Judge Landis was called from the

chambers. He mounted the bench. His

voice was husky as he asked the jury

Hendee is Foreman.

a slip of paper to the clerk.
"We the jury find Victor L. Berger

Landis Thanks Jurors.

thanks to the jurors for the service which they had rendered.

The jury then filed out of the room

As they marched down the aisle they must have heard the sobbing of a

few women who could not restrain

thought there would be a disagree-

I did not hear the personal opin-

ions of either Germer or Tucker, but

A few moments after the motions

were made, the convicted men left

wives. The great marbled court room

had held common counsel and fellow-

Engdahl was not greatly surprised.

their tears.

Judge Landis then offered the rsual

There was a unanimous "we have."

if they had agreed upon a verdict.

# Free Speech Hit by "Guilty" Verdict Against Socialists

Free speech, free press and free ten upon the face of each man. They assemblage received the worst blow did not look at either the defendants they have ever suffered in America, or their lawyers. Wednesday afternoon, when a jury before Judge Londis, in the federal court, returned a "guilty" verdict against the five national Socialist officials, Victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, Irwin St. John Tucker and William F. Kruse.

"Read the verdict, Mr. Clerk," snapped Judge Landis. H. L. Hendee, 70 years old, retired fruit dealer of Waukegan, Ill., handed "Guilty!" of carrying on the work of the American Socialist movement, through speeches and written articles, that is the verdict of the jury in the trial of the five national officials of the Socialist Party of the United States, who had placed faith in the first article of the bill of rights of

the American constitution.

The jury deliberated the case four hours and fifty minutes, after listening to testimony and argument for

nearly five weeks.
Shortly before 5 o'clock, with the corridors packed with hundreds of persons, the bailiff moved from his chair. He called for the defendants and their attorneys. There was a rustle among the crowd as the five Socialists and their lawyers pushed their way through the throng.

These men stand today convicted in the United States district court of struggling to bring Socialism to America, the technical charge being that they conspired to thwart the energies of the government in its war with the Imperial German govern- and with dignity. Not a word escaped

Make Motion for New Trial. The penalty for violation of the Espionage Law is from one to twenty years imprisonment at the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas,

and a fine not to exceed ten thousand read by Joseph O'Sullivan, clerk to Judge Kenesaw M. Landis, a motion for a new trial was made by Seymour

Stedman, chief counsel for the con-victed Socialists. Judge Landis set January 28 as the the courtroom accompanied by their date for hearing motions, and con-tinued the bail of the five convicted

The Verdict is Given. When the bailiff indicated that the ship therein for five weeks.

It was the same court room that jury was ready to report the throng

pushed forward. Reporters were admitted after the attorneys and defendants had taken their seats.

The bailiff walked briskly to the door of the jury room. The talesmen strolled in. Several walked with heads bent, eyes looking toward the ground, and their hands clasped beind thom. There was no mistake what their decision was. It was writted to be haunted by the memory of the great trial of the Industrial Workers of the World whose conviction was secured only a few short months ago.

The doors slammed, a key turned in the lock, and it seemed that something intangible, something big and brave had been locked in that judicial sepulcine.

Judge Upholds Freedom of Speech

# Flying the Red Flag

Editorial from the Australian Worker There are more ways than one of flying the Red

Over in Europe it is streaming on every breeze, and the sun and the moon shine upon it, and it is wet with the rain and the dew.

It floats above palaces that once housed the pride of kings, and from the masts of battleships that were the instruments or despotism.

In those lands the Red Flag is the symbol of DE-MOCRACY'S TRIUMPH, and the multitudes salute it with glad hearts, for it means that the TYRANNY OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM DRAWS TO A CLOSE, and that the hour of the Fraternal Commonwealth has arrived

"We the jury lind victor L. Berger, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, William F. Kruse and Irwin St. John Tucker guilty as charged in the in-dictment," read O'Sullivan. Reporters dashed for the door, but were halted by the marshal. The It is easy to fly the Red Flag in that part of the world for two hundred millions acc) aim it as their own, were halted by the marshal. The judge was speaking. Attorney Stedman asked that the jury be polled. Each rose in his seat and declared that the verdict just read was his. and it is surrounded with the sanction of the only law that matters-the consent of the common people.

But even in Australia the Red Flag can be flown Willy Watt (Acting Prime Minister) has said it shall not be done. He has made it an offence to raise it over any building or display it in any public place.

I am not sure whether you can be hanged or shot for it; but anyhow, to fly the Red Flag is a crime by the will of Watt, and should you dare to do it, look out for the dire consequences of his displeasure.

Berger, Germen, Engdahl, Kruse and Tucker took the verdict calmly All the same, THE RED FLAG FLIES IN AUStheir lips when their fate was sealed by the reading of a scrap of paper. Yet, I know that several of them TRALIA AT THE PRESENT MOMENT!

And what is more, if there were ten thousand were dealt a shocking blow. They had not expected a conviction. A few moments before the jury came in Berger said to me, "The jury cannot convict me of this charge." Kruse Willy Watts, armed with ten thousand War Precautions Acts, they could not tear it down or punish or less openly republican and revolutionary; but the program of the majority Socialists and Labor Unionary

It is in the HEARTS and MINDS OF THE WORK-ERS that the Red Flag is flying. It is safe there. The jingoes may put up their noses and howl, but they cannot touch it; it is out of reach of their defiling

Serene and splendid it is unfurled in the thoughts and aspirations of the working class; and when the once more became the tomb that contained the ghost of the spirits that dust blows over the political graves of the little tyrants who now misgovern Australia, the Red Flag will still be fyling, for it symbolizes two great and indestructable forces-Labor and Liberty.

## ForeignPolicy of New Alberta Party on St. and employers seeking help in 58. and employers seeking help in only 21. A month ago similar tele to be Formed Irish Labor The question of forming an independent political party in Alberta. Canada, of which the labor forces will

constitute a unit, will be the chief subject of discussion at the conven-tion of the Alberta Federation of

Labor in Medicine Hat early in 1919.

In is expected that the farmers will

Two significant features of the mu-

nicipal nominations and elections

was in jail serving a month's imprisonment for having two copies of a prohibited Socialist paper in his pos-

ression, as a public utilities commis-

sioner, and the election in Hamilton, of Gordon Nelson as hydro-electric commissioner, Nelson is the editor of

the Hamilton Labor News. He defeat-

elected as controllers, aldermen and

Skidmore, the fear of his possible election forces the Dominion govern-

ment to release him and cancel the fine cf \$500 imposed upon him.

Railways in

Great Britain

According to an interview given by Emil Davies, chairman of the Rail-way Nationalization Society of Great

Brita'n, to a representative of the

Centra! News, railway nationalization

is interesting to note that while only

ore Chamber of Commerce has iden-ti itse'f with the Railway Nation-

alization Society, the membership of

the preparization includes approxi-

mately 800 trade unions, co-operative

societies, trade councils, etc., representing over 4,000,000 electors.

Nationalization

also take part in this movement.

After considerable delay, a copy of Lima Socialsts Win Legal Battle the statement on International Aims. of the Irish Labor Party, and unani-mously endorsed by the special con-gress of the Irish Trade Unions held in November, has reached America. The statement is addressed to the Internationale. Excerpts and summaries of the principal points follow:

Because the Socialists Party of manity, for the perpetuity of the lib-lima was twice refused the use of erties that all now enjoy,—even Memorial Hall (which was built for though they may be the very de-public use by public funds) for meet-struction of them,—but they honestly ings for Eugene V. Debs, because believe that they are necessary for they were Socialist meetings, the their perpetuity. local, through Attorney Edwin Blank, ... Now, you can see how impossible it of all peoples, and no annexations, no indemnities, and no undemocratic or secret treaties, \* \* From such a setlocal, through Attorney Edwin Blank, and the court of carried the case into court.

The case was tried in the Court of Common Pleas of Allen County before Judge J. Klinger, who in his decision upheld the rights of the Socialists to the use of the hall upon the rame conditions as others. His remarks from the bench upholding the rights of Free Speech and Free Press are especially significant at this time, because halls have been denied Socialists and because halls have been denied Socialists. Whenever the Socialists and because halls have been denied Socialists. The language that is in fact harmful to out any military, political or economic more striction imposed by capitalists at an many other rounts.

Now, you can see how impossible it is to ray to one, you may carry on you may carry on your idea, and suppress the other. It is impossible. Hence, the only safe to which of the two rets of billigerents this people, no matter to which of the two rets of billigerents this people, no matter to which of the two rets of billigerents this people, no matter to which of the two rets of billigerents this people, no matter to which of the two rets of billigerents this people, no matter to which of the two rets of billigerents this people, no matter to which of the two rets of billigerents this people, no matter to which of the two rets of billigerents this people, no matter to which of the two rets of billigerents this people, no matter to which of the two rets of billigerents this people, no matter to which of the two rets of billigerents this people, no matter to which of the two rets of billigerents this people, no matter to which of the two rets of billigerents the people, no matter to which of the two rets of billigerents the people has been, or is now, subject.

Spech, a Free Press, and rest assumed that the remedy is always in the utterance itself.

Whenever the Socialists indulge in pressure from outside, without reservation or restriction imposed by capital the people has been denied socialists and the people has b is to say to one, you may carry on thement Irish Labor would exclude no our country, it does not hurt our talist or imperialist governments, and country, but it hurts the Socialist and uninfluenced and untrammeled by the power of any force of occupation.

his cause.

I do not think that anything has The manifesto then congratulates such peoples as the Jugo-Slavs, the Poles, Ukrainians and others upon ever happened to Socialism-as harmful to it, I mean,—as the reckless ut-terance of some of its members. terance of some of its members.

I have no doubt the fundamental philosophy of Socialism is that justice, in the universal acceptance of that term, be universally administered. I have not yet been assured this inherthink that is the real philosophy of | ent right.

Socialism. That is what they aim to.
They want to overcome this practice asserts its right that upon any delethat we all recognize is in existence gation which shall make the claim of the world over, THAT MANY LABOR BUT FEW, ONLY, HARVEST. of the Irish people, the workers of Ireland shall be directly represented Now, I realize in the preachings of Socialism that is the real grievance; by a duly accredited labor section."

The manifesto next calls for an early convocation of the Socialist Inthat is the real thing they are fight-Hence I come back to my original ternationale and declares the readiness of Irish labor to attend such a premise, that we must indulge in Free Speech, the right of the press to say conference whenever and wherever

> Finally Irish Labor "utters its vehement protest against the capitalist outlawry of the Soviet Republic of Russia," demands the withdrawal of troops from Russia, and congratu'ates the Russian workers upon having for twelve months "exercised that political, social and economic freedom for which Irish workers, in common with their fellows in other lands, still strive and aspire."

### YOU'LL WANT ONE INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

trade will be Central and South America-right at our doors. amazingly rich countries are our neighbors and our friends. They now neighbors and our triends. They now contain about 50,000,000 of population and illimitable resources. They are growing by leaps and bounds."

The conference assumes added significance when one considers that two South American Population Children.

South American Republics, Chile and Peru, are at swords' point with each other, the issue being the question of who shall own two certain rich provinces, Tacna and Arica. One feature of the citation is the control of the citation in the control of the citation in the control of the citation in the cit ture of the situation is the fact that the war mongers in Chilé are busily engaged in fostering sentiment for the deportation of 18,000 Peruvian

Labor Opposition to Intervention Growing Central labor bodies throughout the

Central labor bodies throughout the Deminion of Canada are adopting strong resolutions calling upon the government to withdraw troops from Russia. Reference to the leaders of the Soviet Government always calls out enthusiastic applause at labor meetings. The sympathetic attitude to the workers' government of Russia is also spreading among Canadian workers in Chilean nitrate fields.

The conference is also regarded as highly important in view of the efforts of American imperialists to stir up sentiment in this country in favor of intervention in Mexico.

The suppathetic attitude to the workers government of Russia is also spreading among Canadian soldiers. Thus a Canadian expeditionary force stationed at Vancouver, B. intervention in Mexico.

C., on December 22 refused to proceed to Sibe is.

# Socialism Invades Brittany

For the first time in French history big Socialist meetings are being held in Brittany, the stronghold of the monarchists, according to a special correspondent of the New York Call. This correspondent adds that signing of the armistice was the sig-nal for huge demonstrations in the labor centers of Perigueux, Saint Etienne and Clermont-Ferrand."

Paul Wallace Hanna, sent to Europe by the New York Call to report the peace conference at Versailles, writes under date of December 15, regarding the program of the French Socialist movement:

"Jean Lonquet is today the principal speaker at a great mass meeting held at Clermont-Ferrand to demand the release of the May strikers and of all political prisoners in the republic. This demand, coupled with that for immediate demobilization, withdraws French troops from Russia, oper diplomacy and no economic war after the war, constitute the immediate activities of the French Socialist move

# Swedish Labor Divides on Bolshevism

"Common Sense," a radical London organ, contains the following newsitem regarding Sweden in an issue

In Sweden, though wages are fairly high, the food shortage has been and still is severe; and it has been much more continuously "exposed" to Bol shevik propaganda than any other Scandinavian country. The extreme left of the Labor party is now more led by Hjalmar Branting, is strictly reformist. Apparently the real di vision is between the town worker who are republican, and the agricul

# Unemployment **Crisis Growing**

Reports from 115 industrial com munities received by the Departmen of Labor by telegraph on Decembe 28 show unemployment in 36 larg cities, equality of supply and demand grams from 106 of these cities showed unemployment in only 11 cases, sup ply and demand approximately equa in 68, and marked labor shortage in

Two months ago the Department of Labor estimated the labor shortage of the nation at the stupendous figure of 1,000,000 workers. In eight weeks time this shortage has disappeared en tirely. Conservative estimates give the number of wage earners in wa occupations who are yet to be loose on the labor market" at 3,000,

# Workers Victorious in Ontario Elections U. S. Labor Says -Keep Roads throughout Ontario during the first days of January were the nomination, in Toronto, of Arthur Skidmore, who

Every indication points to the labor unions as the leaders in the move ment for having the government re-tain the railroads. Members of the House Interstate Commerce Commit tee at Washington are receiving gov ernment ownership petitions from unions throughout the country.

### ed T. J. Stewart, member of Parliament and prominent member of the North Dakota to Unionist government, by a majority of more than 800 votes. Other Ham-ilton Labor Party candidates were Establish State Market brard of education members. As for

By majorities ranging from 15,000 to 30,000, ten amendments, voted up on in connection with the recent gubernatorial elections, have just been declared carried by the State Canvassing Board. The Legislature is now empowered to issue bonds guaranteed by the state for the erection of public-owned terminal elevators and ware houses and other facilities calculated to give North Dakota a public market for farm products controlled by the people. The state can also now es-tablish a state rural credit bank and state hail insurance. Liberal provis-ion is made for the initiative and referendum in connection with thes measures, so that North Dakota can in effect not carry out any program of state owned and operated market ing facilities and utilities without each step being approved by a major

# is bound to come in Great Britain, no matter what government may be in power. "It is the only possible solution," he said, "of the labor unrest which became dangerous before the war. Furthermore, the public will not stand any further rise in rates and fares merely to enable a number of separate and unequal companies to continue to distribute dividends." It **Bill Proposed**

Senate opponents of Child Labor, whose efforts were temporarily frus-trated by the act of the Supreme Court in declaring the Federal Anti-Child Labor Law of 1916 unconstitutional, have secured the approval of the Senate for an amendment to the Revenue bill which places an extra tax of 10 per cent. on profits made from child labor. The vote stood 50 to 12, the opposition coming almost entirely from representatives of the Southern cotton milling states. This fact is interesting when taken in connection with a recent assertion of the National Child Labor Committee, to the effect that child labor has in-creased considerably in the south since the law of 1916 was declared unconstitutional. That the increase of child labor is not confined, however,

# International Labor News

EDITORS: Louis P. Lochner, Scott Nearing, Santeri Nuorteva. Alexander Trachtenberg

# ONE BIG UNION FOR AUSTRALIA

\*

A gigantic project for uniting the 600 unions of Australia in one big mion has recently been carried as a result of labor congresses in New South Wales, South Australia and Victoria. .The new combination will bear the name "Workers' Industrial Union of Australia." There will be six departments: Manufacture and General Production, Bullding and Construction, Mining, Transportation and Communication, Civil Service and Public Utilities and Agricultural, Land and Fisherice. According to the Christian Science Monitor, "each department is to consist of as many divisions as may be necessary to meet industrial requirements. There will also be subdivisions consisting of those engaged in kindred or closely ailied occupations. Continuing the classification, the scheme provides that there shall be sections and mixed sections, the former for persons following the same industry, and the latter for persons engaged in various industries or occupations of the same locality where there are not sufficient of any one calling to form a subdivision or

Under the new scheme the highest governing body consists of two delerates from each of the six departments and a president and general secreary, who together constitute the grand council. Similarly there is a provintial council for each state. Then there are further divisional councils and rade sectional committees. Each of the six departments is again subdivided under a thoroughly worked out grouping system. Provision is made for pracically every grade of workers in the community, whether he be a worker with his hand or brain

The initial proposal for the One-Big-Union plan came from the Labor Council of Sydney, N. S. W., which set forth that under the existing craft ystem there were 237,714 organized workers in the state and 472,198 unor-

The Sydney laborites scored their first victory in August last, when the Frades Union Congress of New South Wales adopted the scheme for the One-Big-Union.

Considerable doubt was expressed as to whether the Congress of Victoria Inions would follow in the lead of New South Wales, But here, too, the proponents of the One-Big-Union idea scored an overwhelming victory, the esolution being agreed to by a vote of 111 to 24. The oldest craft unions were opposed to the idea, but they were completely swept aside by such arge aggregations as the building trades, the railway workers and the Ausralian Workers Union.

## CANADA .

Labor Demands Withdrawal From Russia.

As a result of an appeal to the labor movement of Canada, initiated by he Trades and Labor Council of Vancouver, B. C., a resolution against intervention by Canada in Russia's internal affairs has been passed by Canada's hree largest central labor bodies of unions affiliated with the A. P. of I., vir., he Winnipez Trades and Labor Council, the Toronto District Labor Council, end the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council. A demand for a withdrawal f troops was made at a largely attended convention of the Quebec section of he Labor Party of Canada, in Montreal.

## BRAZIL

Cotton Workers Gain Right to Unite.

The labor movement of Brazil has gone beyond the prepaganda stage. The textile industry, the basis of the garment industry, centers in and around Rio Janeiro, some of the largest textile mills in the world being located there, The workers, who are banded together in the "Union of Operatives," sent heir demands to the manufacturers organized in the Centro Industrial de Brazil. The terms were accepted after some parleying, and the industry became organized. While wages are not mentioned, the principle of union ecognition is definitely established, and thus an entering wedge secured. A weekly schedule of 56 hours is agreed to.

# URUGUAY

General Strike Threatened.

As a part of the epidemic of ral and South America, news comes from Montevideo that a general strike s threatening. This fact has resulted in the government's calling upon the military forces under date of December 27 to be prepared for mobilization at any time against the strikers.

# ARGENTINA

Socialist Conferees Chosen.

Juan Justo, Socialist leader in the Argentine Chamber of Deputies, and his colleague, Detomasso, have been appointed by the Socialist Party to attend he coming International Socialist Congress in Europe.

Workers on Political General Strike.

A general strike is on in Cuba. It was precipitated as a sympathetic walkout to aid the railroad workers on the Cuba railroad. Although the railroad workers won, the general strike continues, the demands being largely of a political and not of an economic nature. The abolition of compulsory military service, and the abrogation of laws permtting the deportation of "foreigners" who are "agitators" are demanded. The employers now threaten American intervention.

(Continued on Page Two)

# French Socialists and the International Situation

The central organ of the French Socialists, I'Humaniste, writes as folews on the threatened allied military campaign against Russia:

"All those who contributed to provoke and prolong the war are alarmed at the awakening of the masses \* \* \* and demand that the centers of the people's revolution should be promptly suppressed. Their anxiety is no longer to conquer the enemy, but to preserve from the revolutionary peril the capital st bourgeoisies of all countries. They know that the Russian Bolsheviks have destroyed monarchic and capitalist privileges, have placed their hands upon the property of social parasites. Anything sooner than that! Their hatred of the enemy is giving place to the desire of coming to an understanding with him, so as to bar the advance of this scourge, which is worse, in their eyes, than war or pestilence. \* \* \* That a new war \* \* \* should be undertaken tomorrow-a war waged by the international counter-revolution, a crusade against the peoples who are progressing toward political and economic enfranchisement—this is possible; but surprises await the initiators of such an adventure. They will no longer be able to plead the necessities of national defense, and the necessities of capitalist defense are not of a nature to rouse the enthusiasm of the masses. On the contrary, the workers will perceive clearly that they are being thrown against one another only in order that their chains may be riveted, and the domination of their masters con-

Le Populaire, the organ of the majority Socialists, reflects as follows on prevalent policy toward Germany:

"The French press is divided between its hatred of Kaiserism and its animosity to Socialism. Between a Kaiserism which would destroy all liberties and a Socialism which would ruin vileges, their choice is made in advance. They are discovering later ith the deposed monarchs sorder—and there are who, after all, maintained a certain too many points of resemblance betw "m and the Czarism which our greater journals have-ne d for them to deny to the former all the respect Austrian and German revolutions w cature of democracy-such as ours-

occupation of many Frenchmen, in wht... one soul of the Holy Alliance still

# Albert Hall Affair Pan - American Still Agitates

ists at so many other points. The Socialist Party of Lima is justified in

feeling elated at its victory over the

politicians and liberty killers of Allen

We quote excerpts from the de-cision of Judge Klinger as follows: \* Our country, our govern-

ment, is based upon broad philosophy of Free Speech and Free Press; and, regardless of the individual harm they may do, to general welfare, the public welfare, is best served by permitting and indulging in Free Speech and Free Press.

There are innumerable institutions

that are honestly and faithfully preaching their gospel or their faith and are diligently engaged in the prac-tices of spreading it abroad and in-creasing their following, believing that it is essential for the welfare of

humanity, for the betterment of hu-

The Albert Hall incident of the carly days of December still continues to agritate the conservative journals of England. Albert Hall, it will be remembered, is the Madison Square Garden of England—an enormous edice in which mass meeting of first mportance are held. The owners of albert Hall had tried to prevent a about Hall had tried to prevent a neeting of British laborites in consection with the campaign preceding the general elections, on the ground hat incendiary and revolutionary issurbances might result. The Elecrical Trades Union forced the issue by cutting off the lights of Albert Hall for other events scheduled, and iall for other events scheduled, and errent in entire Kensington. There-on the managers of Albert Ha'll amitted the meeting to be held.

The conservative Saturday Review, in commenting upon the incident asks systerically, "Have we escaped from the frying pan of the German war into the fire of domestic revolution? Is the nation which has conquered a brace of kaisers going to be beaten by Webb and Lansbury? Hardly."

IT'S COMING INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

# Congress at **Buenos** Aires

(Continued on Page Two)

A Socialist and Labor Conference has been called to meet at Buenos Aires, Argentina, for January 30, to consider the peaceful solution of labor problems, wages, salaries, and free-dom of labor, an exchange of views on arbitration and disarmament, and conditions governing labor in foreign owned public service companies. The conference is to be Pan-American in scope and among the labor and So-cialist movements invited to be repre-

sented are those of the United States,
Argentina, Chile, Peru. Canada, Mexico, Panama, Cuba and Porto Rico.

In this connection, it is recalled how Champ Clark, speaker of the House of Representatives, in an address before the Southern Commercial Congress at Charleston, South cial Congress at Charleston, South Carolina, on December 9, called atten-tion to the importance of Pan-American relations from the American business man's point of view in these

> ASK ABOUT IT INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

"Our best hunting grounds for

# LETTERS

# From the Land of Devil-May-Care

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

Under the Doublecross, Devils-Own Province, Devil-May-Care-Land,

what you honestly think, because you ditions. have a right to utter your honest. It is quite a custom here to raise convictions. Your revolutionary fore-fathers died in 1776 to give you a free country and nobody there dare to censure your letters or stop your papers. The same flag that stands guard over the battlefields of those who died that liberty might be born in America, flies over you and protects you from all demagogs and scoundrels who would steal away your liberties. Didn't you learn this in school?

You wrote as though you expected

You wrote as though you expected your letter to be censored. You surely must have been joking when you told me that there were thousands of men and women in your jails just for daring to tell the truth and being honest with themselves. I refuse to helieve that the people of America would disgrace their heroic dead by allowing anything like that to happen. Here amongst the Allfools such things are common, but these folks are fools and not the wisest nation on earth like your America.

amusing to hear the piffletalkers try to justify the brand of morality they have been teaching the Gogs with the results of the infatuation of the girls for the uniform. No one is supposed to mate here in Allfools land without first getting the sanction of the state and the piffletalkers.

The piffletalkers sanction the tribal wars and encourage the young men to go. They get the Scissorines to aid in every way possible by teaching them that such aid is a duty they owe to the Piffletalker's God and state.

dignitary who looks very solemcholy and fines the Gogs many pieces of dinero and also many days of enforced idleness in what is locally known as

companies, called Assurance Companies, called Assurance Companies, bet the Alifools huge sums of di-

sum weekly. It really is buying a funeral on the installment plan.

The Magogs would, of course, have to bury or otherwise dispose of the Gogs who die but the Gogs here in Devil-May-Care-Land. The Gogs have worked so much that now there is no work to do. They have life assume all the work and worry of existence leaving the Magogs nothing to do and nothing to worry about and in following this policy it is but natural that the Gogs, while alive, naked. should strive by means of Assurance homes to save the Magogs any trouble or worry over them when they die.

You wouldn't think you could get anybody to make a bet they would have to die to win, but the practice is very common here. One person out of every three that dies here is buried it of Assurance funds. The people on take care of the deed are called to take the care of the deed are called to take the care of the deed are called to take the care of the deed are called to take the care of the deed are called to take the care of the deed are called to take the care of the deed are called to take the care of t

one take care of the dead are called Overtakers and the Overtaker's trust has grown very wealthy just by col-lecting Assurance funds. Nobody is allowed to kill anybody

off their feet by the apparent ease of

The 14 members of the Social Demo-cratic group in the Reichstag, who

had opposed the voting of war credits in the party caucus, but had obeyed the voice of the majority on the fol-lowing day, began to recover breath

Some of the prominent Socialist writers spoke of the policy of "the Fourth of August" as an "apostacy."

Among these were Karl Kautsky, the dominant literary mind in German So-cial Democracy in recent years. Kaut-

sky is now in power as under sec-retary of foreign affairs. No one has expounded the principles of Socialism with such authority and such exten-sive knowledge. It told heavily against the official leaders that Knut-ley condemned their action. Vet at

sky condemned their action. Yet at first he also held that maintenance

By ANISE, Union Record.

and "German Social Democracy During the War," by Edwin Bevan,

HI. THE OPPOSITION FINDS VOICE

thusiasm of the German people, swept of their feet by the apparent ease of Most notable among these last was

victory began to die away. The reality of a long and wearing war appeared through the mists of illusion.

The 14 members of the Social Demo-

published by George Allen and Unwin Co., London).

(Facts taken from Labor Year Book, issued by Rand School;

in Devil-May-Care-Land unless he is

hired to do so by the state. Mr. Henry Dubb,

Liberty Center, U. S. A.

Care of Editor O. S.

Dear Henry: You need not be afraid to write to me and tell me what you honeefly think because you.

All the people who are hired by the state for killers are of two kinds. Those who kill their fellow humans inside the jails here by shooting or hanging the victim, and those who are sent by the state on killing expeditions.

are fools and not the wisest nation on earth like your America.

Since the last time I wrote to you I have been soliciting business for a large cambling house here. They have very strict laws here about gambling and any Gog found gambling with cards or dice for dinero is immediate. It arrested and taken before a chief layer rested and taken before a chief layer than the sanction of either church or state is the result. These babies are called tribalwar babies and just now the dienjiaries here are much ly arrested and taken before a chief now the dignitaries here are much dignitary who looks very solemcholy worried over the ouestion. Maternity

Not being allowed to gamble with trious and have improved and incards or dice, these Allfools gamble on each other's life. Large gambling Magogs have more food and fuel and elathing them they can dispuse of any-These wonderful Gogs are so indusclothing than they can dispose of any-While some of the Gogs were nero that they can not live long gone to the last tribalwar the Scissor-enough to collect the bet. The Gogs ines took their places in the work-do not have much dinero but they shops and now they refuse to go out shops and now they refuse to go out take out small bets and pay a small of them, and the factories do not have

there is no work to do. They have made so much food that now they must go hungry. They have made so much clothing that now they must go They have made so many homes that now they must go home less. They have dug so much coal that now they must freeze They have created so much wealth that now they must be paupers. Oh a wonderful land is Devil-May-

Care, A land of most wonderful tools.

Wonderful factories and wonderful But mostly, most wonderful fools.

Hoping you are the same, I am Yours truly.

crisis; for myself I cannot go any farther along this road."

Two reasons were given by Bern-

Two reasons were given by Bernstein for his change of heart. The true history of the days before the war, and of Germany's part in them, began to filter through into Germany and destroy confidence in the right-eousness of the war. And the thinking Socialists could not be blind to the gradual corrupting of Socialist morale which was taking place through the favors of the government. (Bernstein

favors of the government. (Bernstein is now under-secretary of finance in

And Still War Credits Come.

Again in December, 1914, the gov-ernment asked for war credits. Now

the Ebert government.)

GERMAN SOCIALISTS Henry Cochems personal attorney IN WAR-TIME

supplemented the printed statement by declaring: "I suppose the I. W. W. hates me more than any other man in the convention, but stated that he did country. They have a right to be- write a war statement but did not

on\_their principles. I have always of being adopted.' taught Socialism, not revolution." Berger steadfas tention a letter which he had written plishing the rights of the workers. Is a many mainter or means of accomplishing the rights of the workers. Prosecutor Fleming promptly fished out of a pile of documents the file of

He said he believed in industrial that far, but pounding his first on the end of Judge Laidis' polished bench

the working class movement.' He again claimed authorship of the amendment to the Socialist Party con-

W. W. element out of the party. the jury that he had never refused a

Victor Berger Testifies BERGER ADMITS HE IS "YELLOW" IF THAT

TERM IMPLIES "CONTRUCTIVE SOCIALISM"

(By David Karsner.)

stand in the trial of five Socialists of-ficials at Chicago was Victor Berger, not help that."

"The convention was controlled largely by delegates from the west and the south," said Berger, indicating that from the west "came the impossibilists who wanted to do every rid of an odius law is to obey it," he said.

"The convention was controlled largely by delegates from the west and the south," said Berger, indicating that from the west "came the impossibilists who wanted to do every thing in a hurry."

"The convention was controlled largely by delegates from the west and the Mensheviks." Berger said that "it is a historic fact that in all countries that have gone through on top for a little while."

"Bolshevism is not in harmony with

No Patience With I. W. W. "I knew Mr. Burleson very well,"

he said. "We sat in the House of Representatives together, and Mr. Burleson and I were the antidotes of Haywoodism." Berger seemed to be anxious to let the jury know that he was a constructive socialist who approved of orderly methods of accomplishing socialist principles. He con-fessed he personally was the author of Article two, sextion six adopted by the Socialist Party convention in 1912. by the terms of which Haywood and the I. W. W. were read out of the Socialist Party.

"I have no patience with them," he announced on the witness stand, re-ferring directly to the I. W. W.

Berger said he did approve of the spirit of the St. Louis war statement of the party, but not the letter. "The report did not speak my leave to the jury." report did not speak my language," he said, "although it did express my sentiments. I wrote my own state-ment as to what I thought the position of the Socialist Party should be." said Berger. It has never been re-corded that Berger's statement was ever submitted to the St. Louis con-

Coming down to the St. Louis convention April 6, 1917, Berger said that its purpose was to put the Socialist Party of America on record in relation to the war, "The party did not have a definite position," he said, "although the International Socialist movement was always consed to The convention was intended to be held before Congress met to consider the war declaration, but the

The last defendant to take the the same time the Socialists were

thing in a hurry."

Asked if he believed in the Young
People's Socialist League, Berger declared that he never had much time

"I am opposed to artificial methods

being used to effect the growth of the Socialist Party. Socialism is the next phase of civilization. It cannot be taught. It must be lived. "Labor Will Win Berger said he thought that only mature minds" were fit to understand

Socialist philosophy.

Read Spargo Article to Jury.

The attitude of John Spargo to the Socialist Party at present was brought up by Attorney Cochems. An article which Spargo wrote for The New York Call, January 9, 1918, entitled "The Truth About Preparedness" in which he vigorously critical sparents. ness" in which he vigorously criti-

"How long has Spargo been a citizen of the United States?"
"Three years," replied Berger.
"How long have you been a citizen."

Thirty-four years. which is one of the overt acts the indictment, "might have become a classic of the war if it had only been blue penciled." He called Tucker "an impossibilist." The Socialcleric, sitting at the press table, denied the allegation.

"Did you ever hear anything about the underground railroad stuff that has been brought into the case by the government?" asked Cochems. Ber-

consider the war declaration, but the President pushed up the date for congress to meet. It was not to assemble until about April 20, but it actually passed the war declaration answer.

# Some Striking Features in Berger's Testimony The continued testimony of Victor record some figures showing that

Judge Landis developed three striking features:

First: That Berger says the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World have absolutely nothing

might adopt a more radical war proclamation.

Third: That Berger took Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, of Milwaukee to task because he was "neither fish nor flesh," on the St. Louis war proclama-

for Berger, read to the jury several newspaper interviews with the Socialist congressman-elect in which he se-verely criticized the I. W. W. Berger

country. They have a right to because I have fought them from the present it to the convention "because beginning and am fighting them yet he did not think it stood any chance the present it to the convention because he did not think it stood any chance the present it to the convention because he did not think it stood any chance the present it is to be a second of the present it to the convention because he did not think it stood any chance the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not think it stood any chance he did not the present it to the convention because he did not think it stood any chance he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the convention because he did not the present it to the conv

As the weeks were on, the first en- | with Germany's case in the war and Edward Bernstein, leader of the re-

> and squarely facing the jury. Victor meant. Berger denounced "the impossibilists," the reds "as they style themselves in

stitution in 1912 which read the I. A moment later Berger was telling

Berger in the Socialist trial before Milwaukee and Wisconsin "had gone over the top" as he phrased it, in all of the nation's war activities. 'Is it not a fact that you and Mor-

ris Hillquit controlled the St. Louis convention?" asked Fleming. Second: That Berger supported and blists controlled the convention. No, sir. The reds and impossi-

signed the St. Louis Majority Report was the fourteenth man chosen for because he feared the convention the resolutions committee. There the resolutions committee. were fifteen on the committee. former years I would have been the

St. Louis on April 6, 1917, he "hard- ward. recognized the convention as a Socialist gathering." "Did you hear Hillquit make a

speech on the floor of the conven-"Yes, of course."

"Did you approve of it?"
"I approved of it in spirit. In its

general statement, yes." Berger said he did not speak at the

Berger steadfastly denied that he Later on in the inquiry when the had ever advocated force or violence prosecutor brought to Berger's at-

I. W. W. in Milwaukee, and enclosed his check for ten dollars to the defense fund of the Wobblies, Berger said that he believed the I. W. W. was more virile than the American Federation of Labor whom Berger characterized as "the tail of the capitlist kite."

out of a pile of documents the file of The Social-Democratic Herald for 1909, and made Berger read to the jury an article under his signature in which the defendant predicted "a bloody revolution if the capitalists continue to push the workers downward." In the same signed editorial appeared a statement to the effect appeared a statement to the effect unionism and indorsed the I. W. W. that the workers might have to back up their ballot with bullets. Berger tried in vain to explain what

> While Berger was on the witness stand for the third day his attorney, Henry Cochems, a Progressive of the Rooseveltian stripe, read to the jury in Berger's defense an article which Berger wrote Jan. 15, 1916, favoring the preparedness campaign then be

ing waged.
"The public schools should be the line of patriotic advertising in sup-center of national defense," the article port of the war, but said it was hard read, "and boys' should know how to to get. He tried to get into the hit a target." The rest of the article

## Scheidemann Becomes Majority Spokesman,

first he also held that maintenance of party unity was superior to all other considerations, though gradually events led him to change this belief. Hugo Haase, president both of the reichstag group and of the party as a whole, threw his weight into the scale for the opposition. More extreme anti-militarists, Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg, started a new periodical which was promptly suppressed. Fights began within the party for the control of the party press. In Wurtemburg the directorate of the party threw out of office the control editorial staff of the party organ, which, like Vorwarts, had sided with the opposition.

Bernstein Converted to Minority.

Membership of various groups began to shift. Some extreme radicals became infected with military fever and passed into the ranks of the imthere were 17 against them instead of 14; but again when the meeting of the reichstag occurred, the party stood before the world as a unit. All except one member—Liebknecht. This was his now famous stand, one man Haase, the president of the group, went with the minority. Scheidemann, a man of 54 years, printer by trade, who had risen less through eminence of mind or character than through a good presence and by being "a good parliamentary hand," spoke on that day for the majority. Scheidemann is an effective and ready speackr, conscious of his audience, and, like vain people, easily swayed by currents of

A week later the official spokesman Bernstein Converted to Minority.
Membership of various groups began to shift. Some extreme radicals became infected with military fever and passed into the ranks of the imperialists. Others who had previously belonged to the conservative wing of the party, favoring co-eperation with bourgeois parties, became disgusted bers publicly withdrew from voting. A week later the official spokesman in the reichstag was Ebert. He reported the assurances that the Social Democrats would stand by the country, but added that they desired a peace "not embittered by fresh annexations."

ations."

The burning question of annexations first came up at this time. Pan-German circles were agitating for vast new territories. This gave the majority Socialists a new issue. They could save their face; they could still claim that their attitude was one of protest against imperialism. They were no longer, it is true, "against the government." but they were against the Pan-Germans. They wanted a just and democratic peace.

Suppression of Free Speech Grows.

Before a year of war was over the rift between the government and the minority Socialists was apparent. The old antagonisms and suppressions, dromed against the majority of the Socialists because of their conspicuous "loyalty," appeared again, as in all warring countries, against those Socialists who opposed the war. Various meetings were forbidden on May day and in many places thereafter; a printing office was raided by the party and president of the party.

Next Week—The Party Splits.

had his house searched and was put under arrest.

under arrest.

Groups of Socialists got out manifestos. One of these, published in Vorwartz, reading "the people want no annexations, the people want peace," led to the suppression of that paper for five days. But one looks in vain through the records of German prosecutions of this time to discover anything like the rigor of suppression practiced in our own country. Papers were suppressed, temporarily, and allowed to begin again after brief punishment.

Trade Unions Pro-War.

Trade Unions Pro-War.

During all this time the official group of the trade unions stood strongly for the war. Legien, president of their general committee (recently added to the imperial cabinet, as one of the redical members in an attempt to stave off the revolution), took the

The burning question of annexations first came up at this time. Pan-German circles were agitating for vast new territories. This gave the majority Socialists a new issue. They could save their face; they could still claim that their attitude was one of protest against imperialism. They were no longer, it is true, "against the government." but they were against the Pan-Germans. They wanted a just and democratic peace, Suppression of Free Speech Grows.

Before a year of war was over the rift between the government and the interpolar of the revolution), took the lead in motions to thrust oftenders out of the group.

And yet, in spite of violent discussions in the party press, the party still considered itself one group. War credits were again voted in August, 1915, and again a protesting group left the chamber. The party as a whole carried on a campaign against high prices and profiteering and against the censorship, behaving exactly as our own large labor groups have done in the first year of war.

But on December 31, 1915, the split in the party was manifest to the

advocated vocational training, and in tenor it was not unlike the educa-tional system that obtained in Ger-

many prior to the revolution.

The Socialist parliamentarian and "American menshevik," as he insisted upon styling himself, declared on the stand that the Spartacus party in Germany headed by Karl Liebknecht "is like the Bolshevik crowd in Rus-

"Lenine is the head and brains of the Bolshevik movement in Russia," said Berger, "but I think it can be said that the real constructive brains reside in the Mensheviks." Berger

"Bolshevism is not in harmony with my views," said Berger answering a direct question of his attorney. He direct question of his attorney. He said he thought that perhaps the majority Socialist opinion in America was not Bolshevik.

# the War"

(Written Before the Armistice) "Ships will win the war." "Steel, coal and food will win the war." "Labor will win the war." Just so. At last comes the admission that Labor is "it" Labor will win the war." Labor, crystalized labor power will win this war. Time was, to quote Mr. Dooley, when the capitalist said, "Me min,

your brawn coupled with me brains have enabled me to accumulate a million dollars during the past year. (Cheers). The production of ships, steel, coal, food, etc., depends not on the brains of the profit-takers, but upon the skill

and strength of the wealthmakers. It's a far cry, as the word wallop-ers are fond of saying, when seas of Berger declared that Tucker's ink were spilled to prove that the pamphlet entitled "The Price We buddies, capital and labor, working hand in mitt, were the source of all

They build our railroads, mined our coal, smelted our ore, constructed our autos and harvested our crops. Oh, those were the happy days when the pals, capital and labor had the Golddust Twins looking like star boarders

at a rest cure.

"Labor will win the war," eh? To alter slightly the words of a thriller manufactured for the ethical and artistic uplift by the party of the sec-ond part by the party of the first part, Thems fine words Cap, but that puts no oligenious by-products upon my bread. Your generous admission may warm the cockles of your heart and suffuse your being with a wave of generosity. In recognition of our services you may decide to do something for us. Your welfare workers may be ordered by you to unpack their satchel of sociological tricks—and 'Come on boys; step up and have a shot in the arm.' Prizes for those, turning out the most work: prizes for the largest head-of cabbage grown in your home garden; savings banks for your heirs; domestic science for the wife; a mutual benefit society—we, the party of the first part seeing to it that we keep from your wages the money which would otherwise be be squandered in paying union and Socialist Party dues. In return for the trouble we are put to in holding out, ou are to receive a wreath, "Always Berger said that when he went to Faithful," when you go to your re-

> O tempora! O mores! (Roughly, oh very roughly, translated from the Latin. meaning, O Henry, Wilhelm) pulled that same stuff when the Poetess of Passion was putting them across with both mitts long before Rull Durham was forced by Bull Durham was fenced in. (Ask grand-dad. He knows). Cap, it's no use. You're about as original as a nummy and as funny as a display of Painless Yanker's skill.

We recall that it was only a few months before this country entered the world war that the Employers' Association of the U. S. advised that WE adopt the German industrial efficiency system. It didn't look good to us then and you're not going to be able to null that capitalistic-imperial-

us then and yon're not going to be able to null that capitalistic-imperialistic - militaristic - feudalistic - paternalistic - efficiency hodge-podge, when "Johnny Comes Marching Home."

Labor is not only going to win the war. Labor is going to have a voice in the making of peace terms. It should be no more difficult for you to realize that fact than it was for us to believe in the past that some humans came into the world booted and spurred to ride on the backs of those who toiled.

(Continued from Page One)

(All page of the Lina Socialist Fatty of the Use of the Mall the Use of

# LENINE'S APPEAL TO AMERICAN WORKINGMEN

(Continued from Page One)

Nicholai Lenine, Premier of the Russian Soviet Republic, has addressed an open letter to American working men, which is published in the December issue of "The Class Struggle." A short summary of the document follows: "Had the Anglo-French and American bourgeoisie accepted the Soviet. invitation to participate in peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, instead of leaving Russia to the mercy of brutal Germany, a just peace, without annex-

ations and indemnities, a peace based upon complete equality, could have been forced upon Germany and millions of lives might have been saved." But though the bourgeoisie desterted the Soviet Republic, the workers of the whole world, in whatever country they may live, rejoice with the Russian workers. They understand that Russia had to come to terms with German militarism in order to save the revolution.

As for the mistakes in methods and in technical execution made by the Soviet government, these Lenine frankly admits. "It is not to be expected that the working classes who have been exploited and forcibly held down by the clutches of want, of ignorance and degradation for centuries should conduct its revolution without mistakes. The dead body of bourgeois society cannot simply be put into a coffin and buried. It rots in our midst, poisons the air we breathe, pollutes our lives, clings to the new, the fresh, the living with a thousand threads and tendrils of old customs, of death and decay."

Lenine closes with an appeal to the American working men to rally to the support of their Russian fellow workers: "We know that it may take a long time before help can come from you, comrades, American working men, for the development of the revolution in the different countries proceeds along various paths, with varying rapidity. \* \* \* We know full well that the outbreak of the European proletarian revolution may take many weeks to come, quickly as it is ripening in these days. We are counting on the inevitability of the international revolution. But that does not mean that we count upon its coming at some definite, nearby date."

# GREAT BRITAIN

British Labor Faces a Crisis.

The British labor movement faces a serious crisis, in the opinion of G. D. H. Cole, one of the leading experts on British labor problems. Writing in recent number of The Dial, Mr. Cole states that the war has brought into existence a new element, the shop steward movement, which threatens to revolutionize the old standards of trade union organization.

The shop steward movement, in the opinion of Mr. Cole, provides a machinery "through which trade unionists can hope, by gradual extensions of their power, to assume control in the workshops." Mr. Cole tells that the trade unions are very barely prepared to take this step. However, he fasists that wherever the movement has gained strength, "the same far-seeing stewards are beginning to worl; out the immediate problems of control."

# SWITZERLAND

The General Strike of November 11-13.

A detailed account of the general strike in Switzerland, in which 900,000 workers participated, and in the course of which postal, telegraph and transportation service were entirely interrupted, has reached the editorial offices of the New Yorker Volkszeitung. It appears that the strikers demanded new elections to the Parliament on the basis of proportional representation woman suffrage, popular reorganization of the army, guarantee of food supply in co-operation with agricultural producers, a 46-hour week, general obligatory labor, state monopoly of importation and exportation, old-age and invalidity insurance, and payment of the public debt by the propertied classes After three days, however, the strike committee was persuaded to call of

# TALY

Important Agreement Detween Laborites and Socialists.

THIS R II WAS S

An important conference has been held between the representatives of the Socialist Party and the General Confederation of Labor. An agreement has been reached by which the Confederation yields to the party the absolute right to call any general, local or nat and strike for a political reason. On the other hand, the Socialist Party pledges itself to give all the support it is able to give to any economic strike called by the Confederation.

## FRANCE

Labor United in Opposing Imperialism. The General Federation of Labor, the League of the Rights of Man, the Republican Coalition and the Socialist Party have signed a joint manifesto setting forth that these organizations are resolutely opposed to any policy of

imperialism in the coming peace settlement. Labor Clauses to be Demanded in Peace Treaty.

The labor committee of the Chamber of Deputies has adopted a report on clauses relative to international labor legislation to be inserted in the peace treaty. These include: Prohibitions against night work for young industrial workers and a 10-hour day for women and youths in factories or mines, with half a day's rest weekly; the institution of periodic international labor conferences.

# Lima Wins Legal Fight

In the summer of 1917 a street-car strike was declared in Lima, dur-ing which the mayor prohibited street speaking. Because Attorney Blank attempted to read the U. S.

when the two wind booted and arred to ride on the backs of these of to folled. The edvancing host of land have a superson the control of the democracy dustry, self-determination of labor, it were, a condition under which as will will will the war, the work, will will the work the stand of that time; today millions are rearning of it; tomorrow their ranks of the time today will the war. Lote, will will the work will also build upon the ruins of adustrial system that has round the work will will the war. Lote, will also build upon the ruins of an dustrial system that has round the work will also build upon the ruins of an adustrial system that has proposed to the stand the tost; fall to do that on a fair trial, the book will be starting to the work of the work

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EDITORS ..... Elmer T. Allison Alfred Wagenknecht

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# WITH OUR EDITORS

# GENTLEMEN-WE THANK YOU

Now that is too bad!

Think of it, folks-the "Piqua Daily Press" waxes angry editorially because the Ohio Socialist made so bold as to visit every home in Piqua, Ohio,

It designates Debs, Liebknecht and Lenin the "three greatest arch-traiters to freedom, law and order that have breathed since the time of Judas learist." It goes on to give advice, free gratis, by telling Socialist Mayor Hamilton of Pique that he and his comrades made a mistake in having their detures appear in the same issue of the Ohio Socialist which contains the detures of these three arch-traitors.

But the grouping, according to the Piqua Daily Press, is after all "Providential." It arouses the people of Pique to a full understanding of what stares them in the face, says the daily. The taint of Socialism is upon that Tair city. Socialism gained its victory in Piqua because of gang domination, False leaders were rebuked. All this the daily admits.

And then it steps forward with a brand new scheme, now about as old as the hills. As neither of the old political parties is strong enough to best the Socialists in Pique, therefore a "fair, clean, non-political" control must be established. That is, as both of the old parties in Pique have proven themselves unclean, unfair, gangaters and faire leaders, therefore a combisation of the two rotten old parties is to be effected, and-presto change, the result will be a pure, sweet, wholesome, non-political aggregation of politicians who will lend Piqua-where?

Great sport, isn't it? This trying to fool the workers! is summing up, the case stands like this. The Pique Press, itself a false leader, admits that the old party leaders are false leaders, asks for a combisetion of these false leaders to win Pique back for the false leaders and in its attempt calls the new party, the Socialist Party and its officials false,

Figure it out for yourselves, folks. It's easy? Anyway, Gentlemen, we thank you for letting us know what kind of a trick you are going to try to play on the Piqua voters this fall, We shall be on the spot to expose it.

## AGAIN-WE THANK YOU GENTLEMEN

It's not at all fair to always print just one side of a story. The other side is often much more amusing. So squat down upon the mat folks, pick appear chop sticks and enjoy the following bit of chop sucy prepared for your especial edification by the Cincinnati Enguirer:

## STAMP OUT THE RED FLAG!

. The red flag has no place in America. It is a symbol of danger, a warning to keep aloof from impending peril. Its presence in gatherings or processions marks plague patcher, seats of diseased thinking, areas of mental pestilence that organized society should eradicate and extirpate no matter how radical the operation.

Little groups of malcontents, grumblers, loafers and dead beats must not be permitted to poison and infect the minds of America's teeming, contented millions each with his full share in the control of public affairs, and with a complete opportunity to exercise his political rights. \* \* \*

In Ohio this week at Canton, led by Debs and Wagenknecht, convicted of treason, the Socialists called upon the proletariats to rise and demand amnesty for political prisoners. The Philadelphia dynamiters seclared that it was the refusal to grant this freedom that caused the hurling of their bombs into homes where innocent women and children slept. Knowing the terms of this war upon society let the fight be carried sternly forward. For every man, woman or child slain by the murderous carriers of the red-flag let there be summarily strong up in reprisal an instigator of anarchy and treason. Let dynamite be met with the drumhead court-martial.

Rich junk, ch jolks? First the poor red flag is again maligned until it blashes a redder red than its usual red!

Then the poor Socialist is dished up to us as a malcontent, grumbler, safer and deadbeat. These loafers and deadbeats must not be permitted to and that others had expressed their poison and infect the minds of America's teeming, contented millions. And we ask, what's the matter, gentlemen? Is there any danger of these deadheat Socialists, working the trick? We thought a deadbeat was something members have paid their arrearages. dead and that a loafer loafed and that neither would ever think of stirring up up to Jan. 1.

Propaganda meetings upon the section. The printer must have made an error. "America's steaming millions' would have been better. Steaming under the yoke of the gang of profiteers of which the daily we quote is a much respected member,

Real spice is added by the attempt to scramble the demand of the Sociallets for amnesty for political prisoners with the Philadelphia dynamiting, And we eat the last savory morsel with a grin, for once more a "law and order daily advocates violence and murder while pretending to preach day afternoon meeting of Jan. 26.

Really, it's too rich. It's so rich it's nauseating.

Pass the red pepper!

It is said that great men live longest after they are dead. Somebody died last week. Gee whiz-we've forgotten who it was!

"Vessels under the red flag will be sunk without warning," read an order supposed to have originated with the British government. Now we know what is meant by "freedom of the seas,"

# THE WRECKING CREW

C. G. McVay, secretary of Local ertage County, says they are or-sizing a wrecking erew of paid up year in advance members. locals do likewise, say we.

remittance of \$24.00 by S. W. for Local Canton for literature from the State Office places al first in literature purchases

# NILES ADMITS 14

Local Niles admitted 14 applicants December. Workers are anxious to any party. Every local that has de a campaign for membership has ed phenominal results.

## GALION ADMITS 10

We told you so. All it takes is a le effort on the part of the mem-chip. If Gallon can admit ten abers in a month, so can your

## CUYAHOGA COUNTY ADMITS 109

do you think of that? It ave been 165, but 56 applica-om the Cleveland Russian were not accompanied by money to pay for initiation o Socialist subscription. Bemembership campaign AT

# YOUNGSTOWN NOTES

In the evening of the same date we held an entertainment and luncheon. The entertainment was by our Secial Science School, composed of children, Comrades Coope and Margaret Thum are to be congratulated upon their ability to supervise the "Sunday School" of ours. Little eleven-year-old Sophia Ulansky made the hit of the evening by singing the new song, "Hearts of the World."

"At our last meeting ten members paid their dues in advance for 1919. Send me more dues stamps at once." Chas. Litz, Sandusky.

A total of \$27.50, of which \$23.75 is for the Debs' Fund and \$3.75 for sustaining fund stamps was received from S. Zinic, secretary of the South Slavic Branch, Barberton.

# WE SAY THIS TO YOU.

If your local has not met regularly for some time it becomes your duty to call a meeting and get back into action. If there is no local of the Socialist Party in your city or township, it becomes your duty to write the State Office at once for organizing instructions and a blank charter. the State Office at once for organizer ashtabula Finnish. application so that you may organize Lorain German ... Toledo German ... la locali

# OUR PARTY PAGE

Live News of Interest to all Party Members BOASTING IS NOT BOOSTING

# Official Notices to Locals of Ohio

Notices which appear under this heading should receive the attention of the local at the next business meeting.

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS: A call for nominations for three members of the National Executive Committee, four International Delegates and one International Secretary was mailed locals and branches on Jan. 8. If your local or branch has not received a nomination blank, notify the State Office

NEW LOCAL OFFICERS: Every local must send the State Office AT ONCE and upon a separate sheet of paper, a full list of the local officers elected to serve for the first half of 1919. If the State Office has not the name and correct address of your local secretary, mail is bound to go

REMEMBER: The State Office is trying to keep expenses at a minimum. We are getting along with as little help as possible. The help that is employed HAS NO TIME TO UNRAVEL LETTERS. This means that we again ask you to PLEASE not write an order for dues stamps, for supplies, Obto Socialist subscriptions, news for insertion in the Obio Socialist and a half dozen other matters into one and the same letter,

When you order dues stamps and supplies use an order blank. When you send in subscriptions use a subscription blank. When you write local news for insertion into the paper, write upon a separate sheet of paper. This will facilitate the work of the State Office and make it possible for us to

WANTED: Even if your local does not decide to insert an advertisenent in the Ohio Socialist, making public its meeting date, time and place (as it really should at \$2.50 a year) at least have the local secretary send to the state Office immediately the time and place of your local's business muct. ings so that we may have this information to refer to when needed,

SPEAKERS ATTENTION: The state constitution specifies that all peakers secepting engagements in this state must notify the State Office of dates and places of meetings. This is necessary so as to avoid confusing dates when State Office makes routing,

MISSIN: . We still miss a number of Debs' Defense Fund lists, Whether money has been collected upon the lists sent you or not, return them at once to the State Office. Monies collected should be remitted to the State Office : THIS WEEK.

Doings of the

Red Army

Comrade Ruthenberg's meeting at

Youngstown was a success in many ways. Especially so in the number of subscriptions secured. Thirteen

being the number Comrade Thum

new recruit from Hamilton, Ten half

the first time how many can he get

Comrade Anton Soukup of Neffs

orders nine dollars worth of subscrip-

good that method is in securing read-

members in good standing with press

the comrades are in fighting trim.

Local Dayton sends in two yearlies.

Comrade Catlin of Youngstown

Comrade A. Ammeter of Mansfield

is a comrade who sees the necessity of the workers building up the work-

er's press. He sends in two new year-

forts of Comrade E. B. Eubanks.

two added to it.

when he is in good training?

ers. Try it.

### TO J. W. F., CRESTON,

Thank you for your invitation. We shall remember the stop. But at present we are far too busy for a visit. ent we are far too busy for a visit. We have read your letter carefully. We get your point. Paragraph you refer to in the Ohio Socialist was refer to in the Ohio Socialist was written by one of our correspondents and should have appeared with other matter under his name, making him responsible for it.

New Socialist Sunday School. On Jan. 5 Local Akron opened its ocialist Sunday School. The value Socialist Sunday School. The value of such a school to teach the children the bad of today and the good to come seems to be taking hold of many Organize a Socialist Sunday

## HUBBARD ELECTS PRESS AGENT

Laurence Williams was elected Press Agent for Local Hubbard at its recent meeting. Comrade Williams will have full charge of securing subscriptions for the Ohio Socialist, selling press stamps and securing renewals. "We now have over 50 subscribers in Hubbard and we intend to make it 100 before spring," writes T. H. Davies. Other officers elected aré: E. B. Patterson, organizer; T. H. Davies, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Hazel Miller, financial secretary; T. J. Stalnaker, literature agent.

# COLUMBUS NOTES.

Local Columbus began the new year in a most encouraging manner. The local met on the second Thursday in the month and took in five new mem-

Financial Secretary Wiekers reported that many members had paid dues in advance for the year 1919. intention of doing so in the very near

ond and fourth Sundays of the month, in the afternoon, will continue during the winter months.

Charles Baker will be the speaker on Sunday, Feb. 9, and C. E. Ruthen-berg will address the audience on

Feb. 23. Jos. Sharts will address the Sun-

Members-at-large are still insistent upon paying dues in advance for the entire year. Chas. Boydelatour and W. E. Riley were heard from this week with three dollars each.

# Local's Monthly Reports

his duties.
so in the future.

New Good On Members, Stand'g, Rolls

į	Ashland 0	8	1
ú	Barberton	14	2
1	Gincinnati 14	300	60
r	Grover Hill 0	10	00
1	Columbus 7	59	15
•	Cuvahoga Co 124	1.804	
Ē	Derwent 0	1,004	2,57
	E. Liverpool 0	21	1
-	Fairview 0	13	3
	Galion 10	16	1
		161	I
,	Kenmore 3	- 60	27
:	Massillon 1		7
٠.	Marion 0	46	.7
	Mt. Healthy 0	7	2
	Mt. Vernon 6	10	1
	New England 0	21	2
	Niles 14	6	
ŝ	North Star 0	65	8
		5	
١	Portage Co. 9 Richland Co. 1	57	12
1	Portage Co 9	52	7
4	Sandusky 1	58	5
1	Sandusky 1	23	43
4	Seneca Co 2	45	- 71
4	Stenbenville 0 Toledo 14	9	11
1	Weden 14	200	382
		9	14
1	Warren 1	10	11
4	Youngstown 8	80	90
8	zanesville 0	33	41
1	Zanesville 0 Foreign Brane	ches.	
-1	Franciscoule Finnish. D	150	184
и	Lorain Corman " o	**	

# Think Of It?

Increase in Ohio Membership Must be a Surprise to Those Who Thought Otherwise.

The increase in the membership of the Socialist Party of Ohio for 1918 general campaign to discourage So-

ltenegade Socialists and politicians, who were so elated over the death of the Socialist Party, because of its "erroneous" stand upon the question of war, and who have been preaching funeral sermons for the party for the net year, are now invited to a seat in

that it is doing great work." This praise comes from Comrade F. W. Golf of Lorain. He encloses six dollars to prove he means it.

Local Massillon's list of readers is growing fast. Eight subs sent in by Countade Weltlich will help to keep the fires a glowing.

"Nothing gives me greater pleasnothing gives me greater pleasure than to pick up a new subscriber for our paper, which I consider the lest little paper printed." So writes Comrade Wm. G. Schultz of Napoleon, Local Galion is another local which one of our very best members of the

innati this week shows the comrades

Local Cuyahoga County sends in 26 subs secured through press stamp

yearlies is the number on his first list. If Comrade Dulli can do so well sends another for company.

Six subscriptions Comrade Joseph tion cards and sends in two half year- Wilnecker sends in this week with an lies. The subscription card orders order to increase Local Toledo's bun-continue to grow which proves how dle order to 150 copies a week. What dle order to 150 copies a week. What is your local doing in the matter of New Bremen local is placing its

stamp sales. Four received from Comrade Secretary Heil means that From Mt. Vernon comes three sub-With an order for 100 dues stamps

Six more are added to the Columthat is bound to count big for the fu-

> Local Hamilton comes to bat with 23 more. Have you noticed the regu-larity with which the comrades of Howard St.

new reader.

bright place on the Socialist map if Comrade F. J. Theil keeps up the gait

"Anyone who really reads our paper is compelled to admit it is the best ever published and I have proof er's problems."

# What Do You

over the membership for the year 1917 surprised many. After making computations for the year we find that the gain in membership for 1918 was 128. This will be a surprise to many Socialists in the state, for what prosecution, persecution and g cialist activity, most Socialists hought that the 1918 membership of

the party would show a falling off.
The total dues stamp sales for 1917 were 68,267. The sales for 1918 were 69,789. The average monthly membership for 1917 was 5,689 and for 1918, 5,817.

Again we say, "kill us some more." the rear to watch the party do its 1919 business. For 1919 ls to be THE DANNER YEAR.

sells press stamps four at a time. A list of names of seven new members all of whom subscribe for a year is good proof that the comrades are in Red Army. Comrade Schultz sends aix dollars for nine subs.

Ten subscriptions from Local Cinare busy as ever,

Comrade G. L. Artz, M. A. L. at Comrade Edward Dulli is another Wayland, renews his subscription and

> Local East Liverpool is keeping its members on the right side of the fence. Six subscriptions Comrade Shepp mails us.

distributing the Ohio Socialist at meetings and factory gates? This is important. Give it your attention.

ture growth of Socialist sentiment. shines up his record this week with

> Hamilton appear on the job? Comrade T. J. Eiler of Defiance re-

> news his sub and also locates another

"Do you think I could belong to the Two half-yearlies are received from Red Hundred," writes Comrade Ralph Herbert of Salem. Six dollars for as many subscribers proves he is eligible Comrades F. Straus of Piqua and S. Silberman of Canton.

doesn't it, comrades? This is the spirit that is winning. Elmwood Place is scheduled for a Comrade John Rehm of Springfield is with us again this week. He comes strong this week in order to make up for his absence last week. \$6.25 for

Comrade Wm. E. Lange of Mantua

# YOUR LOCAL

# When and Where it Meets

NOTICE: The Ohio Socialist is publishing a directory of locals, their time and place of meetings. This directory will keep your local members constantly informed and reminded of your local meetings, will result in better attended meetings and greater interest in your organization. Rates, \$2.50 for weekly insertions until July 1, 1919.

\*

\* LOCAL AKRON

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

# NEXT?

# GOOD RETURNS FROM OUT OF

The comrades in other states are securing excellent returns from their efforts in boosting the O. S. West Virginia comrades must be especially recommended for their hearty co-operation in extending the score of itserecommended for their hearty co-operation in extending the scope of usefulness of our paper in that state. Subscriptions were received from the following cities in West Virginia this week. Fairmount, 11; Weirton, 5; Cedar Grove, 16; Ward, 8; Clasgow, 2; Charleston, 1; Gayford, 4. Kentucky comrades are also busymaking the O.S. reach a larger number of comrades. Twelve subs sent in by Comrade Goodman of Louisville tells the story of that local's activities in this regard.

tells the story of that local's activities in this regard.
Comrade Sladek of Paris, Mo., mails us two more subs. Comrade Paul Dasovich of Wyandotte, Mich., subscribes for a friend. Comrade Perry Shipman of Hock Island, Ill., is two hand with a list of four. Comrade W. Il. Dillon of Albuquerque, N. M., sends in three and Cumrade N. B. Davidson of Monroeville, Ind. three.

of Monroeville, Ind. three. We quote from a letter from a com-rade in Cheyenne, Wyo., which shows a prevalent sentiment among a large portion of the former readers of the New Appeal. "I want to do all I can for the Socialist papers that have stood true to the cause of Socialism and the principles that were enunci-ated long before Grandma Benson and the New Appeal was born." Alex Van Gundy. Comrade Van Gundy has two sons and four grandsons over there and he says there will be six more Socialist votes when they get

## ATTEND THESE MEET-INGS

Readers of the OHIO SOCIALIST are invited to attend the following Socialist meetings, to be held in Ohio within the next two weeks.

# CHARLES BAKER

State organizer Chas. Baker will visit the following cities to hold meetings beginning January 16th: Lorain, Jan. 16, 17, 18; Niles, Jan. 19, Mason's Hall; Steubenville, Jan. 20; Bellaire, scriptions. Comrade Wolfe is the responsible party. He is one of those man, Jan. 23; Marietta, Jan. 24; who believes in doing a little more Portsmouth, Jan. 25; Cincinnati, Jan. for Socialism each week.

Five more subscriptions from Local Hubbard this week. The comrades of Hubbard are establishing a record Akron, Feb. 2, G. A. R. Hall, 50 S. Howard St.

# THURBER LEWIS

Akron, Feb. 26, G. A. R. Hall, 50 S.

# EUGENE V. DEBS

Akron, Jan. 19, Music Hall, East Exchange St., afternoon; Youngstown, Jan. 19, evening meeting; Toledo, Jan. 21; Lima, Jan. 22; Cleveland; East Side, Jan. 23; New Bremen, Jan. 24; Warren, Jan. 26.

Warren, Jan. 26.

Meetings already booked for the early part of February are: Kirkpatrick: Akron, Feb. 8; Cleveland, Feb. 9; Youngstown, probably. Feb.

Nearing: Canton, probably, Feb 13; Dayton, Feb. 14; Cleveland, Feb. 16, afternoon and probably Youngstown in the evening. Katterfeld: Belmont county, Feb.

5, 6, 7; Guernsey county, Feb. 8, 9; Piqua, Feb. 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14. GaabafternPah40(HT HT HT T

the allotted sum is insufficient. 88. In case of an insufficiency of local funds for local needs, the necessary subsidy may be obtained from the state treasury by applying to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee or the Council of People's Commissars.

penditures not set forth in the estimate, or where

# Article Six

The Coat of Arms and Flag of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic Chapter Seventeen.

89. The coat of arms of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviel Republic consists of a red background on which a golden scythe and a hammer are placed (crosswise, handles downward) in sun-rays and surrounded by a wreath, inscribed. Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

Workers of the World, Unite! 90. The commercial, naval, and army flag of the Russian Socialist Pederated Soviet Republic consists of a red cloth, in the left hand corner of which (on top, near the pole) there are in golden characters the letters R. S. F. S. R., or the inscription: Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

Chairman of the fifth All-Russian Congress of

Committee-J. Severdloff. Executive Officers-All-Russian Central Executive Committee: T. I. Teodorowitch, F. A. Rosin, A.

Soviets and of the All-Russian Central Executive

P. Rosenholz, A. C. Mitrofanoff, K. C. Maximoff. Secretary of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee-V. A. Avanessoff.

# Monster Socialist Meetings Scheduled for Ohio

Socialist meetings at which audi-ences will be larger than ever before are scheduled for Ohlo for the last of this month and the first of next. Dates and places for these meetings will be found in another column. The speakers who are to address those meetings are known nationally, not only to Socialists but to the public in general,

meetings are known nationally, not only to Socialists but to the public in general.

Eugene V. Debs will fill a few more speaking engagements before his case is finally decided by the Supreme Court on Jat. 27th. Scott Nearing, new resident of New York is booked for four or five meetings. George H. Kirkpatrick former candidate for vice president, will fill three or four dates. L. E. Katterfield, member of the national executive committee, as experienced organizer will work in Piqua, Guernsey county and Belmont counties from Feb. 5 to 14 inclusive. And Chas. Baker, state organizer will begin his tour of the state at Lorain, Yeb. 16th and will continue at work all through the winter months.

Locals who desire to put new life into their membership should lose no time in holding a public Socialist meeting. Write to the state office of the party and place your application for a speaker. One will be assigned your local as soon after the application is received as possible.

YOU'LL WANT ONE INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

# **Financial Report** Socialist Party of Ohio

DECEMBER RECEIPTS 

 Dues regular
 \$ 348.00

 Members at large
 36.50

 Foreign branch dues
 128.90

 Literature Debs' Defense fund...... Total .....\$2,300.20 DECEMBER EXPENDITURES. 
 Dues regular
 \$ 200,00

 Foreign branch
 68,27

 Ohio Socialist
 538,87

 Sustaining fund
 43,75

 Postage
 33,71

 Literature
 50

 Local Supplies
 17,50

 Talograms
 7,40
 Telegrams ...... Salaries
Miscellaneous
Auto expenses
Office supplies Balance Jan. 1, 1919.....\$1,960.68 Add to cash acct. corrections

Bal. Jan. 1, 1919 ..........\$2,037,58

IT'S COMING

INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

CERTIFICATE

by auditors ......

Total .....\$2,037,58

IN THE FUNDS. Organization ..... \$ 921.07

# Congratulates Piqua

W. M. Farris, formerly of Piqua and now of Toledo, writes The Ohio Socialist, congratulating the Figus Socialist Party upon its victory over the disgruntled politicians. He says in part: "I see you pulled one over an Mr. Leonard and a few of the Piqua upper four. I say—go to it. I lost my job because I changed my political views when I was at the Farrington Elevator. Comrade Grunert is a stayer, surely. I know personally that he has suffered financially and in other ways on account of the stand he took for the workers.

"I hope that at the next election the Piqua Socialists will make a clean sweep of the old parties, for Piqua needs a thorough housecleaning. Hit while the iron is hot, Piqua comrades, and make every lick count one mere councilman."

ASK ABOUT IT INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM CERTIFICATE

# December 1918

which have complied with the State Ruthenberg made a hit Jan. 5. He Constitution provision requiring locals took extra pains to go into details to report each month. If the name so as to carry real socialism to the of your local does not occur here audience. Hall was too small. Near your Local Secretary has not fulfilled ly a hundred had to stand. Collection his duties. Please see that he does

Barberton 2	14	23
Cincinnati 14	300	605
Grover Hill 0	10	10
Columbus 7	59	157
Cuyahoga Co. 134	1.804	2,578
Derwent	11	19
E. Liverpool 0	21	30
Fairview 0	13	18
Galion 10	16	16
Hamilton 1	161	
Kenmore	- 60	278
Massillon 1	46	70
Marion 0	~0	.74
Mt. Healthy 0	10	21
Mt. Vernon 6		13
New England 0	21	23
Niles 14	6	6
North Star 0	65	87
Piqua 0	5	5
Portage Co 9	57	121
	52	78
Sandueles 1	58	58
Sandusky 1	23	421
Seneca Co 2	45	78
Steubenville 0	9	15
Toledo 14	200	382
wadsworth 0	9	14
Warren 1 Youngstown	10	12
I oungstown Q	0.0	

Here are the reports of the locals

David	U	8	11
Barberton	2	14	23
Cincinnati	14	300	605
Grover Hill	0	10	10
Columbus	7	59	157
Cuyahoga Co	134.	1.804	2,578
Derwent	0	11	19
E. Liverpool	0	21	30
Pairview	0	13	18
alion	10	16	16
Hamilton	1	161	278
Kenmore	-3	- 60	70
Massillon	1	46	.74
Marion	0	7	21
Mt. Healthy	0	10	13
Mt. Vernon	6	21	23
New England	0	6	6
Niles	14	65	87
North Star	0	5	51
Piqua	0	57	121
ortage Co	9	52	78
Richland Co.	1	58	58
Sandusky	î	23	42
seneca Co.	2	45	78
teubenville	õ	9	
oledo	14	200	15
wadsworth	0	9	382
Warren	1	10	14
oungstown	8	80	12
		OU	90 [

184

10

Constitution of Socialist (Continued from Page Four) 81. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets or the All-Russian Central Executive Committee determine what matters of income and taxation shall go to the state budget and what shall go to the local Soviets; they also set the limits of taxes.

for general state needs.

82. The Soviets levy taxes only for the local needs. The state needs are covered by the funds of the state treasury. 83. No expenditure out of the state treasury not set forth in the budget of income and expense

shall be made without a special order of the central 84. The local Soviets shall receive credits from the proper People's Commissars out of the state treasury, for the purpose of making expenditures

85. All credits allotted to the Soviets from the state treasury, and also credits approved for local needs, must be expended according to the estimates, and cannot be used for any other purposes without a special order of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Soviet of People's Commissars. 86. Local Soviets draw up semi-annual and an-

nual estimates of income and expenditure for local needs. The estimates of urban and rural Soviets participating in county congresses, and also the estimates of the county organs of the Soviet power, are to be approved by provincial and regional congresses or by their executive committees; the estimates of the urban, provincial, and regional organs of the Soviets are to be approved by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars.

87. The Soviets may ask for additional credits from the respective People's Commissariats for ex-

# . CONSTITUTION SOCIALIST RUSSIA

The Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic was translated by "The Nation" from an official printed text embodying the latest revisions. It is required by law to be posted in all public places in Russia. We reprint it for two purposes. First, to give our readers first hand knowled ge of the fundamental law of the first Socialist Republic of the World. Second, to make it possible for our readers, thru this knowledge, to combat and disprove the many lies printed daily in the capitalist papers about the Russian Socialists. Edicts and laws may be passed by the Soviet Power in extenuation of the constitution, but hereafter when you read of any order supposed to have been promulgated by the "Red Terror" which negates or contradicts this fundamental law of the Russian Socialist Republic, you will know it for what it is a lie of the blackest kind.

## CONSTITUTION

(Fundamental Law)

# The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic

Resolutions of the 5th All-Russian Congress of Soviets, adopted on July 10, 1918

The declaration of rights of the laboring and exploited people (approved by the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets in January, 1918), together with the Constitution of the Soviet Republic, approved by the fifth Congress, constitutes a single fundamental law of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Re-

This fundamental law becomes effective upon the publication of the same in its entirety in the "Izvestia of the All-Russian General Executive Committee." It must be published by all organs of the Soviet government and must be posted in a prominent place in every Soviet institution.

The fifth Congress instructs the People's Commissariat of Education to introduce in all schools and educational institutions of the Russian Republic the study and explanation of the basic principles of this Constitution.

## Article One

## Declaration of Rights of the Laboring and Exploited People

- 1. Russia is declared to be a Republic of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All the central and local power belongs to these Soviets.
- 2. The Russian Soviet Republic is organized on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national Republics.

### Chapter Two.

- 3. Bearing in mind as its fundamental problem the abolition of exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a Socialist society, and the victory of socialism in all lands, the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies further resolves:
- a. For the purpose of realizing the socialization of land, all private property in land is abolished, and the entire land is declared to be national property and is to be apportioned among husbandmen without any compensation to the former owners, in the measure of each one's ability to till it.

b. All forests, treasures of the earth, and waters of general public utility, all implements whether animate or inanimate, model farms and agricultural enterprises are declared to be national property.

c. As a first step toward complete transfer of ownership to the Soviet Republic of all factories, mills, mines, railways and other means of production and transportation, the Soviet law for the control by workmen and the establishment of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy is hereby confirmed, so as to assure the power of the workers over the exploiters.

d. With reference to international banking and finance, the third Congress of Soviets is discussing the Soviet decree regarding the annulment of loans made by the Government of the Czar, by landowners and the bourgeoisie, and it trusts that the Soviet government will firmly follow this course until the final victory of the international workers' revolt against the oppression of capital.

e. The transfer of all banks into the ownership of the Workers' and Peasants' government, as one of the conditions of the liberation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capital, is confirmed.

f., Universal obligation to work is introduced for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society and organizing the economic life of the

g. For the purpose of securing the working class in the possession of the complete power, and in order to eliminate all possibility of restoring the power of the explaiters, it is decreed that all toilers be armed, and that a Socialist Red Army be organized and the propertied class be disarmed.

# Chapter Three.

4. Expressing its absolute resolve to liberate mankind from the grip of capital and imperialism, which flooded the earth with blood in this present most criminal of all wars, the third Congress of Soviets fully agrees with the Soviet Government in its policy of breaking secret treaties, of organizing on a wide scale the fraternization of the workers and peasants of the belligerent armies, and of making all efforts to conclude a general democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, upon the basis of the free determination of the people.

5. It is also to this end that the third Congress of Soviets insists upon putting an end to the barbarous policy of the bourgeois civilization which enables the exploiters of a few chosen nations to enslave hundreds of millions of the toiling population of Asia, of the colonies and of small countries gen-

6. The third Congress of Soviets hails the policy of the Council of People's Commissars in prolaiming the full independence of Finland, in withdrawing troops from Persia, and in proclaiming the right of Armenia to self-determination.

# Chapter Fcur.

7. The third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies believes that now, during the progress of the decisive battle between the proletariat and its exploiters, the exploiters can not hold a position in any branch of the Soviet government. The power must belong entirely to the toiling masses and to their plenipotentiary representatives the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

8. In its effort to create a league-free and voluntary, and for that reason all the more complete and secure—of the working classes of all the peoples of Russia, the third Congress of Soviets merely establishes the fundamental principles of the federation of Russian Soviet Republics, leaving to the workers and peasants of every people to decide the following question at their plenary sessions of their upon its own initiative, or upon the request of local Soviets; whether or not they desire to participate. Soviets having not less than one-third of the entire Federated Soviet Republic. and on what basis, in the federal government and population of the Republicother federal Soviet institutions.

## Article Two

General Provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federatel Soviet Republic

Chapter Five.

- 9. The fundamental problem of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic involves, in view of the present transition period, the establishment of a dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry in the form of a powerful All-Russian Soviet authority, for the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men Republic. by men and of introducing Socialism, in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a state of autocracy.
- 10. The Russian Republic is a free Socialist society of all the working people of Russia. The entire power, within the boundaries of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, belongs to all the working people of Russia, united in urban and rural Soviets.
- 11. The Soviets of those regions which differentiate themselves by a special form of existence and national character may unite in autonomous regional unions, ruled by the local Congress of the Soviets and their executive organs.

These autonomous regional unions participate in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic upon the basis of a federation.

12. The supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic belongs to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and, in periods between the convocation of the Congress, to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

13. For the purpose of securing to the toilers real freedom of conscience, the church is to be separated from the state and the school from the church, and the right of religious and anti-religious propaganda is accorded to every citizen.

14. For the purpose of securing the freedom of expression to the toiling masses, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic abolishes all dependence of the press upon capital, and turns over to the working people and the poorest peasantry all technical and material means of publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, etc., and guarantees their free circulation throughout the country.

15. For the purpose of enabling the workers to hold free meetings, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic offers to the working class and to the poorest peasantry furnished halls, and takes care of their heating and lighting appliances.

16. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, having crushed the economic and political power of the propertied classes and having thus abolished all obstacles which interfered with the freedom of organization and action of the workers and peasants, offers assistance, material and other, to the workers and the poorest peasantry in their effort to units and organize

17. For the purpose of guaranteeing to the workers real access to knowledge, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic sets itself the task of furnishing full and general free education to the workers and the poorest peasantry.

18. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic considers work the duty of every citizen of the Republic, and proclaims as its motto: "He shall not eat who does not work."

19. For the purpose of defending the victory of the great peasants' and workers' revolution, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic recognizes the duty of all citizens of the Republic to come to the defence of their Socialist Fatherland, and it, therefore, introduces universal military training. The honor of defending the revolution with arms is given only to the toilers, and the non-toiling elements are charged with the performance of other military

20. In consequence of the solidarity of the toilers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic grants all political rights of Russian citizens to foreigners who live in the territory of the Russian Republic and are engaged in toil and who belong to the toiling class. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic also recognizes the right of local Soviets to grant citizenship to such foreigners without complicated formality.

21. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic offers shelter to all foreigners who seek refuge from political or religious persecution.

22. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, recognizing equal rights of all citizens, irrespective of their racial or national connections, proclaims all privileges on this ground, as well as oppression of national minorities, to be in contradiction with the fundamental laws of the Republic.

23. Being guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic deprives all individuals and groups of rights which could be utilized by them to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution.

# Article Three

## Construction of the Soviet Power A. Organization of the Central Power

Chapter Six. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers',

Peasants', Cossacks' and Red Army Deputies. 24. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is the supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

25. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is delegate for 25,000 voters), and of representatives of the provincial (Gubernia) congresses of Soviets (one delegate for 125,000 inhabitants).

Note 1. In case the Provincial Congress is not called before the All-Russian Congress is convoked, delegates for the latter are sent directly from the

county (Ouezd) Congress. Note 2. In case the Regional (Oblast) Congress convoked indirectly, previous to the convocation of the All-Russian Congress, delegates for the latter may be sent by the Regional Congress.

26. The All-Russian Congress is convoked by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee at least twice a year.

27. A special All-Russfan Congress is convoked viet Republic. by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee

than 200 members. mittee is entirely responsible to the All-Russian Con- of the secession of any part of it, gress of Soviets.

the Congresses, the All-Russian Central Executive Republic and the approval of regional unions. Committee is the supreme power of the Republic.

Chapter Seven. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

31. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme legislative, executive, and controlling organ of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet

32. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee directs in a general way the activity of the workers and peasants' government and of all organs of the Soviet authority in the country, and it co-ordinates and regulates the operation of the Soviet Constitution and of the resolutions of the All-Russian Congresses and of the central organs of the Soviet

33. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee considers and enacts all measures and proposals introduced by the Soviet of People's Commissars or by the various departments, and it also issues its own decrees and regulations:

34. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee convokes the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, at which time the Executive Committee reports on its activity and on general questions.

35. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee forms a Council of People's Commissars for the purpose of general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and it also forms departments (People's Commissariats) for the purpose of conducting various branches.

36. The members of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee work in the various departments (People's Commissariats) or execute special orders of the All-Russian Central Executive Com-

## Chapter Eight.

The Council of People's Commissars.

37. The Council of People's Commissars is enrusted with the general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

38. For the accomplishment of this task the Council of People's Commissars issues decrees, resolutions, orders, and, in general, takes all steps necessary for the proper and rapid conduct of government affairs.

39. The Council of People's Commissars notifies immediately the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of all its orders and resolutions.

40. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee has the right to revoke or suspend all orders and resolutions of the Council of People's Commis-

41. All orders and resolutions of the Council of People's Commissars of great political significance are turned over for consideration and final approval to the All-Russian Central Executive Com-

Note: Measures requiring immediate execution may be enacted directly by the Council of People's Commissars.

42. The members of the Council of People's Commissars stand at the head of the various People's Commissariats.

43. There are seventeen People's Commissars: a. Foreign Affairs.

- b. Army.
- Navy. d. Interior.
- e. Justice.
- f. Labor. g. Social Welfare.
- Education. Post and Telegraph.
- National Affairs. Finances.

Commissars.

- Ways of Communication. m. Agriculture.
- Commerce and Industry.
- o. National Supplies.
- State Control. Supreme Soviet of National Economy.
- r. Public Health. 44. Every Commissar has a College (Committee) of which he is the President, and the members of which are appointed by the Council of People's

45. A People's Commissar has the individual right to decide on all questions under the jurisdiction of his Commissariat, and he is to report on his decision to the College. If the College does not agree with the Commissar on some decisions, the former may, without stopping the execution of the decision, complain of it to the executive members of the Council of People's Comm'ssars or to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Individual members of the College have this right also.

46. The Cruncil of People's Commissars is entirely responsible to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and the All Russian Central Executive Com-

47. The Pecple's Commissars and the Colleges of the People's Commissariats are entirely responsible to the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

48. The title of People's Commissar belongs only to the members of the Council of People's Commissars, which is in charge of general affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and it composed of representatives of urban Soviets (one cannot be used by any other representative of the Soviet power, either central or local.

Chapter Nine.

Affairs in the Jurisdiction of the All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

49. The All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee deal with questions of state, such as: a. Ratification and amendment of the Consti-

b. General direction of the entire interior and foreign policy of the Russian Socialist Federated So-

ceding territory belonging to the Russian Socialist

Chapter Twelve. d. Establishing boundaries for regional Soviet Jurisdiction of the Local Organs of the Soviets. 28. The All-Russian Congress elects an All- unions belonging to the Russi a Socialist Federated CONTRACTOR 61. Regional, previncial, county, and rural or-

Russian Central Executive Committee of not more Soviet Republic, also settling disputes among them. gans of the Soviet power and also the Soviets of e. Admission of new members to the Russian Deputies have to perform the following duties: 29. The All-Russion Central Executive Com- Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and recognition

f. The general administrative division of the 30. In the periods between the convocation of territory of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet

g. Establishing and changing of weights, measures and money denominations in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

h. Foreign relations, declaration of war, and ratification of peace treaties. i. Making loans, signing commercial treaties, tivity of the local Soviets (i. e., the regional Con-

and financial agreements. j. Working out a basis and a general plan for the national economy and for various branches in

the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

k. Approval of the budget of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. l. Levying taxes and establishing the duties of

citizens to the state. m. Establishing the bases for the organization of armed forces.

n. State legislation, judicial organization and procedure, civil and criminal legislation, etc. o. Appointment and dismissal of the individual

People's Commissars or the entire Council; also ap-

proval of the President of the Council of People's Commissars. p. Granting and canceling Russian citizenship

and fixing rights of foreigners. q. The right to declare individual and general

amnesty. 50. Besides the above-mentioned questions, the All-Russian Congress of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee have charge of all other affairs which according to their decision, require their attention.

51. The following questions are solely under the jurisdiction of the All-Russian Congress: a. Ratification and amendment of the funda-

mental principles of the Soviet Constitution. b. Ratification of peace treaties.

52. The decision of questions indicated in Items and h of Paragraph 49 may be made by the Ali-Russian Central Executive Committee only in case it is impossible to convoke the Congress.

B. Organization of the Local Soviets Chapter Ten.

The Congresses of the Soviets.

53. Congresses of Soviets are composed as fola. Regional: Of representatives of the urban and county Soviets, one representative for 25,000 inhabitants of the county, and one representative for 5,000 voters of the cities-but not more than 500 rep-

resentatives for the entire region-or of representatives of the provincial Congresses, chosen on the same basis, if such a Congress meets before the regional Congress. b. Provincial (Gubernia): Of representatives of urban and rural (Volost) Soviets, one representative for 10,000 inhabitants from the rural districts,

and one representative for 2,000 voters in the city; altogether not more than 300 representatives for the entire province. In case the county Congress meets before the provincial, election takes place on the same basis, but by the county Congress instead of

c. County: Of representatives of rural Soviets, one delegate for each 1,000 inhabitants, but not more

more than 300 delegates for the entire county. d. Rural! (Volost): Of representatives of all rillage Soviets in the Volost one delegate for ten

members of the Soviet. Note 1. Representatives of urban Soviet which have a population of not more than 10,000 persons participate in the county Congress; village Soviets of districts of less than 1,000 inhabitants unite for the

purpose of electing delegates to the county Congress. Note 2. Rural Soviets of less than ten members send one delegate to the rural (Volost) Con-

54. Congresses of the Soviets are convoked by the respective Executive Committees upon their own initiative, or upon request of local Soviets comprising not less than one-third of the entire population of the given district. In any case they are convoked at least twice a year for regions, every three months for provinces and counties, and once a month

for rural districts. 55. Every Congress of Soviets (regional, provincial, county and rural) elects its Executive organ an Executive Committee the membership of which shall not exceed:

(a) For regions and provinces, 25; (b) for a county, 20; (c) for a rural district, 10. The Executive Committee is responsible to the congress which elected it.

56. In the boundaries of the respective territories the Congress is the supreme power; during intervals between the convocations of the Congress, the executive Committee is the supreme power.

The Soviet of Deputies. 57. Soviets of Deputies are formed: a. In cities, one deputy for each 1,000 inhabitants; the total to be not less than 50 and not more

Chapter Eleven.

than 1,000 members. b. All other settlements (towns, villages, hamlets, etc.) of less than 10,000 inhabitants, one deputy for each 100 inhabitants; the total to be not less than Soviet authority. 3 and not more than 50 deputies for each settlement.

Term of the deputy, three months. Note: In small rural sections, whenever possible, all questions shall be decided at general meetings of voters.

58. The Soviet of Deputies elects an Executive tion, according to general provision. Committee to deal with current affairs; not more than 5 members for rural districts, one for every 50 members of the Soviets of cities, but not more than 15 and not less than 3 in the aggregate (Petrograd and Moscow not more than 40). The Executive Committee is entirely responsible to the Soviet which elected it.

59. The Soviet of Deputies is convoked by the Executive Committee upon its own initiative, or upon tution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Re- the request of not less than one-half of the membership of the Soviet; in any case at least once a week in cities, and twice a week in rural sections.

60. Within its jurisdiction the Soviet, and in cases mentioned in Paragraph 57. Note, the meetc. Establishing and changing boundaries, also ing of the voters, is the supreme power in the given district.

Committees in addition have the right to overrule the decisions of the Soviets of their districts, giving notice in important cases to the central Soviet apthority.

63. For the purpose of performing their duties,

a. Carry cut all orders of the respective higher

b. Take all steps towards raising the cultural

c. Decide all questions of local importance

d. Co-ordinate all Soviet activity in their re-

62. The Congresses of Soviets and their Ex-

ecutive Committees have the right to control the ac-

gress controls all Soviets of the respective regions;

the provincial of the respective province, with the

exception of the urban Soviets, etc.); and the re-

gional and provincial Congresses and their Executive

and economic standards of the given territory.

organs of the Soviet power.

within their respective territory.

spective territory.

## Committees form sections respectively. Article Four The Right to Vote

the local Soviets, rural and urban, and the Executive

Chapter Thirteen 64. The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens, irrespective of religion, nationality, demicile, etc., of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, of both sexes, who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of election:

a. All who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society, and also persons engaged in housekeeping, which enables the former to do productive work, i.e., laborers and employees of all classes who are employed in industry, trade, agriculture, etc., and peasants and Cossack agricultural laborers who employ no help for the purpose of making profits. b. Soldiers of the army and navy of the So-

c. Citizens of the two preceding categories who have to any degree lost their capacity to work. Note. 1: Local Soviets may, upon approval of the central power, lower the age standard mentioned

herein. Note 2: Non-citizens mentioned in Paragraph 20 (Article Two, Chapter 5) have the right to vote.

65. The following persons enjoy neither the right to vote nor the right to be voted for, even though they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely: a. Persons who employ hired labor in order to

obtain from it an increase in profits. b. Persons who have an income without being any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from

property, etc. c. Private merchants, trade and commercial brokers. d. Monks and clergy of all denominations.

e. Employees and agents of the former police, the gendarme corps, and the Okhrana (Crar's secret service), also members of the former reigning dynasty.

f. Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also persons under guardianship.

g. Persons who have been deprived by a Soviet of their rights of citizenship because of selfish or dishonorable offences, for the period fixed by the sentence.

# CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

Elections. 66. Elections are conducted according to cusom on days fixed by the local Soviets.

67. Election takes place in the presence of an electing committee and the representative of the local Soviet. 68. In case the representative of the Soviet cannot be present for valid causes, the chairman of the electing committee takes his place, and in case the

latter is absent, the chairman of the election meeting replaces him. 69. Minutes of the proceedings and results of elections are to be compiled and signed by the members of the electing committee and the representa-

tive of the Soviet. 70. Detailed instructions regarding the election proceedings and the participation in them of professional and other workers' organizations are to be issued by the local Soviets, according to the instructions of the All-Russian Central Executive Com-

CHAPTER FIFTEEN The Checking and Cancellation of Elections and Recall of the Deputies.

71. The respective Soviets receive all the ecords of the proceedings of the election. 72. The Soviet appoints a commission to verify the elections.

73. This commission reports on the results to the Soviets. 74. The Soviet decides the question when there is doubt as to which candidate is elected.

75. The Soviet announces a new election if the election of one candidate or another cannot be determined. 76. If an election was irregularly carried on in

its entirety, it may be declared void by a higher 77. The highest authority in relation to ques-

tions of elections is the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. 78. Voters who have sent a deputy to the Soviel have the right to recall him, and to have a new elec-

## Article Five The Budget Chapter Sixteen

79. The financial policy of the Russian Socialis Federated Soviet Republic in the present transition period of dictatorship of the proletariet, facilitates the fundamental purpose of expropriation of the pourgeoisie and the preparation of conditions necessary for the equality of all citizens of Russia in the production and distribution of wealth. To this end it sets forth as its task the supplying of the organ of the Soviet power with all necessary funds to local and state needs of the Soviet Republic, without regarl to private property rights.

80. The state expenditures and income of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic are combined in the state budget.

(Continued on Page Three)