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# the New Justice



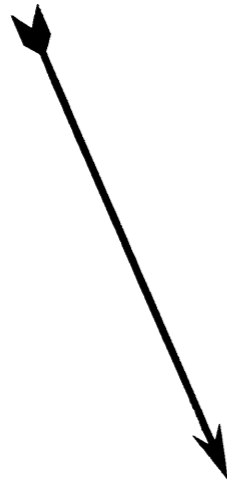
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# THE NEW JUSTICE

Vol. 1

Los Angeles, Cal., May 1, 1919

No. 6

## EDITORIALS

Although this issue of the New Justice is dated May 1st, it comes out earlier than usual to meet an emergency. The emergency is a widespread demand that has been made for the publication of the truth about the meetings of Louise Bryant held in Los Angeles a few days ago, about the events that grew out of that meeting, and the entering of a protest against the deliberate suppression of news that is being practised by the "news" papers. The New Justice, being the only means of meeting the demand as quickly as was desired, it was agreed by those interested that our offer to turn over the May 1st edition for the purpose should be accepted. It is the desire of the New Justice to always be prepared to get out the news in an emergency, when the daily papers refuse the space. Without knowledge of the facts there is no possibility of intelligent judgment,—without intelligent judgment justice is impossible.

### THE KEPT PRESS

For two decades the number of newspapers in the United States has been growing steadily smaller, while their circulation and invested capital have been growing steadily larger. Moreover, the chain store has its counterpart in the chain newspaper, the same syndicate absorbing publication after publication until literally dozens of papers all over the country speak with the same voice. In other words, the tendency to trustification which has been so marked a feature of American business for the last quarter of a century has been, and is being, manifested in the newspaper field quite as strongly as elsewhere. The newspaper business has become an interlocked and fraternal series of monopolies, financed by the same stupendous aggregations of private wealth that own and administer other great business enterprises of the country. The independent press has long since become a myth.

Now, a newspaper occupies a peculiar relation to the public. It is the agency of public information, the custodian of the data of public opinion. The thought, sentiment, and collective action of the community are determined in large measure by the matter contained in its columns. Just as the purveyor of food is under both legal and moral obligation not to sell poison, so the dispenser of news should be bound to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. But though the adulteration of food is punished as a crime, there is no law to punish the adulteration of news. The public digestion is protected, but that higher function, the public thought, is left open to every false impression which treacherous private interest may devise.

Taking advantage of this legal immunity, and cynically contemptuous of every restraint of honor and good faith, American newspapers have for many years exaggerated, distorted, or wholly suppressed the news, and have not hesitated on occasion to even manufacture it, as the class or individual advantage of their owners might suggest.

The phrases, "the kept press" and "the prostitute press," are not mere epithets hurled by disappointed notoriety seekers at these institutions. On the contrary, they express with entire accuracy the moral status which most newspapers have elected to occupy in relation to large-scale capitalism, and toward the public. But, until recently, this prostitution, though peculiarly depraved because not physical but intellectual, was more or less occasional, unorganized, and sporadic. It remained for the war, and more especially the events growing out of the war, to bring about its systematization.

The two circumstances which, by their conjunction, resulted in this new phase of newspaper bawdry were the Russian revolution and the British censorship. The former created the need on the part of international capitalism for a world-wide, defensive program of coherent, centralized, and sustained lying, and the latter, controlling both postal and cable communication with Europe, furnished the mechanics for such a program. How gladly American newspapers fell in with the plan is sufficiently evidenced by their own pages. No falsehood has been too brazen, too incredible, too infamous, or too stupid to be unavailable in the general campaign. No truth has been too obvious, too just, or too important to escape suppression. To enumerate either would require volumes, and their full compilation must be left to the slow processes of history.

This poisoning of the customary wells of public information, and the fact that millions of conscientious and fair-minded persons have been grossly misled thereby both as to events in Russia and their opinion of Russian revolutionists, have thrown upon weekly and monthly magazines, though poorly equipped for the purpose, the duty of becoming news-dispensing agencies in order that the truth about Russia should be presented to the American people. Devoted friends of this truth are endeavoring, both by written and spoken words and in the face of newspaper lie and boycott, to disseminate it. The present special number of THE NEW JUSTICE records a spectacular instance of such an effort, and its attempted suppression. Though local, it is by no means unique, but is typical of what is going on all over the United States.

Into this number of our magazine have gone the wealth of the rich generously offered, and the hard-won dollars of the poor; the labor of its preparation has been without other motive or reward than the love the justice and human freedom; those who have brought it to your door are men and women already wearied by the day's toil who gladly assume this added service that America may be intelligent, clean, and loyal to itself in this crisis. Of you nothing is asked except that you read, and ponder, and discuss the matter with your friends.

C. M.

### THE INTEGRITY OF THE SCHOOLS

The injection of political propaganda into the public schools is as nefarious in principle and as detrimental to their welfare as would be the intrusion of sectarian dogma. Such teaching, even when measurably veracious,

cannot be too strongly reprehended. It is ten-fold more condemnable if it is consciously or unconsciously deceptive. Any educator who would lend himself to such practices would thereby proclaim himself to be without comprehension of the sacred nature of his calling and unworthy of the public's trust. Any school board that would permit it should be defeated at the polls. Only by the prompt and indignant repudiation of those who would so abuse their offices can the public safeguard the most precious of its institutions, the public school system.

In this connection, it is immaterial whether the false teaching concerns matters at home or abroad. Erroneous instruction as to what is occurring abroad would be at once reflected in mistaken opinions as to conditions at home. The perversion of the young intelligence would be as complete as if the misstatements had concerned matters happening in Los Angeles. Indeed, at this moment, when the same hopes and aspirations are moving the minds of all the great peoples of the earth, and when aristocratic privilege in all lands is under the same spell of desperate panic, false teaching as to occurrences in Russia can have no other tendency than to protect and promote for future generations all the social abuses that crowd upon us in America.

The cruel errors contained in the article on Bolshevism, written by the superintendent of the Los Angeles public schools, and fully discussed in this issue of THE NEW JUSTICE, cannot, we believe, be due to deliberate misrepresentation. Such misrepresentation would be an act so sinister and so vicious that one would hesitate, in the absence of explicit and convincing proof, to charge it against any man. And yet, in the light of easily accessible evidence as to the actual program of the Russian Soviet Republic, the only other explanation is an appalling lack of information on one of the most vital topics of the day.

We do not, to be sure, expect the typical school superintendent of today to keep in touch with sources of information which lie outside the beaten track. We would not, for instance, expect him to be familiar with the radical press of the society in which he lives. We would not expect him to be a constant reader of THE NEW JUSTICE, which in its humble way has been endeavoring to do its bit in the dissemination of truth about Russia. We would not expect him to be on intimate terms with the columns of the Liberator, which, while filled with matter of the highest literary quality, is loudly unsatisfied with Things As They Are and boisterously devoted to the support and assistance of those elements which are striving to aid the process of evolution towards a different and a better world. We would, however, expect him to have at least a bowing acquaintance with such conspicuous exponents of liberal thought as the Nation, the New Republic and the Dial—magazines which for six months have been replete with authoritative refutations of the gross libels on Russia which are being fed to the American people through the columns of the venal press. But it is beyond belief that anyone familiar with this data could have written the article on Bolshevism which has been sent out, in the pages of the Educational Journal, to mould the minds and guide the utterances of those entrusted with the solemn task of educating the children of the great Southwest.

Someone has said: "If a thing won't stand discussion, let it crack." Miss Louise Bryant, a noted writer who, after six months' residence in Russia, has formed convic-

tions clashing with the views advanced by the Los Angeles superintendent of public schools, has invited Mr. Shiels to meet her in debate. She has offered to cross the continent in order to do so. Mr. Shiels has refused the invitation. On its face, this refusal would seem to imply a lack of confidence in his ability to convince an audience of the soundness of his views in an open, free discussion. Why should such lack of confidence exist?

R. R. B.

Eugene V. Debs enters upon a ten year sentence at West Virginia penitentiary, April 13, year of our Lord, 1919.

The sun shall never shine for me again,  
Since you have gone into that living tomb;  
The sun shall never shine for me again,  
'Till you are free, dear 'Gene.

The flowers will not bloom for me,  
No rose, no marigold, no violet,—  
I only see thru my wild tears  
Four prison walls, four bitter walls of gray.

The birds have ceased to sing,  
All music dies;  
And o'er the earth an awful silence falls, . . . .  
The stars burn out in pain.

And yet, dear 'Gene, since you are gone,  
From our great grief new courage comes;  
We walk the earth with stern and steadfast feet,  
Hushed as in prayer.

With our last drop of blood we pledge thee, 'Gene,  
Here at thy feet we take the holy vow,  
Ah! from the gloom new beauty shall be born,  
And man shall yet be free,  
Shall yet be free.

Go, take your place with Socrates and Christ,—  
Prophet and Hero,  
Comrade of the gods,  
Thine is the privilege and thine the power,—  
Sainted with prison stripes for an ideal.

With your gaunt tortured bodies build the bridge  
O'er which mankind shall march to victory!

RUTH LE PRADE.

## THE NEW JUSTICE

A Radical Magazine

PUBLISHED ON THE FIRST AND  
FIFTEENTH OF EACH MONTH AT  
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

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# Strangling the News

By UPTON SINCLAIR

I am writing a book dealing with the subject of American journalism, as in "The Profits of Religion" I dealt with the Church. Last Sunday I got some material for this book.

I attended a meeting at Blanchard Hall, Los Angeles, addressed by Louise Bryant, author of "Six Red Months in Russia." Miss Bryant is an editor of "McCall's Magazine," and was war correspondent for several American newspapers. She saw the whole of the Russian revolution. She met all the leaders intimately. She has written a book about it, which has been favorably reviewed by our leading literary journals. She has testified before the Senate investigating committee, and now she is touring the continent, lecturing on the Russian revolution. These things constitute her a personality, and no newspaper man would deny that she is "news." She has been speaking before large meetings in our cities, and she came to Southern California to make a test of the journalistic integrity of the papers upon which we depend for our understanding of the world about us.

On Saturday evening she spoke at the Auditorium, one of the largest places in the city, before an audience which was wildly enthusiastic. Not a line about the meeting appeared in either of our Sunday newspapers, the "Times" or the "Examiner." On Sunday afternoon I went to the Blanchard Hall meeting. This was a paid meeting, 25c and 50c, yet the place was filled. I never witnessed a more enthusiastic meeting, and I never heard a more worth-while talk.

Louise Bryant is a little thing. I don't know how old she is, but she looks about 21, and she would serve any sculptor for a Joan of Arc. She has no frills to her oratory, she just tells you what she saw, and you know that she saw it, and you feel her passionate enthusiasm. I hardly know where to begin telling about her speech; she talked for two hours and a half, and there was not a single minute in which she did not give some fact of vital importance to the American people.

I will choose a few that stuck in my mind. For instance, in the hospitals in San Francisco there are many soldier boys with their feet frozen off. The reason is that they were transported through Siberia in cattle-cars. The Japanese were in command, and the Japanese rode in heated coaches. Is that not a fact of some interest to Americans?

The Bolsheviki have taken Odessa and the rich grain country of the Ukraine. They have taken it, because the principal part of the Allied defense was made up of French troops, and these troops refused to fire a shot against the Russians. Several companies went over solidly to the enemy, and sent word to their comrades to follow. Is not this fact worth knowing?

An American war-correspondent for the United Press was intrusted by the Soviet government with some moving picture films, portraying facts about the reconstruction of Russian industries and the life of the people under the new government. These films have been confiscated by the American Naval Intelligence service, and Louise Bryant was told by those in authority that the reason

was, it was "pure propaganda." Is not this fact worth knowing?

The Red Guard of Russia destroyed millions of dollars' worth of wines from the winter palace, but Admiral Kolchak, the monarchist reactionary whom we and the Japanese are upholding in Siberia, has reopened the vodka traffic, and has imposed a death-penalty for belonging to a labor union. Is not this fact worth knowing?

Returned American soldiers tell about houses of prostitution with Japanese managers, maintained in Vladivostok under Allied protection. Surely our Southern California mothers might have liked to hear about this!

The Soviet Commissioner of Education handed round an inquiry among the delegates to the peasant congress, as to what the peasants needed. First, they wanted to learn to read and write. Second, they wanted information about modern methods of agriculture. Third, they wanted knowledge about sanitation. Thousands of revolutionary students from the universities have been sent out by the Soviet government to carry this knowledge to the peasants. Ten thousand schools have been opened to teach reading and writing to those who before the revolution were shipped to Siberia for attempting to learn.

While the people of Petrograd were starving, the American ambassador gave a banquet and ball, at which officers of the ex-Tsar danced with American ladies. Because Anarchists threatened to blow up the embassy with a bomb, the ambassador appealed to the Soviets for protection, and some of the Red Guards were sent to the embassy. These Red Guards saw the officers of the ex-Tsar, wearing their uniforms and decorations, dancing with American ladies, and they pointed out to the ambassador that in so wearing their uniforms and decorations, the officers were violating a law of the new government of Russia. The Guards committed no violence; but because they made this objection, Ambassador Francis was outraged and complained to the Senate Committee that his ball had been ruined. Is not this an interesting story?

Also, Louise Bryant discussed the grotesque tale of the "nationalization of women." She traced it down to its source, which was an effort to discredit an anarchist club in some interior Russian town. She heaped up evidence to show that there had been no such treatment of women in Russia, that on the contrary Russian women are free for the first time in history. She told of positions of high responsibility they were filling, and the work they are doing for the people of Russia, and more especially for the children.

I might go on like this for two hours and a half, just as Louise Bryant did. Suffice it to say that the audience was wrought to intense enthusiasm. And then J. H. Ryckman, chairman of the meeting, made an announcement to the effect that the City Superintendent of Education, Dr. Albert Shiels, had just published in the "Educational Journal" of Los Angeles, an attack upon the Soviet government of Russia, which contained by actual count 124 errors of fact. Someone in the audience offered a

\$200.00 Liberty Bond to be paid to Dr. Shiels and by him paid to any public charity of which he approved, provided that he would consent to appear upon a public platform and repeat his charges against the Russian Soviet Government and debate them with Louise Bryant. That was news, was it not?

I was in the audience, and had not intended to appear on the platform; but I sat there watching the scene and thinking. Here were perhaps five hundred people, which is one-twentieth of one per cent of the population of Los Angeles county, from which the meeting was drawn. Assuming that every person there told twenty people about what happened, still only one per cent would ever know that the meeting had taken place, or that the lies against Russia had been answered, or that the challenge to Dr. Shiels had been issued. I knew that the morning newspapers, upon which this million people depended for their news, would suppress all mention of the meeting, just as they had suppressed mention of the meeting of the night before.

So I came up on the platform and told the audience that I wanted to make a test. We knew that what we had heard that afternoon was worth putting before the public. We knew that the public would be glad to have it, if they could get it. Let us make a test of the Los Angeles newspapers, let the meeting appoint a committee to call upon the editors of both morning papers and endeavor to persuade them to publish the news. Knowing in advance that they would refuse, I called upon the audience to contribute funds to publish the news in some other form. I had hardly got the words out of my mouth before the money began to rain on the platform, silver dollars, half dollars and bills of all sizes. It hadn't been intended to take up a collection at a paid meeting, but people started passing the hat quite spontaneously, and other people began writing pledges. One woman told me that she had worked for a week and earned \$15.00 and she would give \$5.00. Another told me that she was a poor widow and had no money, but she would give what she had, which was three cents. Several men wrote checks for a hundred dollars, and before we got through with that little excitement we had a total of \$1,240.43.

A committee was appointed, and an advertisement was drafted, a challenge to Dr. Albert Shiels, informing him that a \$200.00 Liberty Bond was available, and would he discuss his statements with Louise Bryant? The committee took this advertisement to the Los Angeles "Times" and interviewed the managing editor, Mr. Harry Andrews, and requested the insertion of the advertisement for cash, and the publication of some news about the meeting. Mr. Andrews not only refused to publish the advertisement, but he flew into a rage and insulted the committee. The Los Angeles "Times" had a policy, and it would publish no news contrary to that policy. "We propose to judge what constitutes the news," was Mr. Andrews' declaration.

I went myself to interview the "Examiner." I saw the managing editor, Mr. Eldridge, and he hard my story. He said that he could not publish any form of propaganda to which the public was unfavorably disposed, but that he would give a "cold news account" of the meeting, as he would give to any other meeting. He introduced me to a reporter, and I gave this reporter an account of what had happened. In this, of course, I was doing the work which the "Examiner" was supposed as a newspaper to do. The "Examiner" should have had a man at the meeting; but instead of that, I brought the news of the

meeting, and spent half an hour dictating—enough material to make a couple of columns. As a result, there was published in the "Examiner" next morning exactly two and one-quarter inches, conveying the information that Louise Bryant had spoken; that she had defended the Russian revolutionary movement; and that the sum of \$1,240 had been contributed to publish her speech in pamphlet form. In the "Times," of course, there was nothing. The readers of the "Times" would not know that Louise Bryant had been in Los Angeles.

I have made a little study of these two capitalist newspapers on this morning of Monday, April 14th. The principal news of the day in the "Examiner" is the fact that the mother of William Randolph Hearst has died. Mrs. Hearst, you understand, was an enormously wealthy woman, and her son owns the "Examiner." The "Examiner" gives, by actual count, five columns on the front page, five columns on the second page, and six columns on the third page, to accounts of Mrs. Hearst and her virtues. There are two pictures, one a picture of Mrs. Hearst, occupying 58 square inches, and the other a picture of the family of William Randolph Hearst visiting their grandmother, this occupying 40 square inches.

The "Times," which is the deadly rival of the "Examiner," is naturally not so much interested in Mrs. Hearst. It gives her only the amount of space which it would give to any California millionaire who died, that is to say, two columns. The picture of Mrs. Hearst occupies 24 square inches.

In addition to this news about Mrs. Hearst, the "Examiner" gives three pages to moving picture reviews and advertisements, half a page to society and clubs, half a page to sermons, and half a page to a city mayor who is charged with selling to negroes the right to run houses of prostitution. Also the "Examiner" finds space for such items as the following: "Say Religious Meetings Too Enthusiastic," five inches; "Summerlike Day Throngs Resorts," four inches; "Three Girls Hurt As Car Turns Over," seven inches; "Los Angeles Oil Man Drops Dead at Gay Ball," nine inches; "Hobble Skirts Ludicrous Says Pastor," eight inches; "Club Women in Hot Row Over New Leader," nine inches; "Beauty Seeks to Punish Screen Star, Trial of \$160,000 Breach of Promise Suit Opens in Los Angeles Tomorrow," 28 inches. In addition to this the "Examiner" finds space for half a dozen advertisements of automobiles and automobile accessories disguised as reading matter, a very cheap method of hoodwinking the public.

As for the "Times," it devotes one page to moving picture news and advertisements; a page to sermons; a page to "The People and Their Troubles." It finds space for such local items as: "Fast Play in Tennis Event," fifteen inches; "Tourney of the Fair Sex," nine inches; "To Be New Oberamergau," eleven inches; "Did He Fall or Was He Pushed," nine inches; "San Souci's Festal Scene," sixteen inches; "United After Tragedies, Slayer of Many Men Gains Daughter," twenty-six inches. In addition to this, the "Times" finds space to denounce Socialism in a two-column leaded editorial, the intellectual level of which may be judged from one paragraph:

"The Socialist's trade is argument. His capital is wind. His idea of time is that it is made to be filled with talk."

A member of the committee turned in the advertisement of the challenge to Dr. Shiels to the evening Hearst paper, the "Herald." The advertisement and the money

were accepted, and the committee member was jubilant; but next day he received a telephone call, telling him to come and get his money. Then we tried the "Express," which purports to be a liberal paper, but the result was the same. Application to the news editors of these papers resulted in refusals to publish anything. We were able to get the advertisement published in the "Record," a one-cent paper which is read only by workingmen and therefore is not supposed to count.

I wonder, is a newspaper under any obligation to print the news, when it deliberately refuses? If a man runs a store and puts in his front window packages which he labels, say, graham crackers, and you buy one of those packages and take it home and find it is full of sawdust, you can have the man arrested, you can sue him for damages and get back what you have paid. Why should not the same thing be true when a man puts out a sign to the effect that he is publishing the news, and then does not do it? News is a perfectly definite and determinable thing just as much so as graham crackers. News is current happenings of interest to a large and considerable section of the public. Will any newspaper man in America dare deny that that public challenge to the City Superintendent of Education, and the subscribing of that large sum of money in that dramatic way, is news? Very well then, on Monday last, the Los Angeles "Times" broke faith with its readers. It violated its contract with the general public. It adulterated its product and cheated its customers. I believe quite seriously that we could accomplish something if several hundred of us were to get together and form a "Times Readers' Protective Association," for the purpose of engaging an attorney, and whenever the "Times" cheats us, bringing suit against the paper for the total of all the sums that we have paid for subscriptions. How many want to join?

But the main thing, of course, is that we must have our own press. Here we are at the most critical moment of our history. Within the next year we have to decide the fate of generations to come. We have to choose between moving forward into industrial freedom and democracy, or being beaten back into another Dark Age. Only one thing can save us, and that is enlightenment, and all over our country the truth is being strangled, suppressed and distorted, precisely as I have shown you here in this our City of the Angels. Upon every man and woman who understands the modern crisis is laid the solemn responsibility of building up the Socialistic press. We must get the truth to the people, and do it quickly, in spite of all peril, all threats of imprisonment and ruin.

This morning I received a letter, sent me by a life insurance agent in a little California town. He enclosed a letter of warning from his boss, the head agent in San Francisco, ordering him to hold his mouth, and to talk business, not Socialism, to his friends. A few minutes later my telephone rang, and a lady in Pasadena explained to me that she had been trying to persuade some friends to subscribe for copies of "Jimmie Higgins," but that she could not find a single person in Pasadena willing to take the risk of being seen with a Socialist book. Such is the state of terrorism into which we have been brought, and if we lie supine for a year or two, we shall find ourselves in worse case than Russia in its blackest days. Build up the Socialist press!

I follow this article with a letter. I won't give the writer's name, because he has not given me authority to do so, but he was formerly city editor of a Los Angeles

newspaper, and is now laid up with tuberculosis. Who can read this letter and not have his heart touched and his jaw set tight?

"It was good of you to suggest that I might offer material for your new work on journalism, though I'm sure I can't contribute anything much worth while either in thought or authority. You will, I know, paint a word picture, truly and well, of the things with which each of us, alas, is too familiar. But I wonder as you gallop gaily along the way throwing rocks in gypsy-like abandon at the starched and frilled little children of privilege—I wonder, I say, whether you will give your readers just one glimpse of the tragedies that are the lives of the men hired by the system to do the work you condemn. It isn't that we journalists, as a class, must prostitute our own minds and bodies in answer to the call of that inexorable old tyrant, our collective belly. It isn't that. For every man who toils and sweats for a wage, is perforce doing the same thing. The bitterness of our portion is this precisely: that we are hired poisoners, whose lot it is to kill the things we love most. To kill them not as bold buccaneers in a stand-up fight, but to slay them artfully, insidiously with a half-true headline or a part suppression of fact. In my ten years' of experience on various sheets as reporter, editor, and Associated Press representative, I have come to know the masses with whom I had to deal. Their intellects were the pawns with which I must learn to play the editorial game. I knew for instance, sitting at my desk, just how many extra papers I could sell with a scare-line on a police scandal. I knew to how many men on the street the filthy details of some married woman's shame would prove a lure to buy. And as I watched the circulation rise or fall, day by day like a huge beating pulse—the systole and diastole of the headlines, I became familiar, somewhat, with the mental processes of the average human animal. It was my tragedy, as it is the tragedy, I think, of the majority of my fellows who rise above the unlicked-cub stage of newspaperdom, that this knowledge, acquired always at a tremendous cost of our life's energies, must be used not for the uplift, but for the further enslavement, the drugging of the minds of men. How many times have I sat at my desk, and in apparently heartless fashion, cut the big truth out of the stuff that men like \_\_\_\_\_ wrote—all by the token of loyalty to my stomach—all and simply because I must do that or starve. Sometimes there were other moments in my life as in the lives of the rest of my kind, when there were opportunities for sly sabotage—when we thought by the ridiculous speciousness of our alleged facts, to make the pseudo-truths which we pretended to propound stand forth in their gaunt shamelessness for the things they actually were. Do you remember \_\_\_\_\_ of the \_\_\_\_\_? If I were only with you now, I could point out to you in that daily concatenation of lies, a few ghastly truths about things, peering covertly through the mass of corruption, and seeming almost to be holding their figurative noses in disgust. How we used to chuckle when he would succeed in passing a sly sentence—a word—over the sleepy night editor at the desk! Poor intellectual Pierrots that we were! Literary Pantaloons!

"But out of the tragedy of my own experience, and out of the tragedies of the experiences of the fellows I have known, I can glimpse a great light ahead. For I'm an optimist you see. I was talking the other day to the editor of one of the sheets which poison public opinion here in \_\_\_\_\_ He is a thoroughly fine and likeable

chap, but I had always known him for an ultra-conservative—a kept man entirely. The conversation drifted to Russia, and to my utter astonishment he quite frankly, but confidentially told me that he didn't believe a word of the dispatches put forth by the Associated Press—the Associated Press which hitherto had been Almighty God to him. I glanced at him curiously, and then: 'You're not a Radical, old Top,' I said, dubiously. '—————,' he replied, 'I don't know what I am. I've lost my perspective and I haven't anchored to any economic philosophy as yet, but sometimes my thoughts are so bitter that I'm afraid of them.' 'I've just seen a man sent to jail for twenty days,' he continued. 'He had been in town but half an hour, and his only crime was that he couldn't obtain work and that he had run out of money.' 'God,' he

## Louise Bryant on Russia

When the Cossacks marched on Petrograd to crush the new-born Soviet Government, Louise Bryant, a slender young American girl, was one of the host that rushed out to drive them back. "Red Petrograd must not fall," they cried, and poured out to the city gates, men, women and children, poorly armed or unarmed, completely unorganized, to defend the world's first social-democracy. "When I saw that battle," says Louise Bryant, "I knew that nothing could defeat the Russian people."

"I didn't want to lecture about Russia," she says, "but when we few Americans who have been there returned to this country and heard the lies that were being circulated about the revolution we had to speak the truth. We could not keep from it. I do not pretend to be unprejudiced about the Russian revolution. It is the greatest thing in the world. Could one have gone through the French Revolution and remained neutral?"

So Louise Bryant, formerly a war correspondent behind both the French and Russian fronts, author of "Six Red Months in Russia," has been telling western audiences for the past few weeks the story of the Russian revolution as she saw it and intimately partook in it. The newspapers have not been interested, however, any more than they would be in any revolutionary truth, so the story has not been told.

What Russia has been doing with her women, is a topic that has received considerable newspaper comment lately, however, and that is likewise a main theme with Louise Bryant,—but what a difference in her story!

For women have had a large place in the Russian revolution, Louise Bryant tells us, and they have tremendous power in the government which the newspapers tell us is crushing them to the lowest stages of degradation. "During the Czar's reign more women went to Siberia than men. There was never any question as to the recognition of women after the revolution," she says, and quotes Lenin as declaring, "Unless the women are with the revolution it will fall!"

Would the women who have helped make the Russian revolution submit to such an outrage upon their sex as the socialization decree that we are told of? The question is absurd to those who have heard Miss Bryant tell of Kollantay, of Spirodonova, and Madame Stahl. "Spirodonova is the greatest woman in the world,—she has more power than President Wilson," she says. Spiro-

said, 'some day I may be that man. I feel his feelings now, but I must hide them or lose my job.' Poor fellow, his wife dying of tuberculosis, and he is almost distracted with the burden of his financial troubles.'

"It was just another journalistic tragedy I had seen, but a great joy burst in upon me as I listened to him talk. 'Things aren't so bad after all,' I thought, 'for the press, at least isn't any more rotten or venal than the rest of the system.' In the editorial rooms of the country there are good fellows and true, sheer tired of the daily assassination in which they participate. Their fine delusions are spent. Their faith in the old is waning. And when the big day comes, I think you will find the press full ripe—riper perhaps than most of our institutions—for the change.

donova comes from the nobility. She could not endure the oppression and cruelty that went on about her,—to see peasants flogged to death before her eyes. When she was eighteen years old, she assassinated Lupjenovsky, governor of Tambov, who invited the Cossacks to commit outrages upon the peasants, and particularly the women of the district. "No, she did not send him poisoned candy," says Louise Bryant, "she went out and shot him before a number of Cossacks. She knew very well what would happen to her." She bears today the scars from having been burned all over her body with cigarettes by the Cossack guards after she was imprisoned. She was abused, her hair was pulled out by handfuls, she was thrown naked into a dungeon, and then sent in an unconscious condition to Siberia. But Siberia could not break Spirodonova. She thought and studied,—learned to read and speak several languages, and when the revolution broke out she returned to Russia to be the worshipped leader of the peasant party. She is slight of build and only a little past thirty years of age, but she is a tremendous power in Russia, and was president of the first two All-Russia Congresses of Peasants.

"How many women have you in Congress, in the United States?" Marie Spirodonova asked of Louise Bryant. She replied that we had one, and didn't know when we might have another. Spirodonova couldn't understand that, as an example of democracy.

Allexandra Kollantay, Minister of Public Welfare, speaks thirteen languages and has written ten books on sociology. Among the practical plans she has put into operation are, care for mothers at the state expense for two months before and after confinement, and the placing of orphans in private homes instead of in the orphanages where only fifteen percent of them survived annually under the old regime.

The head of the Kronstadt sailors Soviet is Madame Stahl. To have a woman in such a position would be surprising in America. But Louise Bryant says they thought it perfectly natural in Russia to elect the most efficient person and best executive available, even if she were a woman.

Would such women submit to being common property? The nationalization tale has been traced back to its source among a little anarchist society in an interior community,

and then they claim that the credit for it was foisted upon them by enemies.

Miss Bryant denies that marriage has been abolished anywhere in Russia, but says that divorces have been as accessible as a cup of tea,—nevertheless there is no line waiting at the divorce bureau, illegitimacy is rare, and prostitution is a solved problem everywhere except in Siberia where it flourishes under Japanese management and Allied protection.

The Bolshevik leaders whom Miss Bryant has known she declares to be among the most cultured people in the world. "My little university degree appeared mighty small when I came before these people," she says, "and I approached them very humbly, indeed." One of the most interesting characters she describes is Lunacharsky, Bolshevik Minister of Education. He is a man of unusual intellect and beauty of spirit. "He might have been Minister of Education under any regime," Miss Bryant says. His assistant is Maxim Gorky. When a report came to Petrograd that the reds had destroyed the Kremlin in Moscow, Lunacharsky fell violently ill from the shock, ardent Bolshevik though he was, and did not recover until he was assured that the tale was false. Miss Bryant did not comprehend what the Kremlin meant to Lunacharsky until she herself went to see it and was able to guess from the impression she received something of the feeling a cultured and sensitive Russian like Lunacharsky must have when told that its architectural and artistic magnificence was no more.

Louise Bryant insists upon the thoroughly democratic nature of the Russian republic. "The Soviet government represents the people and does exactly what they tell it to," she says.

It is startling to note the Bolshevik views of what constitutes a crime as Louise Bryant tells of them. They have but three offenses punishable by death. They are: 1. Speculating in the necessities of life; 2. Dishonesty within the Soviet government, and; 3. Treason,—that is, seeking intervention from foreign countries. "So far, no American civilian has been injured in Russia," declares Miss Bryant.

She reports absolute freedom of religious belief in Russia, not only legally, but in social practise. The church has been separated from the state, and all religions have been equally recognized.

They feed the children first in Russia. They do not make any appeals for food. They do not set up booths on street corners in American cities to collect funds for their starving babies. They simply say, "Take your armies out and we will feed them ourselves."

The peasants asked of the committees sent out by Lenin to discover their wants, these three things: that they might be taught to read and write; scientific agricultural methods; and sanitation.

Louise Bryant passed through Finland immediately after the massacre of 35,000 Finnish Red Guards by the monarchist White Guards, who, with the assistance of German forces were endeavoring to set a German prince on the Finnish throne. The experience was terrible, but more terrible still, as she tells it, was to see Finnish White Guards with the blood of social-democracy on their hands, marching in honor in a Liberty Loan parade in New York City, after her return to this country.

"There are no pacifists in Russia," Miss Bryant says. Nevertheless, when asked about atrocities in Russia she replied, "It is always an atrocity when one man takes up arms against another." She feels that it could not

have been otherwise, in Russia, but it is in hopes that it may be otherwise in America, when alterations in our political and social system take place, that she is touring the country in the interest of justice to the world's first great experiment in Socialism.

### BOL-SHE-VEEK!

By Edmund Vance Cook

Government requests that all citizens desist from the use of nicknames, such as "Wop," or "Mickey," "Dago," "Guinea" and so forth.—Recent Associated Press Dispatch.

I mustn't call you "Miky" and you mustn't call me "Wop,"  
For Uncle Sammy says it's wrong and hints we ought to stop;  
But don't you fret, there's still one name that I'm allowed to speak,  
So when I disagree with you I'll call you Bol-she-vik!  
veek! veek!  
It's a scream and it's a shriek;  
It's a rapid fire response to any heresy you squeak.

A little while ago, at any time I might determine,  
If I didn't like your theories, I called you "pro" and "German,"  
But times are changed and appellations quickly grow antique,  
So now I have a better name: I call you "Bolshevik!"  
Bolshevik! veek! veek!  
Your brains have sprung a leak!  
Your new ideas are redolent of Russia's crazy clique.

No, I mustn't call you "nigger," and I mustn't call you "nanny,"  
It's plainly impolite to dub you "dago," "wop" and "guinea,"  
But whenever I perceive your mental mixture's growing weak  
I joyfully arise and proclaim you Bolshevik!  
Bolshevik! veek! veek!  
It's a classical critique;  
It says more in a word than you can answer in a week.

You believe in votes for women?  
Yah! the Bolsheviks do.  
And shorter hours? And land reforms? They're Bolshevik too.  
"The Recall," and other things like that are dangerous to seek;  
Don't tell me you believe 'em or I'll call you Bolshevik!  
Bolshevik! veek! veek!  
A reformer is a freak!  
But here's a name to stop him, for it's like a lightning streak.

"B" stands for Bolshevism and the reason that it stings  
Is because the Bolsheviks do some stupid, wicked things;  
And so it's plain your mental marches run at left oblique,  
If I can hang a tag on you and call you Bolshevik.  
Bolshevik! veek! veek!  
It's a bingle on the beak!  
I mustn't call you names, so I shall call you Bolshevik!

# The Truth About

## Fancy Answered By Fact

The Educational Journal, official publication of the Los Angeles Principals Club and the High School Teachers Association of Los Angeles, in the issue for April 7, 1919, prints as its leading article a discussion entitled "Bolshevism," by Albert Shiels, Superintendent of the Los Angeles schools. The article is not well written, yet in five pages it seems that Dr. Shiels has managed to make a vast number of misstatements in regard to his subject. Dr. Shiels' sources of information are the newspapers, Charles Edward Russell, and possibly, his own imagination. The article is worthy of attention, not as a masterful denunciation of the Russian Soviet Republic, but rather as a compilation of fanciful popular misconceptions, and we propose to meet some of his charges, not with argument but with a few plain facts from authorities, and a few direct bits of testimony from competent witnesses:

**Dr. Shiels:** "What is this movement which many seem to think is Socialism, notwithstanding the fact that it came into power by overturning a socialistic republic?"

Answer: (Paragraph 10, Constitution of the Russian Soviet Republic) "The Russian Republic is a free Socialist Society of all the working people of Russia."

**Dr. Shiels:** "Bolshevism proposes to destroy all its enemies, and its enemies are all those who are not in the proletariat."

Ans: (By Albert Rhys Williams, war correspondent, author of "In the Claws of the German Eagle," in Russia for fifteen months during the revolutionary period, acquainted with Lenin and Trotzky) "Who are the enemies of the Soviet government? (a) The landlords, who want to take the land away from the peasants. (b) The capitalists, who want to take the factories and banks away from the workingmen. (c) The officers (professional Czarist junkers), who want to take the control of the army away from the soldiers. (d) The monarchists, who want to take the government away from the people." These it would abolish as classes, not annihilate as individuals.

**Dr. Shiels:** "It (Bolshevism) is opposed to parliamentarism, to kings, princes, and churches."

Answer to first charge: (Paragraph 31, Constitution of the Russian Soviet Republic) "The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme legislative, executive and controlling organ of the Russian Socialist Federated Republic." To second and third charge: "Guilty." To fourth charge: (Paragraph 13 of the Constitution) "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 opinions is accorded to every citizen."

**Dr. Shiels:** (Quoting Charles Edward Russell's notion of the Bolshevist platform) "1....All men and women should work.—the anxieties of a business manager are presumably not included in work."

Ans.: (Paragraph 3f of the Constitution)—"universal obligation to work is introduced for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society and organizing the

economic life of the country." (Nicolai Lenin, Premier of the Soviet Republic) "We must not fail to see that, besides the ability to convince and to win \* \* \* successful management depends on the ability for practical organization. Without the direction of specialists of different branches of knowledge, technique and experience, the transformation toward Socialism is impossible \* \* \*"

**Dr. Shiels:** (Quoting further from Russell's imaginations) "2. All men and women that work should be in unions. 3. Each union should have control over its members.' It is a pretty thorough-going kind of control, too. 4. There shall be no other form of government but that of the unions.'"

Ans.: (Paragraph 22 of the Constitution) "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." (Paragraph 8 of the Constitution) "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 principals of the federation of Russian Soviet Republics, leaving to the workers and peasants of every people to decide the following question at their plenary session of their Soviets: whether or not they desire to participate, and on what basis, in the federal government and other federal Soviet institutions."

**Dr. Shiels:** "Bolshevism as a practical form of government must fail."

Ans.: (Albert Rhys Williams) "But why debate about Russia's ability to organize a government? Why not face the fact that she DID ORGANIZE A GREAT, NEW GOVERNMENT—THE SOVIET."

**Dr. Shiels:** "Deliberately and consciously all these ideals of justice are destroyed by Bolshevism. Government for a single class is introduced on the platform of revenge for the past."

Ans.: (By Albert Rhys Williams) "Now, these men took the government in their power, and with the government in their power they took their old tyrants and masters, those old murderers, the men who had jailed them, and lashed them, and abused them, and ground them down; and what did they do?"

"Instead of turning upon them with vengeance, the first law which was passed by the Soviet government was a law which lifts their course of conduct to a higher ethical plane than anything we have yet in human history. The first decree of all that was passed by the Soviet government was a decree abolishing capital punishment."

(Constitution, Paragraph 3) "Bearing in mind as its fundamental problem the abolition of exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of people into classes \* \* \*"

**Dr. Shiels:** "The worst fault is not that it is criminal, but that it is so pathetically stupid."

Ans.: (Maxim Gorky, former anti-Bolshevist) "The cultural and creative work of the Russian Soviet Govern-

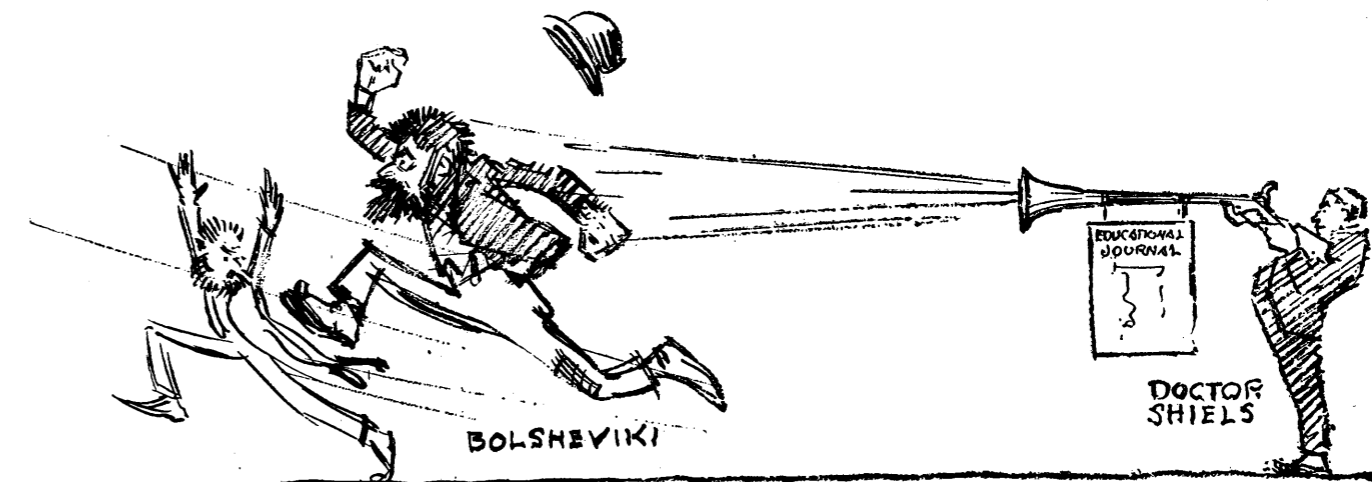
# Russia

DEPARTMENT CONDUCTED BY  
... J. H. RYCKMAN

ment, which is going on under most difficult conditions, and requires heroic exertions, is now about to have a scope and a form which has hitherto been unknown in the history of mankind."

**Dr. Shiels:** "Bolshevism complains of the might of capitalism, and substitutes the might of ignorance."

Ans.: (Albert Rhys Williams) "Of course, the most familiar names in this country are those of Lenin and Trotzky, but there was a remarkable group of people there in that cabinet, making it the most educated and cultured cabinet that ever sat in a seat of government at any time in the history of the world. \* \* \* As a matter of fact, almost every member of that cabinet speaks anywhere from three to twelve languages, and has written anywhere from three to thirty books." (Louise Bryant, author of "Six Red Months in Russia," correspondent for Philadelphia Public Ledger, etc.) "Kolontay had written many books on mothers and children and on sociology before she was appointed Minister of



Superintendent Shiels dispersing imaginary Bolsheviki by firing blank cartridges through his professional arquebus.

Welfare. \* \* \* Kolontay is more or less self-taught, although she has studied much abroad. She speaks thirteen languages fluently." "Lenin is sheer intellect."

**Dr. Shiels:** "\* \* \* the new revolution permits of the circulation only of such newspapers as favor it. In many cases they forbid publication."

Ans.: (Paragraph 14 of the Constitution) "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 to the poorest peasantry all technical and material means of publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, etc., and guarantees their free circulation throughout the country." (Lenin, Decree of the Press) "As soon as the order will be consolidated, all administrative measures against the press will be suspended. Full liberty will be given within the broadest and most progressive measures in this respect; even in critical moments the restriction of the press is admissible only within the bounds of necessity."

**Dr. Shiels:** "Originally Bolshevism was financed by German funds."

Ans.: (Louise Bryant) "Our most deep-rooted prejudice against Lenin is that he is accused of being pro-German. I could never find evidence of that; I tried very hard. All I could find out about Lenin forced me to the opposite conclusion; to the conclusion that he plans the destruction of every great German institution, especially Prussian militarism." "After knowing him (Trotzky) the stories about German money seem utterly absurd."

**Dr. Shiels:** "At the beginning it was a minority of a minority. And it is yet a minority today."

Ans.: (Albert Rhys Williams) "It is the only government which has shown any strength, and the only one that the people have fought and died for. The last Sunday in July an election was held in Vladivostok. There were 17 tickets. \* \* \* The Bolsheviks got more votes than all the other 16 parties put together." (Colonel W. B. Thompson, American financier, head of

American Red Cross Mission) "No less than 60 per cent of the Russians are Bolsheviks."

**Dr. Shiels:** "Concerning the activities of the Bolsheviki in Russia, there is abundant evidence of a great many serious crimes. \* \* \* the evidence from every source is so consistent as to make any doubt of its truth impossible."

Ans.: As a few sources of information not "consistent" with the "abundant evidence" with which Dr. Shiels is acquainted, we offer: Colonel W. B. Thompson, Colonel Raymond Robbins of the American Red Cross, Major Thacher, Bessie Beatty of the San Francisco Bulletin, Louise Bryant of the Bell Syndicate, Madeline Z. Doty of Harpers', Louis Edgar Brown of the Chicago Daily News, Dr. Charles F. Kunz, Jerome Davis of the Y.M.C.A. in Russia, John Reed of the Liberator, Albert Rhys Williams, Prof. George Lomonosoff, Maxim Gorky, Frank Keddie of the English Friends (Quaker) Reconstruction Unit in Russia, Arthur Ransome of the London Daily News, and scores of others, who speak in unqualified praise of the Soviet Republic.

### THE CITY CAMPAIGN

Lena Morrow Lewis

Out of the ashes of the world's great tragedy, phoenix-like and indestructible, rises the working class to become the dominant class in society. The fulfillment of this mission will mean the wiping out of all class lines, for with the producers of wealth in power, there will be no room nor need for any other class.

The world war that accomplished the overthrow of the Kaiser, has been superceded by the worker's struggle against KAISERISM, sometimes and better known as CAPITALISM. No sophistry or distortion of facts can longer blind the people to the class basis of present day society; and no institution that has to do with the social or economic life of the people can escape the problem of "after the war adjustment."

This problem that is being worked out all over the civilized world today takes on a concrete form in the campaign of the Socialist party in the elections now being held in Los Angeles.

As the platform well says, "The system of capitalism is breaking down. A new structure of society is arising. In the course of human events history has reached the inevitable stage where the industrially and politically united workers are taking charge of the affairs of the world to establish an industrial democracy, which is their historic mission. Our slogan is, DOWN WITH INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY; UP WITH THE SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH."

While other parties and candidates are quibbling over personal questions and wasting time with petty issues that concern only the welfare of the few; the Socialist party stands forth in this campaign declaring no compromise with capitalism and serving notice that the system which coins human energy into money and measures all our social activities in terms of the dollar MUST BE ABOLISHED.

While the other parties are lifting the lid and exposing to view the vice situation, the Socialist party takes the only consistent and logical position that, so long as the profit system remains, there will be an all-powerful incentive for men to accept bribes to protect vice, and that the only successful solution of the VICE Problem is the abolition of the profit and wage system.

In regard to the returned soldier, the Socialist party takes the position that the ownership of his job thru the social ownership of the means of production and distribution is his only guarantee to "the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and the only sure way to make the world safe for democracy.

While the other political parties are extolling the virtues of their candidates and the advantages of the good man in politics are being retailed at length, the Socialist party wastes no time in fulsome flattery over the individual merits of its candidates but proclaims itself the servant of the new social order and asks for your vote for the great principle of socialism and not for individual personalities.

Our purpose in seeking political power is to elect representatives of the working class so that they may assist the change from capitalist to workingclass government. We seek to pass from a government of men to an "administration of things." We stand for a political and economic order that will be in harmony with twentieth century conditions.

The purpose of this campaign is to awaken the workers to the important role they play in the affairs of society.

So long as the capitalist class is in power, the government will tend to manifest itself in vicious and freedom-destroying statutes.

The dawn of capitalism brought freedom from the soil and the right to leave the farm and hunt for a job in the city. Thus out of that material condition evolved the concept of liberty and freedom. But if liberty and freedom are ever to have any real meaning or significance to the workers it will only be when their right to life is secured in the ownership of their jobs and the fear of want is removed thru economic change. Only when this condition is obtained will men and women be able to follow the "pursuit of happiness."

A vote for the Socialist ticket is a register of your protest against the present capitalist order. It is the measure of your vision of the new social order. It is a declaration that you believe that those who produce the world's goods should direct the world. It is a step in the direction of real freedom and liberty.

### THE OUTCAST

By JIM SEYMOUR

Say, feller, aintcha got a dime  
T' give a poor ole bum?  
I've cert'nly had an awful time  
An' sure am feelin' rum;  
I've look't fer work—dat sure is true—  
'Till I kin hardly creep;  
I'm cold an' wet, an' hungry too,  
An' don't know w'ere I'll sleep.  
Come, feller, stake me to a dime.  
'Cause your turn p'raps'll come in time.

Now don't say dat; it's hard enuf  
T'be in such a fix  
Widout yer callin' me a tuf,  
Dat wid a job won't mix;  
If you jus' knowed how hard I try  
T' land a job each day  
Ya wouldn't tell me dat I lie  
An' sneer at me dat way.  
Come, feller, stake me to a dime,  
'Cause your turn p'raps'll come in time.

Oh, no, I wasn't always down;  
There once were better days;  
I once enjoyed no small renown  
And walkt thru flowery ways,  
But by a turn of fortune's wheel  
I fell from where you stand,  
And joined the ranks of those who feel  
The crushing armored hand.  
Now, sir, I'm forced to beg a dime  
From one whose turn may come in time.

But, no, he's gone, and in my ears  
His harsh words echo still;  
I seem to feel his cruel jeers—  
Ah, would that words could kill!  
Then might his insults take the place  
Of courage that I lack;  
Then might they end this hopeless race  
On life's thorn-planted track.  
Yes, then to rest, nor beg a dime  
Again until the end of time.

# A Series of Communications

## A CHALLENGE

To Dr. Albert Shiels, Superintendent of Schools:

You have published in the Educational Journal an attack upon the Russian Soviet Government which, we are informed contains by actual count 124 errors.

At a public meeting in Blanchard Hall, Los Angeles, Sunday afternoon, April 13th, there was put up a \$200 Liberty Bond to be given any public charity you name, provided you will appear upon a public platform and reiterate these charges in a debate with Miss Louise Bryant, author of "Six Red Months in Russia."

Also the audience subscribed the sum of \$1,240.43 to be used in giving publicity to this challenge and to the resulting debate.

### THE UNIVERSITY FORUM,

J. H. Ryckman, Chairman.

Upton Sinclair, Chairman of the committee.

Georgia Kotsch,  
Harold H. Story,  
Stewart E. Bruce,  
Anna W. Beardsley.

April 14, 1919.

Dr. Albert Shiels,  
Los Angeles, California.

Dear Sir:

At a meeting at Blanchard Hall yesterday afternoon addressed by Louise Bryant, author of "Six Red Months in Russia," the chairman of the meeting spoke of an article which you have just published in the official educational publication of the city, attacking the Soviet Government in Russia. Judge Ryckman, chairman of the meeting, stated that he had made actual count and that the article contained 124 errors of fact. Someone present at the meeting came forward and handed to the chairman a \$200.00 Liberty Bond to be offered to you—you to have the right to donate it to any charity in Los Angeles, which you approve, provided that you will appear upon a public platform and repeat the statements made in your article and discuss them with Louise Bryant. Miss Bryant is now on her way East, having lecture engagements, but she says that she will return in a couple of weeks in order to accept this engagement with you, provided that you also will accept. Incidentally, you might be interested to know that at the meeting the audience pledged the sum of \$1,240.43 to be used in informing the people of Los Angeles about this challenge and the outcome thereof. I was appointed chairman of a committee to interview the newspapers and endeavor to get publicity.

I would appreciate a reply from you by return mail, the reply to be addressed either to Judge Ryckman or myself.

Sincerely,  
UPTON SINCLAIR.

### LOS ANGELES CITY SCHOOLS

Office of the Superintendent

716 Security Building

Los Angeles, California.

April 17th, 1919.

Mr. Upton Sinclair,  
Pasadena, California.  
Dear Sir:

I am answering your letter of April 14th on my return from an educational convention.

I shall not take part in any debate on the question you raise. I believe it is contrary to good public policy to place Bolshevism and its practices on a par with debatable questions.

Yours very truly,  
ALBERT SHIELS, Supt.

April 18, 1919.

Dr. Albert Shiels,  
Los Angeles, California.

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of April 17th. If you did not wish "to place Bolshevism and its practices on a par with debatable questions," it would have been better if you had not opened the debate. You can certainly hardly expect that those who disagree with you will maintain silence.

The first working-class government in history has been condemned to destruction by the capitalist governments of the world, and as the first step in this process there was opened a campaign of international slander. You have seen fit to believe all the wild tales which you have read in the capitalist newspapers, and you decline to give the other side the right even to present their facts. I can only assure you that despite your refusal, the subject will be debated. From the time of the declaration of peace, nothing else will be debated in the world, and the debate will not cease until the beneficiaries of privilege throughout the world have been forced from power.

For myself, I am not a Syndicalist, but a Socialist; but if it comes to a choice between Syndicalism—called Bolshevism—or our present system of wage-slavery and exploitation, then I am a Bolshevik. Meantime I am a Socialist; and I am pleading with our propertied classes to display a little wisdom and self-sacrifice, so that the rest of the world may not be driven into Bolshevism.

What is your own position I have no idea, but I presume that you defend the profit-system. If not, will you say so? If you have any other solution, will you appear upon a public platform and present it, explaining how you propose to obtain for the worker the full value of his product, and to provide that those who do not work shall not eat? Will you debate this issue with me? Let me say that you will find me perfectly courteous and friendly. All I wish to do is to force the public to think about these questions before it is too late.

I enclose a special delivery envelope, in order that I may have your reply before our statement on this whole question goes to press.

Sincerely,  
UPTON SINCLAIR.

No further word has been received from Dr. Shiels at the time we go to press. (Editors.)

# Russia: A Challenge

By UPTON SINCLAIR

In the first paragraph of this article you will notice a question. The test was made, and the question can be answered. There is in America no magazine of general circulation which can be persuaded to open its columns to a word of truth about Russia.

The writer selected a list of twelve publications which combine a circulation in the hundreds of thousands with some literary reputation and some pretense of concern for public welfare. The twelve selected were Harper's Magazine, The Century Magazine, Scribner's Magazine, The Metropolitan Magazine, McClure's Magazine, The American Magazine, Everybody's Magazine, The Atlantic Monthly, The Cosmopolitan, The Outlook, Collier's Weekly and The Saturday Evening Post. To these he added, in one last desperate hope, The New Republic, which has not a large circulation, but which reaches an academic audience. He sent the article by special delivery, requesting an immediate decision by wire. The decision came, and they lie before him—many different kind of excuses. It would, perhaps, not be ethical to quote them, for many of these editors are known to the writer personally, and now, as in times past, they give him to understand that his contribution is not rejected because of lack of merit or interest. One of these editors who now telegraphs a regretful "No" once told the writer that he was "the ablest political pamphleteer in America." Another once offered him \$15,000 a year as advertising manager. But now they wire that the policy of the magazine does not permit them to publish this article about Russia.

Read the article and judge for yourself. Is it not a piece of honest writing? Does it not tell something which the American people ought to know? If you think so, do your part in this crisis. Help to teach the editors of these Wall Street controlled magazines that the truth can not be kept from the American people all the time. Get this article read by your friends and your fellow-workers. Read it to your lodge, to your union local. Get it published in your labor paper, in your local paper—or find out why not. Get your clergyman to discuss it.

I pledge you my faith as a man and my honor as a writer that there is no statement in this article which is not true, and which cannot be proved to the last punctuation mark.

For more than a year the writer has watched what seems to him the greatest campaign of falsification in the history of mankind. The instruments of publicity in our civilization appear to have lost all sense of truth and the value of truth. The writer rises to inquire if there is in America one magazine of general circulation which can be persuaded to open its columns to a word of truth about Russia.

The truth is not wholly obscure to one who is willing to face it. For generations we in America have seen the people of Russia held down by an utterly ruthless and utterly corrupt despotism, deprived of all opportunity to organize or to educate themselves, to acquire experience in governmental affairs; their best brains and their noblest souls systematically persecuted, tortured, driven into exile. And now, as always, this repression has bred an explosion equally violent, equally as terrible as its cause. The people of Russia have risen, and have turned upon their oppressors the weapons they have been taught to understand.

We who have been born in a more fortunate land, who have learned to use, if only half successfully, the ballot and public discussion, confront now the problem of this tremendous upheaval. What attitude shall we take toward the Russian people, striking out blindly against their oppressors, groping for liberty and life? Shall we give them full sanction in their use of rifle and machine-gun in place of ballot and public discussion? I think that he is a poor American, a poor advocate of democracy, who answers Yes. For myself I answer No; I observe with dread the increase of resort to rifle and machine-gun in the settlement of public controversies, and the basis of my protest is that we compel the Russian people to use the rifle and machine-gun in defense of their right of self-determination. I denounce the policy of the Allies, which is teaching the Russian people that the rifle and machine-gun are the only weapons which can be depended upon by a people defending their right of self-deter-

mination; and I denounce the campaign of truth-suppression and truth-destruction which is now being waged throughout the civilized world, to keep the masses of the people from realizing what the policy of the Allies means.

As usual in modern affairs, it is necessary to begin with economics. Russia under the Tsar possessed enormous undeveloped resources, and because of its easily corrupted government and its vast population trained to slave-labor, it offered a field for greedy capital seeking quick returns. Moreover, the diplomats and statesmen of France wanted to set up on the East an enemy to threaten Germany; therefore French capital was systematically poured into Russia, and the gold of the French Republic became the main support of the Russian Tsardom. Endless intrigue went on, innumerable bargains were made; until the financiers of Paris and London had become so deeply involved in Russia that they could hardly sever the connection without self-destruction.

The Tsardom might have been compared to a human body rotten with disease, but kept alive by blood-transfusion; when the war came, the difficulties of communication through Siberia and Archangel made the blood transfusion no longer possible, and the diseased body collapsed. The Russian peasants, who had been driven to fight machine-guns with clubs and branches of trees, who had given several million lives in a struggle about which they had been allowed to understand nothing, went back to their homes and took possession of the land which they considered theirs, because they had watered it for centuries with their sweat and tears. The organized workers took possession of the factories which they considered theirs, because by their labor they had paid in profits many times the value of the foreign investments. And so the Russian people, whom we had always called the most backward, set out to try the most forward-looking experiment in history. They set up the first working-class government, they tried humanity's first experiment in industrial self-government.

We in America are not an industrial democracy, and do not pretend to be; but we believe ardently in political democracy, and we claim to be a progressive people, open to new ideas, and opposed to tyranny and enslavement. What now is our record to date with regard to this strange Russian experiment, so full of portent and possibility for the future? We could not have given the Russians any advice about organizing factories democratically, or about cooperative management of agriculture; but many things we might have taught them—things about government administration, about the education of the masses, about engineering and invention, machines and hygiene. We could perhaps not have spared them food in the terrific emergency of the war, but at least we could have given them guidance and permanent, steady, patient friendship. Instead of that, what did we do?

To get the answer clear we must first ask: What did France and England do? France and England acted in the interest of their billions of dollars invested in Russian bonds and industrial securities. From first to last the action of these governments towards Russia has never given a hint that there is anything in the world except government bonds and industrial securities; that the life of one hundred and eighty million human beings, tortured through centuries, corrupted and enslaved by their government, exhausted in a desperate war and threatened with anarchy, famine and pestilence, was anything in any way whatever to be considered in comparison with interest on government bonds and dividends on industrial securities. The gigantic trading corporation which calls itself the British government, the group of financiers who for all practical purposes constitute the government of France, have used every plan known to militarism and diplomacy to discredit and destroy the government of the revolutionary peasants and workingmen of Russia.

And now, what about America? America began by sending a commission headed by an elderly corporation lawyer, a life-long friend of special privilege. America maintained as her representative in Petrograd an elderly capitalist from St. Louis, who has since come to London and revealed his point of view in two different sentences: "The basic principle of the Soviet government is to prevent the exploitation of one man by an-

other. It is obviously an insane conception." America had wise and democratic-minded men in Petrograd, who told her what to do; but America did not take the advice of men like Raymond Robins and William Boyce Thompson; America submitted herself to the diplomats and military men of France and England, and sent, in her troops to help destroy the revolutionary government in Russia. The argument was that the Soviets had sold out to Germany; but the truth, which Raymond Robins has just told on the witness stand, is that before they signed the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the Soviet leaders had him cable to America the offer to refuse to sign, if America would back them with supplies and moral support. This offer, received by our State Department, was hidden from the American people, and the raids into Siberia and Archangel were ordered.

Those raids, cruel and wanton as they were, have been the least part of the wrong; for I would rather a man shot me with a rifle and let out my blood upon the Arctic snows than that he should blast my reputation and destroy my ability to make my ideals effective in the world. And this is what has been done to the Russian Soviet leaders by all the forces of organized society throughout the world of capitalist civilization.

Whether rightly or wrongly, the Russian Soviets believe and proclaim that they are founding a new order of society, in which there shall be no parasites and exploiters, but in which those who do the work of hand and brain shall receive all that they produce. They have set up a government for this purpose, and they are defending that government—as all men have defended their governments since the beginning of time. They are using force, but what government has ever failed to use force? Every government that has ever survived in history has used just this much force—as much as was necessary to protect itself against those who would overthrow it. Every government which has failed to survive has failed because it did not or could not use that much force. The goodness or badness of a government does not depend upon its use of force, but upon the purpose for which it uses force. In a discussion of that question with the Soviets of Russia, we appear to find ourselves strangely uneasy.

We call them a class government. Are they then the first class government in history, that we should be so indignant? Are they the only class government existing in modern society? If you do not know that the present governments of France and England are class governments, you are indeed ignorant of modern France and England!

But, it is said, the Russian government is a government of assassins and murderers; it would be impossible to assume diplomatic relations with such! Yet the governments of France and England not only recognized but subsidized and maintained for more than a generation the government of the Russian Tsar! Here in America we cannot even allow discussion about the Soviets; when Russian boys and girls in New York endeavor to protest, we send them to prison for twenty years. But we had no scruples in dealing with the government of the Tsar; we made treaties with it, quite undismayed by its endless campaigns of murder and assassination! Our eminent citizens went to Russia and received the Tsar's decorations, and when one of the Russian grand dukes came to Newport, he was the lion of the season, his depravities were the delicious sensation of our social world. But the common workingmen who now govern Russia—they are bad men—

How much is true of all the tales of robbery and murder, the wholesale slaughtering, which we are told about Russia? I have not been to Russia, but several of my intimate friends have recently returned from there, having seen the whole revolution, and they tell me that the greater part of the tales are false. A large percentage stamp themselves. We read on the same day that Lenine has fled to Spain, and that he has been put in jail by Trotsky. Or we read of a Bartholomew's Eve massacre, in which all the bourgeoisie in Russia are to be destroyed; November 10 was the date, I think, and it came, and I looked in my papers for accounts of the massacre, but there was nothing. I knew what this meant—because I, too, have been lied about by capitalist journalism on the front page, and have seen the retraction buried in small print among the advertisements.

That there has been much killing in Russia, I do not doubt; but whether there has been more killing than under the government of the Tsar—that is the real question, and who will answer it? Who will answer this further question: whether more people have been shot with rifles and machine-guns by the Red Guard than have died of starvation, or will die during the next few months, because of the blockade maintained in the interest of the holders of Russian bonds and industrial securities? The Allies have seized the railroad whereby the wheat of Siberia

might have been brought to the workers of Petrograd and Moscow; so they are causing many millions of people to perish in the slow agonies of starvation. They are doing this deliberately and of set policy, and they call the Soviet leaders murderers. Those who should have poured food and machinery into Russia, so that the blindly groping people might have found liberty and life—they are strangling the Russian people, suffocating them—and doing it in the name of justice and democracy!

The Allies told us that the Russian people would rise against the Soviets if they were given a chance; so the armies went into Siberia, and into Archangel, and into the Ukraine, and invited them to join. The Allies even set up dummy governments to lure them—but they did not come! Everywhere, in Russia, in the neutral countries, in our own country, the Allies are subsidizing intrigue and propaganda against the Russian revolutionary government. They are keeping alive the hopes of the reactionaries, they are stimulating revolt and civil war in Russia—and when the Russian government defends itself against these intriguers and conspirators, our newspapers shudder at the bloodshed in Russia? Whatever else may be uncertain about Russia, these two things are as certain as the course of the sun: first, that the Soviets would have been overthrown a thousand times if they had not used desperate violence; and second, that the more intrigue is conducted against them, the more violence they are forced to use.

I know what history does to revolutionists. I got my impressions of the French revolution from school books and standard histories, and then I made a real investigation, and was astonished to discover how little killing there had actually been in revolutionary France. And in the same way I now read lurid accounts of the Bolsheviks advancing in the Baltic provinces, burning and slaying as they go; but the conspiracy slips a cog, and there creeps into an Associated Press dispatch a little paragraph which gives the game away. In reading this, please understand that these provinces are a part of Russia, which the Russians are taking back from the Germans:

"Warsaw, Dec. 29.—The Bolsheviks are advancing rapidly toward Vilna, and are favored by mild weather. Their advance guards are said to be orderly, well clothed and well armed. They have committed no depredations except where they met with resistance."

And here is another from Berlin, February 15, which gives the real reason for the world-wide dread of the Bolsheviks. Ralph Rotheit, correspondent of the Berlin Vossische Zeitung, visited the Bolshevik line at Vilna. "He pictured the situation as extremely pessimistic, although so far the Bolsheviks have always been defeated by the Germans whenever they ventured skirmishing. However, Rotheit writes, the Bolsheviks do not rely so much on fighting as on corrupting opponents by never-ceasing wireless propaganda, and by sending emissaries into the districts still occupied by the Germans, and by Bolshevik literature, with which the latter's positions are flooded. Rotheit says unfortunately the effect of this propaganda at Kovno, headquarters of the German commander, was only too evident, as in many other places on German territory, as well as the Russian and Polish."

Here we have the real quarrel with the Soviets, the real reason why they must not, cannot be permitted to survive. They are propagandists; day and night they agitate, they preach and they print—and for some reason, the more loudly we proclaim that their propaganda is false, the more deeply we seem to dread its success! Since when have we lost our faith in the might of truth? Since when have we decided that error must be fought with bullet and machine-gun? Surely there must be some dark secret here, some skeleton in our family closet!

The truth is that we have seen in Russia a gigantic strike, an I. W. W. strike, if you please; and it has been successful. The workers have seized the factories, and now we call for the militia to drive them out. The very existence of capitalism depends upon their being driven out; as the phrase is, they must "be made an example of." But we foresee that it will mean bitter fighting; it will take half a million soldiers and a year's campaign; and suddenly we find that we cannot count upon our soldiers! Canadian troops mutiny at Vancouver and refuse to go to Siberia, and the censor suppresses the news! British troops mutiny at Folkestone and refuse to go to Archangel, and the censor suppresses the news! French troops—the censor has succeeded in France, so we don't know what the French troops did. But this much we know, the governments are giving up their plan to put down the great strike by force, and are falling back on a campaign of starvation, combined with propaganda to protect the people at home against the Bolshevik idea.

I am not defending this idea; on the contrary, I have been fighting it during my entire career as a writer; but I am demand-



ing that it shall be fought fairly, with truth, and not with falsehood; also that the thing considered shall be the welfare of mankind, and not interest upon Russian bonds. If you think that I am "seeing red" on this last-mentioned subject, read the following words from the Financial News of London:

"In the city it is realized that events are shaping more and more towards an international suzerainty over Russia, modelled on the British surveillance of Egypt. Such an event would transform Russian bonds into the cream of the international market."

There are six or eight thousand American boys spending a winter under the Arctic Circle in the Russian province of Archangel; some of them are dying every day, pouring out their blood upon the Arctic snows. Are their mothers and fathers aware that a leading financial organ of London proclaims the purpose of their death: to transform Russian bonds into the cream of the international market?

Recently the Soviets, pressed by starvation, have bowed so far to the will of world-capitalism as to agree to pay interest on the Tsar's debts; they have offered to pledge some of the vast natural resources of Russia to pay for the machinery and supplies they must have. So Allied diplomacy hesitates and falters; dare they risk the terrors of Bolshevik propaganda, that mysterious black magic? Dare they allow the world to see a prospering social revolution, a government of the workers, by the workers, for the workers which does not perish from the earth?

They decided upon a conference with the Bolsheviks, on a remote island in Turkish waters. Why not a conference in Paris or London? Does any man in his senses doubt the reason? Because those in charge of the affair wished to be able to control it, to keep the Bolshevik emissaries from telling the people of the Allied countries about their purposes and their successes! Our newspapers printed the fact that the invitation had been extended to the Bolsheviks, but they did not print the Bolshevik acceptance. They did not print the text of the Russian foreign minister's appeal to the French Socialist, Longuet, as to the meaning of the Allied proposals. They did not print the fact that William Allen White, American delegate and man of honor, refused the mission, unless there could be full publicity. The French censorship bars from the cables dispatches to American newspapers dealing with all these matters—and this in spite of President Wilson's solemn promise that there should be no censorship of press dispatches from the Peace Conference! We may not hear freely from our own correspondents; what we are to accept are interviews with Sazonoff, ex-minister of the ex-Tsar, one of the most corrupt officials of a government whose corruption was the world's jest!

This Sazonoff represents one of the puppet government which are supposed to replace the Soviets. Another such government is that of Archangel, already several times overthrown and several times re-established. Another is the government at Omsk, which was seized by Kolchak, ex-admiral of the ex-Tsar, an avowed reactionary. Correspondents have portrayed his tattered demoralized army, composed of every sort of adventurer and aristocratic criminal, and financed by a resumption of the sale of vodka. An Associated Press dispatch told us that they were taking one million seven hundred and fourteen thousand bushels of grain per year and making it into vodka at six rubles a pint! The grain which was to have fed the starving workers of Petrograd and Moscow is being made into vodka under Allied protection! There are sixteen Allied governments; so it appears that Robert Louis Stevenson was a prophet in his pirate song:

"Sixteen men on a dead man's chest,  
Yo ho, ho, and a bottle of rum!"

Have you any idea of the character and moral code of an army of emigres? I lived once among a group of such broken-down aristocrats. I won't say where, because it would hurt the feelings of some other people who are innocent and decent; but I can say that these exiles who once had luxury and have lost it are at once the most vicious and most vindictive human beings that live. They drink and they gamble, they seduce one another's wives and daughters, they intrigue and gossip—and above all they lust for blood. The Allies refuse to recognize the Bolsheviks, because they are murderers and assassins; but they are supporting men who would be perfectly willing to kill every other peasant and workingman in Russia, provided they could bring the remainder back into that state of submission upon which the Tsardom was based. They have shown this whenever they got a chance—in Finland, for example, where the slaughters of the White Guard put the worst of the Bolsheviks to shame.

And this is what our program will lead to—black reaction, and

nothing less! This is why millions of dollars, loaned by the United States to Russia to aid her starving people, are being held by a hold-over Russian "Ambassador" in Washington, and used to finance a gigantic journalistic campaign—as well as to pay interest on war bonds through J. P. Morgan & Company. Three hundred and fifty-seven million dollars we advanced to that ambassador, and some two hundred millions of it are still left in his hands. In addition I am told that he has raised more than a hundred million through the sale of supplies belonging to the dead government of the Tsar; and the news has been published that he had an American company make millions of paper rubles to be shipped into Russia and used there!

So we know why our newspapers are filled day by day with tales of endless slaughters in Russia, of Lenin fleeing to Spain and being put in jail by Trotsky, of Trotsky seeking a job on the Appeal to Reason! We know why a Methodist Episcopal clergyman appears before an investigating committee of the United States Senate and denounces revolutionary Russians as "apostate Jews"—they having ceased to accept a religion which the Methodists ceased to accept a long time ago! This is why a United States Senator refers to Maxim Gorky, not merely one of the greatest writers, but one of the greatest moral teachers in the modern world, as "that horrible creature, Maxim Gorky. He is about as immoral as a person can be." That is why the Soviets are accused of having decreed compulsory sex relations for women—when the whole purport and purpose of their marriage and divorce decrees has been to abolish compulsory sex relations! That is why a Russian Jewish boy, arrested in New York for distributing a circular of protest, was tortured so that he died—this being done by secret service agents in a cell of the Tombs prison! That is why a girl was sentenced to fifteen years in prison, and two boys to twenty years, for the same offense! Truly is it not time for us to ask why American lads, who are drafted and trained to fight the Kaiser, are now being used to fight Russian workingmen and peasants? Why an army which broke the Hindenburg line and fought its way through twenty miles of hell in the Argonne forest is now tasting humiliation and defeat in the frozen forests and swamps of Archangel province?

Only once before in modern history was there a calamity like this—when the kings and emperors of Europe went to war to wipe out the French revolution, which their hired propagandists described in precisely the same terms as we now see applied to the Bolsheviks. Then it was political revolution, now it is social revolution, but the program is the same—the earth is to be soaked with the blood of revolutionists, their new ideal is to be corrupted in the military campaign necessary to its defense. So the world is to be made safe for another Holy Alliance—this time of the profit-system, of Industrial Exploitation. It is for you, the people, who pay for all privilege and maintain all parasites, to decide whether history shall repeat itself to the full; whether the Holy Alliance of World Capitalism is to crush for another century the hopes of the working masses of the world.

As this paper is going to press I read the most important news which has come from Europe since the armistice. Count Michael Karolyi, a liberal nobleman of Hungary, became prime minister of the new Hungarian Republic, and as a means of averting civil war declared for the division among the peasants of the great estates of the nobility, demonstrating his sincerity by giving up his own vast estates to begin with. But the reactionary governments of the Allies were not moved to any sympathy by this splendid action. They decided to occupy Hungary as a place from which to attack the Bolsheviks, and they awarded a large slice of Hungarian territory to the Czecho-Slovaks, as a reward for their having acted as strike-breakers in Siberia. And now Count Michael Karolyi declares that he refuses to stand for this action of the Allied reactionaries. He and his cabinet resign and turn over Hungary to a Soviet government, which forms an alliance with the Bolsheviks!

At the same time, it is reported that Czecho-Slovak regiments on the border have revolted, and that all Bohemia may soon go Bolshevik. Also comes a dispatch from Oswald Garrison Villard, who has been traveling in Germany, declaring that any German government which signed a treaty giving the Saar valley to the French would fall within twenty-four hours. And the French, it appears, are determined to have the Saar valley. So, very soon, we shall see the Ebert government doing exactly what the Karolyi government has done, and the Allies will be invited to walk in and put down the Spartacans in Germany, and garrison the entire country for an indefinite period!

And when that begins to happen, how long do you think it would be before you will see French and British regiments re-

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Max Weiczorich, the famous Hungarian portrait artist, now living in Los Angeles, proposes to make a picture of Louise Bryant to be sold at auction, the proceeds to be given to the further circulation of the truth about Russia and other revolutionary lands, and to the advancement of the radical movement. Miss Bryant will probably return to Los Angeles to sit for the portrait, after completing her lecture tour.

Our solons are simplifying life for us. Too large a range of choice is confusing. Soon now we shall all be Democrats or Republicans or conspirators against the government.

It is the special desire of The New Justice to reach non-radicals who are inclined liberally, and particularly to come to the attention of educators and instructors. For this purpose we make a special offer to mail The New Justice to any four addresses you desire, two months for each dollar you send us for that purpose, or send the money and we will see that the magazine goes to high school and college teachers, two months to four for a dollar.

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volting—to say nothing of all the labor unions in France and England! It is my prediction that if the Allies persist in their present program of making war on international Socialism, at the end of one year there will be nobody left to carry out the program, except the Honorable James M. Beck, President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University, my friend, Mrs. Gertrude Atherton, and the members of the Overman senatorial committee.

P. S.—A friend who reads this manuscript asks me the question: What do you want to do about it? Have you a constructive program?

My answer is that I never consider my brain work done until I have a constructive program. We should withdraw our troops from all Russian territory, and we should force our Allies to do the same, under the penalty of stopping our loans and economic favors. We should come to a working agreement with the Bolsheviks in an open conference, granting them every right to present their arguments to the rest of the world. We should make ourselves immune against the dangers of their propaganda, not by putting people into jail and censoring news dispatches, but by doing justice to our exploited classes. That we are maintaining an unjust social system and intend to continue it—that is the basis and the only basis of our terror of Bolshevik propaganda. The problem of Russia thus becomes in its fundamentals the problem of whether or not we intend to set free our own wage slaves. That our people do not understand this is because their only source of information is a prostitute press. Therefore, I come back at the end to what I said at the beginning, an appeal to those who read this article to do their part in getting it before the American people.

The foregoing article was first printed in The Appeal to Reason in the issue for April 5th.

Trade, that fruitful source of wars, always did tip you a sly wink when you mentioned the Monroe Doctrine.

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From "The Candidate"

I have just finished reading the first installment of "Jimmie Higgins" and I am delighted with it. It is the beginning of a great story that will be translated into many languages and read by eager and interested millions all over the world. I feel that your art will lend itself readily to "Jimmie Higgins," and that you will be at your best in placing this dear little comrade where he belongs in the Socialist movement. The opening chapter of your story proves that you know him intimately. You are painting a superb portrait of our "Jimmie" and I congratulate you.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

From a Teacher

Have just finished reading "Jimmie Higgins." The tears are still in my eyes, tho' the laugh got mixed up with them when I got to Eleeza Betooser! (I give "lessons to foreigners" during the winter, whose experience has given point to that mix-up.) I became so absorbed in Jimmie that the newly kindled fire in my little air-tight went out for lack of attention to the draft, and when I got to the end of Debs' speech, I discovered that I was hugging a tepid stove.

BLANCHE WATSON.

From Mrs. Jack London

Jimmie Higgins is immense. He is real, and so are the other characters. I'm sure you rather fancy Comrade Dr. Service! The beginning of the narrative is delicious with an irresistible loving-humor; and as a change comes over it and the Big Medicine begins to work, one realizes by the light of 1918, what you have undertaken to accomplish. The sure touch of your genius is here, Upton Sinclair, and I wish Jack London might read and enjoy.

CHARMIAN LONDON.

From a Socialist Artist

Jimmie Higgins' start is a master portrayal of that character. I have been out so long on these lecture tours that I can appreciate the picture. I am waiting to see how the story develops. It starts better than "King Coal."

RYAN WALKER.

From a "Jimmie"

Well, the October Magazine is O. K. and Jimmie Higgins 100 per cent. To a fellow that carried a Red Card 14 consecutive years it seems like reincarnation.

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