

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

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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 awakened 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, Germer, 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, rot 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 then 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 Gilley 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 formalities of any kind."

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, Marguerite 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.

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 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 St. 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 Leontonia. 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, and his bondsmen, 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 intimated 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.



MAY DAY, 1919

extreme even to the younger comrades in the party. Not a minute was allowed for refreshments or a meal until Wheeling was reached at about 9 p. m.

The strain told on Debs and we could see that with more and more difficulty he climbed aboard each successive trolley we took. After leaving Steubenville he fell sound asleep in his seat. Many miles were traversed, the scenery along which was unseen by the eyes of Debs. The backyard dums, littered with tin cans and broken pottery. The pottery and coal mine slave villages, stuck in the hillsides, rickety hovels, about ready to tumble down; children half naked and barefooted for the want of shoes. And among all this misery nature asserted itself, for there was also the velvety green of the wheat fields and the pink blossoms of the peach trees.

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 attention 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 leg of the journey. Moundsville was reached within an hour. Debs was in a reflective mood all the way, too tired

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 Wattle, departed for Jefferson City.

She was accompanied by Mrs. Wattle 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.

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 assemblage. They demanded that Mrs. O'Hare speak herself.

She rose from her seat in a box and said: "The mayor and council have made no 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."

The International

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth!
For justice thunders condemnation. A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us. Arise ye slaves! No more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations. We have been naught, we shall be all.

We want no condescending saviors, to rule us from a judgment hall. We workers ask not for their labors. Let us consult for all.
To make the chief disgorge his booty, to free the spirit from its cell, we must ourselves decide our duty, we must decide and do it well.

Toilers from shop and field united, the party we of all who work;
The earth belongs to us, the people, no room here for the shirk.
How many on our flesh have fattened! But if the noisome birds of prey Shall vanish from the sky some morning, the blessed sunlight still will stay.

CHORUS:
'Tis the final conflict. Let each stand in his place.
The Internationale shall be the human race.
'Tis the final conflict. Let each stand in his place.
The Internationale shall be the human race.

Call for American Freedom Convention to be held in Chicago, July 3-4-5

(Special Correspondence)
Chicago.—Twenty-four thousand years in prison is about the aggregate of the sentences of persons already convicted, is one of the facts set forth in the call for the "American Freedom Convention" planned for July 3-5, by the National League for the Release of Political Prisoners to be held in Chicago.

The program and call for the convention is being sent out by the immediate action committee, which has established offices at Room 414, Mid-City Bank Bldg., Chicago. It will go to 30,000 local organizations of the labor movement of the nation, to the local secretaries, state secretaries and national executive committee of the Socialist Party, labor and radical publications, and to the officials of all radical and religious organizations that can be interested in the struggle for the release of war prisoners.

PROGRAM.
1. THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF AMERICAN POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS—FREE SPEECH, FREE PRESS AND FREE ASSEMBLAGE.
2. THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ALL PERSONS PROSECUTED OR IN PRISON FOR POLITICAL OPINIONS, INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES OR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

"The great American demand is that all those statutes necessary, or thought to be necessary, for the period of the war, in so far as they affect the rights of our democratic people to meet together and to express themselves in any way that they see fit, be repealed at once."—Frank P. Walsh.

Continued on page four

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 junkies, 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.")

It covers this matter so thoroughly and dispassionately that we print it in its entirety. If it had been published by a Socialist or Radical paper, a prejudiced public would discount its statements. Coming from the quarter it does, it should be given wide publicity among those who have been fed on lying literature coming from groups and bureaus interested in restoring the right to rob the Russian people through the capitalist system, abolished in Russia by the people.)

Sources and Character of Information.

Our concern with this question is because the Soviet government is an attempt to organize a new social order. 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, prepared by revolutionaries and 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 Trotsky, such messages from Lenin as censorship has permitted to come into this country.

The Soviet Government. 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, representative 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 being 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 four 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 members; Central Executive Committee, each heading a department or commissariat.

Extent? Controls central Russia. In Siberia allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is not in control of majority of Siberian territory. Archaic 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 workers in next higher Soviet; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and replacement 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. Every social change is brought about by events of the moment, which are of only temporary significance, and this was no exception. Why did the Bolsheviks dissolve the constituent assembly, an act universally criticized in this country? First, assembly no longer represented popular will; only a small proportion of population interested in political reform; peasants demanded land and said to parties who wanted assembly, "We've got the land; if it gets into politics,

which we do not understand, we will be cheated out of it." Industrial workers demanded control of industry; soldiers demanded democracy in the army and peace; depleted and disorganized condition of the country forced leaders to promises of economic rather than political reform; second, assembly, which met in January, elected the previous November on basis of lists prepared by Bolshevik revolution. Party lines had changed, sentiment had shifted to left or radical wing, but reactionaries predominated in assembly. Bolsheviks first tried to put through program; failing, bolted, carrying people with them. Assembly passed the radical measure, declared for immediate peace, and then died of inanition. Soviets, which had been gradually developing, now proved more responsive to the will of both peasants and industrialists; Bolsheviks, therefore, did not impose a new form of government to suit their own purposes, but were put into power by a system which had long been developing.

Political Parties. Bolsheviks, or majority, radical wing of Social Democratic Labor party. Called also Maximilians, as favoring maximum revolutionary power, came into power by gaining control of Soviets in November, 1917, revolution, which resulted from change of political complexion of majority Soviets. Only effective sovereign power since March, 1917.

Mensheviks, or minority. Social Democratic moderates called also Minimalists. Also thoroughgoing Socialists.

Socialist Revolutionists, party of Katherine Breshkovskaya (the "Little Grandmother of the Revolution"), Kerensky and Tchernov of moderates, and Marie Spiridonova of radicals, came to next higher Soviet with and now against the Bolsheviks.

Cadets, Constitutional Democrats, a pre-revolutionary party, controlling first provisional government under Lvoff and Milukov, and having part in Kerensky coalition regime, middle class in sympathies.

The Bolsheviks. Pen-name of Vladimir Ulianoff; belongs to noble family; had brother executed for revolutionary activity in czarist regime; active in revolutionary efforts for 20 years; fomenting revolt in Austria when war broke out. Author of "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," "Agrarian Problem in Russia," and other works.

Trotsky; 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; reigned; opposed signing of Brest-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," are the words of 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.") Political opinions 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, serial articles, books, copies of Russian classics. To free courts and judicial procedure from traditional abuses and make them function as instruments of justice to all

classes. To make marriage monogamous and free; to make divorce possible on application of either party (apparently without giving reason); to establish legal rights of all children. To free public from misrepresentations of press by attaching penalties to false reports. To establish religious liberty. To renounce all imperialistic ambitions. Program: "Immediate peace, land for the peasants, workers' control of industry, all power to Soviets." Claimed as single aim perfection of Soviet government. Overwhelming majority supported program, accepting only 50 per cent. of power, which they were entitled to because Russia had declared war as peasants desired, namely: Those who would use it received it.

Qualifications for Voting—Slogan: "A vote for every one who works." Individuals living on rent and interest considered parasites, not allowed to vote. Franchise obtained by going to work. In progress of democracy franchise has been limited by property owning and literacy qualifications. Soviet government and Bolsheviks require a new test, making service to the common life basis of citizenship. "The proletarian," when that class out-numbered all others and organizes the government becomes a high-sounding phrase for "rule of majority." Determining question for both Soviets and our political democracy is whether in practice either results in control of the masses. Russian population is 84 per cent. peasant, 9 per cent. industrial, 7 per cent. (until the war) bourgeois (owners and managers—of 70 per cent. of industrial management). Working the Program—Formed peace slogan, "No more wars, no indemnities," which greatly influenced allied war aims. Published secret treaties showing imperialistic bargains for territory made by allied governments. Demobilized czar's army of 12,000,000, and raised new "Red army." No demobilization decision to banish vodka. Redistributed land, nationalized all national resources, ordered compulsory insurance for agricultural workers at state expense, also for homesteads against fire, drought, epidemic among cattle, etc. Schools organized and opened where none previously existed. Installed extensive hospital facilities, reorganized factories and made them more productive. (In one establishment employing 6,000 men, 18 cars a day were turned out under Kerensky regime. Soviet reorganized, cut force to 1,800 and 12 cars a day were turned out by methods mostly introduced by working men, an increase of more than 100 per cent. per man. Data concerning industrial efficiency or inefficiency very inadequate.) Repudiated foreign debt. Moderate Socialists wanted, and gave warning, of demobilization, to repudiate that loaned to czar to suppress revolution. Bolsheviks repudiated all because against capitalism; also because read in French and German economists that repudiation would occasion revolution in those countries. Later offered to protect small business, but have since offered to arrange entire payment, if that is price of peace. Has withstood all attacks for more than a year. Has won support of Mensheviks and leaders among intellectuals, notably Gorky, one of Russia's greatest writers, who maintained himself despite substantial help given to enemies by allied governments, and also despite natural attempt of employers to cripple new program by taking away books and dismantling machinery.

Information as to how far whole program has been carried is inadequate.

The Present Choice—Professor Lomonosoff, a moderate Socialist, says choice is now between Bolsheviks and group of monarchist adventures. He, with other Mensheviks and disinterested foreign observers, prefer Bolsheviks. All agree the intervention has strengthened Bolsheviks. Kolchak regime in Siberia, which allied forces support, is manufacturing vodka from wheat that without intervention would go to feed central Russia. Has destroyed provisional representative government by imprisoning moderate Socialist members, who have since been killed.

The Red Terror—Amount unknown. New Statesman, London, anti-Bolshevik in policy, says of all executions in Moscow since Bolsheviks came into power, 60 per cent. were of corrupt Soviet officials. Relation of fact to program, "No more wars," is reported seen in "Sa. Brest-Litovsk" newspaper reported that on November 10, Bolsheviks would carry out general massacre of all opponents. What actually happened: Soviet council of Petrograd adopted resolution giving amnesty to all hostages and persons alleged to be involved in plots against Soviets, except those whose detention was deemed necessary for safety of Bolsheviks in enemy hands. Kinds: (1) Massacres and murders of hated officers and defeated opponents in early days. (2) Lawlessness by discharged soldiers and criminal elements. For example, elements broke into wine cellars and caused disturbances. (3) Internecine warfare between factions, extent unknown. (4) Execution by legal procedure of counter-revolutionists and also of Soviet officials for criminality and even delinquency in capital punishment abolished, but reintroduced for punishment of traitors to revolution within and without the government. Number apparently high, but no reliable figures available. Evidently increased by encouragement of counter-revolutionists by allies.

Attitude of the Bourgeoisie. From reply of Techtcherin, Commissar of War, to allies: "Have gentlemen representing neutral powers heard of crushing of Sinn Feiners in Dublin, of White Terror in Finland, of mass murder of working men and peasants in Ukraine? To our enemies we bring peace slogan, 'No more wars,' is being used only in holy cause of liberation of the people." From letter of Lenin to American working men: "Have English forgotten their 1649, the French their 1793? Terror was just and justified when it was employed by the bourgeoisie for its own purposes against feudal domination. But terror becomes criminal when working men and poverty-stricken peasants dare to use it against bourgeoisie. Terror was just and justified when it was used to put exploiting minority in power without causing the death of the majority and the death of the exploiters. Terror was just and justified when it was used to put the exploiters in power, when employed in cause of actual majority, in cause of proletariat and semi-proletariat; of working class and poor peasantry. The bourgeoisie of international imperialism has succeeded in this without causing the death of the majority, the war of the oppressed and exploited against oppressors and exploiters cost a half or a whole million victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie would still maintain that victory over the world was a right thing, the death and the suffering of the workers sacrificed for a criminal cause." **Official Attitude Toward Religion.** Summary of original decree on church and state—Church is separated from state. No laws may be passed restricting freedom of conscience, or to establish advantages or privileges on ground of religious affiliation. Citizens may profess any religion or none. Free observance of religious customs guaranteed if they do not disturb public order or infringe upon rights of citizens. Exemptions of performance of religious duties from military service permitted upon consideration of individual cases. Teaching and study of religion to be done privately. Religious societies subject to general regulations governing other private associations, and may not enjoy privileges or subsidies from state. Compulsory collection of payments and assessments for church or religious societies forbidden. All properties of existing religious societies declared national property. Buildings and articles especially designed for religious use, given for free use of corresponding religious societies.

Co-operation with Religious Organizations—Y. W. C. A. Under Bolsheviks opened and kept running clubs for women and girls in Petrograd and Moscow. Though they helped rich and poor alike, Soviet did not hinder their efforts. Permitted to make industrial investigations, though using an interpreter opposed to Bolshevism. Y. M. C. A. under czar had little co-operation and general prohibition. After first revolution, Soviets quickly rallied to support of association. Moscow Soviet gave buildings and full permission to Y. M. C. A. When Bolsheviki came into power, Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education, warmly appreciated work, asked that it be enlarged, reaffirmed all permissions of Kerensky regime. When difficult to get money, Bolsheviki authorities gave permission to Y. M. C. A. officer to draw two and a half millions out of state bank. For rural work along Volga, gave large passenger steamer free, paid salary of crew of 40 men, furnished fuel and financed alterations on boat, though this particular enterprise had Russian invest. Permitted to ship goods on railroads free, and given freight and passenger cars as needed. National Soviet leaders emphasized desire for continuance of work and wish for more American experts to help in educational, economic and relief work. Some Questions.

Aim of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic is to establish a state composed of producers and to make socially useful labor the requirement for citizenship.

How is this related to a similar element in the Christian ideal of society? Does this movement apprehend and seek the rest of the Christian ideal? Are its methods destructive of that ideal? Decision must await more evidence and further development.

There is sharp divergence of evidence concerning the relation of acts and rules of local Soviets to national decree. It must be remembered, however, that nothing which may be proved against the Bolsheviks can diminish the value of the ideal of a democratic order composed of co-operating producers.

It is evident that acts abhorrent to humanity have occurred under Bolshevik regime. To what extent are they due to the policy of that regime? To the general disorganization of society following collapse of the old order? To practice of all Russian parties of using "terror" against opponents? To Russian temperament, in which brutality and kindness are strangely mixed?

On this question of responsibility for, as well as extent of, criminal acts there is sharp contradiction of testimony also as to whether methods of suppressing rebels are more ruthless than our "law and order." Apparently the degree of violence and disorder varies in different sections according to amount and character of attacks upon new government. Indications are that government is restoring law and order with a strong hand. More evidence is needed before passing final judgment.

The Senate Inquiry. Since the above material was prepared, the senate inquiry has commenced. Most of the information at present made public by the committee has been considered in making this summary. It has been compared not only with the testimony of observers who are sympathetic with the Soviet principle, but also with the evidence of neutral witnesses. The committee has been asked to hear ten representative American religious and social workers who are neither Bolsheviks nor Socialists.

The first week the newspapers failed to print testimony relating to the constructive activities of the Soviets. The next week testimony was blocked regarding Siberia because the Bolsheviks are not in power there now. Yet there the Soviets accomplished constructive results before allied intervention drove them from power.

If the newspapers continue to withhold such data, the committee will continue to consider it irrelevant, we shall endeavor to supply it to our readers.

A TELEGRAM FROM DEBS'

BROTHER

Terre Haute, Ind., April 14, 1919.

Eugene V. Debs,
Federal Prison,
Moundsville, West Virginia.

They have your body behind prison walls but your unconquerable spirit, radiant as a sunburst, soars humanity's luminous heights a million miles beyond the foul touch of filthy hypocrites and their prostituted mercenaries. Your unwavering fidelity to principle, your unflinching love and devotion to the cause of the crushed and oppressed will be an unceasing inspiration. I was never so proud of you. My arms are about you, old pal, and will be through time and eternity.

Your loving brother,
THEODORE DEBS.

Prison Poems

VISIONS, GO NOT FROM ME!

Visions, go not from me!
In my softest hour,
Pierce through and fashion me
After your power.

Though I be falling
In slough or in sleep,
Reach up your voices
Out of the deep.

Visions, go not from me!
If I be content,
Spur me to thirst again
Ere life be spent.

—Charles Ashleigh.
(I. W. W. serving ten-year sentence in federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kan.)

A ROSE.

Pink petals of rose:
Bloom.
You will share this prison-cell with me,
You in your tincup of water in the corner,
I in my narrow cot.

You were sent rather unwillingly—
And so was I—

—For dear love's sake
—And I, for liberty's!

Perfumed petals of rose:
Bloom.
Suffuse your fragrance through the
Your sweetest
Will be a sign of beauty in this bitter
place.
O! so may I!

—H. Austin Simons.
(Conscientious objector, serving eight-year sentence at Fort Leavenworth.)

SINGING IN JAIL.

I hear the poets singing in the jail,
Never do their songs of courage fail,
Songs of human aspiration ring—
Though the scaffolds rise, the poets
sing!

Standing with their backs against the
wall,
While gun, crackle, while their com-
rades fall,
Strong in courage—never do they
fail—
Singing songs of freedom in the jail!

—Mary O'Reilly.
From The Liberator.

What Debs Did For Imprisoned Miners

Minden, W. Va., March 17, 1919.
Comrades: During the Paint Creek strike in this state, when we miners were almost defeated, and Mother Jones and John Brown were in prison illegally and some of our men in the penitentiary at Moundsville, sent there by the governor, unlawfully; and soldiers and company guards were in our midst, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party met and elected E. V. Debs to draft a resolution to be presented to the United States senate calling for a senatorial investigation of the Paint Creek strike and which was presented through Senator Kern and passed the senate causing the immediate release of all our brothers in prison, Mother Jones included.

Now a federal judge who is not worthy to shine Comrade Debs' shoes, and was as far beneath him morally and intellectually as Plato was below Christ, says in his very own words in Moundsville—In the very prison that Debs made open and give up our miners.

Can we now make the prison open up and give up to us Debs, whom we all love, and to whom we owe a debt of gratitude more than to any other single individual in America? It is not enough that we make the prisons open and give back to us Debs, but we must destroy the thing that denies us our right of free speech, and achieve for ourselves the things for which Debs fought and for which he is going to prison, namely, free speech, free press and free assembly.

These things cannot exist until the federal courts have been abolished and the capitalist system of industry has passed away.

The very least that I could do as an individual in recognition of the services Debs has rendered my class would be to ask of the court that I be permitted to serve the sentence in his stead and that he be permitted to go free; for it is for that he must suffer and as all of the miners cannot go to jail I ask that I be permitted to serve his sentence. This is my offering in behalf of the West Virginia miners and to show partially their appreciation of the labors of the great chief of Debs, the crowning glory of the social revolution in America.

What a privilege to be able to take that burden from him upon myself and shield him from the fiendish abuse and hellish insults that will be his in Moundsville under the hirelings of the coal companies of this state!

FRANK GRAHAM.

State Convention of Ohio Socialists to be Held in Cincinnati

The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Ohio named Cincinnati as the convention city and set June 27, 28 and 29 as the dates for the 1919 party convention.

Cincinnati Socialists are already hard at work arranging for the state picnic, which will take place Sunday, June 29. Particulars about location of the picnic grounds, program of speakers and other details will be made public in the Ohio Socialist in an early edition.

The State Office will compute the average membership of the locals in Ohio for the twelve months beginning May 1, 1918, and ending April 30, 1919, at once and each local will be notified how many delegates it is entitled to.

In the meantime, every local and branch of the party is requested to study the constitutional provisions as printed below. Note especially the section which disqualifies locals from representation, and the section which provides that unless a delegate deposits his credentials before 3 o'clock of the first day of the convention, he will not be entitled mileage.

All good standing locals in the state should be represented at this convention. It will be the most important in the party's history because of the important occurrences in the field of socialism which have transpired lately. And remember the state picnic, June 29. Attend.

Here are the constitutional provisions covering state conventions. Read them at the next meeting of the local.

ARTICLE VIII
Conventions.
Section 1. State conventions shall be held annually, time and place to be decided by the Party State Executive Committee.
Sec. 2. The basis of representation in any State Convention shall be by Locals, each Local being entitled to at least one delegate. Locals embracing more than one hundred members in good standing shall be entitled to one additional delegate for every one hundred members, provided that where subdivisions exist the Local may allow such subdivision to elect its delegate according to its quota of membership, the total not to exceed the total number allowed the Local.
Sec. 3. When any subdivision of a Local has not a sufficient number of members to allow it a representative, two or more subdivisions numbering one hundred members, or major fraction thereof, may jointly elect a delegate so long as the Local remains within the limits of its quota.
Sec. 4. Representation shall be based upon the average number of delegates to the State Convention, as shown by the State Office by each Local during the year

NOTICE, THE NEXT STATE PICNIC

The state convention publicity committee of the Socialist Party of the state of Ohio, hereby notifies different locals or branches of the Socialist Party, that the state convention of Ohio, for the year 1919, will be held at Cincinnati, O., June 27 and 28. The state picnic will be held at Coney Island, June 29, 1919. It should be every revolutionary Socialist's duty to be present at the state picnic, no matter if from central, northern or southern parts of the state. Let's get together, rally around the reds, and have a good and jolly time.

The committee also wishes to state that tickets, which will be forwarded to each and every local or branch in the state, can be had of comrades for 25c a piece, while at the boat wharf same will cost you 35c a piece, and therefore we ask you to buy as many tickets as possible.

Furthermore we beg to state that the "country store" will be held at the local headquarters during the convention, at 1314 Vine St., and as usual does the committee ask comrades, friends and sympathizers for donations for such "country store," which will be gladly and with many thanks received.

Kindly forward donations to the treasurer of the committee, Comrade Lotta Burke, 1314 Vine St., or the secretary, Otto F. Hofer, 1315 Vine St.

Comrades and friends, remember, under NO circumstances miss the state picnic.

Convention Publicity Committee.
OTTO F. HOFFER,
1315 Vine St., Cincinnati, O.

American "Democracy" As Seen By Workers of Europe

European Workers Protest Imprisonment of Debs and Other Class War Prisoners

Italy.—Avanti, the Italian Socialist daily, in a recent issue published three columns reviewing the American political persecutions, while the national executive committee of the Italian party has tabled its sympathy to the American party in its hour of trial.

The 50 Socialist members of the Italian chamber of deputies absented themselves, as a protest against the imprisonment of American Socialists, when President Wilson appeared before Italy's parliament at Rome, in January, 1919.

Great Britain.—The Labor Leader, official organ of the British Independent Labor Party, after giving considerable space to the prosecution and imprisonment of American Socialists, published an editorial denouncing "these legal outrages."

The Call, official organ of the British Socialist Party, published the entire contents of the leaflet issued by the National Office of the American Socialist Party, entitled "Restore Our Rights."

Sweden.—The Socialists of Sweden, after having been prevented by the censorship from securing the facts about conditions in the United States, finally received information regarding the persecution of the American Socialists from persons returning to Sweden from the United States. The Socialist Party of Sweden then sent

his power. I do not hesitate to say that we have no one in all the European movement who may be compared to him. My American comrades are to be congratulated on having such a worker."

SWEDISH TOILERS IN PROTEST FOR AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Politiken, the chief organ of the Swedish left wing Socialists, published a half page manifesto calling on the party membership throughout the land to organize protest meetings against America's treatment of political and industrial prisoners. Through its underground channels Politiken has procured a mass of details of specific cases of imprisonment of American workers, according to a cable article by Bassett Digby in the Chicago Daily News.

The Swedish left Socialists are exhorted to do their utmost to cause the release of "American political prisoners."

BRITISH SOCIALISTS HEAR OF PERSECUTION HERE

That the Socialists of France and Great Britain are astounded at the conviction of the five Socialists, Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, Irwin St. John Tucker and William F. Kruse, is putting it lightly. "We have just received a copy of the 'Labor Leader,' the organ of the Independent Labor Party. This is the first copy received for more than two years. It received its news of the trial from Paris. 'The news of this latest outrage against justice and freedom,' declares

French Socialists' View Of Debs' Sentence

(From Le Populaire, the Socialist Daily of Paris, Edited by Jean Longuet, Dated March 16, 1919).

I have received the following cable from Comrade Germer, National Secretary of the Socialist Party in the United States:

"Chicago, March 13.—The Supreme Court of the United States has confirmed the decision of the lower courts in the case of Debs. Debs will therefore spend ten years in prison.—Germer."

The Populaire has already given out this news as a dispatch from our "Labor Leader," bears out only too powerfully what Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, the editor of the American 'Nation' told us last week in his interview with regard to the state of 'war mania' that would seem to be still prevailing in the United States.

"To this is now added capitalist panic against bolshevism, a panic which in large measure is born of a guilty conscience and fear of the harvest of past oppressions or the frustrations of present and future plans for world exploitation.

"Labor unrest is working all through the new world of the west as well as in the war-torn plains of Europe. The news from South America suggests efforts at revolution and ruthless suppressions, followed by fresh outbreaks. Who can foretell the end?"

Evidently the czaristic tactics of American 'justice' do not harmonize very well, in the ears of European workers, with the honored William phrases attuned to the '41 points' of the agency and had already expressed our

emotion at such a verdict. We won't, however, repeat this here, because, in truth, Socialists can never remain indifferent or inactive when, in any place on the globe, the rights of their comrades are violated by the power of bourgeois magistrates.

We know what a glorious part our comrade, Eugene Victor Debs, who is called the American Lasalle, has played for a quarter of a century in the Socialist movement across the Atlantic. At first fighting for the unions, as secretary of the Railway union, he directed the great Pullman strike of Chicago, in 1894, and was condemned to six months' imprisonment. It was in prison that he became a Socialist. Since then he has been one of the founders of our party in the United States. For three times with wonderful energy and marvelous spirit, he carried the Socialist message from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes of Canada to the boundaries of Mexico as candidate for the presidency of the republic. He rolled up thus a Socialist vote of more than a million.

The conviction of such a man, universally esteemed by his adversaries, revered by his comrades, so monstrous a punishment as that to which he has been condemned, for the simple expression of his Socialist opinions, will be a blot on the escutcheon of the great American republic to which its distinguished president has given such a noble luster in all the world.

It is not possible that President Wilson will let our comrade, Debs, fulfill the sentence to which he has been condemned.

(Signed) JEAN LONGUET.

THE OHIO SOCIALIST

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

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WEDNESDAY, 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 naturally 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 over the 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 deportations of the Bolsheviks and Socialists and then we read that other countries are also deporting them to the U. S. 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 when a bright day is breaking. We shall yet see justice triumph.

The Ohio Socialist has found its way into my cell 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 Liith Martin and Wm. O. McClure.

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

When Comrade Martin was introduced she didn't realize that she was going to speak to more than the workers of this vicinity, but in the well-attended auditorium were many professional men and politicians of the old and nearly past regime.

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

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, Marquerite Prevey 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. Fraina, 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. M. ism, and

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

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 be it 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.

Meeting adjourned.
Respectfully submitted,
E. B. AUSTIN, JR.
Assistant State Secretary.

Financial Report for March, 1919.

RECEIPTS.

H. Tinsley, M. A. L. Dues. \$ 1.00
A. W. Calhoun, M. A. L. Dues. 1.00
W. H. Kiser, M. A. L. Dues. 3.00
D. W. Vandever, M. A. L. Dues 2.25
D. W. Vandever, O. S. sub. 25
D. W. Vandever, literature. 50
Local Louisville dues. 18.00
Local Bellevue dues. 2.25
Local Newport dues. 6.00
Total. \$34.25
Balance from February. 1.00
Total. \$35.25

DISBURSEMENTS.

National dues. \$17.00
Postage. 2.84
Office supplies. 3.00
Revolutionary age. 1.60
Ohio Socialist sub. 25
State Sec. salary. 8.56
Total. \$32.25
Receipts. \$35.25
Disbursements. 32.25
Balance on hand. \$ 3.00

Approved by auditing committee:
FRED E. STEVENS.
W. C. GOODMAN.

Regular Meeting of the Executive Committee.

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

Reading of the minutes of the previous meeting dispensed with.

Financial report read and approved. Comrade F. E. Stevens' resignation as State Secretary accepted.

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

Meeting adjourned.
Respectfully submitted,
E. B. AUSTIN, JR.
State Secretary.

A PROTEST THAT PROTESTS

An order for supplies to the extent of \$41.40 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.

CELEBRATION AT YOUNGSTOWN

A monster protest meeting will be held in Youngstown, May 1. The seven branches of the Socialist Party, together with a number of locals from near by cities, will take part. All labor organizations are also invited to help make this meeting one of the greatest demonstrations ever witnessed in Youngstown. Men speakers 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 a vernal 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.

CARRMONTE BRANCH ACTIVE

Local Carrmonte is on the active list. The comrades have routed the germs of sloth and are now up in arms against the social disease-capitalism. The comrades are building up an organization composed of real reds, as they have learned they are the only kind to be trusted. Literature sales are being rushed by this little local.

LOCAL CINCINNATI SUBMITS CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

The following proposed constitutional amendments are offered by Local Cincinnati for the consideration of the comrades.

Article 1, Section 2. The aims and objects of the Socialist Party of Ohio is to organize the working class in the political and industrial field, for the purpose of securing the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class, and by destroying the present capitalist system and establishing industrial democracy.

Sec. 3, New Article. To further this effort to overthrow the present capitalist system and the securing of the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class, we obligate ourselves to the adoption of the Soviet form of government.

Article 18, Section 1. To insert the words, "all other political parties and non-partisan groups."

Resolution
That the press stamps be marked with the month of the year, corresponding in size with the dues stamp and issued quarterly.

HUBBARD LECTURE COURSE

The comrades of Hubbard have engaged four speakers for four consecutive Sunday meetings.

The lectures will be in the following order:
May 2—C. E. Ruthenberg.
May 9—Thurber Lewis.
May 16—Tom Lewis.
May 23—Chas. Baker.

Every comrade in Hubbard is urged to get out and hustle for the success of these meetings, which promise to be the greatest held there for a long time. Take your families with you comrades, and your neighbors also.

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 Delaware, 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.

POLICE BECOME LAW BREAKERS

The comrades of Farrell, Pa., were treated to a dastardly example of the lawlessness of the capitalist tools of that city on April 14, when Comrade Wm. J. Dodge of Buffalo attempted to speak at a meeting in I. W. M. 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., they 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 were the livery of the U. S. government. The streets were crowded and many small attacks occurred between the peaceful citizens and the assassins of the people's liberties.

This outrage at Farrell is but another evidence of the reign of terror which the capitalists have since the war. The workers will resent such interference and a lot of blood will flow, but it won't all be from the workers' veins.

ANOTHER VICTIM

Dear Comrades: On way from Weed, New Mexico, to Santa Fe, to stand trial for alleged violation of espionage act.

It keeps historians humping to read comradings' progress these days. Away here in New Mexico I can hear the hum in your office. Keep it up. Fraternally,

Comrade Calkins is an Ohio Socialist booster. We await word of the outcome of his trial.—Ed.

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 betting 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 be 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 W. M. I. C.

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.

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 am being taken to prison 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 a message I 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 making 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 work is never done. 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 Western Penitentiary, 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 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.

WORDS OF APPRECIATION

Beloved Comrade: Were I a praying man I would spend some time on my knees wrestling for more power for your good right arm.

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.

When I was 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 felt about his place in the world and to the movement in this state and will do all I can to boost its circulation.

With profoundest regards for every reader (because they know a good thing when 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. DUDERSTADT.
Cincinnati, O.

Words And Deeds

I am here to get all the subs for the Ohio Socialist I can.—W. R. Tompkins, Dalton, O.

Comrade Frank Centlivier of Troy sends in such a big list that he must write some of them on the back of the sub blank, 15 in all. He says: "Spring is here and fishing is fairly good. This net isn't quite large enough for this catch, send me a larger one." To which we add that Comrade Centlivier proves himself a good fisherman by landing such a big catch in so small a net.

"Enclosed is one dollar for a year's subscription to the greatest weekly for the workers in the world."—Geo. J. Christman, Springfield, O.

"The Ohio Socialist is doing good work. That terrible disease the Russian working people have seems to be very contagious at present. I believe if the workers all over the world were to become afflicted with it, it would cure more of our ills."—D. B. Dale, Wase, Va.

Comrade Auckerman of Kalamazoo sends in a list of six and adds: "Here are a few more that are getting tired of the lies in the capitalist press."

"This is my reply to the persecution of one of the best men in the world, Eugene V. Debs."—D. D. Harper, Huntington, W. Va. Comrade Harper sends in 12 yearly subscriptions. If every comrade would do half as well or a quarter as well on May 1, Comrade Debs and all other class war prisoners would walk out of the capitalist jails within one month. Will you do your share?"

Some more coming, says Comrade Wm. Wissman of Hamilton, O., who sends in three yearlies.

Comrade E. J. Hewitt of Ashtabula, O., sends in two subscriptions and promises at least \$10 worth in the next three weeks.

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 Kenmore
SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO
Meets Every Friday, 7:30 P. M.
BITTIKOFFERS HALL,
Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard
Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M.

FUCHS HALL
Cor. Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO
Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 3 p. m., 213 Michigan St.

LOCAL COLUMBUS.
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Hall, 50 1/2 W. Gay Street.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.
Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M., at Bushnell Hall, 127 West Federal St., Third floor.

LOCAL HAMILTON
Meets Every Friday Evening, 8 P. M.

SOCIALIST HALL,
38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Canton of the SOCIALIST PARTY
Meets Every Thursday at 7:30 P. M., at Socialist Headquarters, 328 Tuscarawas St., E.

LOCAL NILES
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.
Study Class every Sunday, 10

Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m.
MASONIC HALL,
164 N. Chestnut St.

Branch
Meets Tiffin Every
Wednesday, 8 P. M.
No. 93-4 Washington St.

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 may look out. He is coming back to quarantine against it here, but he may fail again, so you had better be prepared for the worst. Shut yourself up in your homes, pull down the blinds and pray.

And you better pray pretty damned hard, for if this thing gets you, you are ruined. Bolshevism in free America would mean that the country would be ruled and run by common roughneck persons. These roughnecks would demand shorter hours of labor and everything they please, so you see there would be leisure for pleasure and other things, therefore they would be compelled to go to work on the same terms with the roughnecks. These fool roughnecks would cut out waste, duplication and graft so that pretty soon there would be abundance for all, and lots of leisure for pleasure and other things, so that by and by these roughneck persons would become cultured and self-respecting gentlemen and ladies AND BE AS GOOD AS ANYBODY. Now if this would not ruin a country, I'd like to know what in blazes would?

Take it from me, Bo, any country in which the roughnecks persons melt together with the good society that they are all on the same economic and cultural level, so that there is no longer lots of poor, half-starved poor white trash and niggers, compelled by their need and helplessness to wait on us and our bare necessities of existence, black our boots, cook our meals and do all the labor of our up-keep while we joy-ride, guzzle the best brands and enjoy life generally, IS RUINED.

It is being announced from the Chicago journalistic red-light district that the I. W. W.'s, the Socialists and a few other dependable anarchists are to meet in that city sometime the first of May and lease the United States out to the Bolsheviks for a million years. I bet the Chicago police will make it lively for them before that lease is finally signed.

When Jesus was here the last time he said something about "he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one."

If Jesus were here now and should say that, he would be considered a

dangerous Bolshevik; Billie Sunday would stop preaching him and call the police, and he would come within forty cents of getting what he got before.

All together now comrades, for the liveliest demonstration ever made in this land of liberty on the first of May. Every journalistic red-light district in America is busy holding venom against Debs, and doing their dirty darndest to prejudice the people against him, that he may be left to perish in an American bastle. Debs is sacrificing himself in the effort to emancipate the masses, while these journalistic harlots who seek to lead him with opprobrium are sacrificing the masses that THEY may bask in the favor of the masters and live sumptuously. Between them and Debs there is a great gulf that language cannot bridge. If Debs rots in a bastle in "Free America" it will be to the everlasting shame—not of radicals alone, but of the whole nation.

"There is a tide in human affairs that, taken at its flood, leads on to world-wide emancipation." That tide is now on and is still rising; if we wait until it ebbs, we may be left stranded. While this mighty epochal tide is beating, the screech of the chip of a cricket in a cyclone—and it is. The world does not move to betterment by slow reforms. Evolution, nowhere, works up a gradual incline. The factors slowly develop and gain potentially. There is a rupture, and the process starts onward again upon a different plan. All new things are born in travail. There must be birth-pangs, and the sunshine reformer who would ride into Utopia in ease and security while the band plays soft, seductive airs for him, had as well sit down—he is not in it.

Debs said: "I could get \$150,000—I could sell out your cause for that easily." Debs is not for sale—the plumes have not money enough to buy him—but I wonder what some "labor leaders" have cost that are not worth any more.

The movement in Virginia for the month of March has not shown volcanic activity. Let us hope the smoldering fires will burst into flame pretty soon—in time to make a big red glow on May Day.

Financial Statement for March, 1919.

INCOME.

March 21, T. R. McBrayer. . . \$1.00
22, Edison. 1.00
31, F. A. Dertinger. 1.00
Total. \$3.00

EXPENSES.

March 15, Literature. \$1.00
21, Express.32
31, Postage for Month. 2.50
Total. \$3.82

Loss for Month. \$.82
B. M. DUTTON, State Sec.

No Compromise Says Herman

(Comrade Emil Herman, State Secretary of Socialist Party of Washington, is imprisoned in McNeil's Island penitentiary, Washington.)

Lately the papers are announcing a commutation of sentences in Espionage Act cases.—That is a compromise which is not, and cannot be, satisfactory to intelligent, thinking and liberty-loving Americans. The autocratic politicians of the Democratic party are beginning to hear from the people.—They want to mollify public opinion, and they want to "save their face," they want the convictions to stand, and the inference left to the Espionage Act is constitutional and that the convictions obtained under it were justified. The facts are that the law is in contravention to the United States constitution; and that many, perhaps, MOST, of the convictions were secured by an appeal to prejudice and fear, rather than on proof of violation of the law.

Accept no compromise! Demand full justice.

EMIL HERMAN.

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demand. Order quickly so you will not be disappointed.

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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. Bursleson'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 "preparation" 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 know 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 result in 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—on the part of labor and liberal minorities in the commons 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 Bolshevik 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 recaptures 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 intercontinental 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 a 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 hirelings 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 joyousness 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 year, 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 a 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, a 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 parasite 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 quicksand 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 triumphant 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 undressed, about ready to retire to a three-foot by five and a half feet steel bunk. Whether or not he truly rested comfortably that night will probably remain a secret. Comrade Debs claims he did, but how his large frame could find comfortable repose upon a "bed" so small will remain a problem.

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

Thus 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 jail 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 quick and 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.

Why did 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 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. Why was not Debs permitted a few days to arrange his business affairs? 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

CALL FOR AMERICAN FREEDOM CONVENTION

Continued from page one

YOU ARE CONCERNED WITH THESE FACTS:

A grand army of Americans is now marching into federal prisons.

Federal judges have acquired the habit of saying ten years, twenty years, thirty years and more—in many instances dealing out what are practically life sentences.

TWENTY-FOUR THOUSAND YEARS IN PRISON, is about the aggregate of the sentences of persons already convicted.

These men and women are not criminals, but are victims of war hysteria and the espionage (spy) law, upon which the supreme court has repeatedly sidestepped a decision.

Nearly every other country has freed its war time political and industrial prisoners.

Speakers are jailed, public meetings are prohibited or broken up, Postmaster General Bursleson, like a czar, still imposes his dictates upon the nation's press and rifles personal letters. Religious beliefs are passed upon by a military commission. Ministers occupy cells because of their interpretation of Biblical teachings. Political grudges are settled and labor-hating employers impale labor organizers, all under this comprehensive SPY LAW—THE LAW UNDER WHICH NO SPY WAS EVER BROUGHT TO COURT.

You are needed. Your decision will help to make our fellow citizens Free Men and Free Women in a Free America.

A nation-wide committee, representative of organizations that despise autocracy, has been formed under the name of NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, and hereby issues a call to all economic, political and other organizations for an

AMERICAN FREEDOM CONVENTION

to be held in the city of Chicago, beginning July 3, 1919.

Representation will be accorded to all organizations that endorse, by vote, the vital purposes of the convention as stated in the two points of the program.

Reactionary and un-American policies, imposed by a small group which is in control of the mighty federal powers, cannot be successfully opposed by any local or sectional body. There must be erected a national organization of organizations with power to fight until we win.

Therefore we call upon all societies and organizations to join in this common cause FOR THE RESTORATION OF AMERICAN LIBERTIES AND FOR THE RESCUE OF ALL THOSE WHO SUFFER FOR POLITICAL OPINIONS, INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES OR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

We invite the active assistance of every liberty loving citizen. We invite the co-operation of all the relatives of such persons as are being persecuted or are now prisoners.

The committee believes the vast majority of citizens favor this move and we are prepared to canvass the homes of the country.

The committee further believes that neither arrogant usurpers of power nor "a few willful men" can misrule this nation when legislation, in effect, is made in the workshops and at the firesides of America.

Join forces for Freedom for ALL.

The call is accompanied with a blank endorsement to be filled out and returned by organizations approving of the program and aims of the league.

Each organization affiliated with the league is entitled to one delegate to the convention, and one additional delegate for every 300 members. All correspondence should be addressed to the Immediate Action Committee, American Freedom Convention, Room 414, Mid-City Bank Building, Chicago, Illinois.

drawn up before the building and all doors were securely bolted. Cries of "Release Debs," "Hurrah for the General Strike," and "Down With Capitalism" filled the air. The parade then retraced its steps a block and another monster meeting was held right under the windows of the court room where Judge Westenhaver sentenced Debs.

Debs is in prison. He is twice as great and powerful in prison as out of it. This the capitalist class will very soon learn. When capitalism added oil to the fire which is even now sweeping away a foul system of robbery and human despoliation. Demands for Debs' liberation are growing daily in volume and in forcefulness. The national, state and local Socialist parties will leave nothing undone to free our comrade whose service in the cause of the workers has ever been most conscientious and full of love and veneration.