last vestige of the rising revolt against their rule of blood and iron.

It was a great game and it worked beautifully. Henry Dubbs grew exultant as they perused the red-headlines proclaiming the final overthrow of bolshevism. They again felt safe from the germs of the wily bolshevist. A haven of security opened up before their deluded vision as the picture of a world of labor paternally snatched from the monster, bolshevism, by the wholly patriotic allies, was shown them.

The drive of all anti-Soviet forces against Russia's workers was well timed. Taking advantage of the last opportunity before the setting in of winter, it was hoped that sufficient inroads upon the Soviet strongholds could be made that would have a disintegrating influence upon the workers' make at least some successes to counter-balance their stupendous defeats of the past summer, in order that their armies should receive more confidence in their chances of success before the long period of inactivity began. Then too, there was the question among the allies of growing discontent at home. The Soviets were gaining great moral support among the workers of every land. Their cause was becoming known as the cause of all workers, their success the gain of all who labor. Against this growing danger to capitalism a mighty blow must be struck and at once. Capitalistic imperialism allied with the Russian reactionaries prepared to deliver it. All its resources which it dared to enlist, including its public press were brought to bear in one mighty onslaught against the workers' republic of Russia.

But the dream has vanished. Petrograd is still in the hands of the Red Army. And if we are to place any credence in the news of the day, (and we are safe in doing so when that news is not in favor of the rapists of Russia), the drive of the reactionaries and the allies against the Soviets is meeting with sore defeats. Retreat after retreat is occurring on many fronts.

Kolchak, it is admitted is marshalling his forces for a retreat of 1,000 miles. Volunteers are pouring into the Red Army for the defense of Russia. Instead of an advance, a rout is occurring. In spite of the most inhuman blockade ever instituted since the beginning of civilization; in the face of

(Cont. on page 4th.)

Where Are You At?

After all, this sitting on the fence is rather uncomfortable, isn't it? It does very well to elevate yourself for a moment, to get a good look at that which lies to either side of the fence, but to sit on the fence for days and weeks becomes tedious and wearing.

So we ask — WHERE ARE YOU AT? If you can not accept the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party, why not frankly admit that you are a right winger; that you do not approve of the tactics and principles of the Bolsheviki and of the Third International; that you'd rather stay with the Socialist Party and its program of patching up capitalism to make it last a while longer. If you honestly believe that a number of representatives in political office are going to vote you Industrial Democracy; if you honestly believe that the capitalist class is going to allow a few representatives in office, to hand over to you the power now possessed by the possessing class, then hot foot it to the old reactionary Socialist Party. That is where you belong. And belonging there, you should not be ashamed to go there.

If on the contrary, you are convinced that the working class must develop its own machinery and power, must create its own controlling weapon, with which to secure Industrial Democracy; if you believe that we must diligently work in shops thru shop committees to spread the communist propaganda; if you know that politics is a bourgeois game, and that our reason for placing political candidates in the field is to make propaganda for the cause; if you understand that votes are inanimate and that only working class power, exercised wherever possible, will bring workers' control — then you belong in and should join the Communist Labor Party RIGHT AWAY.

There's been a bit too much procrastination. Why hesitate? Why not join the reactionary Socialist Party if that is where you belong. Of course, you'll learn better some day. So those Ohio locals that still have to act in meetings have given no opportunity for earlier action — to these we say — join locals Bellaire, Cincinnati, Conasaucy, Cleveland, Fremont, Gallon, Springfield, Salem, Sandusky, Seneca County, Toledo, Youngstown and other state locals in making the Communist Labor Party the workers' weapon in this state.

AND DO IT NOW!

What One Comrade is Willing to Do for Debs.

Comrades of The Ohio Socialist:—

I have read what comrade Gene Debs' lawyer has to say about his health. What can we do?

First: We can employ a doctor and send him there and demand admission for him.

Second: Twenty of we old fellows can volunteer to serve out Gene's time. That would be six months for each of us. Wilson and Company will thus get revenge upon twenty of us instead of only one, and the prison contractors will lose nothing, but rather gain by having a fresh recruit every six months. I am willing to be one of the twenty.

Third: If there is the shadow of manhood left in the working-class, protest meetings without regard to political affiliations must be called and held all over the country for the freedom of all who are held under the espionage law — except the spies. I believe however, they skipped the spies.

It will do no good to hold a protest meeting here and there but more thoroughly than a general strike, the protest must be organized and held from the Gulch to the lakes and from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

SUMMER W. ROSE
Biloxi Miss.

"No Evidence of Advocacy of Violence" Says Judge Moylan.

Communist Labor Party Officials freed of charge of Criminal Syndicalism. Trial set for Dr. John De Quer, C. E. Ruthenberg and Carl Haacker. Raids continue in Cleveland.

Communist Labor Party officials, Alfred Wagenbach, L. E. Katterfeld, Chas. Baker, Walter Bronkowitz and E. Ruthenberg were brought to a surprise trial in Judge Moylan's court at Cleveland last Wednesday morning when the charges of "criminal syndicalism" lodged against them on Oct. 16, by operatives of the Loyal American League and police, were dismissed by Judge Moylan.

Contrary to the general custom in Cleveland, which is to the every official of every revolutionary organization up in the courts on charges of "criminal syndicalism" with the view of intimidating the workers and breaking up all meetings, whether held in the privacy of homes or in public, the case of the above named socialists may be viewed as a set back to the "Loyal American Leeches", representatives of the chamber of Commerce in their illegal and unwarranted raids upon the workers.

At the first hearing of the case on Oct. 23rd, Judge Moylan stated that he would look over the copies of the speeches made by the defendants at the meeting where they were arrested. From the readiness with which he rendered his decision at the later period in court, he had seen the facts of the charges against the defendants.

No League operatives were present when the case was called and an assistant prosecutor stated that he "did not know much about these cases." "Well I do" stated the judge. "The cases against the defendants are dismissed." The defendants filed out to pursue their work of further organization of the workers for the overthrow of capitalism.

GRAND JURY RETURNS INDICTMENTS.

The Grand Jury last week returned indictments against C. E. Ruthenberg, Carl Haacker and Dr. John De Quer, on charges of criminal syndicalism. The trial of comrades Ruthenberg and Haacker are set for Nov. 20th. Dr. De Quer who was arrested for making a speech in a grove near Cleveland on Labor Day, will be tried some time in December, it is thought.

Another raid took place at Acme Hall last week. Eight members of a Russian branch and of the Leichterfle Club were hauled away to the police station. All are out on a thousand dollars bail each. The charge is the same old gag, criminal syndicalism, which means any thing the powers want it to mean so it seems.

The game goes merrily on. So does the coal strike, the steel strike and a few hundred others. Discontent among the workers is steadily gaining a lead on repression. Just how soon discontent will turn about and face its pursuer we do not profess know. Things happen quickly, these days, however.

THE "CURE ALL" CLUB SAYS —

"Give the working man hot dogs, ham, pretzels, sauerkraut and beer three times a day and America will be cured of strikes and Bolshevism." Jeff Davis, king of the hoboes, "Beer" or "no work" is what Sam Gompers said at Washington.

Woodrow said 4 cents and a round table was sufficient. And the class-conscious worker says: nothing less than "the world for the workers" will do. Take your choice.

STEEL

BY MARY HEATON VORSE

The other day a man came into Foster's office. He had been on strike three weeks, and now he had about 90 cents left. He had some chickens, he had good neighbors, that had given him vegetables and things from their gardens. The man was a foreigner, a young married man, and what he had come for was not to ask for strike benefits. He wanted advice and the moral support of encouragement.

He wanted to know how he was going to get along. He came rather deprecatingly, smiling in an embarrassed sort of fashion over his difficulties. Then he went away, still with his smile, his only assets, his friends, his 90 cents, and his indomitable will to stick out.

The strike is based on people like this; people full of faith; people full of endurance; people full of sacrifice — thousands and thousands of them. Thousands of them looking upward and forward to a better life for themselves and their children — for these people are striking for a right to be considered as men. They are striking for the right of a little better life. They want an end put to this dehumanizing double shift.

The other day in Braddock a mill superintendent stopped an old-timer on the street. "Aren't you working?" he asked.

"No, I am not working. I'm on strike; I'm taking a holiday. I am paying myself back those 20 Christmases I worked for the company," said the man.

That has been the situation with the mill workers. No Sundays, no Christmas. Work that took it out of a man so that he was old at 40. Work that left him so tired at the end of the day that he wasn't a human being anymore. And now these people are willing to sacrifice to change this sort of thing, for themselves, for their children, and for the workers of all time.

So when the history of this strike is written it is going to be a history of the faith and courage and endurance of men and women living in wretched slums, their windows looking on filthy court yards — living in desolate mill towns in sheds around the great mills; living in bleak houses on steep hillsides where the roads turn to rearing torrents during each rain.

Allegheny County is a fair, sweet place. There are large, fat farms; oil bubbles underneath the earth, and all around are beautiful towns full of comfortable American homes. At each turn of the road the ravines and broad hills make you a new picture. Smoke shuts out all of this when you get to the towns where the mill workers live. Their landscape is the rows and rows of great chimneys and the smoke pouring out of them. Their music is the din of the shop and the roar of the whistle.

They have no life, and now because they have asked for a few hours which lives every form of suppression and terror is being used against them.

Why has the strike not already been smothered out of existence? Only because of the dogged endurance and the dogged faith of the men. This strike is not kept together by the ordinary strike discipline. It goes on by its own momentum through the faith and courage of the men and file.

There is no one who reads this who does not know how the morale of a strike is kept up. There is no one who has seen strikes where there were not meetings entertainments, processions, the coming together of men working for a common purpose — there is nothing like this in the steel towns. It isn't allowed. If more than half a dozen strikers stop on the street to talk over their affairs they are arrested for "blocking traffic," "inciting to riot," etc.

No strike poster can be stuck up in a steel town — no leaflet passed on the street to tell the news. No meeting can be held without a permit of police. Many towns do not allow any meetings at all. In other towns where meetings are grudgingly allowed the halls are so little that they can hold only a very small fraction of the men on strike.

So a smothering silence shuts down over the men. Every day they get up to read being reports in the papers. Every day they meet on the street, mill employees who try to bribe them to go back. I know a young fellow who was discharged because he was getting men to join the union, and he was of many in his town — I have a list of their names, through Mr. Gary states that men are never discharged for union activities. This man recently met the foreman of his shop, who offered him back his old job at an increased wage. He didn't go, for they are not going back because they have settled down to a long, grim fight, in spite of every

force of the community against them, including uncertainty and suspense; in spite of all the rumors of strike-breakers and that their jobs are gone forever, in spite of the terror of the "Cossacks," the beatings, and the continual menace of arrest.

We must remember that in the steel towns people have been arrested wholesale because they have committed the crime of striking. There are charges such as obstructing traffic, unlawful assembly, etc., which make it impossible to run a striker in without his having committed any real offense. Suppression and oppression have been the father and mother of this strike and terror its godfather. But, when the company used terror, they forget the old saying that the blood of the martyr is the seed of the church.

There hasn't been a home searched or an illegal arrest made that hasn't helped the strike. There hasn't been a club that has come down on a defenseless mill worker that hasn't sent men hurrying to get out their union cards.

Take the case of Clairton for instance — this was the town where the union had got no foothold — the watchful authorities had kept the "agitators" out. ("Agitator" is the company's name for all members of the A. F. of L. who try to get their fellow workers to join a union.) There were no halls in Clairton that could be rented. All permits were denied and street meetings were broken up. That is to say, the fundamental rights of Americans were sweepingly denied. There is no right of free speech and free assembly in the steel towns. When the people in Farrell want to go to a meeting they have to go over the Ohio state line into America — and the other evening 4,000 of them walked over to hear Foster speak.

There are plenty of steel towns not in America, and Clairton is one of them. After a time the organizer hired a vacant lot from one of the mill workers. But a man in Clairton can't ask a few friends to a lawn party on his own property — the Cossacks rode down the strikers and broke up the meeting. The mill workers didn't know that it was an American to strike and they had put up an American flag — this the Cossacks rode down and the flag was trampled under the horses' hoofs. This started trouble, for there were some ex-convicts there as there are in all workmen's crowds. The affidavits sent to the Senate abound in statements like:

"The state troopers rushed on the lot and the people started to run away, but when state troopers rushed to the platform and tore down our flag, the men became incensed and some ex-soldiers, seeing our flag being insulted and defiled, rushed at said troopers in defense of our flag and started the excitement and almost caused a riot, and loyal citizens were greatly incensed. There was no provocation for said interference and riding over women and children." (Signed) Mihon Terlich.

Before this happened the organization made no headway in Clairton, but the constabulary had made an irresistible argument — men rushed away from the riot to get their union cards. The state constabulary are a splendid looking body of men in their smart dark gray uniforms and helmets, but with their riot clubs, three feet long, they are terror incarnate to the workers — they are in the steel towns in many cases not because the town authorities asked them, but at the request of the company. So brutal have they been that one can explain their acts only on the theory that they were acting under orders — to throw a scare into the workers from the first, or else that they were deliberately trying to incite riot. How else can one account for the tearing down of the flag or the incident at Braddock? There was a mission in Braddock in the Slovak church and the men were coming out from instruction or about 9—the Cossacks rode them down — not only that, but they rode their horses up the narrow church steps. The men controlled themselves — they didn't attack the Cossacks, and they did nothing in anger or reprisal when the Cossacks rode down a crowd of babies of the first grade who were going home from church.

No assembling in crowds is allowed in Braddock. There is a narrow street in Braddock along which runs the Baltimore & Ohio Railway. A tall fence separates the street from the tracks and children play here for nothing on wheels is allowed her by city ordinance. Since the strike one of the mill owners drove his car down this street, scattering the children in front of him. Behind him,

The Way We Teach. Scott Nearing's

By Anise

"This is the way," he said,

"That PRISONS are managed.

A MAN

Gets elected Governor

And he looks around and says:

"There's SO and SO,

Who delivered a district

In the election;

He's been a useful man to us;

He ought to be good

For the job of WARDEN."

So the warden takes office

And forthwith remembers

Pete and Bill and Jake

Who were also USEFUL

In a smaller way

In the precinct work.

"They'll be the stuff," he says,

"For guards and captains:

They've got a JOB

COMING to them."

And so you get

Your little SYSTEM

As absolutely

UNDER the WARDEN

As Russia, under the czar!

No prison DOCTOR

Can REMAIN

No guard, no chaplain,

Unless he FITS into

The SYSTEM.

Into this system come

The PRISONERS

Most of them BOYS

Of twenty-three of so,

On their first offense,

Some small crime,

for his protection, rode two of the steel gray troopers, but they weren't needed any more than they have been any time. The men are out to win the strike by peaceable means in spite of things, gunmen and state constabulary. The worst of the terror is over now. The people have been "pacified." They realize that they have no freedom — no right of free speech or assembly. There are communities where for a steel worker to belong to the A. F. of L. is to lay himself open to arrest and imprisonment.

The search for concealed weapons still affords a pretext for the constabulary to break into houses at night, smash open trunks and boxes with hatchets. Yesterday I went to the house of a Slovak woman who had called her husband when the Cossacks came rushing in, whereupon the trooper struck her across the face with his gloves.

These outrages, and more besides, were testified to before the Senate Committee and, as the witnesses piled in, in ceaseless procession before the senators, the outstanding fact about them was their defenselessness. How small they seemed to lift their feeble hands against the giant of steel — the giant which can command not only the mills, but the courts, the police and the press!

There was one thing more outstanding than their defenselessness, and that was their steadfastness as they are fighting one of the greatest battles of all history and fighting with no other weapon than their unshaken courage.

THE CALL MAGAZINE.

THE STRANGE, SAD CASE OF PRESIDENT WILSON

By Woodrow

"More," says Labor.
"Less and less," says Capital.
"Nix on the rough stuff," says Government.

And the fight is on. Strange, isn't it, that President Wilson forgot to say anything at all in his declaration of war on the mine workers, about treating the coal operators rough because they refuse to give the miners enough to eat? Very strange! President Wilson seems to have had a lapse in memory. Not very long ago it was he who said that the real trouble makers in this country are the big business interests behind the "invisible government."

But just in order to keep our faith in human nature let's diagnose the strange, sad case of President Wilson. We know that he forgot to say that he would use an army against the coal operators if they persisted in refusing the miners enough wages to live on decently. Now there must be something wrong with President Wilson's thinking apparatus. Otherwise there is no way to explain such a strange idea — that 500,000 coal miners have no right to quit working if they do not like the conditions or wages under which they are working. And the amazing statement of the president that they are "unlawful" in striking, while the coal operators are perfectly within their rights to close down the mines any day they are good and ready, throwing thousands of men out of work and cutting off the production of coal!

Let's diagnose the strange, sad case of President Wilson, who seems to have something wrong with his thinking apparatus. Now the president is, we will admit, doing the very best he knows how. The only trouble is he does not know how very well. His mental machinery is running along just as smoothly as it ever

A PROPERTY crime.

Sent up for a year.

They have NO RIGHTS

According to the rules.

(Why, even a DOG

Has rights!

But NOT a prisoner.)

They are completely

At the MERCY

Of the petty tyrant guards.

Why, if HALF the prisoners

Protest at an abuse.

And a SINGLE guard

Says: "Not so; they LIE!"

The guard's word GOES

Against the word of ALL;

And THAT is true

In EVERY PRISON

In the United States!

And if a prisoner comes up

For PAROLE

He must have a clear record

For six months.

If ONCE in all that time

A guard should say:

"This fellow passed me

And failed to keep his eyes

Straight FRONT,

But glanced at me sideways!"

Then BING!

The man's parole is gone,

WHATEVER his plea!

This is the way we teach

RESPECT for JUSTICE.

In the penitentiaries

Where NO ONE is penitent,

And the reformatories

That reform NO ONE!"

did in Paris, where he had to make some of those 14 points a little less pointed in order to get them with the representatives of certain monarchal governments. But he is still making the same mistake he made there; the mistake that all men who never labor for their names or their living make when trying to "fix things" for the peoples of the world. He forgot to first find out what the people wanted.

It's a fatal mistake. There was a time when the common folks of the world — that conglomerate mass of men, women and children who just spend their simple lives creating wealth and getting very little of it for themselves — could be told by peace conferences and congresses what they wanted, and they took it. Just like a little kiddie takes the nasty medicine his mother says he must take or stay in bed. Just like that. But they do not do it any more. Perhaps it is because they, themselves, think they know what they want.

The only advice the president ever gets, we are told, is given him by the cabinet members and his other friends who ride about in limousines, live in swell hotels and never get their hands dirty or their feet wet. This class of gentlemen, of course, think that the whole world is just like their world, and the advice they give the president is always colored by their own experience. To the president they represent that strange and fickle quality known to the parlor students of economics as "public opinion." For is not one of them a banker, one a lawyer, another a business man, etc., representing all shades of "public opinion" — all but the one shade which is greater than all of them combined, the opinion of the millions of common folks who just make the wealth and have very little of it to spend for themselves?

So the president, surrounded by his cabinet of comfortable gentlemen of wealth and breeding, neglects to find out what the people want before he tells them what they are to have. And when the coal miners — 500,000 of them — ask the coal operators — less than 1,000 of them — for some decent wages, a little more wages and better working conditions, and the operators stand sullenly silent and say that they will close down their mines first before they will give the miners another red cent or a few less working hours, the president is guided by the "public opinion" of the bankers and lawyers who surround him always. He issues a statement blaming the 500,000 coal miners instead of the 100 or less coal operators for treating to shut down the mines.

It is a strange, sad case, is the case of President Wilson. We diagnose it and find that the president is doing the best he knows how, but that he does not know very much. For instance, he does not know that the great mass of common people over whom he is president are behind the coal miners in their demand that the millions of coal operators must disgorge some of their huge profits in the form of decent wages to the men who risk their lives to produce the coal. He does not know that the miners are not getting ready to strike because they like it, but because they are compelled to use their only weapon to fight the coal kaisers. He does not know that the "poor people" he seems to worry about getting cold if the strikers shut down the mines are cold now because the coal dealers have raised

THE BLACK SHEEP

By Long and Lanky.

Chapt. V.

Reflection.

"I have been thinking and thinking ever since you told me about that phenomena in the world, you called the class struggle. I have been trying to get myself located in what appears to me to be a damned complex system of society. What is more, I am not having the success that I usually experience in unravelling my problems."

"I have read a few books about life and its laws; its apparent mysteries and their solution. I have verified what they said by observing the actions of the living and the remains of the dead. I found that what the books said was generally true. Really, I had faith in the works of Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, Tyndal, Romagnos, Clodd, McCabe, Allen and Loeb, but none of these men mentioned that strange contradiction in human society of which you speak. I must confess that your logic impressed me but also that I am as yet more bewildered than 'convinced,' said Jack to the engineer, while they were waiting for them to adjust something about the separator.

George Sigimiller smiled good naturedly as he answered, "The trouble with you is, that you have read biologists and rationalists instead of sociologists and rationalists instead of sociologists and rationalists as related to its environment, while men are related to their environment and to each other. You must graduate from the impression of biology into the school of anthropology, then into sociology and finally into economics. In your study of biology you have but opened the door to the labyrinth of existence. There are yet many chambers to explore."

"The thing that puzzles me is this, we all live in the same environment; surrounded by the same influences, then why don't we think alike?" asked Jack.

"What runs the machinery of that?" was the engineer's counter question.

"If my books tell the truth, then that is a result of nerve stimulation by light, heat, sound, touch, smell. These nerve stimuli being modified in their affect upon the brain by the impression we call memory. Thus it is, that human beings react to the impressions from their environment, modified by the record of previous experiences that have happened in the life of the individual, or perhaps in the life of the race to which he belongs."

"Now George you must admit that the environment of all people is practically the same. How then can you argue that there are two that modes in the world?" Jack asked of the engineer.

"Half truths are often times more dangerous than complete falsehoods," George answered. "Let me illustrate; you are working for a rich man; you are both affected by the weather in a similar way that is, if the condition of the weather is not extreme. In a blizzard he can afford a warm coat and a comfortable car when he is out, when at home artificial heat and pleasant surroundings make the winter nights a luxury. You, on the other hand are poor, and go shivering in the storm, homeless, cursing the hour that you were born. You see, the economic factor enters into it. It becomes clear that your environment affects you according to your economic position in life."

Again I might illustrate it in this way. A crop failure throws you out of a job which forces you as a migratory worker, to further migration or to crime due to your not being able to make an honest living, when there is no work to do. The farmer not being able to pay his mortgage loses his farm. The banker becomes richer by foreclosing the mortgage he holds on the farmers and forcing them into the working class. They make your lot easier by increasing the number of workers competing for jobs. Crop failure is thus detrimental to you and the farmer, while it may be beneficial to the banker and mortgage holder."

Environmental reaction indeed, causes that processes in the brain of man, as well as all other creatures, but don't forget for a moment that your economic position is a part of your environment."

"If I understand you rightly," said the engineer, "you consider man's accumulated wealth a specific source of nerve stimulation. I might say, man thinks in accordance with what he has."

"Yes," answered George, "Your acts as a whole are determined by the law of economic determinism."

"Illustrate that law by example," demanded Jack.

"Your father is a religious man you tell me."

"Yes."

"He also lends money on interest to his brethren?"

"Yes."

"Now supposing his church would hire a person who would make it his business to preach that the taking of interests is wrong. Would your father like it?"

"No dad wouldn't like it, especially if the preaching caused his debtors to refuse to pay interest."

"What would he do?"

"He would have the preacher fired or withdrawn from the church. In fact I know that he would have the preacher fired, because the elders and deacons are all money lenders, and naturally would not stand for such preaching."

"But supposing the parsons proved his position by the Book? And you tell me your father believes in the Book, then what?"

"Dad would find an interpretation of scripture in harmony with his economic practices, and would hire a preacher who would preach his interpretation and nothing else. I see the whole thing. The law of economic determinism governs man's conduct. I might say it, so that it would be simply self interest."

"Now I want you to observe human actions and notice that no matter how they veil their acts under cloaks of piety, patriotism, altruism or what not, somewhere either close at hand or farther back you will find the pres-

ence of the economic urge. It is this economic determinism that causes the employers to organize their chambers of commerce, their vigilance committees their strike breaking detective agencies, things about which as yet you know nothing, but with which you will become familiar before you are many years older. On the other hand, economic determinism forces the working man to organize into labor unions and into political parties and mutual benefit societies. Behind it all is the same law, economic determinism."

"By the way, Jack, do you know anything about labor unions?"

"Yes, I know that dad hates 'em." "Naturally," conceded the engineer as he laughed good humoredly. "But you are going to join a union, when you have learned a trade?"

"Oh, I don't know about that. I may never learn a trade, then what?" "The time is coming when even the unskilled will have to be organized or be hopelessly exploited. The working man must learn that they have no chance of fighting the amalgamated association of political, industrial and financial barons, single handed. It will become the cry of the working classes, 'organize, lest ye perish.'" "Do you belong to a union?" asked the boy glibly.

"Sure thing, I belong to Stationary and Traction engineer's local number 370."

"You never threw any bricks at people who want to work, simply because they didn't belong to your bunch?"

"No, I was never elected on an entertainment committee." "Is Herman a union man, too?" questioned Jack.

"Yes, he's a member of the machinists' union."

"Why do the unions 'pul off' such terrible things, such as stopping people who want to make an honest living?"

George looked upon the boy with a mingling of amusement and pity in his eyes. "We have taught you what the class struggle is theoretically. I dare say that you can give a better definition right now than eight out of every ten socialists. You have defined for me the law of economic determinism, saying that man as a whole acts from the point of view of self interest. Lacking the practical experience of the class struggle you are not yet able to apply it to concrete instances. Now why should I want to join a labor union if not for self interest? You see my employer is a company, that is an organized body of men, whose function it is to buy my labor power. In order to deal with them to the best advantage, we approach them as organized workers. We sell them 'your' hire us in a body, you pay us so much, you give us such conditions under which to work. And if you don't we quit." If our employer hires a man who is not affiliated with us, who does nothing in an organized way to get better conditions, then we resent it. We must resent it or the self interest of the employing group will have its way and we as workers will become slaves, to the employer's will. This is the reason that seabs sometimes catch it."

"I see," said Jack, "organized labor is a weapon in the class struggle, but dad always spoke of them as criminals."

"That is quite natural, your father being an employer of labor hated nothing so much as an organized demand on the part of his workers for a larger share of the products of their toil."

"Always remember Jack, whenever you are confronted with a social problem that economic determinism is the key by which it can be solved. When ever you see a fight between the employer and the employed you will find that it is over surplus value. When ever you see any marked change in the relation of employer and employe to the advantage of the employe, it is the result of organized effort. And all organized effort is a manifestation of social intelligence. — good God, boy, look at that steam! get busy!"

(Continued next week.)

ATTEND WORKERS' UNIVERSITY.
1314 Vine str. Cincinnati, O.
Lectures Every Sunday
CALENDAR FOR NOVEMBER
Nov. 16th. Prof. Otto G. Markwardt of Detroit, Mich.
23th. Tom Lewis of Portland Oregon.
30th. Ross D. Brown (Colored) of Munice Ind.
Dec. 7th. Jos. Sharts of Dayton O.
14th. Mrs. Gillman of New York.
21st. Geo. R. Kirkpatrick of New York.
28th. Wm. A. Domingo (Colored) of New York.

COMMING.
Wm. D. Hayward of Chicago, Alexander Berkman & Emma Goldman of New York, Scott Nearing of New York, Basanta Koomar Roy of India. COMRADES: —

We are under considerable expense in bringing speakers here for these meetings. Every comrade should therefore take a deep interest in the splendid lectures given and support this series liberally.

Every comrade and fellow-worker is urged to attend each lecture and bring others with them. Don't forget the dates and remember to bring others and help the movement along. Fill the hall to overflowing.

MEETING OF NEW STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CALLED
The second ballot of the state membership upon the election of four members of the State Executive Committee has been tabulated, resulting in the election of Jno J. Hoge of Bellaire, Geo Bundy of Warren, M. A. Tooley of Toledo, and Frank R. Hamilton of Piqua. Tom Clifford, Lotta Burke and Marguerite Prevey were elected on the first ballot.

The first meeting of a new Committee was called for last Saturday and Sunday at State Headquarters. A full report of this meeting will appear in next week's issue of The Ohio Socialist.

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Fill out this blank with the name of a worker, enclose it with a dollar or a half dollar in an envelope and mail to the address below. Can you do more RIGHT NOW for the working class than this? If so, send two subscriptions. Do it now.

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EDITORS Elmer T. Allison Alfred Wagenknecht

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, NOVEMBER 12th 1919,

Democracy at Home.

One might surmise that a four years war, fought and won for democracy, might in all decency have some tangible evidence of its winnings on hand to show any unbelieving who might have doubts thereof. One might even expect President Wilson, by some logorhematic words and phrases to point out a few unquestionable evidences of the facts of democracy in the every-day lives of the common herd, who up to a short time since hung upon his words as the inspired sentences of mankind's Saviour.

But the President is very far from bringing forth such proof of his conquests of the forces of autocracy. Quite the contrary. We are learning that winning a thing and having it are two entirely different propositions. Since the war for democracy was won there has been far more autocracy in America than before. As a matter of fact a period of reaction has seized the nation and the powers that be are marshalling every resource against the putting into practice of the principles for which millions died and billions in wealth were spent. The socialist press has been well nigh destroyed. Free speech is a memory. The Constitution, so far as the workers of this country are concerned, does not exist.

The steel strike has furnished sufficient evidence to damn any government. Men and women have been murdered in the towns of Pennsylvania and nothing has been done about it, nor will any thing be done except to cover the destroyers of life and liberty with a coat of governmental whitewash.

And now comes the coal strike bearing upon its heels more evidence of the brand of democracy which Wilson brought back from Paris and locked about the necks of American workers. President Wilson declares that the miners have violated the law by striking. He thus makes them out to be criminals, law-breakers. One cannot believe that he believes his own statements. He seeks merely to use the capitalist courts to enslave the workers and to force them into abject slavery to the coal barons. With all his fine words for labor, his actions belie every one of them. By his action in declaring the coal miners to be outlaws, he brands himself an arch-autocrat and enemy of labor. Let him be known for what he is. Wilson's brand of democracy is proving the undoing of labor. The workers need no Saviors. They can and must save themselves. Confidence placed in others than the workers is confidence mis-placed.

Taking a Nation's Measure.

By what measure shall a nation be judged? The generally accepted standard to-day is that of commercial standing and battle ships and armament to protect it. It is a token of the times and a measure of the values set upon human endeavor. We live in a commercial age, hence all things commercial are hallowed. A brilliant halo resides upon our national god, the rays from which stretch out in all directions especially toward heathen and undeveloped lands, where trade possibilities are especially liable of development.

Let us take a glance at the conditions in which our school-children live while ministering to the moral, mental and physical needs of the nation's children. What are their services valued at in the coin of the realm? And don't forget to compare the "dollars" received with what they will buy in the shoe, food, clothing, and other markets which the teacher must patronize in order to keep respectable appearing and morally and mentally balanced to be able to do justice to OUR children.

The wages of Cleveland's school teachers afford a shining example and measure of one of America's greatest cities. The yearly wage averages about \$75 a month. What will \$75 buy—it will buy almost half enough for a family to live upon. Of course it does not afford vacations in the hot summers nor an over-dose of refinements and nothing for a rainy day. Many teachers are bread winners for families. While giving the best that is in them in the prime of their lives to society, the child and the teacher, they are bereft of opportunities to develop themselves in accordance with the demands WE make upon them.

The plea is made that there is no money to pay higher salaries. But there is plenty of money for every conceivable kind of "drive" that can be imagined. The wages paid school teachers are an indictment of present day civilization. Commercialism rules. Our teachers, our children and posterity are mortgaged to maintain its rule. Measured by the value set upon education and the treatment of our children, America stands low in the scale of real civilization.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP in the COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

Realizing the necessity of education and organization of the working-class in order that we may the sooner achieve our emancipation, and of the value of our propaganda for this purpose.

I hereby apply for membership in The Communist Propaganda League.

Enclosed find \$..... for which send me copies of The Ohio Socialist weekly for as many weeks as this sum pays for at the rate of 1c per copy.

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JOIN—SEND A DOLLAR FOR TEN COPIES FOR TEN WEEKS—MORE IF YOU CAN—JOIN Address: COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

THE QUESTION BOX

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

J. R.—Akron: The Communist Labor Party has chartered state organizations in New York, California, Washington, Oregon, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Minnesota, Rhode Island and Ohio. Charters will shortly be issued to New Jersey and Pennsylvania. States having three hundred or more members can be chartered. The largest locals in Florida, Colorado, Utah, Arkansas, and other states have affiliated but many of these states did not have a total of 300 members even when affiliated with the Socialist Party. Organization work is going forward in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, Delaware.

S. L.—Portsmouth: The Communist Party's claims as to membership vary. Sometimes this party claims 50,000 members, sometimes 45,000, at other times 55,000 as high as 60,000. The membership of any organization is not based upon the random claims of some of its enthusiastic supporters, but upon an average dues stamp sale for a period of three or four months.

A. K.—Minneapolis: The Russian Federation which affiliated with the Communist Party has for months bitterly attacked the Soviet Bureau which is representing Soviet Russia in this country. These attacks led to a split in the Russian Federation, and the branches which withdrew from the federation or were expelled, have organized a new federation, affiliated with the Communist Labor Party. The Communist Labor Party Russian Federation is working in harmony with and is supporting the Soviet Bureau.

G. W.—Cincinnati: We have direct information from a member of the Communist Party that deals were made between the Communist Party Russian Federation and Ferguson and Traina, several weeks before the Communist convention convened, which gave many of the present national officials of that party the places they now hold.

L. N. E.—Terre Haute: The Socialist Party convention, by a vote of about three to one, refused to endorse the Third International, that formed at Moscow. Thereupon a minority of the delegates insisted that a resolution, conditionally endorsing the Third International, go to membership referendum, for the purpose of international calling for another new international. These referendums are now before the Socialist Party membership.

O. McE.—Davenport: The Communist Labor Party will hereafter officially publish "The Class Struggle" monthly. It will also officially publish the "Voice of Labor" and "Communist Labor", each bi-weekly and alternatingly. Some of the best pamphlets and books are already on sale, published officially by the party.

H. C.—Seattle: Locals that now remain or remain affiliated with the Socialist Party become part of a corpse. The Socialist Party is wrecked financially; its membership now but numbers thousands were it had tens of thousands before. Even locals that join neither the C. P. or C. L. P., any longer to the Socialist Party. These centrist locals are remaining independent of either party, many of them printing their own dues stamps.

E. M.—Boston: The letter sent the Communist Labor Party by the Communist Party, refusing to enter into unity conference, was submitted to the Communist Party central executive committee of fifteen, and the vote stood 9 to 5 in favor of adoption. Whether the five who voted against the answer were for a unity conference is doubtful.

M. L. O.—Detroit: It was C. E. Ruthenberg who proposed the resolution at a delegate meeting of Cleveland comrades, asking that a state convention be held of Communist, Communist Labor and Socialist Party locals jointly, to decide the disposition of the state property. The Communist Labor Party is absolutely opposed to a meeting in joint convention with any Socialist Party locals for any purpose whatsoever.

A. W.—Cleveland: Yes, Fraina espies to make a trip to Russia to visit Lenin and Trotsky and to affiliate the Communist Party with the Third International. Your information that some of the national officials of the C. P. opposed to this trip by Fraina, is correct.

A. M.—Cleveland: Unity is being demanded by an ever greater number of Communist Party locals. It is only the national officials of the Communist Party who stand in the way of unity. The demand for unity can best be strengthened by joining the Communist Labor Party, for it has officially, in convention, adopted a standing offer of unity with the C. P. or any other revolutionary group.

M. P.—Chicago: If you desire to remain clear of vision you must overlook personal attacks at unessential criticisms. The Communist Party only disrupts its own organization in its senseless attacks upon the Communist Labor Party.

R. T.—Toledo: Lou are correct. Before the national left wing conference, Fraina and the Russian Federation called the Michigan Socialist mensheviks. After the national left wing conference, the bolting Michigan Federation group called Fraina and his group mensheviks. And Fraina and his group, thru the Revolutionary Age, called the Michigan-Russian Federation combination menshevik. Then a merger was formed between these two groups which called each other mensheviks.

The Communist Party Scolds You

The Communist Party, thru its official organ, scolds all locals that have entered municipal campaigns this fall. The national secretary of the Communist Party continues his attacks upon locals which have taken part in the Ohio municipal campaigns. Wherever he speaks, be it Chicago or Boston one of his main themes is "the menshevism of Ohio locals that entered and fought in the municipal elections."

This means that he as well as the official organ of the Communist Party, has attacked Locals Toledo, Akron, Piqua, Massillon, Hamilton, and all other Ohio locals that have had municipal candidates in the field this fall.

The argument made by the Communist Party and its national officials is that under no circumstances should Ohio locals have conducted municipal campaigns under the name of the Socialist Party. Extenuating circumstances cut no ice with the Communist Party officials. For the Communist Party was made upon a strict communist municipal platform, made no difference.

Principles did not count. The Socialist Party name was anathema—and this despite the fact that the bolsheviks of Russia conducted campaigns under any old name, to get their principles across. We always had an idea that names meant nothing and principles everything. The Communist Party officials reverse this axiom, it seems. Principles mean nothing and everything is in a name.

But what do you think of this? Ohio locals entering the municipal campaign upon communist platforms are compromisers, but the national secretary of the Communist Party thinks it ALL RIGHT to ask locals that have rejoined the reactionary Socialist Party to enter a state convention with him, where undoubtedly he intends to use them to "capture" the property of the state office, and its functioning organs. It's ALL RIGHT to go into cahoots with compromising Socialist Party locals but it's all wrong to make an uncompromising campaign. Some consistency!

We agree that party controversies bring forth strange contradictions. But we are glad that the Communist Labor Party and seen clearly from the first, has not entered useless nor bitter discussions about non-essentials, has not resorted to foolish attacks upon comrades and locals.

It is because of this that the Communist Labor Party has steadily gathered strength. It is the party which will gain the confidence of all revolutionary comrades and in it, all revolutionary comrades will eventually enlist their services.

THE PRESS FUND IS GROWING.

Recent conditions within the Party have had a striking effect upon the Press Fund contributions but the results for this are rapidly passing. We expect a rapid rise in interest in the matter of securing an up to date printing equipment for the Party, in Ohio and The Ohio Socialist very soon. Comrades realize that the question of propaganda is paramount to all else and that the best assurance of a continuation of our propaganda and its control is to control our own publishing plant.

Since the termination of the war the publishing business has boomed at a tremendous rate. Manufacturers have been rushed with orders far in excess of the capacity of their plants. Several months will be required to fill an order for a new press, but we are attempting to overcome this difficulty. We will make the best possible bargain for ourselves and get a press as quickly as it is possible to do so. Keep the question of our needed printing plant uppermost in your minds for the necessity of it is growing.

Here are recent contributions.

Chas. Flodding, Leontis, O.	\$1.00
K. W. Boring, Wellsville, O.	3.00
Fred Brueckner, Laramie, Wyo.	5.00
Jas Dartnall, Norwood, O.	1.00
F. H. Hagerman, Cincinnati, O.	2.00
Henry Beck, E. Liverpool, O.	2.00
Edward Lawson, Sugar Grove Pa.	1.00
T. E. Pendergrass, Roswell, N. Mex.	2.00
Mrs. J. Underhill, Cincinnati, O.	25
F. J. W. Liken, E. Radford, Va.	2.00
Robert W. Bryan, Akron, O.	1.50
E. D. O. Marion, Hamilton, O.	1.00
Cutarelli Pietro, Hamilton, O.	1.00
Ignatz Lurwig, Hamilton, O.	1.00
A. E. Weyandt, Leesville, O.	1.00
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Bert Velzey, Mansfield, O.	3.00
Chas. Streng, Marysville, O.	1.00
O. K. Johnson, Akron, O.	1.00
J. H. Sims, Bethel, O.	2.00
A. Workingman, Cincinnati, O.	1.00
L. L. Springer, Jeromesville, O.	1.00
John Royer, Hartsville, O.	2.00
Nathaniel Royer, Hartsville, O.	2.00
Ephraim Royer, Hartsville, O.	2.00
A. C. Waltenbaugh, Hartsville, O.	1.00
Geo. H. Wike, Canton, O.	1.00
Dr. W. Van Nette, Clyde, O.	1.00
Total	\$43.75
Previously subscribed	4,167.24
Grand total	\$4,211.00

JAPANESE WAGES.

From official figures published by the Japanese government, the average daily wage paid in Japan to carpenters is 43 cents; to bricklayers, 54 cents; paper hangers, 40 cents; printers, 25 cents. In the lighter manufacturing lines many more women are employed than men, and their pay varies from 11 cents to 17 cents per day, the latter figure being the highest paid.

The doctors of Dundalk, Ireland, went on strike for a minimum salary of \$5 weekly for all public services. In the meantime people cannot afford to die decently in that town.

and to and behold, they at once became 100 percent bolshevik. It being written in the heavens that a menshevik group must exist, therefore the merger now calls the C. L. P. a menshevik organization.

A Letter To The Editor.

DEAR SIR:—

Being a Socialist, and also a Union man, I feel as though I would like to express my opinions on the condition of trade-unionism as I see it, through the columns of your paper which I think is a beacon light to the workers that are in darkness in regards to their conditions.

"Weakness of Labor-Unionism." At the Round-table Conference, Labor Unions were surely shown their weak and helpless condition, and their inability to cope with the Capitalist class, when their resolution providing for recognition of the principle of Collective Bargaining was turned down.

Paul Feiss of Cleveland, big employer, and member of the public group said: "Organized Labor is not up to date. It has not developed with the times, and that labor leaders are still fighting their battles as they did forty and fifty years ago. This is true, Labor Unions are still fighting upon the same principles that they did fifty years ago. And we are just as much wage slaves to-day as we were then, if not more so."

The workers see their last right being taken away from them, and they are powerless, and helpless, unable to protect themselves against the all-powerful capitalist class, which is crushing them to pieces.

It is high time that Union-men all over the country should wake up to the fact that what they need now is not conferences and arguments with the capitalist but a good strong Labor Party, and to rally to the standard of the party as one man, get the reins of Government in their own control, and then they will be up to date, and will be able to convince Mr. Feiss of that fact.

Labor then will be in a position to legislate and make laws for their own protection. But as it is today, all law is for the capitalist class. Capital controls both the old political parties, and when Union men go to the polls and vote for either one, he votes against his own Organization and Union Principles, and the capitalist know this and laughs at the Ignorance of the Workingman.

The great need of the working-man is to educate himself in regard to his own condition, and the cause, then get busy and help to organize a Labor Party that will remove the cause. Then and not until then will come that glad day of the Emancipation for the Wage-slave.

Yours respect,
J. W. KEENEY
395 E. Livingston, Av.
Columbus, O.

Note by Editor: While agreeing with the above, that all workers must unite in one strong political Party for the purpose of emancipating themselves, we wish to emphasize the last paragraph in the comrade's letter. We are in the educational period of the revolution. The great need is to educate the workers in the nature of his true condition—to teach him class-consciousness. Class-consciousness of the worker as the one thing which will guarantee him against being gulled by "Labor Parties" formed by reactionary labor leaders such as we have had in the past and have in the process of formation at the present time. A worker's political party without a revolutionary program and goal can be nothing but a means of enslavement.

The Communist Labor Party is a party of workers whose aim is not merely the mitigation of the conditions of the wage-slave's existence, but intends to overthrow and destroy the economic system which makes him a slave.

"The Final Conflict"

In the struggle of the miners and the operators President Wilson has taken his stand, the entire machinery of government will be brought into play if necessary, and the press brings up the rear of the procession. All these are open, willing servants of plutocracy, but the efforts of all combined cannot avail in the present crisis.

The sick man in the White House has let loose forces that may sweep not only his administration, but the social order, into the class of the over-powered and obsolete. Neither pity for his physical plight nor devotion to a flag will make the workers weaklings, content to be driven along the path that industrial autocracy has marked out. As Helen Keller has recently written: "The justice fails to see that, in revolution, any times like the present, vital issues are settled, not by statutes, decrees and authorities, but in spite of them. Like the Girondins in France, they imagine that force can check the onrush of revolution. Thus they sow the wind, and unto them shall be the harvest of the whirlwind."

The blind girl saw clearly enough to state the situation correctly! Labor is not a minority. It is a vast majority. That third, much-pitied group called "the public" is largely Labor, unorganized for the most part but containing all the potentialities of wise revolt. All Labor will become aware of its interests, and will rule. It will make its own law, maintain its own order, decide its own destiny, which at length will be the law and the order and the destiny of the whole human race.

Many of us have occasion to rejoice in this hour of hope for a working class awake and militant and the Social Revolution bursting upon us suddenly, brightly and beneficently.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE

Entercollegiate Socialist Society Begins New Year

The Intercollegiate Socialist Society is starting the year's work among the college students and alumni members with brighter prospects than ever before.

The Society was formed in 1905 for the purpose of "promoting intelligent interest in Socialism among collegians and educated men and women generally." During the war, with the introduction of the S. A. T. C. into many of the colleges, and the virtual suspension of all except military activities, students at times found it difficult to continue with the work of the Society. With the coming of peace, however, many old chapters are reorganizing, and new ones being formed. Since the opening of the college year California, Columbia, C. N. Y., Yale, Wisconsin, Adelphi, Radcliffe, New York University, and other colleges have reported good prospects for the coming season.

One of the most important activities of the Society during the winter will be the sending of well known speakers to different parts of the country. Members of the New York Alumni Chapter, one of the most active groups, have already started their regular Saturday afternoon "Camaraderies". They have secured William Z. Foster of the steel workers organization, and W. N. Ewer, Foreign editor of the London Daily Herald, as early speakers on their program.

Another undertaking, which the growth of the Society has made necessary is the publication of a monthly magazine, "The Socialist Review." Originally the organization issued a small bulletin which developed into "The Intercollegiate Socialist," a quarterly. But with the growing importance of Socialism in world affairs, it became impossible to present its latest developments adequately without a monthly. "The Socialist Review" will therefore meet the inevitable need of the Society for a publication, to provide not only its members, but the general public, with the best thought and most significant facts available regarding the socialist and labor movement.

Membership in the Society is open to anyone, irrespective of his beliefs, who is genuinely interested in the study of Socialism. Further information may be secured by addressing the I. S. S. at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Mr. BLOCK AND THE Profiteers

By the author of "Crimes of the Bolsheviks." Here's the hottest little agitator that ever came down the pike. Forty five pages and twenty pictures of Mr. Block, thinking saying, doing things to make every worker, laugh, think and feel ashamed of himself. It's an educator. By a hundred copies and put them on the job. Single Copy 10c. 10 copies 75c. 100 copies \$6.00 Address: State Office 3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland O.

LOCAL CINCINNATI, ATTENTION!

We hereby announce that our Local severed connection with the yellow Socialists of the Socialist Party. The Communist Labor Party is the National group the Local decided to affiliate with by a vote taken on October 2nd. This step puts on every member the obligation to assist in the work mapped out by the platform and program of the new party.

This program calls for special branches to be organized in the workshops of the nation. The Organization in the shops are to become the channels thru which our propaganda is to reach the workers employed therein.

The Organization Committee of Local Cincinnati is now ready to take up this work. It is the duty of every Comrade to assist in the realization of this plan in their respective places of employment.

We herewith request all willing to do their part to get in touch with the Organization Committee of the Local. Yours for Cooperation, the Organization Committee

O. S. \$65.—\$22 Gal. 8

Houston, Texas.—A good profiteer story has come to light here. It all started with a felony case brought against a negro porter for stealing a suit of clothes valued by the merchant at \$65. At least this was the price the retailer sold it for and the sum was \$15 over the amount needed to make the alleged act a felony. At the suggestion of his lawyer, the negro, instead of denying guilt, submitted the price tag from the stolen suit and showed that the strange marks under the price mark indicated a cost price of \$22. When the merchant learned of this defense he rushed over to the district attorney and had the whole case thrown out. It thus became an accessory after the fact in a misdemeanor case rather than risk the light on his own business. Most of us have little difficulty in agreeing that the unwilling defender of the thief was a greater thief than the principal.

THE BULLETIN BOARD

There is more power in a can of printers' ink than in all the T. N. T. used to blow Europe into its present chaos. Dynamite becomes a mere "fizzle" compared to it.

And take our ward for it, it isn't bombs that will aid the workers in their war for emancipation. Printers' ink is the thing that will turn the trick. For printers' ink spells E D U C A T I O N.

The Capitalist knows it. Do you?

Support the worker's press.

Do it to-day. Get a sub.



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 3207 Clark Avenue Cleveland, Ohio. A. WAGENKNECHT, Executive Secretary.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE Max Bedacht, California. Alexander Bilan, Ohio. Jack Carney, Minnesota. L. E. Katterfeld, Kansas. Edward Lindgren, New York.

ALTERNATES L. K. England, Illinois. Edgar Owens, Illinois.

LABOR COMMITTEE Chas. Baker, Ohio. L. K. England, Illinois. Benjamin Githow, New York. R. E. Richardson, Utah. Arne Swaback, Washington.

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATES John Reed, New York. A. Wagenknecht, Ohio.

OUR HONEST FARMER

A Rural Soliloquy by Thos Howie

The Farmer's been silent for many a year, So the old politicians have nothing to fear. He's been told how to farm and how he should vote, And nobody worried when he was the Goat. They told him how the land the moisture would keep, If he plowed this same land about eight inches deep, And when he should harvest and when he should sow, If much larger crops he wanted to grow.

He's been told how to pack and how he should plow; They've told of the profits of milking a cow, Of the alluring farm each has something to say— Of the song of the hen the smell of the hay.

They've told of the crops the farmer should sow, And also the pork and the beef he should grow; They pictured the future to the farmer so bright— He hardly took time to sleep over night.

No wonder the wrinkles grow deep in his brow, For they milked the farmer while he milked the cow, And for politics he had no time to spare— No wonder the hayseeds hang thick in his hair!

Oh farmer, so long as you mortgage your days, And let your grafters control what you raise, Just that long you'll be in the profiteers' care, And the hayseeds be never comed from your hair!

LIBERTY

To all in vain will timorous ones essay To set the metes and bounds of Liberty. For Freedom is its own eternal law; It makes its own conditions, and in storm

Or calm alike fulfills the unerring Will. Let us not then despise it when it lies Still as a sleeping lion, while a swarm Of gnat-like evils hover round its head;

Nor doubt it when in mad, disjointed times It shakes the torch of terror, and its cry Shrills o'er the quaking earth, and in the flame

Of riot and war we see its awful form Rise by the scaffold, where the crime has axe Rings down its grooves the knell of shuddering kings; Forever in thine eyes, O Liberty, Shines that high light whereby the world is saved, And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee!

JOHN HAY.

chant learned of this defense he rushed over to the district attorney and had the whole case thrown out. It thus became an accessory after the fact in a misdemeanor case rather than risk the light on his own business. Most of us have little difficulty in agreeing that the unwilling defender of the thief was a greater thief than the principal.

REPORT OF THE BULLITT MISSION TO RUSSIA.

We reprint below the report of William C. Bullitt, special representative of the United States to Russia in February 1919. This report was first made public in Mr. Bullitt's statement before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, September 12, 1919. In spite of this report, the truth of which cannot be refuted, the President's undeclared war against the working-class government of Soviet Russia continues. The unofficial blockade still exists, millions of peace-loving Russians are starving for lack of the food this blockade is keeping out of Russia.

I. REPORT OF WILLIAM C. BULLITT

Economic Situation

Russia today is in a condition of acute economic distress. The blockade by land and sea is the cause of this distress and lack of the essentials of transportation is its gravest symptom. Only one-fourth of the locomotives which ran on Russian lines before the war are now available for use. Furthermore, Soviet Russia is cut off entirely from all supplies of coal and gasoline. In consequence, transportation by all steam and electric vehicles is greatly hampered; and transportation by automobile and by the fleet of gasoline-using Volga steamers and canal boats is impossible.

As a result of these hindrances to transportation it is possible to bring from the grain centers to Moscow only twenty-five carloads of food a day, instead of the one hundred carloads which are essential and to Petrograd only fifteen carloads, instead of the essential fifty. In consequence, every man, woman, and child in Moscow and Petrograd is suffering from slow starvation.

Mortality is particularly high among new-born children whose mothers cannot suckle them, among newly-delivered mothers, and among the aged. The entire population, in addition, is exceptionally susceptible to disease; and a slight illness is apt to result fatally because of the total lack of medicines. Typhoid, typhus, and smallpox are epidemic in both Petrograd and Moscow.

Industry, except the production of munitions of war, is largely at a standstill. Nearly all means of transport which are not employed in carrying food are used to supply the army, and there is scarcely any surplus transport to carry materials essential to normal industry. Furthermore, the army has absorbed the best executive brains and physical vigor of the nation. In addition, Soviet Russia is cut off from most of its sources of iron and of cotton. Only the flax, hemp, wool, and lumber industries have an adequate supply of raw material.

On the other hand, the essentials of economic life as are available are being utilized to the utmost by the Soviet Government. Such trains as there are, run on time. The distribution of food is well controlled. Many industrial experts of the old regime are again managing their plants and sabotage by such managers has ceased. Loafing by the workmen during work hours has been overcome.

Social Conditions

The destructive phase of the revolution is over and all the energy of the Government is turned to constructive work. The terror has ceased. All power of judgment has been taken away from the extraordinary commission for suppression of the counter-revolution, which now merely accuses suspect counter-revolutionaries, who are tried by the regular, established, legal tribunals. Executions are extremely rare. Good order has been established. The streets are safe. Shooting has ceased. There are few robberies. Prostitution has disappeared from sight. Family life has been unbroken by the revolution, the canon in regard to "nationalization of women" notwithstanding.

The theatres, opera, and ballet are performing as in peace. Thousands for new schools have been opened in all parts of Russia, and the Soviet Government seems to have done more for the education of the Russian people in a year and a half than czarism did in fifty years.

Political Situation

The Soviet form of government is firmly established. Perhaps the most striking fact in Russia today is the general support which is given the government by the people in spite of their starvation. Indeed, the people lay the blame for their distress wholly on the blockade and on the governments which maintain it. The Soviet form of government seems to have become to the Russian people the symbol of their revolution. Unquestionable it is a form of government which lends itself to gross abuse and tyranny, but it meets the demand of the masses in Russia, and it has acquired so great a hold on the imagination of the common people that the women are ready to starve and the young men to die for it. The position of the communist party (formerly Bolshevik) is also very strong. Blockade and intervention have caused the chief opposition parties, the right social revolutionaries and the mensheviks, to give temporary support to the communists. These opposition parties have both made formal statements against the blockade, and also support of Antisoviet governments by the allied and associated governments. Their leaders, Volsky and Martov, are most vigorous in their demands for the immediate raising of the blockade and peace.

Indeed, the only ponderable opposition to the communists today comes from more radical parties --

the left social revolutionaries and the anarchists. These parties, in published statements, call the communists, and particularly Lenin and Tchitcherin, "the paid bourgeois gendarmers of the Entente." They attack the communists because the communists have encouraged scientists, engineers, and industrial experts of the bourgeois class to take important posts under the Soviet Government at high pay. They rage against the employment of bourgeois officers in the army and against the efforts of the communists to obtain peace. They demand the immediate massacre of all the bourgeois and an immediate declaration of war on all nonrevolutionary governments. They argue that the Entente governments should be forced to intervene more deeply in Russia, asserting that such action would surely provoke the proletariat of all European countries to immediate revolution.

Within the communist party itself there is a distinct division of opinion in regard to foreign policy, but this disagreement has not developed personal hostility or open breach in the ranks of the party. Trotsky, the generals, and many theorists believe the red army should go forward everywhere until more vigorous intervention by the Entente is provoked, which they, too, count upon to bring revolution in France and England. Their attitude is not a little colored by pride in the spirited young army, Tchitcherin, and the bulk of the communist party, on the other hand, insist that the essential problem at present is to save the proletariat of Russia, in particular, and the proletariat of Europe, in general, from starvation, and assert that it will benefit the revolution but little to conquer all Europe if the Government of the United States replies by starving all Europe. They advocate, therefore, the conciliation of the United States even at the cost of compromising with many of the principles they hold most dear. And Lenin's prestige in Russia at present is so overwhelming that the Trotsky group is forced reluctantly to follow him.

Lenin, as a practical matter, stands well to the right in the existing political life of Russia. He recognizes the undesirability, from the Socialist viewpoint, of the compromises he feels compelled to make; but he is ready to make the compromises. Among the more notable concessions he has already made are: The abandonment of his plan to nationalize the land and the adoption of the policy of dividing it among the peasants, the establishment of savings banks paying 3 per cent. interest, the decision to pay all foreign debts, and the decision to give concessions if that shall prove to be necessary to obtain credit abroad.

In a word, Lenin feels compelled to retreat from his theoretical position all along the line. He is ready to meet the western Governments half way.

Peace Proposals

Lenin seized upon the opportunity presented by my trip of investigation to make a definite statement of the position of the Soviet Government. He was opposed by Trotsky and the generals, but without much difficulty got the support of the majority of the executive council, and the statement of the position of the Soviet government which was handed to me was finally adopted unanimously.

My discussion of these proposals with the leaders of the Soviet Government was so detailed that I feel sure of my ground in saying that it does not represent the minimum terms of the Soviet Government, and that I can point out in detail wherein it may be modified without making it unacceptable to the Soviet Government. For example, the clause under article 5 -- "and to their own nationals who have been or may be persecuted for giving help to Soviet Russia" -- is certainly not of vital importance. And the clause under article 4, in regard to admission of citizens of the Soviet republics of Russia into the allied and associated countries, may certainly be changed in such a way as to reserve all necessary rights to control such immigration to the allied and associated countries, and to confine it to persons who come on legitimate and necessary business, and to exclude definitely all possibility of an influx of propagandists.

Conclusions

The following conclusions are respectfully submitted:

1. No government save a socialist government can be set up in Russia today except by foreign bayonets, and any governments so set up will fall the moment such support is withdrawn. The Lenin wing of the communist party is today as moderate as any socialist government which can control Russia.
2. No real peace can be established in Europe or the world until peace is made with the revolution. This proposal of the Soviet Government presents an opportunity to make peace with the revolution on a just and reasonable basis -- perhaps a unique opportunity.
3. If the blockade is lifted and supplies begin to be delivered regularly to Soviet Russia, a more powerful hold over the Russian people will be established than that given by the blockade itself -- the hold given by fear that this delivery of supplies may be stopped. Furthermore, the parties which oppose the communists in principle but are supporting them at present will be able to begin to fight against them.
4. It is, therefore, respectfully recommended, that a proposal following the general lines of the

suggestion of the Soviet Government should be made at the earliest possible moment, such changes being made, particularly in article 4 and article 5, as will make the proposal acceptable to conservative opinion in the allied and associated countries.

Very respectfully submitted,
WILLIAM C. BULLITT

APPENDIX

Transport

Locomotives.—Before the war Russia had 22,000 locomotives. Destruction by war and ordinary wear and tear have reduced the number of locomotives in good order to 5,500. Russia is entirely cut off from supplies of spare parts and materials for repair, facilities for the manufacture of which do not exist in Russia. And the Soviet Government is able only with the greatest difficulty to keep in running order the few locomotives at its disposal.

Coal.—Soviet Russia is entirely cut off from supplies of coal. Kolchak holds the Perm mining district, although Soviet troops are now on the edge of it. Denikin still holds the larger part of the Donetz coal district and has destroyed the mines in the portion of the district which he has evacuated. As a result of this, locomotives, electrical power plants, etc., must be fed with wood, which is enormously expensive and laborious and comparatively inefficient.

Gasoline.—There is a total lack of gasoline, due to the British occupation of Baku few automobiles in the cities which are kept running for vital Government business are fed with substitute mixtures, which causes them to break down with great frequency and to miss continually. Almost the entire fleet on the great inland waterway system of Russia was propelled by gasoline. As a result the Volga and the canals, which are so vital a part of Russia's system of transportation, are useless.

Food

Everyone is hungry in Moscow and Petrograd, including the people's commissaries themselves. The daily ration of Lenin and the other commissaries is the same as that of a soldier in the army or of a workman at hard labor. In the hotel which is reserved for Government officials the menu is the following: Breakfast — A quarter to half a pound of black bread, which must last all day, and tea without sugar. Dinner — A good soup, a small piece of fish, for which occasionally a diminutive piece of meat is substituted, a vegetable, either a potato or a bit of cabbage, more tea without sugar. Supper — What remains of the morning ration of bread and more tea without sugar.

Occasionally sugar, butter, and chickens slip through from the Ukraine and are sold secretly at atrocious prices — butter, for example, at 240 roubles a pound. Whenever the Government is able to get its hands on any such "luxuries" it turns them over to the schools, where an attempt is made to give every child a good dinner every day.

The food situation has been slightly improved by the rejoining of Ukraine to Great Russia, for food is relatively plentiful in the south; but no great improvement in the situation is possible because of the lack of transport.

Management

Such supplies as are available in Soviet Russia are being utilized with considerable skill. For example, in spite of the necessity of firing with wood, the Moscow-Petrograd express keep up to its schedule, and on both occasions when I made the trip it took but thirteen hours, compared to the twelve hours of prewar days.

The food control works well, so that there is no abundance alongside of famine. Powerful and energetic men endure about the same degree of starvation.

The Soviet government has made great efforts to persuade industrial managers and technical experts of the old regime to enter its service. Many very prominent men have done so. And the Soviet Government pays them as high as \$45,000 a year for their services, although Lenin gets but \$1,800 a year. This very anomalous situation arises from the principle that any believing communist must adhere to the scale of wages established by the government, but if the government considers it necessary to have the assistance of any anti-communist, it is permitted to pay him as much as he demands.

All meetings of workmen during work hours have been prohibited, with the result that the loafing which was so fatal during the Kerensky regime has been overcome and discipline has been restored in the factories as in the army.

Social Conditions

Terror.—The red terror is over. During the period of its power the extraordinary commission for the suppression of the counter revolution, which was the instrument of the terror, executed about 1,500 persons in Petrograd, 500 in Moscow, and 8,000 in the remainder of the country -- 5,000 in all Russia. These figures agree with those which were brought back from Russia by Major Wardwell, and inasmuch as I have checked them from Soviet, anti-Soviet, and neutral sources, I believe them to be approximately correct. It is worthy of note in this connection that in the white terror in southern Finland alone, according to official figures, General

Mannerheim executed without trial 12,000 working men and women.

Order.—One feels as safe in the streets of Petrograd and Moscow as in the streets of Paris or New York. On the other hand, the streets of these cities are dismal, because of the closing of retail shops whose functions are now concentrated in a few large nationalized department stores. In Petrograd, furthermore, has been deserted by half its population; but Moscow teems with twice the number of inhabitants it contained before the war. The only noticeable difference in the theatres, opera, and ballet is that they are now run under the direction of the department of education, which prefers classics and sees to it that working men and women and children are given an opportunity to attend the performances and that they are instructed beforehand in the significance and beauties of the productions.

Morale.—Prostitutes have disappeared from sight, the economic reasons for their career having ceased to exist. Family life has been absolutely unchanged by the revolution. I have never heard more genuinely cheerful laughter than when I told Lenin, Tchitcherin, and Litvinov that much of the world believed that women had been "nationalized." This lie is so wildly fantastic that they will not even take the trouble to deny it. Respect for womanhood was never greater than in Russia today. Indeed, the day I reached Petrograd was a holiday in honor of wives and mothers.

Education.—The achievements of the department of education under Lunacharsky have been very great. Not only have all the Russian classes been reprinted in editions of three and five million copies and sold at a low price to the people, but thousands of new schools for men, women, and children have been opened in all parts of Russia. Furthermore, workmen's and soldiers' clubs have been organized in many of the palaces of yesteryear, where the people are instructed by means of moving pictures and lectures. In the art galleries one meets classes of working men and women being instructed in the beauties of the pictures. The children's schools have been entirely reorganized, and an attempt is being made to give every child a good dinner at school every day. Furthermore, very remarkable schools have been opened for defective and over-nervous children. On the theory that genius and insanity are closely allied, these children are taught from the first to compose music, paint pictures, sculpt and write poetry, and it is asserted that some very valuable results have been achieved, not only in the way of productions but also in the way of restoring the nervous systems of the children.

Morale

The belief of the convinced communists in their cause is almost religious. Never in any religious service have I seen higher emotional unity than prevailed at the meeting of the Petrograd Soviet in celebration of the foundation of the Third Socialist International. The remarks of a young man to me when I questioned him in regard to his starved appearance is characteristic. He replied very simply: "I am ready to give another year of starvation to our revolution."

Statements of Leaders of Opposition Parties

The following statement was made to me by Volsky, leader of the right social revolutionaries, the largest opposition party:

"Intervention of any kind will prolong the regime of the Bolsheviks by compelling us, like all honorable Russians, to drop opposition and rally round the Soviet government in defense of the revolution. With regard to help to individual groups or governments fighting against Soviet Russia, we see no difference between such intervention and the sending of troops. If the allies come to an agreement with the Soviet government, sooner or later the present masses will make their will felt and they are alike against the bourgeois and the Bolsheviks.

"If by any chance Kolchak and Denikin were to win, they would have to kill in tens of thousands where the Bolsheviks have had to kill in hundreds and the result would be the complete ruin and collapse of Russia into anarchy. Has not the Ukraine been enough to teach the allies that occupation by non-Bolshevik troops merely turns into Bolsheviks those of the population who were not Bolsheviks before? It is clear to us that the Bolsheviks are really fighting against bourgeois dictatorship. We are, therefore, prepared to help them in every possible way.

"Grandmother Ekaterina Constantinovna Breshkovskaya has no sort of authority, either from the assembly of members of the all-Russian constituent assembly or from the party of social revolutionaries. Her utterances in America, if she is preaching intervention, represent her personal opinions which are categorically repudiated by the party of social revolutionaries, which has decisively expressed itself against the permissibility of intervention, direct or indirect."

Volsky signed this letter statement: "V. Volsky, late president of the assembly of members of the all-Russian constituent assembly."

Martov, leader of the Mensheviks, stated: "The Mensheviks are against every form of intervention, direct or indirect, because by providing the incentive to militarization it is bound to emphasize the least desirable qualities of the revolution. Further, the need of the army overwhelm all efforts at meeting the needs of social and economic reconstruction. Agreement with the Soviet government would

lessen the tension of defense and would unuzzle the opposition, who, while the Soviet government is attacked, are prepared to help in its defense, while reserving until peace their efforts to alter the Bolshevik regime.

"The forces that would support intervention must be dominated by those of extreme reaction because all but the reactionaries are prepared temporarily to sink their differences with the Bolsheviks in order to defend the revolution as a whole."

Martov finally expressed himself as convinced that, given peace, itself and the needs of the country will bring about the changes he desires.

Army

The Soviet army now numbers between 1,000,000 and 1,200,000 troops of the line. Nearly all these soldiers are young men between the ages of 17 and 27. The morale of regiments varies greatly. The convinced communists, who compose the bulk of the army, fight with crusading enthusiasm. Other regiments, composed of patriots but noncommunists, are less spirited; other regiments, composed of men who have entered the army for the slightly higher pay, are distinctly untrustworthy. Great numbers of officers of the old army are occupying important executive posts in the administration of the new army, but are under control of convinced communist supervisors. Nearly all the lower grade officers of the army are workmen who have displayed courage in the ranks and have been trained in special officer schools. Discipline has been restored, and on the whole the spirit of the army appears to be very high, particularly since its recent successes. The soldiers no longer have the beaten dog-like look which distinguished them under the Czar, but carry themselves like freemen, and curiously like Americans. They are popular with the people.

I witnessed a review of 15,000 troops in Petrograd. The men marched well and their equipment of shoes, uniforms, rifles, and machine guns and light artillery was excellent. On the other hand, they had no big guns, no aeroplanes, no gas shells, no liquid fire, nor indeed, any of the more refined instruments of destruction.

The testimony was universal that recruiting for the army is easiest in the districts which have once lived under the Soviet were overrun by anti-Soviet forces and then reoccupied by the Red Army.

Trotsky is enormously proud of the army he has created, but it is noteworthy that even he is ready to disband the army at once if peace can be obtained in order that all the brains and energy it contains may be turned to restoring the normal life of the country.

Lenin's Prestige

The hold which Lenin has gained on the imagination of the Russian people makes his position almost that of a dictator. There is already a Lenin legend. He is regarded as almost a prophet. His picture, usually accompanied by that of Karl Marx, hangs everywhere. In Russia one never hears Lenin and Trotsky spoken of in the same breath as is usual in the western world. Lenin is regarded as in a class by himself. Trotsky is but one of the lower order of mortals.

When I called on Lenin at the Kremlin I had to wait a few minutes until a delegation of peasants left his room. They had heard in their village that Comrade Lenin was hungry. And they had come hundreds of miles carrying 800 pounds of bread as the gift of the village to Lenin. Just before them was another delegation of peasants to whom the report had come that Comrade Lenin was working in an unheated room. They came bearing a stove and enough firewood to heat it for three months. Lenin is the only leader who receives such gifts. And he turns them in to the common fund.

Face to face Lenin is a very striking man -- straightforward and direct, but also genial and with a large humor and serenity.

Concessions

The Soviet government recognizes very clearly the undesirability of granting concessions to foreigners and is ready to do so only because of necessity. The members of the Government realize that the lifting of the blockade will be illusory unless the Soviet government is able to establish credits in foreign countries, particularly the United States and England, so that goods may be bought in those countries. For Russia today is in a position to export only a little gold, a little platinum, a little heavy flax, and wool. These exports will be utterly inadequate to pay for the vast quantity of imports which Russia needs. Russia must therefore obtain credit at any price. The members of the Soviet government realize fully that as a preliminary step to the obtaining of credit the payment of foreign debts must be resumed and, therefore are ready to pay such debts. But even though these debts are paid the members of the Soviet government believe that they will not be able to borrow money in foreign countries on any mere promise to pay. They believe, therefore, that they will have to grant concessions to foreigners in order to obtain immediate credit. They desire to avoid this expedient in any way it shall be possible, but if absolutely necessary they are ready to adopt it in order to begin the restoration of the normal life of the country.

Officer's Views On Siberia.

(Cont. from page 1th)

"There are at present the following governments in Russia: the Archangel government, Denikin, Tsereteli, and many other governments which have officially proclaimed their existence. The most influential governments are those of Lenin and Kolchak. 'Lenin's government cannot expect any sympathy, since it is pursuing principles which are hateful to the world, though personally Lenin is a man meriting all respect for his firmness and sincerity.'

"The Bolshevik government is absolutely stronger than the Omsk government. 'Facts don't permit us to indulge in unwarranted underestimation of the significance of the Bolshevik government' (Dzhi-Dzhi).

"After having read all this material, which in no case can be considered as Bolshevik propaganda, one can only conclude that Siberia is at present under a rule which is practically the same as that of the Czar, with one notable difference: namely, that was a despotic organization, whereas here there is despotism without any organization. The picture presented by these papers is one of sheer anarchy.

"Had the American authorities carefully studied all these newspapers, or even only their official section as they could easily have done, they would never have supported Kolchak in any way.

"I believe that any one who had an opportunity to study this vast literature of confessed tyranny and incompetence will certainly sympathize with the effort of Soviet Russia to defeat these forces of reaction and corruption.

Lt. Col. B. Roustam Bek.

Capitalist Press' Ability To Lie.

(Continued from page 1.)

starvation, with a woful lack of rolling stock for her crippled railways and with all the capitalist world, like a wolfpack at her throat, the working-class government of Russia has rallied her powers and successfully warded off the attacks of her enemies.

The last chance of the capitalist allies of Russian reactionaries to wreck the first working-class government is rapidly passing. Winter is settling down in the northland. The opportunities for active campaigning will soon be over. Russia will have a chance to regain at least a portion of her shattered powers during the winter months. Starvation holds no fears for Russians. They knew starvation under the Czar, they can imagine but one thing worse, that is to become the slaves of the capitalist imperialism that seeks to devour them. By the time snows are melted in the spring, the allies may have sufficient trouble with their own working-classes to draw their attention from undeclared war in Russia.

The lying capitalist press completely refutes its own statements. It lies purposely and maliciously to delude the workers. Already the prostitute editors are shedding tears because the facts do not bear out their extravaganzas of yesterday. But they do not weep on account of their falsehoods, they have fallen far below that moral state. They are paid prostitutes and damned cheaply hired at that. Their kind in the under world would scorn the miserable ness of pottage they accept as the price of their debauchery.

The lying press will continue its present course as long as it can find a market for its wares. A powerful opponent is arising, however in the form of a militant worker's press. As the class-consciousness of the workers increase, their press is strengthened. And in this is the hope of the future. Like every avenue of human endeavor, journalism has been

\$50,000,000

IN PROFITS!!!

The Aguila Oil Company made \$50,000,000 in net profits in Mexico in the last 8 years over \$6,000,000 a year!

Did you get any of these profits, Mr. American Workingman? NO.

Did you get any of the profits of any other oil companies that are sucking the blood of the Mexican people? NO.

Do you own any oil stock? NO.

Have the workers of Mexico ever harmed you? NO. Then, don't let Wall Street's government in Washington bamboozle or bully you into a War with Mexico!

Don't Fight Your Mexican Comrades!

INSTEAD

STRIKE!!!

COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO
P. O. Box 985 Mexico City, D. F., Mexico

debauched by the present economic system, which has perverted a means of education and information into a means of enslavement of the peoples.

The future welfare of the world lies in the lap of labor. Labor only can save the world from the chaos into which capitalism is rapidly driving it.

The revolution sweeps on. No lie is big enough to halt THAT.

Quick Watson, The Needle!

DISCOVERED! THE ONE HAPPY FAMILY IN INDUSTRY! IT MUST BE SO BECAUSE THEY SAY SO!

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen and waste its sweetness on the desert air", sang a poet long ago. Many have been the comments upon the fact that greatness is often hidden and may be found in places least expected. But who would ever suspect that right here in Cleveland existed that which the presidents round table so earnestly sought, that which has been so earnestly sought by all the happy little fixers for the continuance of the Capitalist state -- THE HAPPY FAMILY IN INDUSTRY!

Under a very pretty picture of a bourgeois mother and child, the following notice appears:

Does this picture portray anything to you?
Does it make you think of your loved ones?
Must your wife and child suffer thru the ignorance of others?
Is the cry of bread to be heard from the mouths of babes so that a few of the so-called proletariat attain aims to their and thru the spirits of unrest they create.

We all know what unrest means in industry. It means less income and bigger efforts to wage the fight for existence.

When you hear of your fellow workers complain of conditions in our plant it is your duty to notify the industrial relations department of the complaint. Do not forget we are here to serve you. Your personal and industrial problems are matters we sincerely desire to straighten out for you. Our office is similar to a court of domestic re-

lations only on a much broader field. With all the policies of the company based on justice the reciprocation of your confidence to us is the first stepping stone to happiness fairness and the condition of equality that must exist with us all to become the happy family in industry known as the American Needle Company. Signed Mr. Tom Wright, Manager of the industrial relations department.

Upon inquiry as to wages paid in this happy family we were informed that we could become one of the family at any time and receive the magnificent wage of 40c an hour!

We had just been looking for a house to live in and knew something of the prices we would have to pay for house rent, we had just had an ordinary proletarian dinner and had paid 65c for it, and we had just looked over the price list current in Cleveland stores and we couldn't figure out how could make 40c an hour cover all the necessary expenses of just an ordinary decent living. We wanted to take advantage of the generous offer of Mr. Wright and have him help us straighten out "our personal industrial problems" including the problem of how to live on 40c an hour and still have at least six hours to sleep but alas it's a cruel world! Our knowledge of Communist economics bottled in here and told us that Mr. Wright for all his good intention and generous offers couldn't do it!

YOU CANNOT BE ONE OF A HAPPY FAMILY ON A WAGE OF 40c AN HOUR!