

DEBS' PRISON STATEMENT

"I enter the prison door a flaming revolutionist, my head unbent, my spirit untamed and my soul unconquerable."

AMNESTY

The Ohio Socialist

EDITION

Official Organ of the Socialist Parties of Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia and New Mexico.

No. 65

Published at
Cleveland, Ohio

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23, 1919

Address all mail to
R. D. 2, Brecksville, Ohio

\$1.00 A Year

OPEN THE PRISON DOORS

Five years in prison!
Ten years in prison!!
Twenty years in prison!!!

No man who knew from personal experience what those few, brief words meant to those upon whom the sentences were imposed would utter them. A judge who had himself been in them would know that there is no crime that is not fully expiated by six months in the hell holes we call prisons. The writer of this article has been suddenly wakened in the middle of the night to hear a voice crying out from a neighboring steel cage, "This God damn, God damned place!" The profanity in the cry involuntarily wrung from some wakeful, tortured prisoner, was lost in the suffering and anguish that was in the voice that uttered the words.

Most men and women who are not sodden with crime and drink would rather die than serve five years in prison. And it is men and women of keener sensibilities, who have accustomed themselves to take something more from life than the mere satisfaction of their physical needs, that suffer most. To them prisoners do not mean merely physical confinement, but tortured souls, because of the degradation of humanity that is part of the routine of every prison.

Eugene V. Debs is behind prison bars, to remain ten years!

Kate Richards O'Hare has begun her five-year sentence!

Haywood, Berger, Kruse, Tucker, Engdahl, Rose Stokes, Hitchcock and scores of others are in prison serving their sentences or awaiting the final decision that will send them to prison for five, ten and twenty years!

What have these men and women done that they have been so savagely dealt with? What is the crime that justifies their being placed behind prison bars to suffer all the refined cruelties, which to them will mean suffering as great as anything the Spanish Inquisition could inflict upon them.

In the constitution of the United States there is a provision reading:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

"Congress shall make no law *** abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

Explicit and definite, is it not? It was the desire of the men who wrote the first amendment to the constitution to guarantee to the people of the United States the right to freely voice and publish their opinions and they said it in words that cannot be otherwise interpreted or understood.

Debs, Haywood and the others believed in certain principles and ideals, and advocated the reorganization of society on the basis of these principles and ideals. For many long years they had publicly expressed their views.

The war came. Among the principles which these men and women accepted and to which they had publicly expressed their adherence for a decade or more, was one explaining the fundamental cause of modern wars. The president of the United States gave his official view of the cause of the war and what the war was being fought for. The congress of the United States, with the approval of the president, in defiance of the constitutional provision, "Congress shall make no law *** abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," passed a law which in effect said that any one who differed from the president's official view of the cause of the war and the purpose for which it was being fought, and publicly express that view, should be put in prison for no more than twenty years.

The apologists of the present form of political democracy have frequently argued that the first principle of this democracy was the free public discussion of all problems coming before the people and the government. But here we have a law which prohibits the expression of all

but the official view of war, formulated by one man, on pain of twenty years in prison!

The men and women who are in prisons or threatened with prison sentences because of violation of the Espionage law, continued to express their views of the war; they continued to express those ideals and principles which they had upheld for many years before the war.

While most of them did not have much faith in constitutional provisions which run counter to the interests of the ruling class, they were ready to go to prison for their ideals, and they put bourgeois democracy to the test—and went to prison or will go to prison.

Thus far, however, the supreme court of the United States has not dared to say that the law, under which they have been sent to prison is not a violation of the constitution. By some legal juggling the sentences have been affirmed, but no decision has been rendered on the main point they raised, that "Congress shall make no law *** abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

But Debs is in prison! Kate O'Hare is in prison! Many others convicted under this law are or soon will be in prison!

Five years, ten years, twenty years, thus have the sentences run. Thus has the ruling class savagely wreaked its vengeance on those who had the temerity to refuse to accept the ruling class interpretation of the war and its cause.

Shall Eugene V. Debs suffer the torture of ten years in prison after his thirty years of service to the American workers? Shall he serve, what will be, a death sentence?

Shall Kate Richard O'Hare be separated from her children by stone walls and iron bars for five years to come?

Shall Germer, Berger, Kruse, Tucker, Engdahl, Haywood, not behind prison doors for the next twenty years?

Shall all the others, thousands of them, who have upheld their ideals, pay the price in anguish and suffering that the ruling class is exacting in the sentences of vari-

ous length imposed upon them, for having stood firm in the hour of trial?

The swelling chorus of the voices of the workers answers with a thunderous "NO!"

How shall we open the prison doors?

Shall we go to the president and say, "Please, Mr. Wilson, issue an amnesty declaration and let these men and women go free?" Shall we cringe and crawl and beg that the outrage against these men and women be wiped out, so far as it can be wiped out?

The time for "Please, Mr. Wilson," for begging and petitioning is over?

We are in the midst of the class war—the class war grown bitter and brutal because the masters of society feel power slipping from their hands.

As yet they have the power—and are using it.

The workers' power must be organized.

Let us open the prison doors, not through begging and petitioning, but as the workers of Italy and France and England are opening the prison doors—through the threat of their power.

Let us hold great mass meetings and demand freedom for our comrades. Let us join in great mass demonstrations and demand freedom for our comrades. Let us, above all, organize our power, and demand freedom for our comrades.

If we measure up to our opportunity, if through aggressive and intensified propaganda we arouse the workers of this country not to beg, but to growl, the prison doors will open.

That is our task in the struggle for the freedom of our comrades whom capitalism is torturing and mistreating because they stood firmly by their ideals.

Let us begin that task on Labor's International Holiday.

Let us make May Day this year memorable as the first manifestation of the determination of the workers of this country not to lag behind in the struggle for freedom.

Let us take up our task of organizing the workers' power to open the prison doors and to abolish capitalism, and never shrink nor falter until our goal is won.

Was Debs Spirited Away for Fear of Worker's Wrath?

Why the Mad Chase Through the Streets of
Cleveland?—Why the Round-About Trip to
Moundsville?—Many Pertinent Questions
Asked About Rough Methods Used in
Taking Debs to Penitentiary.

Fear was written in every action by the authorities in their attempt to rush Eugene V. Debs to Moundsville and place him "safely" behind penitentiary bars. The first scene in this drama took place at the Union depot, Cleveland, Sunday morning, April 13. Debs was met at the station by a daily paper reporter and several comrades. He was escorted to the Gillis Hotel. While Debs and the comrades were eating breakfast, the Plain Dealer reporter, loyal to the masters' interests, reported the arrival of Debs to the federal authorities.

Only a few minutes after breakfast several deputy marshals called at Debs' room and requested that he accompany them to the Federal building. Marguerite Prevey, who was present, objected to this. She maintained that the regular procedure be followed in imprisoning Debs, namely, that his lawyers be first notified that the U. S. supreme court mandate had arrived, that his lawyers then notify his bondsmen to surrender him to the authorities. One of the deputies left the room to telephone to the Federal building. Whether he did or not will remain a mystery. He returned saying that he had orders to take Debs to the Federal building. To this Debs replied: "All right, I am ready to go and the last man who would stand on that trial is Debs off."

Debs was escorted to the Federal building by about fifty comrades, who had gathered in front of the hotel. Many of them had automobiles. Arrived at the Federal building, Mrs. Prevey, who was one of Debs' bondsmen, attempted to get into the elevator with Debs and the deputies to go with him to the marshal's office. She was pushed aside and told that no one could accompany Debs up stairs. The comrades waited on the main floor of the building for Debs to return. The number of comrades who came to see Debs off was increasing every minute. One of the secret service men must have smelled danger in this, for immediately a rumor was circulated that Debs had already left the building for the depot. Many comrades, believing this rumor, rushed to the depot, only to be disappointed.

MAD CHASE BEGINS. In about half an hour Debs returned from the marshal's office and between two deputies, left the building at the eastern entrance. He was almost pushed into a waiting automobile, which we feel sure was the property of or engaged by the Plain Dealer. It was not the property of the federal authorities nor engaged by them so far as we know. No attention was paid to Debs' baggage, his grips and valise. Mr. Baur, Debs' brother-in-law, who had come with Debs all the way from Terre Haute, was not permitted to enter the automobile with Debs. Mr. Baur, Mrs. Deibel, J. Louis Engdahl of the Socialist press service, David Karsner of the New York Call, and A. Wagenknecht of the National Office, Socialist Party, hastily jumped into the automobile of Comrade Fried, which was not permitted to enter the automobile with Debs. Mr. Baur, Mrs. Deibel, J. Louis Engdahl of the Socialist press service, David Karsner of the New York Call, and A. Wagenknecht of the National Office, Socialist Party, hastily jumped into the automobile of Comrade Fried, which was

standing close by and the chase through Cleveland streets began. Luckily Fried's car was a high powered machine, for other comrades with automobiles were soon left far behind while Fried had difficulty in

keeping up with the pace set by the car containing Debs and the deputies. Corners were turned on two wheels, practically, and the turns were so numerous that in many instances the car containing Debs was a block ahead nearly lost in the midst of dozens of other automobiles going in the same direction.

After driving Debs out to E. 105th street, bringing him back again to E. 55th St., and rushing him south on that street, the chase finally terminated at the Erie depot on E. 55th So. The automobile containing the Socialist press reporters drove into the depot driveway about ten feet behind the car containing Debs. Several additional deputies had already arrived at the depot to help guard Debs. Tickets were bought for Youngstown, and the deputies, seeing that we were bound to make the trip with Debs, and it not being in their power to keep us off of the same train Debs was to be taken on, became pleasant, glad no doubt that they had evaded most of the Socialists who had come from many surrounding cities to see Debs off.

TRIP LONG AND TIRESOME.

The first of seven laps of a long, tiresome journey was then begun. Youngstown was the first stop. There a weary half hour was spent in waiting for the trolley to Leetonia. It was about noon, and the deputies relieved each other to take a bite at a cheap restaurant near the Youngstown depot. There was no opportunity to sit down at a table to enjoy a satisfying meal. Debs refused to eat, not wishing to bolt a meal and probably disdaining the panicky condition of his body guard. He kept his seat in the depot, making a few memorandums in his note book and reviewing the May 1 speeches, a copy of which had been given him by the comrades with him representing the National Office of the Socialist Party.

At Youngstown the comrades accompanying Debs first learned that the trip to Moundsville was to be made by short stages on trolley cars, through the hills of Ohio and West Virginia, in most round-about routes so as to avoid demonstrations in favor of Debs on the way.

Before leaving Cleveland several rumors were current that the reason Debs was rushed out of that city was to get him away before the monster demonstration advertised for the afternoon was held.

A rumor from police headquarters indicated that the police feared the afternoon demonstration, especially if Debs remained in the city. They undoubtedly remembered the 10,000 crowd that gathered upon Market Square several Sundays ago. That the deputies with Debs were afraid of demonstrations on the way to the penitentiary is amply proven by the circuitous route taken to reach Moundsville.

CHANGE CARS SEVEN TIMES.

As we stated, we left Cleveland for Youngstown, waited half an hour for a trolley and then left Youngstown for Leetonia. From Leetonia we went to East Liverpool, from East Liverpool to Steubenville, from Steubenville to Wellsburg, from Wellsburg to Wheeling and from Wheeling to Moundsville, arriving at Moundsville about 10:30 p. m., more than twelve hours after leaving Cleveland. It was

a body-racking trip, tiresome in the



MAY DAY, 1919

extreme even to the younger comrades in the party. Not a minute was allowed for refreshments or a meal at the quick service lunch counter. We braved their displeasure, sat Debs down at a table and had him order a satisfying meal. We were very hungry and ate heartily. Karsner had to leave before he had quite finished his meal in order to send a telegram to his paper. In his absence Debs reached over to Karsner's plate and helped himself to what Karsner had left. We begged him to give an order for whatever else he desired to eat, but the haste of the deputies, who were already standing at the door of the restaurant made eating sufficient an uncomfortable process, and we arose and followed them to a street corner where we mounted the trolley for the last lap of the journey. Moundsville was reached within an hour. Debs was in a reflective mood all the way, too tired

At Wheeling the deputies hurried into a restaurant and straddled chairs at the quick service lunch counter. We braved their displeasure, sat Debs down at a table and had him order a satisfying meal. We were very hungry and ate heartily. Karsner had to leave before he had quite finished his meal in order to send a telegram to his paper. In his absence Debs reached over to Karsner's plate and helped himself to what Karsner had left. We begged him to give an order for whatever else he desired to eat, but the haste of the deputies, who were already standing at the door of the restaurant made eating sufficient an uncomfortable process, and we arose and followed them to a street corner where we mounted the trolley for the last lap of the journey. Moundsville was reached within an hour. Debs was in a reflective mood all the way, too tired

to talk or to give his usual smile of good cheer, which he had so generously bestowed upon deputies and Socialists alike during most of the trip.

Arrived at the penitentiary he was introduced to the warden, who immediately took him to the north cell block, scarcely giving us time to say good night to the champion of the workers. The warden must have reflected upon his hasty action, for immediately upon his return to his office he asked us if we desired to see Debs for a few minutes before we left. We were glad of the opportunity. We entered the turn table and were swung around to the cell block entrance. The warden expected to find Debs seated in the guards office, but instead Debs had requested to be locked up once so that he could repose his aching body and find much needed rest in sleep.

Continued on page four

Kate O'Hare Begins Her Prison Sentence

Enters St. Josephs Penitentiary To Serve
Five Year Sentence

St. Louis—Convict 21669.

That is the number that now takes the place of the name of Kate Richards O'Hare, former international secretary of the Socialist Party of America.

At noon, April 12, she surrendered herself to the United States Marshal at Fargo, N. D., and at midnight, in the custody of Chief Deputy Wattles, departed for Jefferson City.

She was accompanied by Mrs. Wattles and reached the prison April 14, where she was "dressed in" and assigned to the overall and suspender factory of the Missouri state penitentiary.

At the same moment that Eugene V. Debs was entering the penitentiary at Moundsville, Mrs. O'Hare was entering the penitentiary at Jefferson City. Both were indicted, tried and convicted under the espionage act. She was sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

Conspiracy of Silence.

The events leading to the incarceration of Mrs. O'Hare have been veiled in mystery. None of the western papers carried accounts of it. The capitalist papers of the northwest raised the most violent hue and cry, appealing to the worst elements of human nature just before she surrendered in Fargo.

She ended her farewell tour in St. Paul.

She was bidden to speak in the auditorium.

But the mayor and city council rose in their dignity and refused to let her speak.

More than 5,000 people crowded into the auditorium the night that she was to speak.

Standing alone on the great stage, an 11-year-old girl gave an address.

Little Daughter Spoke.

It was Kathleen O'Hare, Mrs. O'Hare's daughter.

The audience was enraged by the autocratic attempt of the mayor and the council to strangle free speech and free assembly.

They demanded that Mrs. O'Hare speak herself.

She rose from her seat in a box and said:

"The mayor and council have made my argument for me. If you are my friends, you will permit this to conclude this meeting."

Some of the Minneapolis and St. Paul dailies frothed at the mouth at this outcome. They endeavored to institute a reign of terror. But the public and the returned soldiers failed to fall for the appeals to the "good citizens" to make an example of a "convicted criminal."

Husband's Hurred Farewell.

Frank P. O'Hare, her husband, went to Fargo to be with her on the way to prison. The Bourbon press had toyed with the authorities and he was given but a few minutes with her.

Every effort was made to spirit her away, so that the great hosts of her friends should not know when she left or be able to say good bye to her.

Citizens of St. Louis had contemplated a special car to Jefferson City to greet her with flowers, but the authorities refused to let it be known when she would leave. The plan for the tribute had to be abandoned.

After several hours of determined effort, her husband was granted an interview of a few short minutes with her in the prison, and then was shown the door, with

THE RUSSIAN QUESTION

(There have been so many lies printed and uttered about the Soviet Republic of Russia that many persons who would scorn, ordinarily, to lie, keep repeating lies that they believe to be truths. Of course, this is just what the world Junkers, who have managed this lying campaign, have aimed to accomplish. There has come to our hands a bulletin, issued by the Methodist Federation for Special Service. In this is an article, "The Russian Question."

Our concern with this question is because the Soviet government is an attempt to organize a new social order.

Sources and Character of Information.

Upon so disputed an issue, it is very difficult to secure impartial information. Reports entirely conflicting, according to degree of contact of observers with actual working of revolution and again according to sympathies of eye-witnesses. It is assumed that readers are familiar with the case against bolshevism as it is constantly presented in the daily press and in propaganda of its opponents; therefore, and because of lack of space, that material is not summarized here. Available first-hand sources of information are: Documents issued by Soviet government, reports of competent observers, books by Trotzky, such messages from Lenin as censorship has permitted to come into this country.

The Soviet Government.

What is a Soviet? A local unit of government. Had its beginning on agricultural side in the "mir," oldest Russian democratic institution, similar to New England town meeting. In cities, developed in revolution of 1905, when Working Men's Councils grew up semi-clandestinely. Years of surreptitious discussion and promulgation of economic theories in these centers, made appearance of Soviets natural in revolution against monarchy, March, 1917.

How is it Organized? Local Soviet in every community. In rural sections, rural Soviet or Volost, represents group of villages, composed of peasant delegates. In cities, various districts have Soviets composed of representatives chosen by occupation. Soviet autonomous in local affairs. All political parties represented, strongest group electing delegates to next higher Soviet. Total system consists of local, county, provincial and regional Soviets and the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, National Organization. New government officially known as the "Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic" consists of All-Russian Congress of Soviets, supreme legislative body, meeting for times or more annually; Central Executive Committee of 250, virtually a continuous parliament, chief law-making body; Council of People's Commissars, the cabinet or ministry, consisting of 17 elected from Austria when war broke out. Author of "The Development of Capitalism in Russia" and "Agrarian Problem in Russia" and other works.

Trotzky—Pen-name of Bronstein, Commissar of Foreign Affairs; member of wealthy Moscow family, but refused father's money, hence always poor; exiled and imprisoned under czar's reign; opposed signing of Rysht-Litovsk treaty, but overruled by Lenin. Author "The Bolshevik and World Peace" and "Our Revolution," both published in this country. The present cabinet is probably the most cultured cabinet in the history of the world. All are experts upon a great many questions. Several have written books of philosophy and religion." (A. R. Williams, formerly pastor of East Maverick Congregational church, Boston, author of "In the Claws of the German Eagle.")

Politics—(Indicated by official decrees). General aim: To make labor not property, basis of social organization. Specific aims: To guard industrial workers from overwork, from diseases of occupation, from employment at too early an age, and in case of women and young people, from unsuitable occupations and night work. To take over all grain supplies held by speculators, or for illicit manufacture of alcohol. To socialize national finances, natural resources and the land (pensioning present-holders sufficiently for their support). To make education accessible to all by means of free tuition in primary and secondary institutions, access by public to all libraries of over 500 volumes, whether owned by individuals or institutions, and by printing and circulating under government auspices, either at cost of entirely free, copies of Russian classics. To free courts and judicial procedure from traditional abuses and make them function as instruments of justice to all.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-

placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-

placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-

placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-

placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-

placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-

placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-

placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-

placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-

placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-

placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-

placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-

placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-

placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and re-

placement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy, both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the constituent assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors.

Externally? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character? Like American revolution; it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Ohio and Kentucky, Virginia, W. Virginia and New Mexico.

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

Address all mail and make all checks payable to SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO, R. F. D. 2, Box 55, Brecksville, Ohio

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

EDITORS Elmer T. Allison Alfred Wagenknecht Published Weekly by The Socialist Party of Ohio at Cleveland, O. Telephone Wallings 13-Y, Call Thru g Cleveland.

WEEDNESDAY, APRIL 23, 1919 108

Letters From 'Outside' Cheer Class War Prisoners

(Printed by Permission of the Recipients, Comrades W. E. and Laura Reynolds).

Dear Friends: Letters from outside these walls bring more cheer into our hearts than you can imagine. It surely makes one feel good to know that the people think of us and are doing all they can to get us out of this hole. We are all in pretty good health and the best of spirits, but it gets awfully monotonous to stay in one place behind big walls and iron bars. A day or a few days in prison does not seem so hard, but when these days grow into months, years, then one learns the feeling of being tied to one spot. The monotony, the sameness, is what wears. That is why letters from the outside cheer one so and help to break the monotony of prison life.

Note what you say regarding the many big meetings the Socialists are having and that the working class are with the Bolsheviks. It is high time the workers learned who their friends are. What gets my goat is the severe criticisms of the union strikes. People really believe that when laboring men receive pretty large wages they ought to be content. That argument is all right as far as it goes. When the government began to pay its shipbuilders \$6 to \$10 a day, the merchants and institutions which supplied these laborers the necessities of life raised prices which upon investigation, proved to be from 150 to 3,000 per cent., so that the workers could hardly purchase enough to live on. It seems that everybody ought to know that this is the cause of the strikes. The Swift Co. admits increased dividends of \$42,000,000 over last year. The Anaconda Mining Co., with \$51,000,000 surplus in its treasury. Yet we find men and women defending these robbers and condemning the laboring man.

Every day we see big headlines in the papers about deportation of I. W. W., Bolsheviks and Socialists and also read that other countries are. That's getting rid of them, isn't it? Now I believe all these daily press lies have but one purpose—to keep us in prison and to exterminate all radical movements. But the dawn of a bright day is breaking. We shall yet see justice triumph.

The Ohio Socialist has found its way into every hall and, believe me, it sure is a welcome visitor every week. I like it because it strikes straight at the roots of the rotten system.

Yours for the cause,
ARTHUR BOOSE.

Tiffin Runs To Red

By EDWIN MYLER.

Local Tiffin held a very enthusiastic meeting in the high school auditorium, April 12. Speakers for the evening were Comrade Lilith Martin and Wm. O. McClure.

Comrade McClure made a short talk on bolshevism and its origin and gave to his hearers one of the most highly defined definitions of socialism and its fruits that has so far been presented in Tiffin.

When our comrade remarked on the "convict" strike at "our capitol," Ft. Leavenworth as proof of the coming

DECLARATION REGARDING THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE ELECTION ADOPTED BY LOCAL CUYAHOGA COUNTY

As a result of the war, which has brought in its wake the social revolution in action, a strong movement has developed in every Socialist Party of the world for more radical and revolutionary tactics. This is a logical development to those who view socialism, not as a scheme or a plan devised by some great mind, but as a social movement, having its roots deep in the existing social conditions, which must change and adjust itself as the social and economic conditions develop and change.

While the need for new orientation is clearly apparent, there is an element within the party which is either unwilling or unable to adjust itself to the new world conditions and the new tactics required by these conditions. Unfortunately this element has controlled the party National Executive Committee and the party machinery, with the consequence that the national organization, in place of furnishing the leadership and urging the locals forward to take advantage of the present world crisis in building up the proletarian movement, has conspicuously lagged behind.

In view of these conditions we believe that it is essential that the party membership act intelligently in voting for candidates for National Executive Committee. In the past it has too often happened that because members of the party have not been acquainted with the position nor capabilities of candidates, that they have been obliged to vote blindly, or have voted for those whose names are best known to them as writers or speakers, without knowing their position in regard to party policies.

Local Cuyahoga County, by practically unanimous vote of its membership, has endorsed the Left Wing position in the party. While among the candidates for this district there are a number who support the Left Wing position, we believe that it is essential that those who favor this position agree upon certain candidates. Be it therefore,

Resolved, By the County Central Committee of Local Cuyahoga County, that we endorse C. E. Ruthenberg of Cleveland, Marquette Preve of Akron and Fred Harwood of Newark, N. J., and urge all members who wish to support the Left Wing position to vote for these candidates for National Executive Committee; that we endorse C. E. Ruthenberg, Louis C. Fraima, John Reed and Isaac E. Ferguson for the International Delegates; that we urge the members to vote "NO" for both candidates for International Secretary, as they do not represent the Left Wing of the party. Be it further,

Resolved, That this declaration be published in the Socialist News, the Ohio Socialist, and that it be sent to all other Socialist papers in this district for publication.

KENTUCKY

Official Organization News

E. B. AUSTIN, Asst. State Sec. 231 Broadway, Louisville, Ky.

Louisville, Ky., March 27, 1919. Special Meeting of the Executive Committee.

Present: J. L. Stark, F. E. Stevens, R. M. Rasmussen and J. J. Bossemer. Absent: W. C. Goodman.

J. J. Bossemer elected chairman.

The following resolution was adopted:

Whereas, Our Comrade J. L. Stark has been selected general organizer for the Expressmen and was selected because of his many years' experience in the Socialist party, and

Whereas, He has organized the Expressmen on a larger scale than has ever been attempted in the past, and

Whereas, His enemies are taking advantage of him because of his political views and have caused him to be removed as general organizer. And that too, by a frame-up, in which he was taken by a secret service man to the district attorney on the alleged charges of bolshevism and I. W. W.ism, and

Whereas, All of these charges were promptly dismissed and we are of the opinion that said charges were only a part of a well conceived political scheme to prejudice the workingmen against him because of his political views.

Whereas, the railroad employees central body, representing eleven railway unions (5,000 members) have unanimously taken up his defense and demanded that he be exonerated of these vicious charges.

Therefore he is resolved, That we, the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Kentucky, in special session, March 27, 1919, do hereby urge the membership of said party to give their support to the defense of Comrade J. L. Stark, to the end that he may defeat his enemies and continue his usefulness in the labor movement.

Comrade E. B. Austin, Jr., elected to serve out the unexpired term of State Secretary.

Meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

E. B. AUSTIN, JR.
Assistant State Secretary.

A PROTEST THAT PROTESTS

An order for supplies to the extent of \$41,400 is the way Local Ashtabula protests against the imprisonment of Comrade Debs. Making Socialists is the best possible protest against this latest crime of the master class.

Thousands of men and women have been imprisoned, both by court-martial and by civil courts—men and women whose only crime was disagreement with the world war. That sentences given these thousands of political and military war prisoners were unjust was proven at hearings before the senate investigating committee.

The war is over. Society is returning to a more or less normal state. Hate of workers by each other is being replaced by love and vengeance by kindness. Working men and women in all parts of the United States are beginning to realize that the thousands of war prisoners rotting in jails are of their class and not of the class that plunders the profiteers. Although venal press may have divided the workers upon this question of war, neither the capitalist press nor any other agency of the ruling class can much longer divide the workers upon the question of identity of interests.

All political prisoners of war are of our blood and our class. We demand their release. We shall not rest until the dungeon door opens for the last of the political and military war prisoners. We shall agitate and propagate for their release until the workers of the entire country, en masse, join in this just and humane demand.

We demand that the United States congress, the president, the secretary of war and others at present clothed with power and who have jurisdiction over the fate of these thousands of political prisoners of war, immediately set in motion the necessary governmental machinery for the release of all men and women now in prison because of opposition to the war or infractions of its autocratic regulations.

Chairman State Committee, J. W. Cassell, 622 14th Ave. S. W., Roanoke, Va. State Secretary, B. W. Dutton, Abingdon, Va.

Virginia Comrades: Another month has rolled around and finds us that much nearer our doom—being devoured alive by the dreadful Bolsheviks. Our Mr. Wilson went to Europe to demolish the thing there, and thus save us in free America from the dread and uneasiness of it. But alas, he has failed, and now we won't come out. I do not want any special dispensation of justice in my case. It is perfectly clear, I have always taken that position, and I cannot too strongly assert it now!

The reply must come from America's toiling millions. Get them all out through your organized power and protest.

Respectfully submitted,

E. B. AUSTIN, JR.
State Secretary.

POLICE BECOME LAW BREAKERS

The comrades of Farrell, Pa., were treated to a starkly example of the lawlessness of the capitalist tools of that city on April 14, when Comrade Wm. J. Dodge of Buffalo attempted to speak for Local 225, W. I. U.

About 500 people had assembled at the hall when about 50 police, soldiers, detectives and the fire department, appeared at the door. The fire hose was run into the building and turned upon the audience. Seizing the speaker, masked men carried him to Sharon by auto. When between Sharon and Youngstown, O., turned him loose, firing volleys of pistol shots, after him as he was told to beat it.

The workers were treated roughly when they refused to flee before the representatives of disorder and anarchy who wore the livery of the U. S. government. The streets were crowded and many small fistfights occurred between the peaceful citizens and the assassins of the people's liberties.

This outrage at Farrell is but another evidence of the regard for the laws which the capitalists have.

On the first copy of your most excellent paper, shown me by a comrade, made for itself a large place in my heart and mind. I became a subscriber at once after reading it and am now plugging religiously to strengthen the influence of the Ohio state organ.

I have spent many years (30) in disseminating the beauty, the justness and the common sense of socialism in Michigan and Indiana, in both of which states I am well known.

Coming here about 18 months ago I was quite lost without the touch of my former comrades and naturally concluded that Ohio must be backward in social revolution, perhaps natural enough during the war period.

Since, however, that splendid Ohio Socialist fell into my hands I take off my hat to the movement in this state and will all I can to boost its circulation.

With profoundest regards for every reader (because they see it) and wishing the best of success to all who are connected with the paper, I am

Yours for an early victory of

humanity,
R. A. DUERSTADT.
Cincinnati, O.

ONE BIG ORDER

Local Toledo does things in a big way. That's because it does big things, or perhaps it does big things because it used big methods. Any way, Local Toledo gets results. Aside from scaring the police department out of a state of somnambulism, the local did another big thing last week. It ordered \$450 worth of Ohio Socialist subscription cards. Not only were these cards ordered but they are being sold, as returns prove. Local Toledo has learned one of the great secrets of success. And that is to plan big things and then to see big methods in getting the desired results. Follow the lead of Toledo.

MAYORALTY CANDIDATE SPEAKS IN COLUMBUS

J. L. Bachman, Socialist Party candidate for mayor, will speak at a meeting at 501-2 West Gay St., April 27, at 2:30 p. m. The public is invited and all Socialists are urged to present.

VOTE TO STRIKE MAY 1.

If the decision of the six important unions in France is adhered to, May 1 will be observed by a general abstention from work.

The delegates of these unions—the railroad workers, mines, dock workers, metal workers, sailors and general transport workers—at a meeting decided to unite in efforts to obtain recognition of the demands of the workers, especially an eight hour day and increased wages.

WHY?

Now that the war is over, may we ask why the following, taken from Montgomery and Ward's buyers' guide No. 90? How many readers of this catalog will give a thought to the meaning of this notice?

NOTICE

In our previous catalog we announced that we had discontinued the sale of all revolvers except for police and military purposes. The government is now taking the entire output of the factories making such firearms and for this reason we do not list revolvers in this catalog.

In a recent letter to the State Office, Comrade Hennacy states that he is in the best of health and spirits, but longs to get into the real fight again.

HENNACY BEGINS 2nd TERM

Comrade A. A. Hennacy of Columbus who has been serving nearly two years at the Atlanta penitentiary, has been released from that institution. He has now been sentenced to nine months at Debs, O., for failing to register.

In a recent letter to the State Office, Comrade Hennacy states that he is in the best of health and spirits, but longs to get into the real fight again.

50c PER HUNDRED

Debs' Message To You

During the last lap of his journey to prison Debs turned to us for a moment, with just the flicker of a tired feeling in his eyes. Yet he was smiling the old familiar smile as he said:

"If I were to engage in satire I would say how strange it is that I have been organizing labor for half a century, and now I am being taken by organized workers, most of them wearing the button of their craft in their hats."

It was literally true. The conductors, the brakemen, the firemen, the engineers, the motormen, all union men, helped take Debs to prison.

As we ascended the incline that leads up to the sleepy hamlet of Moundsville, and to the state prison, Debs gave us his last words to his comrades everywhere. He said:

"As I am about to enter the prison doors I wish to send to the Socialists who have so loyally stood by me since my first arrest this little message of love and cheer. These are pregnant days and promising ones. We are all on the threshold of tremendous changes. The workers of the world are awakening and bestirring themselves as never before. All the forces that are playing upon the modern world are working for the overthrow of despotism in all its forms and for the emancipation of the masses of mankind. I shall be in prison in the days to come, but my revolutionary spirit will be abroad and I shall not be inactive. Let us all in this supreme hour measure up to our full stature and work together for the great cause that means emancipation for us all. Love to my comrades and hail to the revolution!"

As Debs' body was locked away in West Virginia's bastile, his mind did not concern itself with the question of any presidential pardon that might come offering him release.

"Suppose," we asked him, before he was separated from us, "suppose President Wilson should cable a pardon for you without any strings attached to it, an unconditional pardon, what would you do, what would be your attitude?"

Debs' answer came without a moment's hesitation.

"I shall refuse to accept it unless the same pardon is extended to every man and woman in prison under the Espionage Law. They must let them all out—I. W. W.'s and all—or I won't come out. I do not want any special dispensation of justice in my case. It is perfectly clear, I have always taken that position, and I cannot too strongly assert it now!"

The reply must come from America's toiling millions. Get them all out through your organized power and protest.

Respectfully submitted,

E. B. AUSTIN, JR.
State Secretary.

Your Local—Where and When it Meets

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of \$2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON

Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Friday Evening at 50 South Howard St.

LOCAL CINCINNATI

Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
LECTURES Every Sunday, 8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
1314 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN

Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
Labor Organization Hall,
E. Market St., Near Second
Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio

LOCAL HAMILTON

Meets Every Friday Evening,
8 P. M.
SOCIALIST HALL,
38 High St., Third Floor.

LOCAL YOUNGSTOWN

Local Canton of the
SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Friday at 7:30 P. M.
BITTERFROFFERS HALL,
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

NEWS AND VIEWS—A WEEKLY SURVEY

Edited by C. E. Ruthenberg

Austria Joins the Soviets

The news from Vienna that the Workers and Soldiers' Council has taken over the power of government in Austria, adds another country committed to the idea of Soviet rule—and adds another country lost to capitalist democracy.

Although the capitalist newspaper dispatches tell us little of what is happening in Roumania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, it is certain that in all these countries, in fact in all the territory east of the Rhine, the same contest that has just resulted in another victory for the Soviet idea, is being waged. We know that the struggle is on in Germany—and how long can the Ebert-Scheidemann regime hang on with a Soviet Republic established in Austria, Hungary and Russia?

It is not mere chance that in country after country the workers establish their control through the Soviets. It is because the councils of workers, rising out of the industries, are the logical expression of working class power that the Soviet movement moves forward from victory to victory.

It is not only among the war-torn nations of central and eastern Europe that the Soviet movement is making headway. It is manifesting itself in England very strongly. The English capitalists, always quick to compromise when they see their power threatened, are trying to fix up a compromise with the nascent Soviets of Great Britain, by organizing shop committees, industrial councils and national councils, in which both the workers and the capitalists will have representation, thus robbing these institutions of their characteristics as instruments of the workers in the struggle for their emancipation. They may succeed—temporarily. But for how long?

The Soviet government has come to stay. New Soviet governments will arise as the months go by and it will not be long until the eastern boundary of Soviet Europe is the Rhine. Can capitalism stop the Soviet movement there? It is not likely. The Soviet movement will sweep forward and onward until the Soviet Republic of the World comes into being.

Uncle Sam

The telephone operators strike in the New England states has been temporarily ended, while a commission endeavors to adjust the grievances of the workers. It is interesting to note, however, that after the strike had been under way for a number

of days, the government, the employer in this instance, followed the usual custom of employers and brought in imported strikebreakers to help whip the strikers into submission.

The history of Mr. Burleson's dealings with the employers of the Postoffice Department and more recently, of the telegraph and telephone systems, shows conclusively that the government may be, and usually is, a more arbitrary oppressor and exploiter of the workers when it becomes their employer, than private capitalists.

The recent experience of government employees of the two departments referred to, emphasizes the fact that the workers' road to freedom is not through government ownership. Government ownership substitutes the power of the combined capitalist class for the power of the individual capitalists, while continuing the oppression and exploitation of the workers.

The struggle of the workers must have as its goal the creation of industrial democracy from below—through organization of the workers in the industries to take control.

Dollar Patriotism

The National Security League was one of the great patriotic institutions of the country during the war. It was relentless in its pursuit of all those that did not measure up to its standard of patriotism, among its victims being even some congressmen who did not always vote exactly as this league would have liked them to vote—that is they did not always vote to protect and conserve the financial interests of the members of the league.

The league, however, over did the patriotic business. It urged the defeat of certain members of congress, who although they did not quite measure up to the league's standard of patriotism as above defined, were good, honest supporters of capitalism and what it stands for. When the league attacked these congressmen it put its foot into it, for there is a strong feeling of sympathy between the members of congress, for none of them know where the next attack will strike and so they usually stand together.

The result of the tactical error of the National Security League was that congress authorized an investigation of that body. The report of the committee which conducted the investigation has just been published. This is what it has to say about the origin of this great, patriotic organization:

It will be impracticable in a report of the length to which, of necessity, this must be confined, to take up all of the "foreign entanglements" of the originators of the National Security League. However, sight must not be lost of the fact that it was conceived in London by an attorney representing sugar, steel and other large interests both in this country and abroad, and that at its very inception in New York others representing like interests are found among those who became the most active in its organization; and, next, when the organization had thrown aside its pretense of being engaged only in "preparedness" and had reached the real purpose of its undertaking Mr. Charles D. Orth was selected to take charge of its real activities, which unquestionably were political in nature, as it will be shown later in this report.

The testimony shows that Mr. Orth is a member of a New York firm dealing in sisal, from which the farmer's binder twine is made, and who, according to his own statement before a senate investigating committee, had been engaged in trying to form a combination to increase the price of his product.

In other words the National Security League consisted of a bunch of capitalists bent upon furthering their own interests through building up a great army and navy in this country, which might later be used in the struggle to win economic advantages for its members.

How such an organization controls the government is told in one of the closing paragraphs of the report:

The National Security League and like organizations in their political activities constitute a serious menace to representative government. Ordinarily their purpose is concealed and their appeal is made to the public on some principle in harmony with dominant sentiment. Usually, as in this instance, they have access to almost unlimited wealth, and borrow respectability by the use, in honorary positions, of the names of men of national prominence. If their real purpose were apparent, the danger would be relieved.

Men in public life are given by them to understand that they must be subservient to the demands of such institutions, and, upon their failure to do so, they will be held up to public scorn and humiliation by false accusations. Under such circumstances the best intentioned candidate for office realizes that he has one of two alternatives: He must be either subservient to the demands of these camouflaged organizations, or be put on the defensive by false

charges. Such activities on the part of the National Security League have a tendency to compel obedience to the wishes of special interests, rather than obedience to a real concern for the welfare of the people. This condition is not at all fanciful, since its baneful activities of the National Security League.

That is a confirmation of what Socialists have said about bourgeois democracy from the supporters of that "democracy." What the report plainly tells us in the above paragraphs is that while we have the form of democracy in this country, in reality the capitalists, through such organizations as the National Security League, and other means through which they exercise the power which control of the wealth of the country gives them, actually dominate the government. While we may have democratic institutions in form, in practice we get a government by the capitalist class.

What Mr. Wilson achieved in Paris, told by Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the Nation, in the following statement, issued upon his return to New York:

Mr. Wilson surrendered at the first blow, as many of us who have followed him closely knew that he would. When he calmly abandoned his principle of "open covenants of peace openly arrived at," we knew that others of the 14 points would be sacrificed for a partial league of peace.

The whole conference was tremendously undemocratic, and so false was the note struck from the beginning that I, for one, found myself entirely without a thrill at the historic opening session. For it at once appeared that it was all to be done behind closed doors, in the same old way, and the number of men "putting it over" on the world rapidly diminished to the quartet who reminded one of nothing so much as the little group of professional politicians who steer our party conventions, where they still exist, from a back room.

In England more than 1,000,000 persons are drawing unemployment benefits from the government. The British workers have organized their power to such an extent at least that the capitalists dare not close the factories and send them out on the streets to starve as is still the case in the United States.

The most striking development so far as modern parliamentary governments are concerned is the

passing of power from these bodies to other organizations. In England the parliament is theoretically still supreme, but it is the organized workers that really have the power. The following statement, clipped from a news story on current events in England, shows what is happening in this respect:

Another resolution passed by the miners today should warn a government whose majority in parliament is an entirely artificial one, that it will not be easy to rule a country that is really not represented by a House of Commons consisting mainly of employers. Last night's attempt—unsuccessful, of course—in the part of labor and liberal minorities in the common to exclude conscription from the new army bill has been followed today by the miners' warning that, unless the government withdraws the conscription bill now before parliament, the conference will take steps, in conjunction with the other labor parties in the country, to compel it to do so.

The full significance of this courageous resolution can be scarcely exaggerated.

Leave it to the capitalist to turn everything that comes along to their financial advantage. Here's a New York moving picture producing company, for instance, which has produced a new photo play called "Bolshevism on Trial," suggesting to moving picture theater managers that one way to advertise the play is to have big red flags put up in different sections of the city and then to hire soldiers to tear them down. Of course, the Socialists would be blamed for putting up the flags and some people might get hurt when they were torn down, but that's all part of the game of making profits.

"The internal conditions in Russia do not justify a gigantic military enterprise. I would rather leave Russia to the Bolsheviks, until I see a way out, than to have Britain bankrupt. It is my earnest conviction that intervention was the greatest act of stupidity." So said Lloyd George in the British parliament the other day. The ethics of the capitalist statesmen are clear in this statement. Intervention was wrong, not because it was a violation of the right of self-determination of which both Lloyd George and Mr. Wilson are supposed to be adherents, but because it didn't pay.

Bolshevism is on the wane in Russia, we are assured, and the Bolsheviks capture Sebastopol is the next headline.

The Day of the People

Written Especially for the Ohio Socialist by W. E. Reynolds.

Once again the glint is on the grasses, and the sap is in the trees. Mother Nature in response to the amorous kisses of the spring time sun recarpet the earth with a coverlet of green, embroidered here with the gold of the dandelion and the marsh marigold and there the many colored crocuses. The trees take on new life and burst into bud and bloom pregnant with promise of future fruit. While we may know in our own mind that Nature is planless and purposeless, it requires but a small amount of imagination to conceive of nature trying by all the arts of wizardry of leaf and blade and bloom to hide the hideous disfiguring of a commercialism which has ravished her fair beauty.

Spring time is growing time; youth time, joy time, and historically speaking, the first of May, from almost time immemorial was the day set apart as a gala day dedicated to merry making and celebration of the return of spring and hope and the growing sun.

Originally a pagan holiday given over to sun worship, later a holiday of fun and merry making under the feudal barons, tinged with a touch of religious ceremonial, out of which has grown the present Christian Easter, changed again, under the rule of a blighting capitalism into a day of advertising and market day and finally seized by the interlational proletariat of the world as Labor Day; such, in brief, is the history of May Day.

Here in America, the first Monday in September is set aside by law as Labor Day. That is the Labor Day GIVEN by the master class. May 1 is a Labor Day TAKEN by the working class. On the September Labor Day, given by the masters, we meet and listen to the strains of jazz music by rag-time band. On May Day we meet and are inspired by the singing of the International, rising full throated and pregnant with meaning, from throats that mean it. With the jazz music we are told that the interests of capital and labor are identical but under the International we know, without having to be told, that the interests of capital and labor are not identical but opposed. On the September day the boss takes heart as he watches his paid lackeys at their task of herding his fawning dupes. On May Day the master gets a direct warning that his days are numbered and not for long will he be allowed to live a life of fattened ease at the expense of the toil and sweat and blood of his disfranchised slaves.

May Day as Labor Day was created by the workers themselves in defiance of the capitalists of the world. In establishing that holiday much rich red blood has been spilled, but now we know it was not spilled in vain. The streets of Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Petrograd and Peking, Moscow and scores of other cities have run red with blood, spilled by the hirings of a robber class in the vain hope of stopping by force and violence the mighty onrush of a new idea, but ideas can not be stopped by bullets, nor barred by boundary lines or prison bars.

As we meet again this May Day to celebrate the growing solidarity of labor, we are full of the hope and joyfulness of labor's spring time. We know and realize that never before in all the history of May Day celebrations of Labor have we had so much to be joyous over or so great an assurance of the fulfillment of our fondest hopes, in the past years packed as it has been with the persecutions and prosecutions of our class with the constitutional guarantees of a free press and free assemblage, only so many tattered and torn scraps of paper beneath the feet of an arrogant oligarchy; with the most of our press barred from the second class mailing privileges, and many of our comrades slain, yet we know that never before in all the hundred years since the birth of Marx, has as much been done toward establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, and enforcing a work or starve order upon the lazy members of the bourgeoisie, as has been witnessed since last we gathered to celebrate the May Day festival.

Our press has not been destroyed, it has been inconvenienced, forced to abandon its old attempt to capture the political state by playing the capitalist game and to realization of the truths of Marx and Engels, who said, "the working class can not simply lay hold of the ready made state machinery and wield it for its own purpose." Every paper we pick up today, regardless of whether it is a time serving, lying, cringing, crawling capitalist sheet, a rebellious Socialist paper or a defiant I. W. W. paper, all ring with the same story, revolt and revolutions everywhere. To the revolutionist, it is as the soothing strains of sweet music to an ear accustomed to hearing only the discordant notes of the Industrial Moloch; cheering him as water does a weary traveler in a desert land. The same reports are to the capitalists as the mournful notes of a funeral dirge.

Truly spoke our martyred Comrade Liebknecht, when he said, "The day of the people has arrived." We CAN be joyful. We can be glad, for out of the east cometh the light, and out of the east cometh the reports of the day of the people having arrived, and by the same token the day of the exploiter is drawing rapidly to the twilight of its close.

A Debs was jailed because he defied a court's injunction. It made a fighting Socialist of him, and now after a life time of effort well spent in spreading the Socialist message the prison doors have again been locked, imprisoning the body but not the spirit of Debs. The days when a Joshua could command the sun to halt and stand still for a while are gone. The capitalists cannot stop the sun to prolong their day. They think that by imprisoning a Debs they can stop the march of progress. Poor, blind, deluded victims of their own dope! They ought to know by this time that Debs in jail is a thousand times more active than an old man nearing the three score years and ten, out of jail, could be! To stop the onward rush of progress, thousands are rotting in the hell holes of capitalist prisons, but for every one of the first crop jailed, there will be a hundred of the second crop, and should the capitalist class attempt to jail the second crop, the third crop will be large enough to tear their damn jails down. Bastilles have fallen before and they will fall again.

It was Joe Hill, the martyred Industrial Worker, whose name will be remembered and revered for centuries after the name of the judge who sentenced him has been forgotten, who said, "Don't mourn. Organize." We pause to give grateful remembrance to all our comrades who have been slain and imprisoned, yet we will not mourn, nor petition, nor beg. We will organize and teach and strike and fight, learning to do by doing and learning to fight by fighting.

Heretofore when we spoke of the coming emancipation of the hosts who toil, we spoke from a knowledge of the abstract truths of social science as taught by Marx and Engels and their co-workers of a half century ago, but today, we do not have to deal in abstractions.

We can point to an accomplished reality. Russia has done her part in the revolution. There the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a high sounding phrase on the lips of a parlor Socialist, but a grim reality as many an expropriated Russian bourgeoisie can testify. The revolution is not confined to Russia alone, already it has spread to Hungary, Bavaria, Germany and so many other places that one must need be up to the minute in geography to keep track of all its ramifications. The revolution, sneered at by the capitalists just two short years ago as "mere rhetoric" has become a grim reality. All Europe is trembling in the balance. This May Day may remake again the map of Europe. The red terror is a terror to the bourgeoisie of the world, but to the rebel there are few joys so great as watching the spread of the red, and on this gala day we have ample cause to be joyful.

The American bourgeoisie think they can keep the red from America but they might as well attempt to hold back the ocean tide with one of the celebrated fourteen points. Capitalism can not exist without its foreign markets and with one-half of the world "gone Bolshevik" can the other half hope to escape? Can two nations exist side by side with the workers in one nation receiving the full social value of their labor power and the workers of the other nation receiving only one-fifth as much? Will the workers of one nation tolerate parasitism when the workers of the other nation have abolished it? Especially in these days of easy and rapid international communication? The parasites here may well shudder and ponder over his, to him, uncertain future. To the revolutionist, the future is certain; "The day of the people has arrived."

We of the Socialist movement may thus well be glad. Glad with the joyousness of springtime, the lustiness of healthy youth. We are educating our class and organizing as rapidly as we can, to the end that we may control the coming great change and make it as bloodless as it can possibly be made. While we are organizing and educating in order to make the coming change without the needless spilling of blood, we are serene with the conscious knowledge of power. We know that the years are numbered and their numbers are few until the day when we can say to our exploiters, "Will you peacefully get off our backs or shall we be put to the necessity of forcibly throwing you from our backs? We do not intend to harm you, but by all the blood that you have needlessly shed in the centuries you have ruled, we are going to arrange it so you can no longer harm us or exploit us!"

We have mastered nature and made her the willing slave of men. We started in the quick mud and the slime, but we have climbed, onward and upward until today we can grasp the thin golden fingers of the stars. We have seen our class subjected to all the various forms of slavery and all the insults that the perverted intellect of a class of paid intellectual prostitutes could devise, but in spite of it all we have watched the inevitable changes brought about by economic evolution and seen the banner of the clasped hands of international comradeship making its triumphal progress, abolishing exploitation and slavery even as the bright rays of the spring time sun melteth away the blackened slush and ice of the by ways.

The day of the exploiter is passing.

The day of the people has arrived.

Long live May Day in the minds of men.

Long live the day of the people.

WHY WAS DEBS SPIRITED AWAY?

Continued from page one

DEBS IN CELL 51. We were taken to cell 51, second tier, and there we found our comrade, partially dressed, about ready to retire to a three-feet by five and a half feet steel bunk. Whether or not he truly rested comfortably that night will probably remain a secret. Comrade Debs claimed he did, but how his large frame could find comfortable room upon "bed" so small will remain a problem.

He stretched his long arm and large hand through the steel bars, shook each arm by the hand, asked us not to worry about him and bid us good night.

This ended Debs' trip to prison. And now begins the demand of the workers for his release. May this demand come quick and come in such volume that those who now hold Debs in prison will have only one thing to do and will have to do that quick.

Already they fear the mighty working class. If they do not, why did they spirit Debs out of Cleveland and why did they avoid demonstrations? Why did not the government order out several regiments of troops to escort Debs to cell 51 if it felt that demonstrations by workers of Cleveland and other cities, which Debs would have passed through had he not been taken to the penitentiary in such a round about way, would interfere with the safe conduct of Debs to prison?

Only a few days before Debs received a long distance telephone call supposedly from Federal Prosecuting Attorney Wertz, he was sick in bed, hardly able to walk. The telephone message came, Was it the prosecutor who telephoned? And who was the mysterious party who telephoned Mrs. Prevey to inquire about Debs? Was Debs fooled into coming to Cleveland? Why did not his lawyers advise him to stay in Terre Haute until they were notified that the supreme court mandate had arrived?

Since we started to write this we have learned that the automobile which met Debs at the depot in Cleveland and took him later upon that tearing trip through Cleveland streets, eventually landed him at the Erie depot, was hired by the Plain Dealer reporter at the Waite Auto Livery. Why did the Plain Dealer reporter give Debs to understand that he was connected with the federal authorities? Why did the Plain Dealer reporter make it his business to wake up the secret service in order to tell them that Debs was in town? Why did United States Marshal Lapp use a Plain Dealer car to spirit Debs out of Cleveland? Why did the deputies permit the Plain Dealer reporter to accompany Debs in the mad ride through Cleveland streets and deny that right to one of Debs' family?

These are questions which we ask and which hundreds of thousands of Debs' friends want to know about.

Debs, just out of bed and still suffering with lumbago, after making a

night trip to Cleveland from Terre Haute, during which trip he only slept about an hour's sleep, was taken

against the will of his bondsmen, who had not been notified to surrender him, and hurried to Moundsville. No chance was given him to eat until 9 o'clock in the evening. He was rushed from one trolley to another, almost dragged about, his 64 years of age seeming to make no difference at all to those who were representing the government, the strong United States government.

NO REGARD SHOWN FOR DEBS' AGE.

Why was not more regard shown

FOR DEBS' AGE?

Let President Wilson and his underlings answer.

Debs came to Cleveland, believing

no doubt that all that was wanted

of him immediately was that he place

himself within the jurisdiction of the