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FIRST VICTORY OF THE FIGHTING ARMY OF LIBERATORS

DEBS FINDS COMFORT IN THE HOSPITAL WARD OF THE ATLANTA PRISON

The Army of Liberators has scored its first victory. The visit of Liberator attorneys Sharts and Castleton, and Marguerite Prevey to the Atlanta penitentiary has resulted, in the transfer of Debs from labor in the clothing department and 14 hours a day in a steel cage to comfortable quarters in the hospital ward.

Debs should have been placed in the hospital ward the first day he arrived at Atlanta prison. Debs is not a well man, and his age should bespeak for him conveniences and comforts not necessary to the younger prisoners.

But no, the aim of those who are Debs' jailers seemed to be to break Debs' spirit.

They wanted him to break down.
They wanted him to beg for mercy.
They wanted him to desert his Socialist principles.

And now they found out that Debs is not that kind of a man. They have found out that he would sooner die than give in an inch.

In the last weeks Debs has lost 14 pounds. Always slight of build, he was merely a shadow of himself when visited by the three representatives of the Army of Liberators. His eyes were deeply sunken into his head and it could be plainly seen that he was suffering, not only physically, but also and mostly, spiritually.

He was suffering because those about him were suffering. It cut him to the heart to see fellow prisoners punished. It wounded him deeply to see those about him denied sufficient food. And so, sensitive as he is, he suffered with them and suffered the more.

"You'll have a dead man on your hands soon, and the workers will say he was killed in prison"—these were the parting words of one of the Liberator representatives to the warden of the Atlanta penitentiary.

These words were ominous. They undoubtedly made the warden think harder than he has for some years. And the result was that Debs is now enjoying a real bed, a window that looks out upon the world, books and an environment more conducive to mental calm.

Again we say—maybe you've never been in jail. Maybe the weight of steel bars and stone walls have never depressed your spirit and deadened your every impulse. Maybe you don't understand.

But those of us who have been in jail know what it means to get away from the cage. We know what it means to get a glimpse of the outside world. We know what it means to see a new face, to get away from the depressing prison routine, to even bathe a hand in a ray of sunshine.

As prison life goes, Debs is now in heaven.

The Army of Liberators has made this possible.

The Army of Liberators will make more than this possible. **FREE DEBS AND ALL CLASS WAR PRISONERS—that's our minimum demand and our slogan is—NO REST UNTIL WE WIN!**

Ever onward then. Have every move you make and every word you utter count for LIBERATION.

Unless we have sufficient funds, nothing can be done. **AND REMEMBER—MONEY IS NEEDED.**

ONCE MORE WE SAY—SECURE CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE LIBERATION FUND FROM YOUR FELLOW WORKERS AND FRIENDS.

NOT TOMORROW OR NEXT WEEK—BUT NOW!

For the sooner we hear from you the sooner Debs will be freed.

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Join Us in this Battle Today

Join your helping hands with ours—with the hundreds who have joined the Army of Liberators. All Liberators are now laboring determinedly for the freedom of Debs and all the rest. They will welcome you into the army. Send today for an application blank and a Liberation Fund Contribution List. Your assistance is needed. Give it.

Address—THE LIBERATORS, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

ATTENTION!!

Locals - Branches - Members

The police control of the Germer Convention at Chicago made it necessary for the new National Executive Committee, elected by you, to call the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party to order in another hall in the same building. The convention was regularly organized and then adopted the new name "Communist Labor Party" for our organization. All Locals, Branches and members desire to affiliate with the Left Wing faction of the former Socialist Party. Now the Communist Labor Party, under the principle laid down at this convention should communicate at one with national Headquarters, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

OHIO LOCALS ATTENTION

Ohio Locals should continue their municipal campaigns under the name of "Socialist Party". The adoption of the new name can date from time immediately following the November elections.

In the Next Weeks Issue Resolutions Passed by the Communist Labor Party Convention.

Proclamation to the Membership

Comrades:—

The great war has shaken the world's foundations. Many idols have crashed to the ground, showing their hollowness. The war has torn the mask of patriotism, democracy, and idealism from Capitalism and laid bare the brutal features of man-devouring imperialism. It has shown the workers of the world that their true interests lie in International class solidarity, exercised upon the field of revolutionary class and mass action.

In this crucial moment the Socialist Party of the United States has betrayed the working class. It sold out the birthright of the workers for a mess of pottage consisting of political respectability and alignment with the interests of the petit bourgeois.

The Socialist Party employed the Chicago police department to throw out of the national convention the duly elected delegates of the membership while it packed the convention with "Socialist" aldermen from New York, the very ones that voted for the erection of an arch of triumph in glorification of the victory of American soldiers over the Red Guards of proletarian Russia at Murmansk.

The Socialist Party at the Chicago convention repudiated the real proletarian International — that organized at Moscow. It even found words of excuse for the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa-Luxemburg. It disgraced the word Socialism.

In this emergency your delegates, on August 31, met in convention called by the revolutionary national executive committee, elected by you last spring upon the basis of the Left Wing program, and formed the Communist Labor Party of the United States. We have chosen the name Communist Labor Party because the word "Socialist" has been internationally discredited by the Scheidemanns everywhere.

Realizing the need of unity between all revolutionary forces, the convention of the Communist Labor Party, left nothing undone to bring about unity with the Communist Party convention, which convened at Chicago on Sept. 1st. Conference committees were elected; the appeal for unity was carried to the floor of the Communist convention; and the declaration adopted instructing our national officers to exert every effort for a unification of the two parties. So far our efforts for unity have not met with success. The entire matter will be submitted to you in detail and we are confident that you will defer judgement until then.

The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party appeals to you to repudiate the traitors of International Socialism in the reactionary Socialist Party and to pledge yourselves, your energy and all, to the great struggle of working class emancipation.

We are confident that your judgment will finally be in our favor and that you will help to unite the forces of the American working class under the banner of the Communist Labor Party, an integral part of the Third—The Communist International.

LONG LIVE THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL! FREEDOM FOR ALL CLASS WAR PRISONERS! VICTORY TO COMMUNISM!

Alexander Bilan, Jack Carney, L. E. Katterfeld, Edward Lingren, Max Bedacht
National Executive Committee,
Communist Labor Party.

A. Wagenknecht,
Executive Secretary.

The Question of Unity Between The Communist Labor Party and Communist Party

ALL OF THE OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS WHICH PASSED BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN THE TWO CONVENTIONS AT CHICAGO.

We here publish, for the information of all Left Wing adherents, all the documents which passed between the conventions of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party, upon the question of unity.

These documents prove conclusively that no more sincere nor earnest efforts for unity could have been made than were made by the Communist Labor Party. We permit these documents to speak for themselves and we request a thorough reading of them by all comrades.

(This document was sent to the Left Wing delegates at the Emergency Convention by the delegates at the eleventh hour to form a new party.)

Invitation from the Left Wing Council

Chicago, August 30th, 1919

The National Left Wing Council extends its greetings to all the Left Wing delegates to the Emergency Socialist Party Convention. Though we have no official part in the Emergency Convention, nor any part in its caucus, we still recognize that our responsibility, as well as yours, extends to all the Left Wing membership of the Socialist Party; and it is in recognition of this responsibility, and in the realization that the Left Wing movement now demands expression in a Communist Party, that we urge all Left Wing delegates to join with us in the organization of the Communist Party of America. The Joint Call for our September first convention, which is made part of this message, makes ample and fair provision for the seating of all Left Wing delegates at the Communist Party Convention.

For the National Left Wing Council:
Louis C. Fraina
Maximilian Cohn
John Ballam
C. E. Ruthenberg
I. E. Ferguson, Sec.

Headquarters: 1221 Blue Island Ave., Chicago.

(Immediately the Left Wing delegates decided to quit the police controlled Germer convention, these Left Wing delegates constituted themselves the regular Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party, officially called by the new National Executive Committee. It heard the report of this committee and the new National Secretary and at once elected a committee of five to confer with the organization committee of the Communist Convention in order to secure unity. The two committees met and the latter gave the committee from the Left Wing delegates the following document.)

Statement To the Left Wing Delegates By The Joint Organization Committee of The Communist Convention

The Joint Organization Committee of the Communist Party Convention composed of the National Organization Committee and the National Left Wing Council can make no decisions for the convention. The question of voting in the convention is a question for the Credentials Committee. Every person who comes into the convention holds his seat and has his vote subject to the final actions of the Contest and Credentials Committee. Our committee could not go beyond the matter of preliminary arrangements.

We have, however, acted on the question of making up the roster of delegates who shall participate in the preliminary organization of the convention. We have acted on the basis of the Joint Call; the Convention will be organized by delegates who present credentials according to the Joint Call. This Joint Committee has already decided that delegates who have credentials to this convention regardless of the participation in the Emergency Convention shall have votes in the preliminary organization. We therefore present to your committee the Joint Call as an integral part of this answer.

This technical situation does not effect the essential question of unity. This is a convention question, and it will come up in due

course through the work of the Credentials Committee. We ask your committee, therefore, to make up for the Credentials Committee a complete list of your delegates, the organization and number of members they represent in each instance, and such instructions, if any, as each delegate or individuals may have. This will give us the basis we need for acting on the proposal of unity.

Our spirit in the matter is epitomized in a resolution which this committee adopted unanimously in its first meeting to have all bolting delegates from the S. P. Convention to sit with us, in a reserved section, as special guests of the Convention, until the disposition of credentials give us the basis for exact answer. The convention may also decide to take up this question aside from the work of the Credentials Committee. In either case we will make as prompt answer as possible.

I. E. FERGUSON
O. C. JOHNSON
JOHN KERACHER
DANIEL ELBAUM
LOUIS C. FRAIN
C. E. RUTHENBERG
D. E. BATT
A. KOPNAGEL.

(The conference committee from the Left Wing delegates decided, upon receipt of the above document, to await the election of a similar committee by the Communist Convention, a committee which could truly speak for the convention. The Russian Federation, which controlled the Communist Convention, were not in favor of negotiation for unity and voted the question of electing a conference committee down. This resulted in the withdrawal from the Communist Convention of about forty delegates, mostly from English or organizations. Eventually the Russian Federation delegates agreed to the election of a conference committee. This committee sent the following document to the Left Wing delegates who were excluded from the Germer police controlled convention, which had in the mean time, because of the long wait to hear from the Communist Party Convention, organized permanently into the Communist Labor Party.)

Statement to The Communist Labor Party Convention By The Communist Convention.

Before the beginning of the war in August 1914, sharp differences in principles and tactics had made themselves apparent in the parties within the Second International. In each country there was the faction which placed its reliance upon the parliaments of the bourgeois state for the transformation of capitalism into Socialism. This faction, the dominant element in the Socialist Party in practically every country, directed its tactics and agitation to the end of attaining a majority in the parliaments. They argued that this majority, through legislative action, would end the power of the capitalists in industry and build up the structure of the new society.

In harmony with this conception it considered the activities of its parliamentary representatives for reform measures intended to improve the position of the workers under the capitalist system as the method by which Socialism would be established.

In sharp conflict with these Moderate Socialists stood the Revolutionary minorities, which rejected the idea that the struggle could be won in the bourgeois parliaments. The Revolutionary Socialists contended that the emancipation of the working class could not be achieved through the capitalist state but only through the overthrow of the capitalist state by the mass Power of the workers and the establishment of a new organ of state Power by the working class, in the form of the dictatorship of the Proletariat, for the transformation of Capitalism into Communism.

Between these groups stood the wavering centre. Revolutionary in phrases, it was never revolutionary in action. Rejecting the idea of legislating capitalism out of existence a step at a time, and therefore not agitating primarily for social reform measures under the capitalist system, this faction nevertheless considered the bourgeois state as the medium through which Capitalism would be abolished.

It required the test of action under revolutionary crisis to bring out the irreconcilable differences between these factions. Under the test of action it was found that Moderate Socialism betrayed the class struggle in favor of "reconciliation of the classes." Moderate Socialism is today directly and openly counter-revolutionary. The Centre, because of its vacillation, is even more dangerous because its revolutionary phrases conceal its betrayal of the revolutionary class struggle.

Although the movement in this country has not undergone the test of revolutionary experience in an advanced stage, the influence of the social revolution in Russia and struggle in Germany have deepened the differences between the three factions. After months of agitation and discussion we find at this moment the old party splitting into three organizations corresponding to the three fundamental differences of viewpoint which have heretofore existed in the one party.

(Continued on page 3.)

"The principles and tactics of the Communist Labor Party are not to be construed as meaning or implying a resort to crime, sabotage, violence or terrorism. We expressly declare that we do not advocate or justify crime, sabotage, violence, or terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political transformation."

DEBS' PERSONALITY THE SAME IN PRISON AS IN FREEDOM.

By Samuel Castleton.

The United States Government has a penitentiary on the outskirts of Atlanta, Georgia, where it houses a motley crew of veggein, counterfeiters, white slavers, fraudulent bankrupts, murderers, and other criminals who have violated the penal statutes. It is a low, spacious building of marble that squats on a slightly elevated hill, and can be seen through and over the spiked railings and virgin woods of beautiful spacious lawns and richly colored flowers act as a mockery; and poetical pervasion — as though placed there for the purpose of vanishing the prisoners with its view.

Within the past year or more the Government has been sending a steadily increasing group to this institution — a gallant band of idealists and political radicals who have fearlessly expressed their opinion regarding the late war. Here they are garbed in prison overalls, their scalps shaved, their photographs made, numbers given them, where they are incarcerated fourteen hours daily in iron cells. It has fallen to the lot of these political radicals to be thrown in dungeons and dark cells known as "blind-doors" where they dine on bread and water twice, and sometimes three times, daily.

The latest radical to join this group is that famous champion of the cause of the proletariat, that defender of the under-dog, the oppressed, the enslaved victims of this capitalistic world — Eugene V. Debs. He is sixty-three years of age, tall and lanky, in fact comaciated. A few straggling hairs embellish an otherwise bald head, and through a pair of cheap spectacles is seen a pair of honest, straight-forward, keen and searching eyes. His face is thin, and rather tan, and his jaw is firm and strong. There is something remarkable about the expression of his face. It expresses the soul of honor, an idealist in search of truth, the spokesman whose only guide is his conscience, his motives altruistic, and a deep profound love for his fellow men. One glance at him and you can see the uncompromising revolutionist, the fighter for progress. When he clasped my outstretched hand, and replied to my query, "How are you, comrade?" "I am well, comrade, thank you," and in the word "comrade" a magically beautiful smile illumined his face. I know that he was thinking of his millions of comrades all over the world and their struggle for the great economic change that will ultimately overthrow the capitalistic system. "Gens" is reticent concerning himself. He has no personal grievances, or ill feeling, towards anyone. "Tell the boys I am all right, I am being well treated — as well as can be under the circumstances." Debs hates the system of penal institutions, and he does feel sympathy for his fellow prisoners. He knows that the capitalistic system is wrong in its definition of crime and in its punishment of criminals. Because of his deep sincerity he commands the respect of the warden and of the subordinate men in charge of this prison. There is a marked affability on the part of the warden. There seems to be a studied courtesy on the part of all the officials in their attentions to Debs, and Debs knows this. But he will not stand for any favoritism, even though he be the beneficiary. It is foreign to his nature to want to receive treatment denied any other prisoner. He refuses to see the hundreds of visitors for he knows this privilege would be denied others. "I will not have a bite of food that any other prisoner cannot have. I won't read a newspaper, magazine, or periodical, that any other prisoner cannot read. I don't want anything that any other prisoner cannot get." His smile of love and comradeship, his fine radiant personality is a great Socialist propaganda within this institution. Thirty years ago, the warden confided to me, he heard Debs deliver a speech to me, he heard Debs deliver a speech in Milwaukee, and his manner of telling it seemed to be reminiscent of pleasure. "I remember it very well. It was very cold and snowy at the time." And with a smile, said, "But I have not told Debs about it."

Strict rules prevail around prison interviews. Between prisoner and visitor, sits a guard armed with club in hand who listens to every word that passes between them. Strict scrutiny is exercised lest some secret pass between them. In the case of Debs a certain feeling of respect and awe exists. I was struck with the fact that the guard remained at the door, and that there was no tendency to intrude upon our privacy. It is as though some high official of Washington had sent instructions that special care and special treatment be given him. There seems to be a realization that millions of people are interested in the fate of Debs. His incarceration has placed him in the position of a martyr though he himself finds it repugnant to be considered such. Debs has the spirit of youth. His expression radiates optimism. "Comrade, the world is moving faster, our vision is becoming clearer, our world will soon be here." I have seen Debs time and

(Continued on page 3.)

