

## DEBS AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY

At the beginning of the year 1919 the Socialist Party was an organization of nearly 100,000 members. It had as part of its membership the most advanced revolutionary elements in this country. It was an organization of powerful potentialities in the class struggle.

In the early months of that year the struggle between the Left Wing revolutionists and the Right Wing reformists came to a head. The Left Wing won the party elections by overwhelming majorities. If the Left Wing representative were permitted to take office it meant the reorganization of the party and the ousting of all non-revolutionary elements.

In this crisis the Right Wing leaders of the party in control of the party machinery overrode all the constitutional provisions and rules of the party and expelled the Left Wing. The issue between the two groups was a fundamental issue of principle which could not be compromised. Either one group or the other had to leave the party. The Right Wing held the party machinery and used its power to hold the party.

But in expelling the Left Wing the party officialdom sapped the very life of the party. It was the Left Wing elements within the party that had been its strength. The party finances came largely from this element. When the situation clarified, after the September conventions, the Right Wing officialdom of the party found that it controlled the party, but that the membership had disappeared. By the Fall of 1919 the party membership of 100,000 of the previous spring had been reduced to a bare 15,000. It was an empty victory.

Not all of the 75,000 to 85,000 members who left the party, affiliated with the Communist parties. A large element, disgusted by the reactionary trend of the Socialist Party and the split in the Communist movement, remained outside of any organization.

In January came the raids directed against the Communist parties and the reorganization of these parties as underground organizations. Here again members of both parties, the weak-kneed and hesitating, dropped out, adding to the former membership of the Socialist Party which was not affiliated with any organization.

The situation in the early spring of this year was

that there were from fifteen to twenty thousand Right Wing members in the Socialist Party and an equal number of Communists, willing to risk anything for their principles, in the underground organizations of the two Communist parties. There was the difference, however, that while the Socialist Party was drifting toward complete disintegration, the Communists were solid, militant organizations.

By their attitude toward the Left Wing the Socialist party leaders had lost the confidence of a large block of membership, which, while not yet Communist, resented the reactionary trend of the party. Up to the time of the Albany trial the St. Louis war program and the war record of the party had been the means of holding some of its membership—although the membership which forced the unwilling leaders to adopt this program had long ago left the party. But with the complete repudiation at Albany this asset was gone. A new block of members within the party threatened to revolt. The future looked black.

It was to meet this situation that the reactionary Right Wing leaders appealed to the magic name of Debs.

The Hillquits, Stedmans and Bergers of the Socialist Party have never liked Debs. In the controversies within the party prior to the split, dating back for ten years, whenever Debs had spoken he had aligned himself against these leaders. In the 1912 convention of the party, in which the last previous nomination of Debs was made, they had fought against his nomination and had tried to foist upon the party Seidel and a Socialism that talked about sewer building as its great achievement. Debs was nominated only after it became apparent that the militant rank and file of the convention could not be forced to swallow Seidel and Sewers.

The 1920 nomination of Debs through the influence of these leaders is merely a political trick. Through this nomination they hope to rehabilitate the Socialist Party. They do not like Debs. They do not want Debs. But they are ready to swallow Debs in order to have a party and they expect that the magic name of Debs will again rally to the support of the party all those elements which have been unaffiliated with any organization since the split in the party took

place, and even to break into the Communist ranks.

Does Debs willingly lend himself to this political game? That is a question which is in the mind of many revolutionary workers.

The Right Wing Socialist leaders have tried to create the impression that Debs is fully informed in regard to the developments in the party since his imprisonment and that he accepted the nomination of the Right Wing with a complete realization of its meaning. This is part of the game to use his prestige for the rebuilding of the party. Debs. knows all the facts and Debs is with the Socialist Party, therefore the Communist attack upon the party is made up of lies and calumnies, is their argument.

THE FACT IS DEBS DOES NOT KNOW. He does not understand the depth to which the Socialist Party has sunk in its repudiation of Revolutionary Socialism. He does not know all the facts about the Albany defense and its abject apology to the peanut politicians of the New York legislature for being even suspected of standing for those things which Debs upholds, particularly the St. Louis war program. What little information Debs has secured about the recent acts of the Socialist Party convention made him hesitate and in accepting the nomination of the party he made the qualification that in doing so he did not intend to accept anything that would be a compromise of his previous utterance on the matter of Socialist principles.

This statement as to Debs' attitude is not based on hearsay. It is made after more than an hour's talk with Debs, which took place since he accepted the Socialist nomination.

Debs permitted his name to go before the Socialist convention, hoping that his candidacy would serve as the means of reuniting the former factions of the Socialist Party. The belief that his candidacy could reunite these factions is in itself evidence that Debs does not understand the great difference in principles that divide them. He has not been in touch with the drift to the Right by the Socialist Party leaders and the drift to the Left by the Communists.

It might as well be said frankly, that while Debs would quickly repudiate the present position of the

### CUSSEDNESS

Our idea of governmental cussedness is the prevention of shipment of medical supplies to a country with which "we are not at war" in other words—Russia.

Socialist Party and its leadership were he outside of prison and fully informed, at the same time he is not a Communist in fundamental understanding. Emotionally and through his revolutionary spirit he is with the Left, but not through understanding and acceptance of Communist principles.

What then shall be the attitude of the revolutionary workers toward the candidacy of Eugene V. Debs. There is but one answer.

Debs may be ever so dear to us because of his past services to the movement. We may still admire him for his unwavering stand in his Canton speech and during his trial. We may respect him for his unshakable devotion to the cause of the workers, which has characterized his utterances since he has been in prison. In the past he has been the spiritual leader of the revolution and as such we may still give him our love and admiration.

While our attitude toward him personally can well remain unchanged if we understand that he acted without full knowledge or a full realization of the meaning of his acceptance of the Socialist Party nomination, as the candidate of the Socialist Party Debs has no claim upon us. It is the social revolution that we are working for and principles determine our course of action. When loyalty to our principles and loyalty to an individual clash the individual must be sacrificed.

No revolutionary Socialist will support the Socialist Party because Debs is its candidate. Has not every revolutionary Socialist often declared that he fights for principles and not for individuals! The principles of the Socialist Party are potentially those of the Ebert—Scheideman—Noske counter-revolution in Germany. At Albany the Socialist defense came pretty near to declaring it so.

Debs' name cannot cover the reactionary character of the Socialist Party. Rather will the fact that the party has tried to camouflage its reactionary character by trying to pull Debs down to its level excite the complete disgust of every revolutionary worker. The Socialist Party has betrayed the class struggle. It cannot disguise that betrayal with the name of Debs.

### MESSAGE TO DEBS

Editor of "The Toller":—

It has come to my notice that there is some curiosity about the contents and "official character" of the message sent by Comrade Ruthenberg and myself to Comrade Debs.

This message had no official character at all. It was a personal message, without mandate from any organization or committee. No doubt the fact that Comrade Ruthenberg and I had been active members of the Communist Party and of its Central Executive Committee might have indicated to Comrade Debs that we expressed a viewpoint which was shared by many other Communists.

The telegram was as follows:

May 13, 1920.

"Eugene V. Debs,  
Federal Penitentiary,  
Atlanta, Georgia.

Earnestly urge you not to accept Socialist nomination until you acquaint yourself with entire work of convention.

C. E. RUTHENBERG  
I. E. FERGUSON.

"In explanation of the motive of this communication, I need only state that some of us have felt that the least we could do under the unfortunate set of circumstances which threw us into opposition to Comrade Debs was to inform him as directly as possible of the fact of that opposition and the reasons compelling it; preferably, before the action which divided us was beyond recall.

June 17, 1920.

Fraternally yours,  
I. E. FERGUSON.

### EIGHT WEEKS TO SECURE JURY IN TRIAL OF FORMER C.L.P. MEMBERS

Prosecution Challenges all Talents with Liberal Ideas. Case is speeded

CHICAGO, June 20.—Around New Year's, when the inimitable Attorney-General of the United States had decided to Palmerize the revolutionary workers' movement in this country, he asked the co-operation of the district attorneys of the big centers in accomplishing this. That put another equally inimitable gentleman, Mr. MacLay Hoyne, state attorney of Cook County, Ill., wise to a scheme to sneak up on Mr. Palmer and to deprive him of his laurels. He broke faith with Mr. Palmer, (who we really suspect that the two cents know each other to well to have ever had much faith in each other,) and pulled off his private raid against the reds one day in advance of Palmer's schedule. Members of the Communist Labor Party, the Communist Party, the I. W. W., the Union of Russian Workers and kindred organizations were rounded up as the victims. Police Chief Garrity's men, who last year so ably assisted the Socialist Party in purging itself of every suspicion of revolutionary blood, were the fit actors in this patriotic tragic comedy.

To justify this wholesale arrest, and to retain the good will of the Chicago Chamber of Commerce he had tried so hard to earn during his long so-called public service, Mr. Hoyne had a special grand jury assembled for the purpose to return indictments against the "reds." How much the \$40,000 slush fund, created by the Chicago Chamber of Commerce, assisted Mr. Hoyne in this we do not know, nor do we care to know as we are perfectly sure that Mr. Hoyne would have done his duty to his capitalist masters even without such a little inducement as \$40,000 slush fund. Well, the indictments were duly returned against 41 members of the Communist Labor Party, 35 members of the I. W. W. and against 85 members of the Communist Party.

The first to go on trial were the 41 members of the former Communist Labor Party. If we say "former" we mean it. Let us pause here to shed a few tears for the departed body of that party. Mr. Palmer and Mr. Hoyne seem to have succeeded. The C. L. P. is no more. Its body disappeared. But for all those interested, including the undertakers Messrs. Palmer, Hoyne et al, it may be said here that its spirit seems to have survived and is re-incarnated in the United Communist Party.

Superior Court of Cook County, Ill., the case was called: the people of the state of Illinois vs. Wm. Bros. Lloyd et al. If the capitalist state had enough decency to throw aside its hypocrisy and cease to speak in the name of the people, the case would properly be called: the capitalists of Illinois against Communism.

Indictments were returned against the following alleged members of the Communist Labor Party: Samuel Ash, Max Bedacht, Chas. Baker, Paul Bern, Ford, Oscar Jesse Brown, Jack Carney, Chas. Clarahan, M. J. Christensen, C. A. Engelken, L. K. England, Mayer Dobrowsky, Edwin Firth, Harry A. Greenwood, Samuel F. Hankin, Robert Horsley, Helen Judd, L. E. Katterfield, Chas. Katz, Niels Kjar, Chas. Krumbain, J. Kunst, Wm. Bros. Lloyd, Edward Lindgren, Ludwig Lore, James A. Meisinger, John Nelson, Robert Norburg, Edgar Owens, Margaret Prevey, Arthur Proctor, John Reed, Clara Roffsky, Karl F. Sandburg, Jack Schiff, Perry Shipman, Alfred Shuster, Morris Stollar, Albert B. Stone, John Vogel, A. Wagenknecht and Walter Wolf.

In court appeared on May 10, the following: Samuel Ash, Max Bedacht, O. J. Brown, Chas. Clarahan, Jack Carney, M. J. Christensen, Meyer Dobrowsky, C. A. Engelken, L. E. England, Edwin Firth, Samuel F. Hankin, Robert Horsley, L. E. Katterfield, Niels Kjar, Chas. Krumbain, Wm. Bros. Lloyd, L. Lore, James A. Meisinger, John Nelson, Edgar Owens, Arthur Proctor, Morris Stollar, Karl F. Sandburg, Perry Shipman, Alfred Shuster and John Vogel.

Chas. Clarahan and C. A. Engelken were granted a separate trial. Margaret Prevey, Helen Judd and Clara Roffsky were not included in the conspiracy charge on trial, 12 of the 31 originally indicted have not been apprehended as yet. Of the 24 remaining, and put to trial on May 10, four were released in the second week of the trial on motion of the prosecution. They were: Meyer Dobrowsky, Robert Horsley, John Nelson and Alfred Shuster.

Mr. Frank Commerford is special prosecutor of the case by appointment. This gentleman once attempted to win fame as a labor lawyer. His ability did not seem to be quite sufficient for such an achievement. So he became a hyper-patriotic authority on Bolshevism. Ability is not required there. Waving the flag and shouting about "our country" will do. In this he will be assisted by Mr. Barnhard and Mr. Heth, two Assistant State Attorneys.

The defense is represented by Mr. Wm. S. Forrest and Mr. Wm. Ounheer for Wm. Bros. Lloyd, and Mr. Clarence Darrow for the rest of the defendants. Eight full weeks were consumed in the selection of a jury. In the course of the examination of the talesmen it developed that the prosecution works upon the theory that everything that is not expressly allowed is forbidden. Thus any change of government must be made by ballot. Those, whose intelligence does not allow them to

### THE "SPY" STORY

(Editorial note: "The Toller" prints the following statement in regard to the charges against Louis C. Fraina, for the information of its readers, without expressing any opinion as to his guilt or innocence.)

The New York Call has found a new way to cover the reactionary character of the Socialist Party. The organization which it supports has become so thoroughly discredited among the workers of the country that it can no longer expect support by presentation of its principles. It has therefore adopted the policy of trying to undermine those organizations which really represent working class principles.

Recently Attorney-General Palmer made a statement before the rules committee of the Senate, defending his department against the accusation that it had planted spies in the Communist parties. In this statement he took up the charge that Louis C. Fraina was an employe of the Department of Justice, stating in answer the facts in regard to an investigation of the charges against Fraina, which was made by representatives of the Soviet Bureau and members of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

In answer to this a statement was made by Santieri Nuorteva, of the Soviet Bureau. A copy of Nuorteva's statement was furnished the "Call" with the understanding that it would print the full statement in the form of a statement and not endeavor to make a news story out of it. In place of keeping the promise the "Call" published a garbled account of the matter, using such portion of the statement by Nuorteva as suited its purpose, and followed this up with an editorial trying to bolster up the Socialist party, by the suggestion that the whole Communist movement was infected by spies and agent provocateurs. In addition to a number of insinuations not based upon facts this editorial contains some outright lies.

Since the investigation made of the charges against Fraina has been given publicity, there is no longer any reason for not stating the facts, which are as follows:

An agent of the Department of Justice named Peterson was assigned the job of spying on the Soviet Bureau. This man endeavored to ingratiate himself with Santieri Nuorteva, secretary to L. C. A. K. Martens and in the

course of conversations with him made the statement that Louis C. Fraina was employed by the Department of Justice.

When, early in December Fraina was directed to leave for Europe by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America to establish connections with the Communist International, he requested the Soviet Bureau to give him credentials which would enable him to enter Russia. These credentials were refused because of the insinuations against Fraina made by the man Peterson.

In order to clear up the matter representatives of the Soviet Bureau and members of the Central Executive Committee made an investigation. A meeting was held at which Fraina was confronted with the Department of Justice agent Peterson. At this hearing Peterson stated that he had seen Fraina in the New York offices of the Department of Justice on three occasions. Two of these dates he fixed definitely, the other he was unable to fix. The two dates so fixed and which he insisted upon as being the correct dates when Fraina was at the Department of Justice in New York, were September 7th and November 15th.

Peterson also stated that he had seen in the files of Department of Justice reports supposedly made by Fraina and cancelled checks covering payments to him. These checks he stated were made

payable to Fraina and were endorsed by him and the checks, after passing through the bank were filed in the file containing Fraina's reports.

Peterson also gave a description of the man he thought was Fraina. When he was brought into the room in which the hearing was held he was asked to state whether he could identify any of the persons present as Fraina, but was unable to do so. (It must be stated here that Fraina's appearance had changed somewhat). During the progress of the investigation Fraina cross-examined Peterson, and after a question or two Peterson stated "You are the man." It must be said however, that the description giving by Peterson of the man he saw in the Department of Justice offices was not a description by which those who have known Fraina during his work in the movement last fall would have recognized him.

During the cross examination of Peterson by those present many dubious points as to his motives and as to the reliability of his story were developed.

When the cross examination was over Fraina made a statement in reply in which he brought out that September 7th was the last day of the Communist Party Convention and that on that date, as could be verified by a score of people, he had been in the

### HUNGER STRIKE FORCES FINNS TO RELEASE REED

SUPERIOR, WIS.—Threatening to go on hunger strike if he is not released from the police prison in Abo, Finland, where he has been confined for a month, John Reed, American journalist, has frightened the Finnish secret service into revoking a trumped-up "treason" charge accusing him of being a Bolshevik courier in order to avoid an international scandal. These facts have come to light through Finnish newspapers just received here.

It will be recalled that Reed was arrested March 13, in the coal bunker of the Finnish steamer, Oihenna, on the charge of smuggling. On April 26, the city court of Abo decided that John Reed "had tried to smuggle out of the country 102 diamonds and money." The court imposed a fine of 5,000 marks and the diamonds were confiscated in the interests of the government. Reed appealed the case. While the state authorities were planning their

treason coup Reed waited in prison. In order to hasten action he retaliated with a threat of refusing to eat. The affair was forcibly brought to the attention of the American authorities in Helsinki who have requested the Finnish authorities to surrender Reed to them.

According to the Finnish authorities Reed is to be deported because he did not have any passport. If he does not leave the country he will be interned in the Hannala prison camp until a further decision is made.

CHICAGO.—Despite the banishing of the Nearing, Danas, Levine and Balches from our collegiate institutions so that the minds of American students may not be "polluted" with radical teachings, the colleges are still turning out 400,000 "reds" a year, according to George Wheeler Hinman of Winnetka, Ill., former publisher of the Inter-Ocean and still more recently president of Marietta college in Ohio.

## PICNIC AND Mass - Meeting

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Editor of the "ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY"  
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# European Imperialism finds Russian Blockade is Boomerang, Says Bek

By Nate L. Welch, Staff Correspondent, The Federated Press.

DETROIT, Mich.—That European imperialism is facing a speedy doom is the forecast of Lieutenant-Colonel B. Roushan Bek, military expert of Soviet Russia in the U. S., now in this city to assist in medical relief work for Russia.

"Poland, Germany, France and England are next in line for the dissolution of the imperialist order and the establishment of soviet rule," said Colonel Bek who has studied the matter from an economic as well as military point of view.

Reviewing recent press despatches with regard to activities of the Polish military forces, he ventured the prophesy, based upon the thorough study of the military map, that "the recent defeat of the Poles will be followed by a real strategic disaster the consequences of which will be a revolution in Poland, and only the establishment of a soviet in Warsaw can stop the Russian advance."

Pointing to the strategic positions held by the Soviet troops on all fronts, he continued: "Russia does not care much for recognition by the government of other countries. She is so strong and so sure today that it doesn't matter whether she is recognized by other governments or not."

That England is now paying the penalty for the blockade which the Lloyd George government undertook against Soviet Russia, was laid down with emphasis by Colonel Bek, when asked how far the blockade was effective in fulfilling the purpose for which it was instituted. "The stupid blockade which was the creation of England harmed England more than it did Russia and Russians know that. The negotiations now reported going on between representatives of the British government and spokesmen for Soviet Russia mean that England capitulates and now tries to obtain the best that she can."

Colonel Bek was then asked to render a brief statement covering the latest developments regarding the military situation in Russia and its effect upon the outworld. He dictated the following:

"According to news from Moscow, naturally altered by the censor in favor of the Poles as for instance in the message dated June 15th, which stated that the Poles, on being forced to evacuate Kiev, have drowned in the Dniester river 800 'reds' and had taken 100,000 prisoners, the cavalry under General Budny in Volinia and Podolia has succeeded in capturing Zhitomir, Korostichev and several places between the Zhitomir and Betechev railway and west of Kiev. "Furthermore, on the river Terev the railway station Borodiansko has

also been captured and at Wasilkov on the Giev-Mobiliev-Podolia railway, several stations southwest of Kiev are in possession of Reds, and in Wasilkov, 25 miles southeast of Kiev, the Poles have been defeated and have fled in disorder to the northwest.

"This means that all of the three strategic railroads which form the means of communication of Kiev with the rear of the Poles has been cut off by the Russians, and it is probable the Poles have not succeeded in escaping as was reported from Warsaw.

"In the center or along the Pripit river in the Moir region, the Russians are holding the Poles, avoiding any decisive movement. This is readily comprehensible for the Russians are accomplishing a strategic encircling movement.

"There is not much news about the Northern front, but from a study of the despatches one can see the Russians energetically pushing the enemy toward Minsk and Volina. It is very likely that both places have passed into the hands of the Russians.

"Looking at the map one realizes that the Poles do not shorten the front as suggested by European military experts, but are fleeing in disorder, without ever thinking of any other front which they cannot create with their demoralized imperialist forces.

"This defeat of the Poles will be followed by a real strategic disaster the consequences of which will be a revolution in Poland; and only the establishment of a Soviet in Warsaw can stop the Russian advance.

"Once established, the German workers will not lose an opportunity to overthrow the Ebert coalition government and join Russia and Poland in a Soviet government.

"France will be next, and those who have been witnessing the happenings in France will agree with me.

"It can now be readily realized why England is hurrying to establish friendly relations with Russia. First, because she is hard pressed in Asia on account of the rapid rise of the influence of Moscow upon the muslims. Second, because she believes that by recognizing the Soviet she can escape the fate of France.

"But in any case the whole endeavor of Lloyd George and his political colleagues will not prevent the establishment of a purely labor government in England.

"It does not matter much whether Russia is recognized or not. Russia is so strong, so sure, she doesn't think or care about recognition. That time is past and nobody will deny that the negotiations in London between the British cabinet and the Bolshevik representatives means that England capitulates and now tries to obtain the best that she can.

"The Russian people fought for independence, got it and will continue to fight for it, knowing it will be victorious in the end."

# THE WHY AND WHEREFORE OF THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA

Special to the Federated Press and Foreign Affairs, Orchard House, Great Smith Street, London.

LONDON.—The war against the Russian people has entered a new phase. But it is the same war, and its purpose is unchanged. It is, of course, true that this effort to overthrow the Russian Socialist State, which under varying forms has persisted ever since Russia came out of the war after Brest Litovsk, is a capitalist war in a complete sense than the Great War of 1914-19 was ever as it is a capitalist war, it has been narrowed down to a war between Russian socialism and French and British capitalism, now in alliance for many obvious reasons. And yet if we try and analyze more closely the motives which lie behind this continued assault, directed from Paris and London, now through another agency, now through another, against the Russian Socialist State, we are driven to the conclusion that they respond to differing inspirations. The fear and hate which grip Paris are the fear and hate of a politically and financially corrupt social order that refuses to assume burdens toward the state which the same order has elsewhere shouldered. Its dread and detestation of Socialism, whatever its brand and whencesoever it may come, are, therefore, proportionately greater than in any other European country. Frontiers are nothing to it. It would seek allies against Socialism anywhere. It is as ready to associate itself with a Von der Goltz as with a Pilsudski. Nowhere in Europe is the Legislature, the Press and public policy so effectively controlled by capitalism as in France.

With us in this country other and incomparably stronger and more subtle forces also come into play. The psychology of power for power's sake is far more developed with us than in France. The will-to-power; the traditions of a long line of imperial rulers; the caste and class monopoly over foreign policy which is the spinal marrow of the national structure; the prodigious growth in the materialism and militarism of Empire war has bred among our ruling classes—it is the psychology these things create which feels itself threatened in its innermost instincts by the Russian Socialist State. It is not difficult to understand why.

**Socialism and Empire.**  
The advent of a great Socialist State in Europe is a solvent of Empire. Empire—the dominion over many national consciences peoples by a single alien people—and Socialism are irreconcilable factors. They are mutually destructive. The imperialists who presently control the British Empire and who contemplate the consequences of the triumphant emergence of a great Socialist State in the geographical position of Russia—half European, half Asiatic—are not thinking in terms of Britain when they seek to prevent such a consummation. They are thinking in terms of the British Empire. And do not let us make the mistake of imagining that we are governed by Mr. Lloyd George. We are governed by the Foreign Office, the India Office, the War Office, the Committee of Imperial Defense the military and naval clubs, and Lord Northcliffe; by the great vested imperial interests which move behind the scenes, whose power is gigantic, and, as yet, barely sensed by Labor. For the nonce Mr. Winston Churchill is their agent, far more than Mr. Lloyd George. And he is very able, entirely unscrupulous, well in with the Court; dangerously so—for the Court, in the long last.

British capital has nothing to fear from the growth to adolescence of a Russian Socialist State. The mineral and timber resources of Russia are within its exploiting capacity for the asking. "Give me peace," says Lenin—in effect, "and you can come here and develop the country. I will give you concessions. You shall work them. You shall profit by them." Why does it not govern policy here? Peace with Russia, and on Lenin's repeatedly professed terms, opens an unlimited field for the fruitful investment of British capital. But if British Capital has nothing to fear, British imperialism has everything to fear from the survival of Soviet Russia.

Read carefully the debate in the Lords on May 5 last on the relations between the Committee of Imperial Defense and the land, sea, and air forces of the Crown. Observe the exchange of views between the noble Lords participating—Haldane, Crews, Stanhope, Curzon: an urbane difference on points of detail, a common mentality of policy, the objectives of the British Imperial State. Mark the tenor of these electionary courtesies. See how they are permeated by the same spirit which Sir Henry Wilson, the soldier, expresses more bluntly. Note their outlook, the outlook of imperial tradition, whose one pre-occupation is that of fashioning such military and naval weapons as shall surround this new growth of empire with triple walls of steel. No loophole here for a gradual transformation of the character of Empire in the direction of those unnumbered pledges with which the orations of our public men are studied. "Our" Empire, "our" possession; to be jealously so regarded. No room in these calculations for the gradual emancipation from alien tutelage of progressively conscious peoples. "If ever there was a time when the work of the Staff mind was necessary.... it is today." "Who can tell when the sky will become cloudy?" Thus Lord Haldane, who quotes with unreserved approval the doctrine of war as "both a science and an art." "The greatest of the arts, indeed!" "Two thirds of the War Staff of the Navy, is, or ought to be, work done in

peace time," he goes on. War is visualized in the recesses of that penetrating and intriguing brain as a permanent institution functioning continuously. The War Cabinet, declares Lord Trevelyan, must form "a permanent part of our organization." "Our armed preparedness," must continue, "in spite of Leagues of Nations or Treaties, or anything else." Precisely. As a solvent of Empire, a real League of Nations is only one degree less dangerous than a Russian Socialist State. For the principles embodied in the Covenant are incompatible with the continued subjugation of politically conscious alien peoples. That is why the British imperial mind is fundamentally hostile to the creation of a real League of Nations, and has always been. What an interesting study is that mind in its rare moments of expansion—as when Lord Curzon boasts, speaking of the war, that: "The actual degree to which we were prepared for all the developments that ensued, was in excess of that even of the most able and scientific of our foes." (Compare with the declaration of our unreadiness put up by Mr. Lloyd George for the benefit of an ignorant public!) Get behind this flow of dignified orator. The smooth talk centres wholly round imperial responsibilities, the next war, the engines wherewithal to wage it—"the modern long range gun which is even now being considered." Do we possess, asks Lord Stanhope, "a body which is capable of co-ordinating our policy and our armaments,"—that is the question. What of the "new bases" for our Fleet? The present ones are not those "we shall use in a future war," the strength of the world having been nations of the world having been "entirely altered for our new foe, and prepare our 'imperial defense' against him? America! Japan! Socialist Russia! Our imperialists need one. Our command of the sea, land and air, impels one.

**Why a Socialist Russia is anathema.**  
To this type of mind—and it is the mind which presides over our national destinies today—a Socialist Russia straddling across Eastern Europe into western and northern Asia, with its pestilent doctrines of self-determination, its educational revolutions, its precepts of human quality, its war against imperialism which keeps that institution alive, is anathema. The determination to stamp upon it as all costs is as implacable as that other determination, expressed by Lord Birkbeck the other day, to exhaust the military resources of the Empire rather than give away one jot or tittle to Ireland's claims. We may yet see Gurkhas in Dublin and Cork. Why not? Our Ally has Negroes at Mayence and Wiesbaden. That is the spirit which drives Poland to suicide in another desperate attempt to overthrow Socialist Russia, and fills the hatches of the "Jolly George" with munitions for Warsaw.

Then consider the affront given by Socialist Russia to the most cherished privileges and preserves of the British ruling class, embodied in the Foreign Office. The shrewdest blow ever struck at Secret Diplomacy—without which a militarist imperialism could not function—was delivered when Lenin and Trotsky published the Secret Treaties. The offense is as unforgivable as the revelation it occasioned was unprecedented. The leaven of that revelation still works and will go on working. A socialist State whose diplomatic relations with other States are open, is a perpetual menace to imperialist States—a fortiori to the greatest of them all. The discredit into which Western diplomacy has fallen as the result of Lenin and Trotsky's action is so profound; the dangers to be apprehended from the future are so enormous for the existing Order that the Russian wreckers of the occult power which rules the peoples' lives must be broken.

These are some of the reasons why the struggle against Socialist Russia, although it has all the appearance of a fight between Capitalism and Socialism, is, while including this, something far bigger. French capitalism may feel itself menaced. But British imperialism, of the Roman type knows its very existence is at stake.

twelve men who are not consciously or unconsciously blind tools of the forces of capital who thru their tools conduct the prosecution in the name of the people.  
At this moment it seems certain that the selection of the jury will be completed within a very short time, as night sessions were recently instituted for the purpose of expediting the selection of the jury. Then the stage will be set and the performance will begin.

**MILWAUKEE—Ole Hanson's** appearance here under the auspices of the L. M. C. A. was mere camouflage—his coast to coast "Americanization" tour is really being financed by Big Biz. Confidential information received by Milwaukee leader has been to the effect that his appearance in Milwaukee was financed either by the United States Chamber of Commerce or by the American Constitutional league, a so-called "patriotic" organization engaged in fighting the working class movement of this city. The Y. M. C. A. merely had to play host to the ex-mayor in return for past favors.

Frank R. Bacon, head of the American Constitutional league, when confronted with the confidential information, admitted that he had from the beginning been under the impression that Hanson was being toured by the United States Chamber of Commerce.

The heart of the British Empire beats in Asia—I speak, not of the Commonwealth, but of the Empire. Russia is not only half Asiatic. She has been in contact with Asia for centuries. She has permeated Asia as no other people established in Europe has done. The Russian mind pictures how to read the Asiatic mind. Picture Russia, a Socialist State, freed from her external foes, flanked by a series of racially akin or political allies—sometimes both—less States not in Europe only but in Asia, States enjoying full autonomy, permeated with Socialist ideas and precepts and practices radiating from a centre where education and science have been elevated into fine arts, where the treasures of knowledge, the accumulated learning of the ages are thrown open to all, made acceptable to the humblest citizen. Picture Russia thus—then look at India, Persia, Afghanistan, Burma, under present conditions. Need you ask why British imperialism shrinks at the prospect, and fears; fears unutterably as it scans the future?

**The claim to "command" the Universe**  
The more so as our imperialism today is an imperialism, whose unyielding and intolerant side the very magnitude of its success in the war has tended to accentuate—partly through the intoxication of victory, partly through alarm arising out of the imminence of the added gains secured. It has become a militarist imperialism as it never was before. It has swung round violently to the old Roman conception of Empire. Read that speech of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson the other day at the Union Jack Club. "Except in August, 1914," he informed his soldier listeners—our country and our Empire have never wanted you more." Why? He told them in the next sentence. Because, "our command on sea, on land, and in the air is being challenged in various parts of the world." Our command, Note the word. We were horrified at the schemes of world confederation attributed to the Germans during the war. Today we lay claim to command the sea, the land, the air—in short, the universe. By what right? This speech is typical of the spirit which impels our real rulers along the Roman way—to hold down Ireland by main force; to dragon Egypt. It makes possible an unpunished Armistice; an attempted absorption of Persia under the usual hypocritical devices; and ever extending extension of liabilities in Mesopotamia, in Palestine, at Constantinople, in tropical Africa. It is that spirit which sees in the ideas which Socialist Russia represents, a deadly foe; not without warrant.

**The Lords debate.**  
Read carefully the debate in the Lords on May 5 last on the relations between the Committee of Imperial Defense and the land, sea, and air forces of the Crown. Observe the exchange of views between the noble Lords participating—Haldane, Crews, Stanhope, Curzon: an urbane difference on points of detail, a common mentality of policy, the objectives of the British Imperial State. Mark the tenor of these electionary courtesies. See how they are permeated by the same spirit which Sir Henry Wilson, the soldier, expresses more bluntly. Note their outlook, the outlook of imperial tradition, whose one pre-occupation is that of fashioning such military and naval weapons as shall surround this new growth of empire with triple walls of steel. No loophole here for a gradual transformation of the character of Empire in the direction of those unnumbered pledges with which the orations of our public men are studied. "Our" Empire, "our" possession; to be jealously so regarded. No room in these calculations for the gradual emancipation from alien tutelage of progressively conscious peoples. "If ever there was a time when the work of the Staff mind was necessary.... it is today." "Who can tell when the sky will become cloudy?" Thus Lord Haldane, who quotes with unreserved approval the doctrine of war as "both a science and an art." "The greatest of the arts, indeed!" "Two thirds of the War Staff of the Navy, is, or ought to be, work done in

peace time," he goes on. War is visualized in the recesses of that penetrating and intriguing brain as a permanent institution functioning continuously. The War Cabinet, declares Lord Trevelyan, must form "a permanent part of our organization." "Our armed preparedness," must continue, "in spite of Leagues of Nations or Treaties, or anything else." Precisely. As a solvent of Empire, a real League of Nations is only one degree less dangerous than a Russian Socialist State. For the principles embodied in the Covenant are incompatible with the continued subjugation of politically conscious alien peoples. That is why the British imperial mind is fundamentally hostile to the creation of a real League of Nations, and has always been. What an interesting study is that mind in its rare moments of expansion—as when Lord Curzon boasts, speaking of the war, that: "The actual degree to which we were prepared for all the developments that ensued, was in excess of that even of the most able and scientific of our foes." (Compare with the declaration of our unreadiness put up by Mr. Lloyd George for the benefit of an ignorant public!) Get behind this flow of dignified orator. The smooth talk centres wholly round imperial responsibilities, the next war, the engines wherewithal to wage it—"the modern long range gun which is even now being considered." Do we possess, asks Lord Stanhope, "a body which is capable of co-ordinating our policy and our armaments,"—that is the question. What of the "new bases" for our Fleet? The present ones are not those "we shall use in a future war," the strength of the world having been nations of the world having been "entirely altered for our new foe, and prepare our 'imperial defense' against him? America! Japan! Socialist Russia! Our imperialists need one. Our command of the sea, land and air, impels one.

**Why a Socialist Russia is anathema.**  
To this type of mind—and it is the mind which presides over our national destinies today—a Socialist Russia straddling across Eastern Europe into western and northern Asia, with its pestilent doctrines of self-determination, its educational revolutions, its precepts of human quality, its war against imperialism which keeps that institution alive, is anathema. The determination to stamp upon it as all costs is as implacable as that other determination, expressed by Lord Birkbeck the other day, to exhaust the military resources of the Empire rather than give away one jot or tittle to Ireland's claims. We may yet see Gurkhas in Dublin and Cork. Why not? Our Ally has Negroes at Mayence and Wiesbaden. That is the spirit which drives Poland to suicide in another desperate attempt to overthrow Socialist Russia, and fills the hatches of the "Jolly George" with munitions for Warsaw.

Then consider the affront given by Socialist Russia to the most cherished privileges and preserves of the British ruling class, embodied in the Foreign Office. The shrewdest blow ever struck at Secret Diplomacy—without which a militarist imperialism could not function—was delivered when Lenin and Trotsky published the Secret Treaties. The offense is as unforgivable as the revelation it occasioned was unprecedented. The leaven of that revelation still works and will go on working. A socialist State whose diplomatic relations with other States are open, is a perpetual menace to imperialist States—a fortiori to the greatest of them all. The discredit into which Western diplomacy has fallen as the result of Lenin and Trotsky's action is so profound; the dangers to be apprehended from the future are so enormous for the existing Order that the Russian wreckers of the occult power which rules the peoples' lives must be broken.

These are some of the reasons why the struggle against Socialist Russia, although it has all the appearance of a fight between Capitalism and Socialism, is, while including this, something far bigger. French capitalism may feel itself menaced. But British imperialism, of the Roman type knows its very existence is at stake.

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# The Black Sheep.

Chapter XXXVII.  
Decision.

It was just as Collins had expected. Olive's reply to Jack's note was at the post office. And the next few days the big man busied himself with watching the boy for possible mental reactions, as a result of this new influence in his life. The reactions were not slow in coming. He answered Olive's letter the next day, keeping the nature of his reply strictly to himself. He, however, entered more whole heartedly into the discussion continually going on between Collins and Rudolph as the best plans for getting the masses of the working people into their favorite form of industrial unionism. The nucleus of that organization had already been formed. The Socialist Party was already in existence since the year 1900. The labor troubles that had originated in Cripple Creek, Colorado, during the year 1893 consequent upon the demonization of silver and the consequent influx of silver miners into the gold fields had culminated in a series of atrocities and crimes committed on both sides, apparently culminating in the murder of Governor Stuenenberg of Idaho, during the winter of 1905-6.

All these phenomena were interpreted by Collins and Rudolph that the time was ripe for matching the great aggregates of capital with equally great aggregates of industrially organized workers. Both Collins and Rudolph believed with Lowell that the time was ripe and rotten ripe for change, and with him they were by the instincts of mankind. But Jack pointed out that they were relying upon their own instincts, instead of the instincts of mankind. "Black Sheep don't constitute the flock," said he.

It was during these days, that a storm of news was brought with every mail, from the battle lines of the class struggle, and with it, Jack's argument had less weight with his companions. To them "Industrial Unionism" was the form of organization inevitable, the path to the redemption of labor and to the resurrection of mankind. The fact upon which Jack had based his argument that the vast mass of the working class was unteachable, unorganizable, and unsaveable, was losing weight with his companions, if ever it had any. They took the position that the workers had to be taught, had to be organized, and that then, they would save themselves. Had they been able to project their minds into the future, fifteen or twenty years and then looked back, they would have seen how substantially true, for the human race, were the boy's deductions from almost purely biological data.

Jack maintained, that there was only one thing that would ever bring the mass into action, and that thing was not oratory, but pressure. "Under the pressure of necessity," said he, "the masses will be stamped into action and whether that action will be wise or foolish will depend entirely on circumstances."

But Rudolph and Collins contended that the pressure was upon them now; that millions of unemployed, and the rest working for pitiable wages, and child slavery, and white slavery, were crying in for good measure the masses of the people were dissatisfied with the present order and ready and eager to take the step toward Socialism or Industrialism if it were only properly presented to them, but on this point Jack remained skeptical.

"As long as the masses have bread or even a substantial majority of them have a fair chance to get it, they will take no chances with a new order of society. You must throw a kid into deep water if you would teach him to swim."

While it was true, that Jack was still pessimistic and skeptical on the subject of immediate organization for revolutionary action, on the part of any appreciable number of the working class, he did realize that there were immediate advantages that could be reaped by those who did organize. As has been pointed out the organization has already been formed. It had even shown the beginnings of strength in the harvest fields the year before. The members were spreading their message from the soap box and through papers, to the migratory workers in many parts of the country. Locals were being organized in different camps, and headquarters in different cities. There were reports of activity from Canada and Mexico, which gave it the character of an international movement. Similar organizations were heard from in Italy, France, England, Australia and other parts of the world. These things looked big to Collins and Rudolph, to them it was the forming of a battle line for the final conflict, and cannot be said that it did not impress Jack. "The black sheep were bleating the world over," said he.

On the other hand they watched the belligerent attitude of capitalism. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone had been kidnapped from Colorado and illegally brought to Boise where they were to be tried for the murder of Governor Stuenenberg, and other impossible crime. The civil, and militia powers, were ruthlessly brought into action. Labor had no right which capital was bound to respect. And by parity of reasoning, these men came to the conclusion that capital could have no rights that labor was bound to respect. True to the law of compensation, injustice will beget injustice, violence will beget violence, even a worm will turn.

"Years of oppression," argued Collins, have made the workers desperate, and their experience in organization has given them a sense of strength. Ever since the year 1893 when John Calderwood was president of the Western Federation of Miners, this vast organization of laborers in the west has had a continual battle with the political and financial powers that own the natural resources in these regions. Labor has had only one true friend in the Governor's chair of a single state from that time till now. He was Governor Waite, of Colorado in the year 1894. He protected the workers, and used the state

militia, to defend their rights." "Yes, and the very men whom he protected in that manner only gave him two hundred and fifty votes for an entire district, when he stood for re-election." Jack interrupted.

"How in hell did you find that out?" Collins asked in surprise. "I heard the story when I was at Mullen, and I think I understand the cause of that first Cripple Creek strike in 1894, as well as this later one that caused the arrest of Moyer and his pals. It had happened when the superintendent of the victor mine wanted to raise the working time of the miners to nine hours, and reduced their wages from three dollars to two and a half per day. Locke, the superintendent, thought, that with the influx of men from the silver mines into the gold camps, and the influx of untrained labor he could put it across, but the miners were organized and gave him his hat, and they didn't even tell him not to be in a hurry. It was then that capital organized posers to terrorize the miners, and the battle of Wilbur was the result. Here four hundred deputy sheriffs fought with the miners and several men were killed on each side. Sheriff Bowers, now organized twelve hundred men and descended upon the miners and would have doubtlessly inflicted serious trouble if he had been allowed to go ahead, for he had with him some of the most degenerate cut throats, that were ever turned loose by an indolent Providence.

For instance they tell us of a man by the name of K. C. Sterling, a detective, who shot and killed a handcuffed man, simply because he tried to warm himself at a fire in a tent. Governor Waite, who by the way, was a populist, sent the militia, not as usual to terrorize the miners, or to molest their wives and children, but to round up the deputies and disarm them, and to grant the strikers their demands of three dollars for eight hours work. Out side of that one instance, I can not recall any case where political power has not absolutely prostituted itself to the money bags. The one thing that has caused me to doubt more than all others the possibility of saving the working class from slavery is the fact that after Governor Waite had proven himself and his friend of Labor, Labor voted him down, because capital threatened to close the mines in case he were re-elected."

"The Bible tells us that an 'ass knoweth the crib of its master,' and labor feels dependent on capital for a job."

"But what about the battle of Wilbur?" Rudolph interjected, "didn't that show that labor had spirit. Didn't that show that they would fight for their rights in an organized and definite way?"

"Yes, they were nearly all Swedes and Irish. Northern blonde slaves in which a few degenerate instincts of liberty still survived. That is why capitalism drove them out of the country, and finally replaced them with darker and more docile breeds."

"Oh, for Christ sake forget it," roared Collins. "You're a monomaniac on that stuff. I am surprised at one thing that you have gathered so many data on this matter. I am glad to hear that you have a correct concept of the beginning of this trouble in the west, for it is going to ultimately industrialize the Western Federation of Miners. And then," he said triumphantly, "capital had better catch up. Turning to Jack he asked, 'Have you any more dope on the development of the W. F. of M.?'

"Yes, I had some. Most of it was on the reverse side of those notes you sent away." Jack answered laconically.

Thus the trio argued and planned and dreamed at their fire side, and all the while the letters which came to them from all parts of the country fanned the Moyer-Haywood and Pettibone were in jail for the Cause of Labor. Debs was touring the country in their behalf. The 'Appeal to Reason' waged a valiant warfare. "If you kill Bill Haywood, a million tollers will take up the banner of labor at his grave and carry it to victory!" These words had not yet been spoken, but their import was in the air. The papers were full of announcements of mass meetings, protests and demonstrations. All this electrified Rudolph and Collins and caused them to begin laying their plans for breaking camp early and go on the job, to help the good work along. As the news of the labor war became hotter and the 'Appeal to Reason' was regular visitors to the cabin, Jack too, followed his biology and natural history and followed the tides of the class conflict. Meanwhile the arrival of the second letter from Olive Anderson. She too was following the struggle in the pages of the 'Appeal'.

How she ever came in possession of that paper is not known. In fact a great many of its readers never knew how it happened to come to them.

"But it was evident that she studied the events closely in all their details. She expressed surprise that at such a time as this Jack should be hidden in the woods, when the whole world needed the message he was able to bring.

She did not realize that the boy whom she had met, was only mentally and not spiritually converted to the great cause. It was she that had that conversion never came, but to her it came and took hold long before she had an intimate understanding of what this world movement meant.

The boy felt a sense of guilt surge thru him when he read her criticism. He saw clearly that the fire had taken hold of her soul. "I am going back to the mines," said he, "and see what can be done with those slaves—what shall we do with our books?"

"Oh, when we leave we will take all the truck over to Hahnenkratt and leave it with him," said Rudolph.

"But why this sudden decision to get busy? Have you already forgotten what happened to you on your last trip?"

"We are not so... I'm missing anything" (Continued on page 4.)

# Medical Relief for Soviet Russia

Brooklyn, N. Y. June 1 1920  
Treasurer's Financial Statement  
April-May, 1920  
as of May 31, 1920.

**RECEIPTS—**  
Contributions..... \$1,776.37  
Net proceeds from Mass Meeting,  
May 22, 1920..... 177.42  
(Central Opera House)

\$1,953.79  
**EXPENDITURES—**  
Printing of Circulars..... \$230.50  
Postage, Stationery, Miscel-  
laneous..... 142.32  
Clerical Help..... 97.50  
Medical Supplies..... 1,000.00  
\$1,470.32  
Balance..... \$483.47  
Note First payment advanced for  
Medical Supplies, May 27, 1920.

**NOTE—**  
Since the first of June, another payment of \$1,000 has been advanced for the purchase of medical supplies.  
June 10, 1920.  
Dr. WM. MENDELSON.

**STATEMENT BY THE RAILROAD "VACATIONISTS" OF CAMBRIDGE, OHIO.**

As there has so much misinformation handed out in regard to the Railroad situation, we the (so called) Outlaws take this means and opportunity to enlighten the public. There are approximately one-million men out on vacation; about six-hundred-thousand of these men are now members of the Chicago Yardmen's Association.

The following are just a few of the many cities where the men are out from 70% to 100%. These are taken at random from our reports. Cambridge, O., Youngstown, O., Cincinnati, O., Columbus, O., Chicago, Ill., Pittsfield, Pa., Conway, Pa., Canton, O., Terre Haute, Ind., Salt Lake City, Utah, Holloway, O., San Francisco, Calif., Detroit, Mich., Baltimore, Md., Indianapolis, Ind., Gary, Ind., Minneapolis, Minn., Omaha, Neb., Wichita Falls, Kan., Wellsville, O., Parkersburg, W. Va., Cleveland, O., Toledo, O., Dayton, O., and Philadelphia, Pa. Kansas City, East St. Louis, Dupo, St. Louis and the whole Mississippi Valley are out 100%. The separation of the Laboring men into classes and Craft Unions has been what has defeated every move undertaken for the advancement of the Labor interests since the foundation of the Labor Union movement, as when one Union went out, they always have other Scab Unions to finish the job.

We have paid our Grand (?) Lodge Officers from \$6,000 to \$24,000 per year, while we who have worked hard for our daily bread have made about \$1,200 per year. If any one disputes this assertion come to us, and we will

# A LETTER OF THANKS FROM MARTENS.

Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee,  
Dr. William Mendelson, Treasurer,  
362 DEKalb Avenue,  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

My dear Mendelson:  
I have received your letter of May 27th together with your checks for two thousand dollars to be applied to the purchase of medical supplies to be shipped to Soviet Russia at the earliest possible time. I beg you to accept my warmest thanks for this contribution and I assure you and all those warm-hearted American men and women who have made the contribution possible that it will be deeply appreciated by our people in Russia. We managed to procure a considerable amount of medicines which are now being shipped to Russia and we are collecting another shipment of the same kind. Your contribution will be in whole expended for such supplies without any deduction for freight or any other expenses.

Again thanking you and all the members of your Society for your kind interest in the relief work for Russia, I remain,

Sincerely yours,  
(signed) L. MARTENS,  
Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

# Eight Weeks to Secure Jury

(Continued from page 1-st.)

believe in the efficiency of the ballot, after they learn that half of the people do not have the right to vote and the votes of the other half is negated by the ballot education by the staff of ballot boxes, by fraud, by ousting of elected officials, etc., all these are liable to imprisonment under the law of the State of Illinois. Mr. Comerford believes in the right of free speech. His belief in it is so thorough that he challenged for cause a salesman who said that he believed in free speech. Another salesman was challenged because he believed in the referendum. Still another was challenged because he believed in the constitution and particularly in the first amendment. Mr. Comerford states, that the state insists upon the right of the workers to strike, but he insists also on sending the defendants to the penitentiary because they have according to the true bill returned against them, advocated the use of strikes against the state.

But one re-assuring fact has been learned during these long six weeks: Every American has a right to think whatever he pleases. Mr. Comerford says so. So we may take it for granted that the state is not in possession of a machine yet which registers the thoughts of the citizens, so the Comerforders may get a chance to prosecute them even for what they think.

So let us at last do some thinking. The general impression of the selection of the jury in a case where ideas are on trial is that the jury, in order to satisfy the prosecution, must be composed either of ignoramuses or liars. The high type of Americans that are able to pass the vigilant watch of the prosecution are the ones that answer the questions put to them as

follows: Are you a Socialist or Communist? No. Do you know something about Socialism or Communism? No. Have you ever read something about Socialism or Communism? No. So you do not know what Socialism or Communism mean? No. Have you any prejudice against Socialism or Communism (about which they just confessed utter ignorance)? (emphatically) YES! Then these shining lights of social science are instructed that they may have all the prejudices their narrow mind may embrace as long as they solemnly swear that they will lay them aside and promise to base their judgement upon the evidence only. Opinions and prejudices of court officers must be very convenient matters if for certain purposes they can be laid aside like a dirty shirt!

But here we are wrong again. These defendants are not on trial because they are Communists. They are on trial, if we may believe Mr. Comerford, because they advocated the overthrow of "our" government "by force, violence or other unlawful means." So if a man is prejudiced against Communism he may still be able to impartially decide whether these defendants did want to overthrow "our" dear old government by force etc. Now this assertion of the prosecution is preposterous. But why argue? This trial is part of the class struggle. Capitalism is trying to defend itself thru its courts. And the revolutionary working class can expect just as much justice from a capitalist court as it can expect consideration from a capitalist legislature. Its the Sweets here and the Sweets there. And the workers get it in the neck here and get it in the neck there. The defense is not a legal battle for justice but a chance game in which the odds are nine tenths against the defendants. There is just a slight chance that there may be found

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show you a conductor who has been in the service twenty-six years, and who two years ago made a total of \$1,285 for a years work. We claim that the railroad workers are the poorest paid class of organized labor in the world today, and we can prove it.

Any Employee of a Railroad, Male or Female, White or Black, can now join the Chicago Yardmen's Association.

One of the Outlaws  
REV. FRANK NORTL

# The Toiler

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Entered as Second Class Matter, under the name of The Ohio Socialist, February 21, 1917, at the Post Office at Cleveland, O., Under Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITOR ..... Elmer T. Allison

Published weekly by the Toiler Publishing Association Telephone: Harvard 3639.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, JULY 2nd, 1920.

## Propaganda -- Words, Deeds

While the capitalist propaganda against Russia seems to be weakening in some quarters, due largely to the necessities of commercialism, other quarters are as virulent as ever in their denunciations of bolshevism. Russia, it is claimed is seeking to propagandize the world with the ideas of bolshevism; it is establishing centers of propaganda in all parts, attempting to stir up the masses against the masters of bread thru the means of agitators and literature. At least one enterprising capitalist daily asserts thru its European reporter that schools are maintained in Russia which are turning out graduates whose special field is the labor movements of other countries outside Russia; underground routes are established whereby red literature, fresh from the centers of the revolution and proclaytes as well, make their way out of Russia and henceforth over all the world, scattering the virus of discontent and bolshevism broadcast, such is the claim.

Granting that all this is true, the conviction must be borne in upon one that the governments of the great capitalist countries of the world must be settled upon very shaky foundations indeed, if by such methods of propaganda they can be made to totter and fall. The capitalist world appears to have a tremendous fear of a few manifestos and declarations that it should shudder so at their appearance.

If capitalism is the blessing which our masters claim it is, they owe to the world a serious duty. They should at once establish a universal anti-bolshevik publicity covering its every phase and angle. Of course we know that some plans have been worked out somewhat to that end. The church, school and public press are ever active in the work of propagandizing capitalism. But their work is often course and very ineffective. It lacks system and depth. It is far too shallow, too general in character. It should be more specific.

Take for instance the question of wage payment of labor versus payment according to the full social value of labor's product. Capitalism should take up this question in a clear cut manner and set about at once to prove that the worker is far better off with about half his earnings than he would be with all of it. The question of houses should also be looked carefully into. It should be seen to that the workers are at once convinced that they are better off living in rotten, rented shacks in congested cities than in real houses surrounded with grass, shade trees fresh air and sunlight. A short trial of this kind by way of example would be the best mode of convincing all doubtful tenement dwellers of our city slums.

The conditions of employment and control of the means of life should be gone into thoroughly. The landless serfs of all countries should be shown how tremendously better off they are in having their products taken from them in the form of rent than they would be by tilling the soil and keeping the product as their own, with no fear of losing that right. The industrial workers should be convinced once for all that they are infinitely better off under a system whereby the control of their right to work is in the hands of the private owners of industrial machines than it would be under the control of the workers themselves. It should be brought to their minds how full of good things their lives are, how secure from the fear of want and lack of work they are; with what ease of mind they pass to and fro about the earth with never a gnawing agony of uncertainty. Innumerable circumstances of the workers lives might be mentioned here which the capitalist class might thus propagandize to their benefit and the undoing of bolshevism.

What the capitalist class is up against is facts. And the one big fact, bigger than all others together, is the fact of Russia under Soviet rule. Compared to the propaganda value of Russia, considered as a fact, there is more in it than in all the literature turned out of the bolshevik press in a year. Soviet Russia IS. If never a leaflet came out of Russia that one fact alone, would be enough to give capitalism a mortal scare. And as long as the fact of Russia exists capitalism is certain to be afflicted with chills and fever and it last collapse.

The thing which capitalism is up against is the existence in fact of two competing systems—capitalism, decaying, capitalism, and Socialism, the advent of workers' control, filled with youth and fire, sure of its victory. The world is choosing between the dying and the becoming. The propaganda of the deeds of Socialism is conquering.

## The Pope Be Damned

Pope Benedict wrote a letter the other day to one of his pals in graft, Cardinal LaFontaine at Venice. The Pope seems to have opened up quite a bit upon the "agitator" in this epistle. Naturally enough, the Pope is against all agitation that threatens his own power and the class of parasites whom he represents here on this earth. The Pope well knows that unless a method is found whereby to stop the prevalent unrest in the world's industries, the whole capitalist class is doomed and with it grafting, the hypocritical so-called Christian church.

The Pope knows all this, would that the workers realized its truth as clearly as he. Knowing it, he is zealous that the wool be kept well over the eyes of the workers and they be lulled to sleep with the anaesthetic of such religious dope as is administered by Popes, preachers, priests and the rest of the sky steering fraternity.

The Pope is dreadfully opposed to "class hatred" and "violence." That is, he is opposed to the working class becoming imbued with any such sentiments—it might go very badly with the class of loafers for whom the Pope speaks if the workers got too restless—hence his admonitions against class hatred. We quote a paragraph from the news article dealing with this latest manifestation of the Pope's desire for justice to the workers.

"Only the church can effectively deal with present day evils with justice," the letter said. It further invited the wealthy to give liberally and not more in accordance with the spirit of equity than cold justice. He also said that labor should not make unjust demands at the present time."

Black reaction was never more clearly depicted than in this first sentence. Roger W. Babson, speaking of the power of the capitalist class, says,

# EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

"we have the schools we have the pulpit." And he did not distinguish between the protestant and the catholic pulpits either. The church indeed, will give justice to the workers. Its sole purpose is to keep intact the present capitalist system of slaves and masters, of robbed and robbers. It is the tool of the master class to make more servient those whom it exploits—all in the name of Jesus, a carpenter agitator of Nazareth.

The Pope invites the wealthy to give liberally and to assume a spirit of equity toward the workers. The Pope knows well how to safeguard the interests of the bourgeoisie, even better than they themselves—but then that is what he is paid for. What he says to the bourgeois in effect, is this: The proletariat is getting sore. It thinks that it isn't getting a fair divvy. Of course it is, your justice cannot be questioned, but at the same time, it is better to assume the role of benefactor by charitable acts which may satisfy the mob than to ignore its protest and allow it to come to a head. I advise you to scatter a few shekels among the multitude and thus quiet their ravings. This will keep your graft intact from any assault on the part of the mob."

This is a pretty cheap method to win by. Considering that the gifts of the bourgeoisie represent the blood stained products which have been withheld from the workers, it is about the cheapest method we know of to prop up the decaying system. Giving to the worker as "charity" a measley portion of what he has been robbed of is perfectly in keeping with the general hypocritical policy of the church. It is logical advice from an institution as rotten as is that thru which the Pope functions.

The letter concludes with an admonition to the workers to remain faithful to the church and forbids the clergy participating in labor agitation. To this we wish to answer that if the workers remain faithful to the church—which they won't—they won't have any problems to solve, or any thing else. And if the clergy are to ignore the labor problems how is the church to solve "effectively" these same labor problems?

But who in hell is paying any attention to a Pope any way?

## Moral Victories of Sovietism

While the capitalist press continues to prophesy the day after to-morrow fall of the Russian Soviet government and to belittle such physical victories as it has been able to gain against its counter-revolutionary enemies and the hypocritical "democratic" Allies no cause in the world today has to its credit such a list of moral victories as has Sovietism.

The interdiction of freedom is in itself a moral victory of great portent and force. Herein the law of compensation operates with signal success. The loss in advantage gained thru actual participation in freedom of action is at least equalled in the moral force gathered because of this interdiction.

The Soviet Constitution was not allowed publication in England. But the moral force of Sovietism grew until the dock workers responded with a refusal to load the "Jolly George" with munitions with which to kill bolsheviks. Freedom of speech, assembly and the press are always opposed by privileged ruling classes. Such opposition and refusal has always kindled the fires of revolt and lent to such revolts a moral and righteous force which has aided in firing the cause with the flames of intense, even religious fervency.

Thruout the capitalist world the opposition to Sovietism is paramount. State, Church and School are united against it, all the forces which capitalism can muster have been and are now being brought into play against the principles and ideas which Sovietism has laid down for the salvation of the workers. Its literature has been burned and destroyed, its adherents jailed, tortured and murdered. These persecutions have but added to the ranks of the adherents of Sovietism. A million inquiries about Sovietism are now asked where none were asked before and are to be calculated among the moral gains of Sovietism. Prosecution and denial consume themselves.

These moral victories of Sovietism are forming a basis for greater physical victories and thus in the end will denial of human liberty be defeated.

## EMMA GOLDMAN AND THE SOVIETS

By Mary E. Marcy

From more than one source it has reached our ears that Emma Goldman is not at all satisfied with Soviet Russia and that she yearns for the good old days in America before the war when bereft society ladies derived a thrill from hearing her discuss sex problems and advocate "Free love" with the lid off. In those affluent times a lady who disliked to soil her hands with the drudgery of honest toil could always be assured of a group of gushing satellites who were willing to pay for the privilege of being entertained.

We knew perfectly well when Emma was deported to Russia that she was not going to like it there. For she never did understand the laws underlying historical progress, nor the economic structure of society, nor the evolutionary trend of society. And she had about as much real use for the working class as John D. Rockefeller or Judge Gary.

She does not understand what has happened during the past five years nor what is transpiring in the world today. She does not really want a workers' revolution, and she says that industrial communism is tyranny. The conditions of everybody are too leveled up, as it were. In fact, after seeing Soviet Russia during war-time, when the Russian people are compelled to sacrifice personal comfort and leisure and the Arts, in order to protect themselves from the armies of the capitalist countries of the whole world, her thoughts turn back longingly to the "good old days" that are never coming back, anywhere, anymore.

Emma Goldman does not know that we have had ANARCHY in production for the past seventy-five years and that all the conditions of hunger, war, despair, failures of the credit system, financial disasters are but the full fruits and blossoms of the sort of thing she prefers to Communism.

For many years in all the modern anarchistic, or capitalistic, countries we have had production begin and production cease solely at the dictation of a few owners of industry whose

only thought was, NOT of the needs of society, but of whether industry yielded a sufficient quota of profits for their own personal appropriation. Shops opened and closed; railroads were built and operated or were permitted to fall into disuse, solely on the basis of whether or not they yielded sufficient profits to the capitalists.

And this anarchy in industry, in production and distribution, brought about the great war; killed off ten million young men and maimed ten million more; ravaged whole nations, and it is this anarchy, planlessness, individualism—run—mad that is to-day causing the collapse of the world's credit system; causing inflation and rising prices, that is choking off industry. It is anarchy or capitalism which is to-day unwillingly digging its own grave, destroying the foundation of the existing system and making revolution as inevitable as the stars in their courses.

It was anarchy in production and distribution and in finance that caused the collapse of the Czar's regime and that is causing the disintegration of the civilized world to-day—unbridled, capitalist anarchy.

But Emma does not know that industry and production are anarchistic in Europe and in the United States, nor that the credit system has failed nor how the workers are exploited. She does not care that world—Capitalism is warring upon Russia and that in the face of the collapse of the old system the Russian workers have not had time to rebuild in peace but are forced to carry on their educational work and their great plans for socialized industry in the face of the combined capitalist armies of the world.

All that she seems to be interested in is the fact that in Russia people have lost their old time liberty of being able to graft off the ignorance of the people and that she is in a land where it is necessary to become a useful citizen or to go hungry.

There are several kinds of freedom that nobody is able to enjoy in Russia to-day and this is precisely what has made Soviet Russia the target of all the reactionaries all over the world, from the millionaire owners of industry to the petty grafters who prey on society. To-day, provided you are a healthy man or woman, you eat according to the work you do, according to the service you perform.

Everybody who is a useful member of society is allowed his share in the food and clothing and pay in Russia. But nobody any longer is free to live off the labor of others or by the exploitation of men and women in any manner whatsoever.

The coming days may be rather difficult for the social parasites who do not understand the events of the times. They do not realize that CAPITALISM, or anarchy in production, has failed, and is bound to succumb in chaos and utter rout because of its own contradictions.

We are going to have world revolution, not because of the aims of any class, but because, through the failure of the capitalist credit system, capitalism is becoming unable to carry on production. The same money is deposited over and over again in the banks, and the bank deposits are increasing more than twenty times as fast as the gold supply. So that the banks are in a constant state of insolvency. They are no longer able to lend sufficient money to carry on business enterprises, to maintain industry. They are compelled to curtail credit when the United States, for example, needs hundreds of millions of dollars to be expended in extending and rebuilding and improving the railroads alone. They need either to print more unbacked paper money or to hold more and more money in the banks to partially protect their depositors.

Industry is being CHOKED OFF by Capitalism, not by the revolutionists, and every student of history knows that when production ceases, the inevitable result is revolution in self-preservation for the mass of the people.

And when Anarchy, or Capitalism, brings CHAOS, nothing on earth will lift society out of the disaster but SOCIALIZED production and SOCIALIZED PLANNING. When it actually becomes impossible to produce for PROFITS, men and women will either have to starve to death or RESUME PRODUCTION on the basis of HUMAN USE AND HUMAN NEEDS.

And so the socialism of Marx and Engels is on its way. No matter whether you are glad or sorry, no matter whether you may be working for it, or die trying to prevent its coming, it is as certain as the approach of the seasons.

We are bound to have a socialized world, socialized production and distribution — not because we do or do not, want it, but because Capitalism is going to leave the whole world high and dry in utter chaos. There is only ONE WAY OUT!

## WILL HE DO IT

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**"Any person under the age of thirty, who, having any knowledge of the existing order, is not a revolutionist, is an inferior". Bernard Shaw.**

## The Revolutionary Situation in Italy

By George Halonen.  
Written for The Federated Press.  
Even the Press dispatches state that the Italian situation is critical and the recent cabinet crisis has proved it. Nitti resigned, but as none of the bourgeois parties dared to take the responsibility of forming a new cabinet, he again and again took the post of premier, until finally Giovanni Giolitti was found ready to attempt to form a cabinet.

As early as 1914 the Socialist Party of Italy predicted that the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie would necessarily lead to general misery and that it would create a revolutionary movement among the masses. Recent revolutionary activities have surprised even the party.

The present social-political crisis is such that the only solution is revolution. The capitalist class understands that and it is prepared to face the music. Ex-Premier Nitti, its most eloquent and diplomatic spokesman, has taken steps to fight the increasing power of the workers' party. Nitti does not resort to gag-laws and suppression. On the contrary, he has taken a very friendly attitude towards the socialists who have 150 representatives in parliament.

"Our socialists are real politicians," says Nitti, in order to tame the socialists. "They constitute a real power. To them belongs the future."

But the socialists have refused to take places on parliamentary committees and commissions because they know that the time for reforms has been outlived and that the masses, not satisfied with reforms within the capitalist system, are fervently preparing for a revolution.

The present time is a period of great strikes. In Turin a strike of 200,000 metal workers took place which continued 28 days. The workers demanded recognition of their soviet or council. The strike was to be the beginning of a general revolution, but this did not succeed as the armed forces of the exploiters were too strong for them.

All over Italy the peasants are dissatisfied because of their miserable conditions. The farm workers of Parma and Novara are striking, often using extreme measures.

Industrial as well as agricultural workers are striking and sometimes the strikes are not bloodless. Some time ago a socialist was murdered in Decima. The workers declared a protest strike. As a result six workers were killed and thirty injured by soldiers. Of the Modena workers who protested against the military rule of Decima, five were killed and fifty injured. This catastrophe was followed

by a protest strike in Bologna and the workers of Florence, Genoa, Riva, Trizeo, Parma and Piacenza declared a 24 hours general cessation of work as a demonstration against the tactics of the militarists.

The dissatisfied workers are demanding that the Socialist Party declare a revolution. This desire of the impatient masses is shared by many trade unionists. The Socialist party which is thoroughly revolutionary is against a revolution at the present time. "Avanti" the organ of the party, says, "The labor organizations must fight for victory and they must not enter into premature revolts. We must be ready for the right time."

The Executive Committee of the party has declared the following: "The Executive Committee of the Socialist Party is of the opinion that the present difficulties and strikes indicate that the situation will continue to become more critical and of necessity revolutionary. We therefore deem it necessary for the proletariat to prepare for united action in order to crush the reaction and to overthrow the capitalist government."

"Avanti" explains in a leading article that the events in Sestri and Turin where the workers were defeated by armed forces shows that the socialists have not yet sufficient power. The bourgeoisie state is armed. The socialists are not. The tendency of the Socialist party is not against revolution but it wants preparation, even arming of the workers, before it gives the signal for revolution.

The soviets or councils form a part of the preparation. At the meeting of the national council of the party which took place in Milan April 18-21 it was decided to urge the forming of workers' councils in places where the socialists are strong. This resolution was adopted by 94,736 votes against 21,950. A resolution providing councils all over Italy received 8,000 votes.

The chief purpose of the Socialist party in checking the revolutionary activity of the masses is to organize and discipline them so that when the time is ripe for revolution, the party will be in a position to direct the revolutionary movement from a central point. The May Day proclamation indicated this very clearly. The party urged the workers to demonstrate for revolution, for Soviet Russia and for their own councils but above all for discipline, revolutionary discipline, discipline of human beings and masses. The highest aim is victory for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the realization of communism.

Italy is on the verge of great social upheaval—a social revolution.

## RUMINATIONS OF A REBEL

By Tom Clifford.

In the June "Cosmopolitan" I ran across the following bit of bourgeois gush penned by Meredith Nicholson: "America's need for leadership was never greater than now — not in state craft alone, but in things spiritual, in education and kindred departments of the social structure." Sounds nice, doesn't it? One would think from reading the foregoing that "spirituality" had a place in capitalist ethics. During the last four years the bourgeoisie, through their courts, have jailed practically all the men and women in this country that had "vision" and dared give expression to their ideals. They sent Eugene V. Debs to the penitentiary because his great soul cried out against wholesale murder, and thousands of others are languishing in prisons for demanding a change in social conditions that would afford them opportunity to develop themselves spiritually. The bourgeoisie has no conception of spirituality. The gross things of life occupy his undivided attention, and woe be to man or woman who interferes by word or act with the institutions that guarantee to him unlimited license to plunder his fellows. Yet the magazines are full of this hypocritical cant while the game goes merrily on.

I saw a letter the other day from a workman in Buenos Aires to a workman in Cleveland announcing that the workers of South America were boycotting United States products. And what do you suppose is the reason? Glory be, it is in retaliation for the outrages committed against the workers of this country on May Day, 1919. How is that for an exhibition of solidarity! More power to their elbow! "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is not bad philosophy. This is a telling blow delivered just at the time the bourgeoisie of this country are so badly in need of markets. I wonder how long it will be until the workers of the United States develop the same degree of class consciousness.

The Soldiers' bonus bill has been passed by the House with the understanding that it is to be chloroformed in the Senate. Leave it to the capitalists to see that the bill is quietly laid away in the Senate committee bonedard. Same old game of "passing the buck." There are just two methods possible to provide the funds necessary to meet the proposed bonus, and the politicians realize that neither is practicable at the present time. One is increased taxation; the other the flotation of a new issue of

bonds. To the politicians the former is unthinkable because of the fear of a political reaction by the people that would relegate those gentlemen to private life, while the latter would never be permitted by the big financial interests, for they realize that the bonds could not be marketed among the workers, as were the Liberty issues, and consequently the burden would have to be borne by themselves, and they are now carrying, through absorption of Liberty bonds, all the governmental securities they can stand. Besides it would augment the currency inflation to a point that might precipitate the financial crisis they are even now frantically trying to avert. But now comes the Cincinnati Post with a brand new scheme to solve this vexing problem. The Post suggests that the I. O. U. be given to Uncle Sam for the billions loaned the Allies be exchanged for bonds to be issued by the debtor nations, and that these bonds be distributed as bonuses to the soldiers. Here is high finance with a vengeance. Great head, that editor. As I pointed out recently, there is not the remotest hope that these "promises to pay" would be any

## THE MONEYLESS MAN

Is there no secret place on the face of the earth  
Where charity dwelleth where virtue hath birth,  
Where bosoms in kindness and mercy will heave,  
And the poor and the wretched shall ask and receive?  
Is there no place where a knock from the poor  
Will bring a kind angel to open the door?  
Ah: search the wide world and find if you can  
Who will open the door to a moneyless man.

Go to the halls where the chandelier's light  
Drives off with its splendor the darkness of night;  
Where the rich hanging curtains in a shadowy fold  
Sweep peacefully down with their trimmings of gold,  
And the mirrors of silver take up and renew  
In their long lighted vistas, the bewildering view.  
Go there in your patches and find if you can  
A welcoming smile for a moneyless man.

Go to your church; with its cloud-reaching spire  
Which gives back to the sun its same light of fire;  
Where the arches and columns are gorgeous within,  
And the walls seem as pure as a soul without sin;  
Walk down the long aisles, see the rich and the great  
In the pride and the pomp of their worldly estate;  
Walk down in your patches and find if you can  
Who will open a pew to a moneyless man.

Go to your Judge with his long flowing gown,  
Where he scales in hand, weighs the equity down;  
Where he frowns on the weak and smiles on the strong  
And punishes Right while he justifies Wrong.  
Where the Jurors, their lips on the Bible have laid  
To render a verdict they have already made.  
Go there in the court room and find if you can  
Any law for the cause of a moneyless man.

Then go to your hotel; no raven has fed  
The wife who has suffered too long for bread.  
Kneel down by her pallet and wipe the death frost  
From the lips of the angel your poverty lost;  
Then turn in your agony and look upward to God  
And bless him while he smites you with chastening rod,  
And you'll find at the end of your life's little span  
There's even no welcome in Heaven for a moneyless man.

"civilized" robbery. It drew into its whirlpool the four gigantic rivals, England, Germany, America and Japan. And the war is being waged to decide which of these robber alliances will be successful in forcing the world under its bloody iron heel.

This war everywhere aggravates the already hard lot of the working-class incredibly. The workers now have unbearable burdens heaped upon them; millions of the best workers are simply slaughtered on the battle fields; hunger is the lot of the remainder; those who dare to protest, are threatened with the remainder; those who dare to protest, are threatened with the harshest punishment. All the prisons are overflowing; the authorities hold the machine-guns in readiness for use against the workers. The rights of the workers have disappeared even in the "freest" countries: to strike is not allowed; strikes are punishable as treason. The workers' press is gagged. The best workers, the most devoted fighters for the Revolution are forced to hide themselves and to found their organization in secret, as they did during the rule of the Czar in Russia: hiding from the host of spies and police officials. It is no wonder that the workers not only groan under such consequences of the war, but even begin to rise against their oppressors.

But the bourgeoisie States themselves, that start this fearful slaughter, begin to rot at their roots and to putrify. They are sunk in the bloody morass, which they created by their hunt for profit, and there is no way out for them. To go back with empty hands after such an expenditure of money, objects and blood—cannot be done. To go forward to another horrible risk—that too, is almost impossible. The war policy leads into a blind alley, from which there is no way out. For this reason, the war is prolonged endlessly, even though there is no decisive result. For the same reason, the capitalist system begins to rot, and sooner or later, must make way for a new system in which there is no place for the madness of a world-war for profit.

The longer the war lasts the more do the warring powers weaken. The flower of the working people either perishes, or lies in the trenches eaten up by lice, busy with the work of destruction. Everything is destroyed for the war; even brass door-handles are confiscated for war material. The most necessary things of life are lacking, for the war has swallowed up everything like an insatiable wandering host of locusts. Nobody produces useful objects—they are only used up. For the fourth year, the factories which formerly produced useful objects, are turning out nothing but shrapnel and grenades. Without men, without producing anything that is really necessary, all countries are reaching such a state of decay, that the people are already beginning to howl like wolves on account of hunger, cold, want, misery and oppression. In the German villages which formerly used electricity, the people are burning pine splinters for there is a lack of coal. In proportion as

better asset than the bonds issued by the Southern Confederacy during the Rebellion, and no one knows that better than the pencil pusher who evolved this utterly preposterous proposition. And yet, when I remember how the government swindled the soldiers of the Civil War by paying them off in depreciated greenbacks worth but 33 cents on a dollar, I shall not be surprised if the same blunko game is played on the soldiers of the World War. It doesn't matter much, anyway. The workers are used to being skinned.

Are there any persons excited over the Republican National Convention, if there are they are carefully abstaining from putting themselves in evidence. During ten days lounging in hotel lobbies I have heard just one comment on the convention. The prevailing topics of conversation are base ball, horse racing and high prices. No one seems to care a pickayune who is nominated for the Presidency by either the Democrats or Republicans. This apathetic attitude toward "politics" is extremely alarming to the politicians, for it makes a hurrah campaign, which is their long suit, practically impossible. It is a portentous sign. Out of the ferment of present day society will emerge sober thinking, and then—something will happen.

## STILL THIRSTING FOR BLOOD OF AMERICAN "SLACKERS"

By Linn A. E. Gale.

Nero, immortal in the annals of infamy and watching the helpless people of ancient Rome burn to death, never smacked his lips in more hellish glee than would the munitions-makers, profiteers and imperialists of the United States if they could imprison, torture and butcher the American "slackers" who are still in Mexico.

No clan of cannibals ever lusted more furiously for the blood of their victims than do the financial dictators of the American government lust for our blood.

They forgave the Germans long ago. They never had any intention of hanging or punishing the Kaiser. Such talk was bluff to kid the people. If the German emperor had been killed because he lost this war, President Wilson's turn or King George's or Lloyd George's or Clemenceau's turn might come later. They had nothing against the Kaiser as an individual, despite their lying assertions. They simply wanted to dominate the markets of the world and to do so it was necessary to trash Germany. Some other time it will be necessary for them to clean up England and Japan in order to maintain supremacy of trade. Altho they were dead in earnest in seeking commercial mastery, they have no desire to be so harsh with the enemy as to affect the stability of the capitalist system. Repeatedly they have shown that they prefer kaiserism any time to Communism and workers' control of industry. But the men who own the wealth of the United States have never forgiven us "slackers". They never will. They hate us with all the fury of fiends. They size us, torment us, mangle us and finally slaughter us and make an example of us before the world.

### An Example For Future Objectors

American capitalism wants to show every American that this is what will happen to any man who dares think for himself—who dares refuse to fight in capitalistic wars—who dares to prize human life more than the gold of millionaires, the epaulet of a soldier and the brutal mandate of a degenerate government. That's why American capitalism has never ceased to try to get the fugitives back from Mexico. That's why it has resumed trading with the terrible "Huns" that it was a little while ago so savagely denouncing and centers all its venom and virulence on the "slackers."

For the "slacker" is a menace to capitalism providing he uses his free-

dom on alien soil for the purpose of propagating Communist teachings. Those who simply came to Mexico to save their skins, who had no conscientious or class-conscious objection to the war except that they didn't want to get hurt, who got jobs or opened stores and began to make money here like "good citizens,"—they are all right, from the standpoint of capitalism. Wall St. has no special enmity against them. There are lots of men in the United States who did the same thing in a little different way—who escaped military service by pull or bribery. While the government didn't like such doings as a rule for it wanted to have plenty of men to do the fighting, it wasn't much concerned about it. "Slackers" who came to Mexico in such a quiet, inoffensive way, have frequently gone back to their home towns and been unmolested or at the worst, spent a few months in jail and then gone scot-free.

But the "slacker" who was against the war because he was a Communist, a Socialist, an I. W. W., or a Pacifist, is a danger to the dying system, a danger to the designs of Wall St. Such "slackers" not only fled to foreign soil but they commenced an active and effective propaganda in favor of Bolshevism. They tried to awaken others to the criminality of a system under which wars are necessary. They tried to imbue others with their own spirit of rebellion so that when the next war comes, there will be still more who will refuse to obey the dictates of the international murder trust. And they were very successful, striking in thousands a spirit hitherto unknown and filling them with that imperishable zeal for a cause that armies and empires cannot kill.

## The "Spy" Story

(Continued from page 1-st.)

City of Chicago, attending the convention session in the morning and a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the party in the afternoon. In the evening he was at a restaurant in the same city with a party of comrades. On November 15th, another date definitely fixed, he attended a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party in Chicago as could be verified by twelve other members of the committee.

As to the checks which the informer claimed to have seen in the file supposed to contain Fraina's reports, any one familiar with modern accounting methods would smile at the proposition that returned checks should be filed in the individual file of the person to whom they were issued.

When the investigation was completed those present were asked to state whether they were satisfied that Fraina had been exonerated, and all but two members of the Bureau agreed that such was the case. The other two persons still had some doubts although admitting that there was no clear case.

The stenographic report of the hearing was later submitted to the Executive Council of the Communist Party and the Translator-Secretaries representing the Language Federations in the National Office and it was their unanimous verdict that Fraina had been exonerated.

The "Call" endeavors to base its insinuations upon the fact that Fraina was not arrested last November, while others were and that he was able to leave the country. Those familiar with the facts know that Fraina was in hiding for a month before he left the country and that he left secretly, as many other persons have been able to do.

Publicity is given to the facts in regard to the Fraina charges in order to show the reprehensible tactics which the Socialist Party publications are ready to resort to in order to discredit rival organizations. In this matter the "Call" and other Socialist Party papers which have copied its articles have outdone the slimiest work of the capitalist kept press.

### THE BLACK SHEEP.

(Continued from page 2nd)

here. If you fellows are right in your contention that we have a message for the slaves, then we should be giving that message. It is of no consequence to us personally if they reject it at least we will have the satisfaction of having done our duty as we saw it.

(Continued next week.)

## Predatory Wars, Oppression of the Workers and the Beginning of the Downfall of Capital

— BY N. BUCHARIN. —

During the last few years, in every capitalist country, small capital has almost vanished; it has been swallowed up by the big sharks. Formerly, many separate capitalists were fighting for customers; now when there are not many more individual capitalists (for almost all the small ones have been ruined), those that remained have united, organized and are in control in every country you may mention: just as the landed proprietor controlled his estate formerly. A few American bankers rule over all America, just as a single manufacturer formerly controlled his factory; a few French usurers hold the French people in subjection; five large banks control the destiny of the entire German people. It is just the same in the other capitalist countries. For this reason it may be said that the modern capitalist states or the so-called "Fatherlands" have become enormous factories, which are ruled by a combination of property holders, just as formerly every separate capitalist ruled in his own factory.

It is not surprising, therefore, that these trusts, the State combinations of the different bourgeoisies, now carry on that same battle with each other, which formerly was waged by the separate capitalists; the English bourgeoisie State battles with the German bourgeoisie State, just as formerly in England or in Germany, one manufacturer might battle with another. Only now, the stake is a thousand times higher, and the battle for the increase of profit is carried on with the help of human lives and of human blood.

In this struggle, which takes in the entire world, the first ones to be destroyed are the small and weak countries. First come the small colonial peoples—weak, occasionally wild races, who are destroyed piecemeal by the big predatory states. A struggle then ensues between these predatory states as to the division of the "free" territory, that is, the territories which have not as yet been stolen by the "civilized" states. Then begins the struggle for the redivision of the territory which has already been stolen. It is clear that this struggle for the redivision of the world must be bloodier and more bitter than ever before. Monstrous giants, the largest states of the world, armed with the most thorough death-dealing machines battle with each other.

The world-war, which broke out in the summer of 1914 and which has not yet ended, is the first war waged for the decisive redivision of the world between the monsters of