

THE NEW JUSTICE

A RADICAL MAGAZINE

DEVOTED TO—

1. SELF-DETERMINATION FOR RUSSIA AND OTHER REVOLUTIONARY LANDS.
2. THE PUBLICATION OF THE TRUTH ABOUT THE VICTORIES OF THE WORKING CLASS.
3. AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS.
4. RESTORATION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES.
5. INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, SOCIAL JUSTICE, UNITY OF THE WORLD'S WORKERS.

YOUR INTEREST AND SUPPORT ARE NEEDED

It is proposed to sustain the magazine during the early months of its publication by a fund derived from monthly contributions made by friends and sympathizers, and as the magazine becomes self-supporting this fund will be used to increase its general circulation through the medium of sample copies to be sent, especially to non-radicals.

Your financial support for this purpose, and your assistance in securing subscriptions, are requested. Subscription and contribution blanks are enclosed in this issue.

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The New JUSTICE

A RADICAL MAGAZINE

Devoted to:

1. The truth about Russia and other revolutionary lands;
2. The truth about the victories of the working class;
3. Amnesty for political and class war prisoners;
4. Industrial democracy;
5. Social justice;
6. Unity of the World's Workers.
7. Radicalism in the West.

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MAGAZINE on the PACIFIC COAST

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THE NEW JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

THE IMPRISONMENT OF DEBS

"They will never dare," we have said to ourselves and to each other, over and over again.

"It will never go through," we have hoped aloud, unable to believe that our hope would not be realized.

But they have dared. It has gone through. 'Gene Debs has received from the Supreme Court of the United States the official judicial brand of felony. In the eyes of the law and of the political government of this country, he is an enemy to public welfare, a convict, a criminal—sentenced to a long term of imprisonment in a federal penitentiary.

And yet, this very hour, 'Gene Debs, the greatest Lover and most beloved of any American, is in the height of his triumph in the hearts of some millions of his fellow citizens, is in the greatest honor he has yet achieved in a life that has oft-known the sincere tributes of the multitude. This is not editorial opinion. This is unexaggerated fact.

So it is that when the federal judiciary passed sentence on 'Gene Debs it passed sentence on the sane and honest judgment of no small number and no fractional percentage of the country's citizenry. And when it passed sentence on 'Gene Debs it sentenced itself to the eternal suspicion and distrust of that multitude, it sentenced the Law of the Land to something of that bitter fear and antagonism to which tyrants are subject, and it sentenced the political powers of this country to a pronounced degree of undesirability in the eyes of its rapidly growing number of "undesirables" who make no pretense of hiding their pride in being "comrades" of the "criminal" 'Gene Debs. Neither are these mere editorial opinions. They are unexaggerated facts that will remain facts whatever the federal judiciary and the Law of the Land and the political government of this country may think of them. We do not advocate them—it is nonsense to advocate facts; we simply state them, and perhaps we ask what sort of a democracy this is for which we have recently been so expensively saved.

'Gene Debs is going to prison. Has 'Gene Debs killed some one? Has he robbed a postoffice, or stolen a railroad, or bought out a Senate, or libeled the late lamented paladium of our liberties—the United States Constitution? No, none of these heinous and unnatural deeds are charged against him. It seems that he made a speech. Of course he shouldn't have done that—this isn't Russia. But, anyway, he did. And in his speech he told some of the things he believed. Of course he shouldn't have beliefs—this isn't even England. But, anyway, he did. Probably he refused to realize that our "constitutional liberties" had passed into the condition described as "late" and were fitter subjects for lamentation than for exercise. So 'Gene Debs is classed with the thief, the grafter, the briber, and the traitor, because in the land of Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, in the year of our Lord, the Carpenter of Nazareth, 1918, he dared openly and publicly express his honest and sincere convictions. True, the land of those heroes

of democracy is now a land of extraordinary war-time legislation. True, the year 1918 was a year of extraordinary social phenomena. And true, Debs' convictions are extraordinary convictions. But the extraordinary, rather than the ordinary, must always be the test of the real strength of institutions, democracy included. Civil liberties that do not remain civil liberties under the most extraordinary circumstances are not real liberties at all, but mere temporary concessions by a more or less "enlightened" tyranny. Is this what the Supreme Court has decided that our liberties amount to, in its decision of the Debs case?

Emma Goldman, leader of militant anarchism, is in prison. Tom Mooney, leader of militant craft unionism, is in prison. Bill Haywood, leader of militant industrial unionism, is in prison. Roger Baldwin, leader of militant Americanism, if you please, is in prison. Now it is 'Gene Debs, leader of militant Socialism, who is going to prison for ten long years—and for 'Gene Debs that means life. And 'Gene Debs will serve his term just as those others are serving their terms—

Unless—

H. H. S.

NEIGHBOR DEBS

"Debs, the Neighbor," is the caption of the latest article on the "crime" in "The Saturday Spectator," Terre Haute's leading stand-pat Republican journal. While feeling constrained to condemn harshly the humanitarian program of Debs, the "neighbors" feel towards him like the proud parents do of little Willie when he kicks over the traces. "Love for a fellow townsman" is the first big emotion that the editor voices. Terre Haute knows "Debs in a way wholly different from what other cities know him." And again, "Terre Haute knows Debs as a boy in knickerbockers, knows him as a young employe of Hulman's wholesale house years ago, knows him as city clerk, knows him as a kindly neighbor and a loyal friend."

Is this the picture of a monster that must be shut behind prison walls? Marshal Ney, fellow countryman of Debs' parents, was executed because, when sent to capture Napoleon on his escape from Elba, he joined forces with his old commander. The historian points out that the man who had fought a hundred battles for his country and not one against it was shot as a traitor. They do things better in Erehwon. D. B.

BREAKERS AHEAD

Reactionaries in the Senate are evidently determined to leave no stone unturned in their effort to perpetuate, and, if possible, to strengthen, the oppressive provisions of the Espionage Act, which automatically goes out of existence with the signing of the final peace treaty. There can be no doubt that if sinister and un-American influences have their way, this law, supposedly designed merely as a war measure to safeguard the nation's military operations against the Central Powers, will be supplanted by even more drastic legislation aimed at the suppression of all radical agitation, however peaceful and proper. Already the pot is boiling hard in Washington. Senator Overman is reported to have declared the other

day that he favored the enactment of a law which would give more "teeth" to the federal government in what he evidently hopes to see done in the matter of clamping down the lid on free discussion. It is also significant that in the closing days of the last session a senate bill was narrowly defeated which, had it passed, might easily have been used to suppress the mere advocating of large-scale strikes. According to the wording of the bill, the only strikes aimed at would have been those having for their object "the overthrow of the Government of the United States or all government"; but no one who has followed the course of labor struggles in this country can fail to see the very strong probability of the law being invoked to crush or prevent any large strike which might threaten seriously to weaken the power of our industrial overlords.

Considering the fact that practically the only convictions secured under the Espionage Act while the nation was at war were against men and women whom no sane observer believes to have been in any sense of the word "pro-German," or in any way desirous of helping Germany in war against the United States, and reflecting also that the sentences imposed upon the American citizens thus convicted have been so severe that they have aroused the indignation of all the liberal elements in the land, it requires no very great sagacity to predict a hitherto undreamed-of carnival of oppression and intolerance should legislation of the sort in question be passed. The masses will do well to watch closely the steps which are soon to be taken with a view to fastening upon the nation in peace a law more oppressive even than anything it felt constrained to adopt during the heat and passion of war.

R. R. B.

THE OBLIGATION OF POWER

Industrial democracy means the administrative control of industry by the workers. And this, if it is to succeed, means in turn that the workers shall become capable administrators. They are already educated, it is true, in the technical processes and manual skill of their particular crafts, or of such fragment of factory work as falls to the lot of each to do. But this is very far from equipping them to take over the general control of industry. It is here that the Russian workers have encountered their chief difficulty and greatest peril. They quickly found that it was not enough to simply kick out the boss and start up the machinery. Immediately questions of the most vital moment pressed upon them which they were not fitted to solve. Where could raw materials be secured? What were the costs of production? What was the demand, and where were markets to be found? What were the means of transportation and distribution? What were the sources and conditions of credit? Because they could not meet these problems, production lagged or stopped altogether, and factories had either to be turned back to their capitalistic owners, or the owners had to be called in at fancy salaries to run the business. The workers found by bitter experience that taking over a bank, for instance, is not accomplished by merely smashing the plate glass windows and looting the vault. A bank, it seems, is a very intricate, delicate and highly organized commercial engine which, though it acts as an agency of exploitation, also performs a necessary service in mobilizing credit and supplying working capital to industry. It can no more be administered by a stevedore than a parson can immediately win a record as a champion riveter.

In England the trade unions are going at the task of educating themselves to managerial functions in a much more methodical manner. They realize the enormous responsibility of undertaking to feed, clothe and shelter the fifty million people of Great Britain. Hence they are not seeking to precipitate an illy digested social revolution. What they are asking, for the present, is merely a share in industrial administration, that they may learn to do the trick. It is true that every country presents its own conditions and its own problems. In Germany, for instance, the wide diffusion of technical knowledge may make such slow methods as seem advisable in England unnecessary. What is clear, in the United States as elsewhere, is that this difficulty must be faced, and the sooner the workers prepare for it the swifter and safer will be the coming of the new social order. The spectacle of the president of the First National Bank delivering a lecture on the theory and practice of banking to an I. W. W. local may seem a trifle wierd, but unquestionably the local could spend its time in much less advantageous fashion. And if the oil drillers should invite Mr. Doheny to discourse to them on the sources of the crude oil supply in North America, they would probably learn much to their future profit.

In short, for the working class, the period of abstract economic criticism and socialist agitation is about over, and the period of authoritative rule and practical responsibility draws nigh. The work of preparing for this sovereignty cannot safely be left to individual initiative, nor does it belong to the Socialist party, nor to any agency of political or social agitation. It is pre-eminently the task of the trade unions. And the sooner they set about it the brighter will be the dawn of the new day.

C. M.

THE UNWELCOME SOLDIER

The return of the soldiers creates a problem in unemployment only because industry is privately owned and operated for profit instead of use. Because no private employer can see his way clear to make a profit out of him, the soldier remains idle. It then becomes necessary to organize committees and start drives to get him work. Manual labor of the hardest and most poorly paid kind, or bastard employments like picture card peddling, are offered to him in triumph. His fellow workers look at him askance, fearing that his advent will mean lower wages or loss of jobs for them. In short, the man who imperiled his life for his country finds his chief reward in the shame and degradation of being "out of work," and becomes that most embarrassing and pathetic figure, the superfluous hero.

But if industry were socially owned and made a public affair, nothing of this sort could happen. The returned soldier boy would then drop back into it automatically and at once, resuming his civilian position with dignity and assured right. His coming would be eagerly welcomed, not alone by his mother, but by everyone, since it would involve no economic danger to any, but would merely furnish added help in doing the nation's daily work. So true is this, and so plain, that it is to the inauguration of public works that officials and others interested in the soldier instinctively turn to provide him with a place in the country's industrial life. Only a thorough-going extension of this principle of public employment is needed to so transform society that the horrid specter of unemployment will never again confront any human being.

C. M.

TWO LEAGUES?

The daily papers announce that the news from Hungary has had a "salutary effect" on the plans of the peace conference for a League of Nations. By the time this is in print it will doubtless be noted that Karl Kautsky's visit to Russia is also having a "salutary effect" on those plans. What to do with the kaiser has lost interest as an international question in the panic over what MUST be done about the Bolsheviki. A "red spectre" is indeed haunting Europe—and then some. Hungary is a soviet republic. Germany is in the drift. The Hungarian government has addressed Lenin as "the premier of the world soviet," and there may be truth as well as poetry in it. The League of Nations will be a fact because the league of Socialist soviet republics is already a fact—and a growing one.

H. H. S.

FREEDOM AND THE BOLSHEVIKI

A recent bulletin of the Friday Morning Club of Los Angeles, in a brief dissertation on freedom, remarks of the Bolsheviki that they seem to have gone into the burglar business, announcing to the world that they are pointing the way to freedom, while all other business has become paralyzed.

It is a little odd, to find an utterance so typical of the mental stolidity of the Victorian bourgeois in the publication of so liberal and intelligent an organization as the Club. In a society riven into alien and warring classes, as bourgeois society necessarily is, freedom, like all other conceptions that define industrial or political relations, assumes the character of a class idea. From the bourgeois point of view, freedom is the license to dominate, oppress and exploit the worker, and to protect by governmental force the fruits of that economic "graft." Any subtraction of capitalistic revenue is viewed as burglary. The bourgeois mind never connects the idea of freedom with the worker, and is outraged and appalled at such an assumption.

Universal freedom cannot exist in a class society. It can only come into being where there is an essential community of interests and a consequent harmony of aims and desires. Where antagonism and contention exist, freedom is merely the victorious self-assertion of him who has the force to triumph. Now, the whole purpose of the Bolsheviki is to create a classless society, in which bourgeoisie and nobility shall perforce be absorbed in the mass of workers through the confiscation of their private possessions and their inclusion under the primitive formula of "work or starve." From the proletarian viewpoint, this expropriation is not burglary, but merely the reclamation of stolen goods. It is apparent, therefore, that the Bolsheviki have the only intelligent conception of the true basis of freedom, and that the means they are employing for its realization are logical and efficient.

Incidentally, it is not true that business in Russia is paralyzed, nor that a state of anarchy exists there today. When the Bolsheviki grasped political power from the incapable hands of Kerensky, widespread disorganization did prevail. Since then, in spite of the helter skelter self-demobilization of twelve millions of men, the German invasion, the intervention of the Allies in a war so ill-advised that they dare not give it a name, the artificial famine created by that intervention, the sanguinary peril of the counter-revolution, and the errors inevitable to social experiment, the Bolsheviki have performed a veritable miracle of reorganization. A nation which, under such handicaps, can put into the field, within a year, a

thoroughly equipped, well-disciplined and well-fed army of a million men to sweep the invaders from its soil, is not in a condition of anarchy.

C. M.

FOR CAPITALISTS ONLY

Not being plutocratic exactly, we doubt if the Monthly Financial Letter of the Farmers and Merchants National Bank of Los Angeles, "The Oldest Bank in Southern California," was intended to fall into our irreverent hands. But it did. It is delightful reading. Apparently some of our Leading Citizens are disturbed about something and are getting to be very seriously frank with each other. As exhibit "A" we offer this gem from the letter: "The social, governmental and economic conditions of nearly all the nations of the world are today worse than they were a month ago, and are now such as to fill the heart of the most optimistic pessimist with glee." And this morsel: "Even staid and conservative England has recently been through a seething hell of revolution of the Russian origin."

This alone is well worth the price of admission: "No strike can be successful on a falling market, which latter condition we now have in America. On a rising market whole communities will at times submit to blackmail and adopt a 'peace at any price' policy. But upon a falling market the masses will fight for their rights, and the masses always win."

"During the stress of our war preparations and our war activities, labor, in America, was so coddled and pandered to by the national government that some excuse must be made for labor's belief that it has the world by the tail. * * *

"There is room for everybody in America, both capital and labor. Capital must be fair and labor will have to be."

But this is the blue ribbon selection: "It will be noted that, in recent strikes in America, labor leaders have tried to hold their men in check and prevent them leaving their jobs. Like the French Revolution, the movement has gotten beyond labor leaders. This is the natural result of their teachings. * * * Their leaders must not now be astonished that the rank and file of organized labor have arrived at the conclusion that they can do as they please."

On the subject of liberty bonds the letter has this to offer: "It is not a matter of surprise that all issues of liberty bonds are selling several points below par. * * * Buyers are looking for bargains, and to be a bargain at prevailing interest rates, liberty bonds must sell considerably below par."

Let us conclude with this: "It is far better that the debt evidenced by the liberty bonds be as widespread as possible. Holding a portion of the nation's indebtedness adds to the patriotic fervor of the owner thereof. The spirit of patriotism, fanned into a flame by the war, should be kept alive. It is a sure panacea for unrest, dissatisfaction with our institutions, and a preventative of anarchistic tendencies."

We trust that the Farmers and Merchants National will continue to keep us supplied with such interesting items from time to time.

H. H. S.

With the mayor under indictment for grafting, and more indictments in preparation, the citizens of Los Angeles have the comfortable assurance that the administration of city affairs is as rotten as usual.

My Big Brother Gene

By D. B.

Nothing in the universe needs defending. Life expression is its own sufficient excuse. I do not know the legal aspects of the case of Eugene Victor Debs; I have been largely a dweller in the cloister, with my books and my ideals. But I do know the heart of Gene. As a fellow townsman, neighbor and newspaper man I came to know intimately both Gene and Theodore Debs. It is of the heart of Debs I would write.

First, be it known that in Terre Haute there is practically one opinion of Eugene V. Debs the man, one merging from warm friendship to adoration. When Dr. Faustus explained his ideas to his friend, he was urged to give them to the people. "Nay," he responded, "for those who give advanced ideas to the people are fed to the faggot's flames." Jesus the Carpenter chose the cross; Joan of Arc the stake; Louis Tikas the machine guns of Rockefeller; and Gene Debs is not concerned about his destiny as long as his ideals are sent adrift to leaven the masses of the proletariat.

America has produced four men of supreme worth—men who take their place with the immortals of every age. These are Emerson, Lincoln, Whitman and Debs. All were poet-souls and all were lovers. And the greatest lover of them all is Gene. W. E. P. French of the United States Army wrote of him: "In the close intimacy of our brother-comradship I have found no fault with Gene; for he is as faithful and tender as my dear old mother, who loves him, blessed him, and bade him kiss her, as brave as a lion, as gentle as a woman, as honest and straightforward as a little child, as white, clean and sweet of soul as his elder brothers, Lincoln and Christ—and these three are Nature's noblest noblemen."

Few of the letters since the trial, from either Gene or Theodore, have mentioned it. When they have it has been merely such short paragraphs as:

"Gene may be convicted, but that will be of small consequence as long as the cause is served. That is the big and important thing. All the rest is secondary. Men count only as they stand up and serve without finching in the great struggle to humanize the world."

This is the Gene I have known through these passing years. It was through him that I decided to cast my lot with the socialist movement. I was a born radical, but as a fledgling newspaper man just out of college I was still in the reform stage. Gene came home to Terre Haute the night before election, and James O'Neal gave me a seat on the platform to report the meeting for the democratic organ. The Grand Theater was overflowing two hours before the meeting, and when Debs finally arrived, so worn and exhausted from weeks of campaigning he could hardly stand, he found himself compelled to make addresses to two large audiences in different auditoriums. When Gene grasped my hand that night there was a spiritual touch that was as convincing as the terrible earnestness of his loving pleading. The next morning as I entered the Building Trades hall on my rounds for news, I said to one of the leading business agents, "Tom, let's vote the straight Socialist ticket today." He shook hands on the pact—and Gene got two more votes.

Gene is never mincing in his condemnation of evils of society and of those in a measure responsible for the sys-

tem of exploitation. Yet he never speaks in the spirit of hate and vindictiveness. "Revenge" is never for a moment in his heart. He is a lover whom circumstances have forced, all unwillingly, to fight. Murray E. King has expressed the Debs attitude:

"He fights as one who feels the hurt,
The hurt that he, perforce, must deal;
He strikes as one who feels that he
Must deal the blow that he must feel;
The tender Debs I see alway,
The looming figure of a man at bay.

"A man at bay, who still must fight,
And serve the cause by thrust and blow—
The cause that bids him thrust and strike,
In spite of tenderness for foe,
And makes him love the foe he strikes,
And take the pain of every blow.

"I see his tender, pitying hands,
Outstretched for the hearts of men;
I feel the pleading of his voice,
The tragedy of love and pain,
Of faith so strong, of heart so good—
Herald of dawn and brotherhood."

I was present January 24, 1913, in United States Commissioner Oph M. Hall's office when Eugene V. Debs signed his bond papers after the last arrest in the Appeal to Reason case. After Debs had signed the bond, he placed his arms around U. S. Marshal Tom Martin and said, "Pleasant things grow out of unpleasant circumstances. If I hadn't been brought up here, I would never have grasped your warm hands." And he meant it. That feeling of universal love did not prevent his giving me a fiery interview later in his own office—one which many readers may recall, as it was sent over the nation. It began, "You can tell Prosecutor Harry Bone and the courts to go to h—."

At this same period, "The Tribune," democratic organ of Terre Haute, in a long editorial, said in part:

"No matter what divergence of opinion may prevail as to the righteousness of the cause which Mr. Debs advocates, each fresh conflict between Debs and organized authority as represented by the courts develops wonderfully contrasting sentiments regarding the man. Mr. Debs was in Woodstock jail six months, and each Christmas the jailer of Woodstock sends his former charge a box of cigars. When Mr. Debs was incarcerated in the McHenry (Ill.) jail, that community felt itself outraged, and remonstrated to the national government."

When Debs later became a candidate for Congress, it was well known on every side that his being in the race would defeat the democratic candidate, who was certain of re-election with Debs out of the race. In spite of this fact, the campaign was conducted without a single paper in the district resorting to mud-slinging. They know Gene Debs in Terre Haute.

When Gene lay sick unto death about two years ago, I sent him the following little tribute:

I hail you, Gene,
Grand old gray warrior,
Poet prophet
Of labor and liberty.

Companion gift with Jim Riley
Of pregnant Hoosier soil to the world.
With Emerson, Lincoln, Whitman,
You take your place as one of America's illustrious quartet
In humanity's processional of prophets.

Your life is a triumphant hymn set to music of service;
From your lips flow reminiscent beauties,
Spun from golden memory threads of love and service.
You clasped my hand and I thrilled as at touch of sweet-heart;
The love of all humanity surges through your handclasp—the love that inspires faith, courage and confidence.
Yours is the universal passion for men and the far-visioned perception of the prophet. By the touch of your hand is healing wrought among the slaves; and the fingers that once gripped the fireman's shovel would gather the heart-fibres of the proletariat and play thereon the sweet symphony of co-operative liberty.

Prison's maw received your body
And death hovered over you;
But you bore it bravely, with a smile, for the sake of labor's cause.
The judge who persecuted you
Has since resigned his seat in disgrace,
While the name of Gene Debs
Still inspires and leads millions to fresh hope of deliverance.

O the agony of your stooped shoulders,
Bowed by burdens borne for your brothers.
You stand and reach those long arms as though to gather to your mighty heart every worker. Those arms have lifted the prostitute to womanhood and held up the wandering, hungry disemployed.
Unstinted, ceaseless love,
Poured out upon your comrades—
Here is the soul of the ages,
Heart of humanity,
Vision of the seer,
Mover of mighty forces,
Voice of the proletariat,
My Neighbor, Brother, Comrade—

Gene was just able to be up for a few hours a day after his long confinement when my lines reached them. Again Theodore the beloved was his spokesman. In the course of a long letter he wrote:

"I read your beautiful lines to Gene and the mist came to his eyes. I wish you could have heard what he said about you and about your integrity of soul, your personal devotion, your gifted pen and your work for the cause. He wishes me to say that he was never more deeply touched than by this sweet, gracious, generous and truly poetic tribute from your heart and soul, and that he thanks you deeply, sincerely, and will treasure this priceless offering from you as one of the real treasures that have come into his possession. He said: 'This sweet and soulful expression from so noble a young comrade com-

pensates me in full for everything I have ever been able to do in the way of serving the cause.'"

It is one of my pleasures that I was able to bring to one another's interchange of ideas Gene and Ruth Le Prade, when "A Woman Free" was published. Gene was away attending a funeral of a relative when my note and Ruth's volume reached him. Immediately on his return he sent a warm letter: "A thousand thanks to both you and Ruth. Her beautiful booklet is in my hands and its inspiring poems are singing in my soul. She is as truly poetic in our revolutionary sense as any poet the movement has yet produced. There is nothing more glorious on this earth than a free woman." Gene at once busied himself writing to editor friends; and "A Woman Free" was the beginning of a close friendship between two of the most beautiful souls of the forward movement. Gene's own comments on the poems of Ruth, in "The Rip-Saw" and elsewhere, are familiar.

It has been always a life of giving on the part of Debs. Early in 1918, on the death of a California comrade, a house and lot in Long Beach were willed to Comrade Debs. He forwarded me at once all of the papers and was a bit impatient until the property had been transferred to the State Executive Committee of the California Socialist Party.

It may still be news to many that when the A. R. U. was broken up, following a strike called against the advice of Gene himself, there was an indebtedness against the organization of \$25,000, for which no man was either legally or morally responsible. Gene did not figure it that way, but set to work personally to pay off the debt. It was only six years ago that he completed this self-imposed obligation, and yet we hear very little about it. For eighteen years Debs struggled to lift this burden, that none might lose by the strike.

It was in the same year (1913) that the \$25,000 budget was finally cleared that another sensation was aroused in Terre Haute by the taking into the Debs home of Miss Helen Hollingsworth. She was the daughter of a Methodist preacher and a gifted young woman. She had listened to the lying words of love of one of the young snipes of a wealthy family; repudiation followed the marriage and the girl was thrown into the street. When she was arrested for immorality, Gene went to the jail and removed her to his own home to receive all the privileges of his family.

"The girl has been persecuted," said Gene. "Will Terre Haute help her, or will its organized force be used to drive her to desperation? Let Terre Haute ask, 'What would Christ do?' Our family has opened our home to her. There is but one thing remarkable about opening our home to an unfortunate woman, and it is that anyone should consider it remarkable. Kindness is so exceptional that it provokes widespread comment. The sinful woman is, as a rule, not a wicked woman, but a sick and suffering woman. As to our home, its door is open to the most sinful woman that was ever cast off by the pharisees. We believe, my wife and I, that we are not only our brother's keeper, but our sister's keeper as well. Why not war on the immoral people in high life instead of persecuting this penniless girl?"

And think of this Christ-man writing to one who has been only a child, playing far from even the fringe of the battle, such words as these a few months ago:

"Your message goes straight to my heart, and I feel the warmth and thrill in every fibre. You are so sweet-spirited and loyal, and so very much more generous than

I deserve in what you have to say of me and of my humble services."

Comrades far and wide have received just such letters; they are genuinely written from the heart of Gene. He feels the humility of true greatness. In the hours when my own life has been filled with sadness because of the death of loved ones, I know of no messages more healing and soothing than the words of Theodore and Gene Debs. An old acquaintance of Gene, now living in an Eastern city, though a bitter opponent of socialism, last November sent a contribution to Gene, who wrote a long letter in reply, in which he stated:

"I must correct you on one point. I am not in any 'trouble' nor in any 'unfortunate position.' I was never so free from trouble nor in a more enviable position in all my life." And in the same letter: "I, too, could have been 'prosperous' and 'rich and eminently respectable,' but I preferred to be true to my convictions and ideals, and therefore am 'an undesirable citizen.' I can stand the present serene and unafraid and await the verdict of the future with absolute confidence. My day is coming and coming to stay, though it may not come in my time, which is of small consequence."

Gene Debs has ever been an active force in civic affairs in his home city. He was city clerk of Terre Haute on the democratic ticket and then sent to the state legislature in his younger days. But with his busy years in the national socialist movement he has ever found time to keep in touch with local Terre Haute doings. He joined the labor movement in Terre Haute forty-six years ago—February 27, 1875, to be exact. There is scarcely a labor union in Terre Haute today that was not organized in the days of the young agitator. When Gene was secretary-treasurer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (1880 and following), his Terre Haute office became the headquarters for organized labor. Of late years Gene has taken an active part in the jitney fight and similar affairs. We had quite a joke on Gene once when he was a presidential candidate. It was in the days that Donn Roberts was in complete control of the democratic ring and the voting machines were properly fixed (at least the story goes that way and the wholesale terms served in Fort Leavenworth seem to sustain the idea). No matter how one voted, it was said the majority of the votes were for Donn's candidates. Gene voted properly, but his precinct showed not a single socialist vote!

One of the best essays I have ever read on oratory was prepared by Eugene V. Debs for the University of Wisconsin. "No man," said Debs, "ever made a great speech on a mean subject. Slavery never inspired an immortal thought or utterance. Selfishness is dead to every art. The love of truth and the passion to serve it light every torch of real eloquence. . . . The most thrilling and inspiring oratory, the most wonderful and impressive eloquence, is the voice of the disinherited, the oppressed, the suffering and the submerged."

The truth of this I had brought home to me in the miners' and other conventions I sat through from year to year. I have reported the addresses of many of the most famous speakers of America, but never have I heard one who can be compared to Debs as an orator. Several times I sat on the platform with William J. Bryan and was filled with the witchery of his oratory in his earlier days of enthusiasm for paramount issues; but when I got to the machine to transcribe the notes for my papers, what a disillusionment! It was never so with Debs.

There was truth in every line and word as written out following the speeches.

I cannot conclude these reminiscences without a tribute to Theodore Debs, the faithful brother who has done more, perhaps, than any person to make possible the wonderful work of Gene. Both are cut from the same heroic pattern; in both pulses the throbbing love of the race. Theodore is a man of marked ability, and it has been a perpetual surprise to me how he manages to keep moving such a volume of mail and other details. In my daily visits to his office he had time for the same neighborly cordiality as when I was chatting in his home.

These reminiscences could be prolonged indefinitely; and similar memories could be penned by thousands throughout the nation; for Gene has left a trail of loving memories behind him. About a year ago the Debs brothers wrote, "Neither do we agree with Sinclair's views; but nevertheless he has done a great work and is thoroughly in earnest and deserves a good deal more consideration than is shown him by some of our comrades." Such is ever the spirit of the great crusader.

Kate Debs

By David Bobspa

One of the finest photographs of Gene Debs I have ever seen hangs above a woman's desk in Terre Haute, and sitting in lonely vigil during her comrade-husband's pilgrimages can be found Katherine Metzel Debs. She will not be found bowed by grief but busied in doing her part in Gene's extensive propaganda activities. It is no surprise that Gene and "Kate" Debs (such is his affectionate name for her)—celebrated the decision of the supreme court by going to a movie.

Mrs. Debs is a beautiful woman who moves in the best circles of middle-western society (tho there was a time when she suffered the ostracism of the smug pillars of propriety). She is in complete harmony with her husband. Idah M'Glone Gibson wrote, after a visit to the Debs home:

"People say that Kate Debs believes in Socialism just as her husband does, that she believes in her husband and because he is a socialist she believes in it too. Don't for one moment think Mrs. Debs is easily swayed because she does this. It is because she thinks of all men her husband is the strongest and most worthy to be followed. She is a silent woman but her beautiful face grows eloquent with pride as she listens to him talk."

The trials thru which Mrs. Debs has passed with her husband have left no trace in the calm dignity of her features. Her white hair contrasts the youthful complexion. She is a cultured woman, an exquisite entertainer, a worthy helpmate to Eugene V. Debs. No more sorely has the strength of any woman been tested than that of Katherine Debs; and no more superbly did woman ever rise to her opportunity. She is one with Gene; in Terre Haute she is equally loved. Every heart-beat of the workers for Eugene V. Debs is a tribute to his beloved Kate as well.

Senator Phelan is staging a frenzied stunt of Japanese baiting, whereby the wise ones are informed that the senator will be a candidate for re-election.

The cover design for this issue is by Harold W. Miles, whom we are pleased to present as our first art contributor

LABOR

Oh Labor!
In thy strong right hand
The key to life and death
Hangs poised in indecision;
The clammy winds of doubt
Blow on thy brow,
And Reason,
Hope's brightest star,
Is lost
Amid the shifting shibboleths
Of transient time.
The loom of fate
Is weaving, weaving,
And in the warp and woof
Of changing circumstance,
The fine spun threads of fate
Shall yet build in thee
A conscious destiny.

WALTER J. MITCHELL.

Our country is the haven for political refugees, and no one dares to deny it. But that does not mean that we should refrain from deporting anyone who differs with the Siamese Twins of politics—the Republican and Democratic parties.

Hail to the Revolution!

At the dawn of every day my hearty hail goes out to all the workers of the world. They are my comrades, and I covet no higher honor than to share their lot and no greater wealth than to have their respect and love.

And I include them all, on equal terms, regardless of race or creed or sex; and my loving greeting goes out to them all as it follows the sunrise around the world.

For centuries and centuries these workers, these doers and makers of all things, these living and breathing foundation-stones of the social fabric, have been loaded with fetters and bowed to the earth; but at last—at last!—touched by the magic of their common misery and inspired by the genius of solidarity, their latent power is beginning to pulse in their veins, they are learning to stand erect, and as they lift their eyes they behold that a new sun has risen in their somber skies.

In their long travail their unpolluted hearts kept time, and now they beat in unison as the one great heart of the human race. With the love-light in their eyes and their hands outstretched they greet each other as "Comrade," while in their united heart throbs may be heard the drum beats of the Proletarian Revolution.

All hail the sons and daughters of this glorified international host, with whom I proudly march to Victory or Death!

EUGENE V. DEBS.

RELIGION

To K. C. G.

There was a woman who did not believe in God—
But she lived God.
She did not talk about God—
But wove him into her life.
She made no sanctimonious prayers—
But was herself a prayer.
Attended no church—
But found her own church.

The scribes and pharisees pointed to her in scorn,
saying, "Atheist! Sinner!"

But the angels sang, "In thee is Christ risen."
—RUTH LE PRADE.

THE COST OF THE WAR

By Scott Nearing

The total of the national debts of the leading countries of the world is around 200 billions of dollars. These debts are distributed very irregularly. The debt of Great Britain is 40 billions; of France 34 billions; of Russia 25 billions; of Italy 13 billions; of Japan 1 billion; of Germany 40 billions; of Austria-Hungary 24 billions, and of the United States 22 billions. The total debt of Japan is less than 5 per cent of her wealth. The debt of England is 44 per cent of her wealth; of Germany 50 per cent; of France 52 per cent; of Austria-Hungary 96 per cent. These debts total \$200,000,000,000.

The imagination stops working before these figures. What can they mean?

Reports from France give some idea of what they mean in that one country. The economic situation of the French people is serious. Fuel is almost impossible to obtain. Food and clothing are three or four times as costly as they were before the war. At the same time wages have not advanced to anything like the same degree. The men are still in the army on soldiers' wages. Many thousands of women are unemployed or are working part time. If the economic situation of the people is serious, that of the government is desperate. The national expenditures for the coming year are set at 18 billions of francs. The revenue in sight will provide 7 billions, leaving 11 billions unprovided for, unless the government issues bonds to pay its current expenses.

Capitalism is on the rocks of bankruptcy. Before the war the workers were compelled to produce enough over and above their wages to pay interest and dividends on hundreds of billions of industrial stocks and bonds. Now, to these charges, there is to be added 10 billions of dollars annual interest on the war debt. Even the dullest must recognize in these figures the finger of destiny, pointing the present industrial system to its allotted place in the limbo of discarded social institutions.

After centuries of training by feudalism and capitalism in police clubbings, industrial maimings, lynchings, legal hangings; wars and all manner of violence, when a working class comes into power it is expected to exemplify the sum of the gentle virtues. It is tremendously flattering and greatly to be desired, but you can see yourself that in the circumstances it is a rather extreme expectation.

The Truth About

The following notes are reprinted from the *Social Service Bulletin*, issued every month by the Methodist Federation for Social Service, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York. This excellent compilation is taken from the issue for January-February, 1919. It was prepared by Harry F. Ward.

THE RUSSIAN QUESTION

Our concern with this question is because the Soviet Government is an attempt to organize a new social order.

SOURCES AND CHARACTER OF INFORMATION

Upon so disputed an issue, very difficult to secure impartial information. Reports entirely conflicting, according to degree of contact of observers with actual working of revolution, and again according to sympathies of eye-witnesses. It is assumed that readers are familiar with case against Bolshevism as it is constantly presented in daily press and in propaganda of its opponents therefore, and because of lack of space, that material is not summarized here. Available first-hand sources of information are: Documents issued by Soviet Government; reports of competent observers; books by Trotzky; such messages from Lenin as censorship has permitted to come into this country.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

What is a Soviet? A local unit of government. Had its beginning on agricultural side, in the "mir," oldest Russian Democratic institution, similar to New England's town meeting. In cities, developed in revolution of 1905, when Working Men's Councils grew up semi-clandestinely. Years of surreptitious discussion and promulgation of economic theories in these centers, made appearance of Soviets natural in revolution against monarchy, March, 1917.

How is it Organized? Local Soviet in every community. In rural sections, rural Soviet or Volost, represents group of villages; composed of peasant delegates. In cities, various districts have Soviets composed of representatives chosen by occupation. Soviet autonomous in local affairs. All political parties represented, strongest group electing delegates to next higher Soviet. Total system consists of local, county, provincial, and regional Soviets and the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. **National Organization:** New government officially known as the *Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic*; consists of All-Russian Congress of Soviets, supreme legislative body meeting four times or more annually; Central Executive Committee of 250, virtually a continuous Parliament, chief law-making body; Council of People's Commissars, the cabinet or ministry, consist of 17 elected from Central Executive Committee, each heading a department or Commissariat.

Extent? Controls central Russia. In Siberia Allied intervention has broken system and established Omsk government, which is now in control of a monarchist group under Kolchak. Archangel region similarly alienated. Ukraine has Soviet form of government and may re-enter Federation. An American traveler found Soviet in Vladivostok the same as that in Petrograd, 7,000 miles away.

General Character: Like American Revolution, it is an experiment in a new form of government, this time based upon occupational groups, rather than upon geographical divisions; units vote according to occupations; peasant delegates represent peasant Soviets in next higher body; workers in factories vote as industrial unions; craft-unions also represented; soldier delegates represent Soldiers' Councils.

There is provision for recall and replacement of representatives at any time, making political machinery quickly responsive to will of people. It is, therefore, an attempt to establish direct democracy both in the control of industry and government. This is why it replaced the Constituent Assembly, which western democracy naturally understands and favors. Every great social change is brought about by events of the moment which are of only temporary significance, and this was no exception. Why did the Bolsheviks dissolve the Constituent Assembly, an act universally criticized in this country? **First:** Assembly no longer represented popular will; only a small portion of population interested in political reform; peasants demand land and said to parties who wanted Assembly, "We've got the land; if it gets into politics which we do not understand we will be cheated out of it." Industrial workers demanded control of industry; soldiers demanded democracy in the army and peace; depleted and disorganized conditions of the country forced leaders to promises of economic rather than political reform. **Second:** Assembly, which met in January, elected the previous November on basis of lists

prepared before Bolshevik revolution. Party lines had changed, sentiment had shifted to left or radical wing, but reactionaries predominated in Assembly. Bolsheviks first tried to put through program; failing, bolted, carrying people with them. Assembly passed the radical land measure, declared for immediate peace and then died of inanition. Soviets which had been gradually developing now proved more responsive to the will of both peasants and industrialists; Bolsheviks, therefore, did not impose a new form of government to suit their own purposes but were put into power by a system which had long been developing.

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

Mensheviks, or minority, Social Democratic moderates, called also Minimalists. Also thorough-going Socialists.

Social Revolutionists, party of Catherine Breshkovskaya (the "Little Grandmother of the Revolution"), Kerensky and Tchernov of moderates, and Marie Spiridonova of radicals, whose following is now with and now against the Bolsheviks.

Cadets, Constitutional Democrats, a pre-revolutionary party, controlling First Provisional Government under Lvoff and Miliukov, and having part in Kerensky coalition regime; middle class in sympathies.

THE BOLSHEVIKI RULE

Leaders: *Lenin*, pen-name of Vladimir Ulianoff; belongs to noble family; had brother executed for revolutionary activity in Czarist regime; active in revolutionary efforts for twenty years; fomenting revolt in Austria when war broke out. Author "The Development of Capitalism in Russia," "Agrarian Problem in Russia," and other works. *Trotzky*: Pen-name of Bronstein, Commissar of Foreign Affairs; member wealthy Moscow family, but refused father's money, hence always poor; exiled and imprisoned under Czar's reign; opposed signing of Brest-Litovsk treaty, but overruled by Lenin. Author: "The Bolsheviks and World Peace," and "Our Revolution," both published in this country. "The present Cabinet is probably most cultured Cabinet in history of world. All are experts upon a great many questions. Several have written books of philosophy and religion." (A. R. Williams, formerly pastor of East Maverick Congregational Church, Boston, author of "In the Claws of the German Eagle.")

Policies: (Indicated by official decrees) **General aim:** To make labor not property, basis of social organization. **Specific aims:** To guard industrial workers from overwork, from diseases of occupation, from employment at too early an age, and in case of women and young people, from unsuitable occupations and night-work. To take over all grain supplies held by speculators, or for use in illicit manufacture of alcohol. To socialize national finance, natural resources and the land (pensioning present holders sufficient for their support). To make education accessible to all by means of free tuition in primary and secondary institutions, access by public to all libraries of over 500 volumes, whether owned by individuals or institutions, and by printing and circulating under government auspices, either at cost or entirely free, copies of Russian classics. To free courts and judicial procedure from traditional abuses, and make them function as instruments of justice to all classes. To make marriage monogamous and free; to make divorce possible on application of either party (apparently without giving reasons); to establish legal rights of all children. To free public from misrepresentations of press by attaching penalties to false reports. To establish religious liberty. To renounce all imperialistic ambitions.

Program: *Election Platform*. "Immediate peace, land for the peasants, workers' control of industry, all power to Soviets." Claimed as single aim perfection of Soviet government. Overwhelming majority supported program because peace inevitable. Peasants supported program, accepting only 50% of power to which they were entitled, because Bolsheviks settled land question as peasants desired, namely: Those who would use it received it.

Qualifications for voting; Slogan: "A vote for everyone who works." Individuals living on rent and interest considered parasites, not allowed to vote; franchise obtainable by going to work. In progress of democracy franchise has been limited by property-owning and literacy qualifications. Soviet government and Bolsheviks require a new test, making service to the common life basis of citizenship. "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat,"

Russia

DEPARTMENT CONDUCTED BY
... J. H. RYCKMAN

when that class outnumbers all others and organizes the government, becomes a high-sounding phrase for "rule of majority." Determining question for both Soviets and our political democracy is whether in practice either results in control of minority. Russia's population is 84% peasant, 9% industrial, 7% (until the war) bourgeois, (owners and managers—of this 7%, 1% had nearly 100% of industrial management).

Working the Program: Formulated peace slogan "No annexations, no indemnities," which greatly influenced Allied war aims. Published secret treaties showing imperialistic bargains for territory made by Allied governments. Demobilized Czar's army of 12,000,000, and raised new "Red Army." Reaffirmed Czar's decision to banish vodka. Re-distributed land, nationalized all natural resources, ordered compulsory insurance for agricultural workers at state expense, also for homesteads against fire, drought, epidemic among cattle, etc. Schools organized and opened where none previously existed. Installed extensive hospital facilities, reorganized factories and made them more productive. (In one establishment employing 6,000 men, eighteen cars a day were turned out under Kerensky regime. Soviet reorganized, cut force to 1,800 and turned out twelve cars a day by methods mostly introduced by working men, an increase of more than 100% per man. Data concerning industrial efficiency or inefficiency very inadequate). Repudiated Foreign Debt. Moderate Socialists wanted, after due warning from Liberals, to repudiate that part loaned to Czar to repress revolution. Bolsheviks repudiated all because against capitalism; also because read in French and German economists that repudiation would occasion revolution in those countries. Later offered to protect small French investors, and have since offered to arrange entire payment if that is price of peace. Has withstood all attacks for more than a year. Has won support of Mensheviks, and leaders among intellectuals, notably Gorky, one of Russia's greatest writers. Has maintained itself despite substantial help given internal enemies by Allied governments, and also despite natural attempt of employers to cripple new program by taking away books and dismantling machinery.

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

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

The Red Terror: *Amount:* Unknown. "New Statesman," London, anti-Bolshevik in policy, says, of all executions in Moscow since Bolsheviks came into power, 60% were of corrupt Soviet officials. Relation of fact to report seen in "St. Bartholomew incident." American newspapers reported that on November 10 Bolsheviks would carry out general massacre of all opponents. What actually happened: Soviet council of Petrograd adopted resolution giving amnesty to all arrested hostages and persons alleged to be involved in plots against Soviets, except those whose detention was deemed necessary for safety of Bolsheviks in enemy hands. *Kinds:* (1) Massacres and murders of hated officers and defeated opponents in early days. (2) Lawlessness: By discharged soldiers and criminal elements; for example, "wine pogroms," in which these elements broke into wine cellars and caused disturbances. (3) Internecine warfare between factions, extent unknown. (4) Execution by legal procedure of counter-revolutionists and also of Soviet officials for criminality and even delinquency. Capital punishment at first abolished, but re-introduced for punishment of traitors to revolution within and without the government. Number apparently high, but no reliable figures available. Evidently increased by encouragement of counter-revolutionists by Allies.

Their Attitude: From reply of Tschitscherin, Commissar of War, to Allies: "Have gentlemen representing neutral powers heard of crushing of Sinn Feiners in Dublin, of White Terror in Finland, of mass murder of working men and peasants in Ukraine? To our enemies we bring war without quarter; force is being used only in hold cause of liberation of the people." From letter of Lenin to American working men: "Have English forgotten their 1649, the French their 1793? Terror was just and justified when it was employed by the bourgeoisie for its own

purposes against feudal domination. But terror becomes criminal when working men and poverty-stricken peasants dare to use it against bourgeoisie. Terror was just and justified when it was used to put one exploiting minority in place of another. But terror becomes horrible and criminal when used to abolish all exploiting minorities, when employed in cause of actual majority, in cause of proletariat and semi-proletariat; of working class and poor peasantry. The bourgeoisie of international imperialism has succeeded in slaughtering ten millions, in crippling twenty millions in its war. Should our war, the war of the oppressed and exploited against oppressors and exploiters cost a half or a whole million victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie would still maintain that victims of the world war died a righteous death and those of the civil war were sacrificed for a criminal cause."

OFFICIAL ATTITUDE TOWARD RELIGION

Summary of original decree on Church and State: Church is separated from state. No laws may be passed restricting freedom of conscience, or to establish advantages or privilege on ground of religious affiliation. Citizens may profess any religion or none. Free observance of religious customs guaranteed if they do not disturb public order or infringe upon rights of citizens. Exemption of performance of civil duties on ground of religion permitted upon consideration of individual cases. Teaching and study of religion to be done privately. Religious societies subject to general regulations governing other private associations and may not enjoy privileges or subsidies from state. Compulsory collection of payments and assessments for church or religious societies forbidden. All properties of existing religious societies declared national property. Buildings and articles especially designed for religious services given for free use of corresponding religious societies.

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

SOME QUESTIONS

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

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

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

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

On this question of responsibility for, as well as extent of criminal acts, there is sharp contradiction of testimony; also as to whether methods of suppressing rebels are more ruthless than our own "law and order." Apparently the degree of violence and disorders varies in different sections according to amount and character of attacks upon new government. Indications are that

government is restoring law and order with a strong hand. More evidence is needed before passing final judgment.

THE SENATE INQUIRY

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

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

If the newspapers continue to withhold such data or the Committee continues to consider it irrelevant, we shall endeavor to supply it to our readers.

H. F. W.

SOURCE MATERIAL

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Agencies: *Truth About Russia Committee*, 299 Broadway, New York, represents a group of American liberals.

Russian Information Bureau, 233 Broadway, New York, represents Anti-Bolshevist propaganda.

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March 5, 1919.

WORKING WITH DULL TOOLS

Mr. Merchant, Manufacturer, and Employer of Labor:

Your real tools are the people you employ. Your keenest competitors from now on will be the manufacturers of Europe and Asia. Their employees are thrifty, steady, and frugal. They are smart and efficient. They have been ground into fine-edged tools by the competition of ages. They work long hours. They are physically and industrially fit, owing to the compelling necessities of war. Many of your employees are spendthrifts, migratory, and wasteful. They are constantly demanding shorter hours and more pay. As a result of this your labor supply is uncertain, your employees often are not dependable, and you fail to maintain your maximum production. Why? Because your people have not the FIRST HUNDRED DOLLARS SAVED.

You can help yourselves by helping the people you employ along the Road of Thrift. You can check your labor turnover. Your Government, with rare forethought, has paved the way with War Savings Stamps. Induce your employees to become partners with their Government. Help them form War Savings Societies and see that they keep them active.

THE MAN WHOSE GOVERNMENT OWES HIM MONEY WILL NEVER BECOME A BOLSHEVIK. Give any man a month of idleness and hunger and let him associate with scatter-brained agitators and trouble makers and he is no good in his business, his family, or his community. On the other hand, if you help him to put by a few hundred dollars, just what he can easily save from his wages by investing regularly week by week, he is prepared for the "rainy day" and becomes a good conservative citizen and a hard and consistent workman. When he acquires the habit of thrift he not only saves for himself, but he saves for you. He saves your time and he saves your material. This plan has been tried elsewhere and it works. It will work for you. The increase in your bank balance will prove it.

Yours very truly,

Governor.

P. S. In order that you may give this plan a fair trial, we enclose a return postcard. Sign it today and put it in the mail. The State Director or Chairman of the local committee will call on you.

We are taking it upon ourselves to give a wider circulation to this remarkable communication from the United States Treasury Department, which, it seems, the department has seen fit to send only to merchants, manufacturers, and employers of labor, but which we patriotically desire to place in the hands of the laboring class and the general public.

Irish rebels in years ago had a song of loyalty which they sang at their secret meetings in the wild glens, which ran like this:

"And though they sleep in dungeons deep,
Or flee, outlawed and banned,
We love them yet, we can't forget
The felons of our land."

Our Gene is a felon now.

There are other men who have greater popularity and publicity, but the best loved man in the United States is going to the penitentiary for ten years because of his love for the people.

"Gene Debs is the most lovable man I ever knew. Debs is sincere. His heart is as gentle as a woman's and as fresh as a mountain brook. If Debs were a priest, the world would listen to his eloquence, and that gentle, musical voice and sad, sweet smile of his would soften the hardest heart."
EUGENE FIELD.

The Debs Decision and the General Strike

By HOYT H. HUDSON.

"Debs will speak tonight at Social Turnverein Hall, unless the mandate from the United States Supreme Court sending him to prison arrives first," said an inconspicuous note in a Cleveland daily on March 12. Of course everyone knew that the mandate from the Supreme Court would not arrive so summarily, but the newspaper could not refrain from doing its little bit to cast doubt on the certainty of the meeting and to discredit Debs in the eyes of good people who shudder at all law-breakers indiscriminately.

The hall was crowded, with an overflow in the street. There was no interference by the authorities except the enforcement of the rule that no one could come in unless there was a seat for him. There were the usual preliminaries, announcements and sale of literature. But just before the collection a real "story" broke—one which was not carried the next day by the newspapers. The chairman of the meeting, a former candidate for the mayoralty of Cleveland, had not mentioned Debs' name up to this time. Now he announced a public mass meeting of workers at Market Square, to take place on Sunday afternoon, March 23, "to express the demand for the freedom of Eugene V. Debs!" The applause was long and loud. There was another sentence or two, and then, "The Mooney convention at Chicago voted for a general strike on July 4, to continue until Mooney is free. When you go out for Mooney, stay out until Eugene V. Debs is free!" I have heard a good many "collection" speeches, but never before one so effective as this. For after the applause died down the chairman intimated that the funds collected would help finance the liberation of Debs and the general strike, and the audience gave with inspired liberality.

To see Debs stand smiling before an audience of working men is always a joyous and memorable sight, but this occasion, when the audience beheld its champion facing ten years behind gray stone walls and iron bars, had aspects approaching grandeur. Debs had not prepared an address, but talked discursively of his approaching incarceration, of the un-Americanism of the Espionage Act, of the deportations, and of the greatness of the cause of industrial democracy. "It doesn't matter what happens to me," was his attitude. He compared the decision of the Supreme Court regarding the Espionage Act to that of the same body in the Dred Scott case. "Look at the hands of the deported men, hard, calloused, twisted with toil, and then look at the hands of their deporters; and you will see the reason for the deportations."

He said enough to reveal his great and peculiar genius, which is not for speaking—immense as his oratorical ability is—but which is rather a genius for sympathy. He lives very near the heart of the world's workers. What hurts them hurts him. Whatever Debs may or may not accomplish in the future, he will go down in history for having incarnated his belief that "not until all are free are any free." "As long as there is a lower class, I am of it," he told the court that sentenced him. Such a man warms the hearts of poets. It was the poet Eugene Field who was Debs' sincerest friend when he was first

imprisoned in Chicago. James Whitcomb Riley's tribute to Debs is well known:

"An' there's 'Gene Debs, a man that stands
An' jes' holds out in his two hands
As warm a heart as ever beat
Between here and the judgment-seat!"

And readers of radical papers have seen the spontaneous eulogy written by Edmund Vance Cook in the courtroom while Debs was on trial. I do not recall that any of the justices of the Supreme Court have so moved the poets.

The next evening we went across the city to hear John Reed talk about Russia. He told how the Overman committee had to be induced, against its will, to call Albert Rhys Williams, Louise Bryant, and himself, the people who actually knew something about Bolshevist Russia. He made us smile at Senator Nelson's ungrammatical comments, Senator King's concern about the lowered status of women in Russia (Senator King being a political bulwark of Mormonism), and Senator Overman's deep interest in the welfare of Russian workers—Overman being our chief apologist for child labor. Reed told us that 10,000 new public schools have been founded in Russia under Bolshevism, that an institute is maintained where pensioned artists are given studios free of rent, that literary workers are pensioned. He read us an official decree in which the Soviet government commended the workers of a certain chocolate factory for the excellence of their theatrical performance. He said that Maxim Gorki is engaged in editing a library of 1500 volumes of the world's best literature, which, if financial conditions permit, will be placed by the government in every worker's home.

Nothing Reed had to say about Russia, however, brought as much applause as did the name of Debs. And at the close of his speech Reed asked the audience to rise, saying, "Now I want you to put up your hands and says with me that unless Debs comes out of jail we go in!" The result was thrilling and portentous.

During the campaign of 1908, Lincoln Steffens wrote in an article concerning Debs: "It may be deemed expedient to hang Debs some day, and that wouldn't be so bad; but don't try to hurt him." Steffens saw, as all can see now, that hanging or imprisonment or anything else a capitalistic society may impose on Debs will not be able to hurt him. But some one who read the sentence quoted wrote to the "Bookman" asking what it meant. The "Bookman," in a superior manner, replied: "This is an admirable example of the art of saying nothing in such a way as to seem as though one were saying a great deal." But now in 1919 it looks as though the event might prove that Mr. Steffens really was saying a great deal—more even than he meant. It looks as if the authorities would do well to heed the warning, "don't try to hurt him." For Mooney seems quite a distance away to an Eastern laborer; but Debs seems very near.

One of the most deteriorating influences of capitalism is the premium its puts upon insincerity.

THE BOOKS OF DEBS

By David Bobspa

Gene Debs the doer has burst into the florescence of oratory and the fruitage of golden literature, though he never deliberately sat down to write a book in his life. The three volumes bearing his name are compilations made by friends. These books are filled with sketches, addresses and letters produced in the stress of white-hot action; poetic, majestic, prophetic in diction; in many instances of pure literary merit. In fact, Eugene V. Debs has written sufficiently to live in the literature of the age.

But what a wealth of material awaits the compiler in those masses of clippings so carefully filed by Theodore the Beloved in his scrap book! They will give material for several volumes of great literary and greater historic value.

"Debs: His Life, Writings and Speeches," in the past ten years, has run through many editions—Appeal to Reason, Charles H. Kerr, and Phil Wagner presses—and is still full of interest. It is too well known to require comment. "Labor and Freedom" is a small edition of even greater dynamic import than the larger volume. Here are almost a score of Gene's luminous portrayals of the working class ideals, beginning with his classic of the old umbrella mender. Here, too, is included the beginning and the end of the Debs philosophy:

"While there is a lower class I am in it;
While there is a criminal class I am of it;
While there is a soul in prison I am not free."

Have you forgotten the heroic martyrdom of Louis Tikas? Read again that chapter of American revolutionary struggle, for "Louis Tikas made Ludlow as holy as Jesus Christ made Calvary." In "The Secret of Efficient Expression," prepared originally for the University of Wisconsin, we have a model for the student of oratory. The children—Gene is known for his overflowing love for these little ones—are remembered in "The Little Lords of Love" and "A Message to the Children." Tributes to woman, an unflinching lashing of Theodore Roosevelt, a chapter on party affairs, a retrospect into history, and a few campaign speeches for good measure, complete the collection, and one feels that he has been well fed indeed.

Best of them all, however, is a booklet that should be written on golden pages, "The Debs Trilogy," published by Lincoln Phifer in connection with "The New World." The compressed idealism, love and understanding of Eugene V. Debs for man, woman and child are expressed in brief essays.

"The greatest thing in the world is man. It is he who created the world as it now is. And he made not only this world, but in the sidereal realms of history all the worlds that sow the heavens with light."

"While I scorn the chivalry that kisses the hand of woman, and then denies that hand the reins with which she might guide the rolling world along; while I would not bow to her as being more than man, yet would I give her every right I claim for myself; still I cannot think of woman without a feeling of reverence that amounts to worship, and that which I worship in her I would also worship in man if he had not banished it from his life."

"Well may the babe of Bethlehem have been heralded by angels, for the child is ever the Saviour of the world. In its weakness lies the strength of man; in its helplessness the eternal evangel of kindness and co-operation."

TALKING OVERSEAS ABOUT DEBS

Lena Morrow Lewis

"We Europeans have no comrade like your Gene Debs," said Mrs. Dora Montefiore as we sat in the reception room of the Woman's Lyceum Club in London some years ago.

"In what particular respect do you find him different?" I asked.

"He gives a human touch to the movement," she replied, "and radiates a spirit of love that is irresistible. I followed him in several meetings where he spoke when I was over in the States; and the more I heard him, the more I marveled at his power. I do not hesitate to say that we have no one in all the European movement who may be compared to him. My American comrades are to be congratulated on having such a woker."

It is quite human to enjoy hearing one's "home folks" spoken of so kindly, so I readily responded to our comrade's request to tell her some stories of the comrades in their association with Comrade Debs. Out of scores of interesting incidents which I might have told, I related the following:

It was in a little town way down in Missouri, and the country folk for miles around had gathered at the depot to get a sight of Comrade Debs as he stopped for a few moments on his way through the state on a campaign tour. As he stepped out of the car his eye swept over the crowd, and, with one jump to the platform, he moved with rapid strides over to an old man who had been trying to get a little nearer the train.

With a grasp that might have been painful had not the old farmer known that it came from a heart of love, Debs greeted him. He was one of the boys of the A. R. U. who had been hunted and hounded from pillar to post and had finally settled down on a farm in Missouri. Though it had been over a score of years since Debs had seen this man, time had not made so great change in him, nor had the honors of the world so altered Debs but that he well remembered the face of his associate on the road.

Some time later when the old farmer told me this story he said that he had traveled more than a score of miles in the hot sun to see Debs that day, and to shake his hand and speak to him face to face after all these years was well worth the journey.

Another incident which I told my English friend was the experience of a comrade in Baltimore. He was blind, paralyzed and illshapen from the wrenching of pain. Unable to feed himself or move about, he had to be waited on like a baby. His mind, however, was still clear, and as he lay upon his bed his thoughts were ever going out to the socialist movement. When it was announced that Debs would be in Baltimore, our blind, sick friend began planning to attend the meeting. At first it seemed impossible, for he had not been away from his bed or reclining chair for many years; but he made the venture. No sooner was he placed in one of the opera boxes than Debs, who was seated on the platform, fairly leaped across the stage and into the box to welcome this old, blind, paralytic comrade.

In telling of the incident, the comrade said to me: "Why, Debs just took me in his arms and loved me as though I were a woman." And even now I can see the old man's face light up, as his smile overshadowed the marks of pain which disease had stamped thereon, and I recall his earnestness when he said: "That speech and that embrace of Debs' were the greatest things that ever came into my life."

"I Used to be a Socialist"

By ROBERT WHITAKER

We were comrades in the days before the war. We were not only comrades through our common convictions then, but we were fellow sufferers for freedom's sake. His was a more difficult situation than mine, because he had not only a wife to support, but two small children. And he lost his church, whereas I was able to hold mine. He did some canvassing to keep the pot boiling, tried the role of a radical lecturer in a small way, and finally went "back East," and got him another church in a large city. And now he is pastor of a pulpit in the environs of New York City, and is to be on the chautauqua platform this year.

The other day I had a letter from him, written in his usual friendly fashion so far as it touched on personal matters; but he spoke with some sharpness of the radical cause. It cannot hurt him, and it may help others, if I quote some of the things he said, and then give my own reaction to them. Let me preface these quotations with just this additional remark, that he is as sincere a fellow as I know, and that I do not doubt in the least his utter willingness to suffer personal loss and hardship for the faith that is in him. But let him speak for himself:

"You say you have 'lived.' I know you have. So have I. And how I have lived. A life packed full of rich and varied experience. I grant that I had not the making of a radical. But it was not because of the cut of my coat, but rather because of growing convictions based upon a wider knowledge of life in this marvelous age in which we are living. You have met and known great souls these last few years, of the radical type. I too have met and known great souls of all types and all classes. I have come in close contact and fellowship with statesmen, governors, mayors, capitalists, men of big affairs as well as the poor and the oppressed. . . I have seen poverty and despair at its worst in America. I have been up against the hard facts of modern industrial life. If there is a man anywhere who has roughed it with all classes more than I have, I should like to meet him, just for the fun of it. I have kept in touch with radicals, and heard their message.

"Out of all this I have come to some conclusions, for I have learned life in some degree in America. I am convinced of one thing, and that is that the radicals have no solution whatever for the perplexing problems of the age. They are a mere voice, crying in the wilderness against this or that which is wrong, or in their judgment appears to be. But when it comes to a practical solution of stirring problems they cannot deliver the goods, for they have none to deliver. The radical has his place and his work cut out for him. I wouldn't do away with the radicals for the world. Anyone who wants to line up with them, I say, go to it, and good luck. But for one I prefer to be engaged in more useful service.

"The radicals, and that includes most of the Socialists, yourself not included, are the most intolerant tyrants in American life. I say this out of a varied experience of fellowship with millionaires, capitalists, men of big and little business, labor leaders, anarchists, groups of Socialists, and radicals. Talk about trimming a message to fit an audience. Can you beat it when it comes to getting

any sort of a message over to a group of radicals or Socialists, other than the particular kind of a message they desire to hear? The average American audience, with a goodly sprinkling of capitalists and big business men, is no comparison. The radical wants liberty—for himself, but not for the other fellow.

"Of this I am also convinced, that democracy is not so much a particular form of government, most particularly not a particular form of government cut after the pattern of any class, such as the radical revolutionary Socialists would have it, but is the spirit of good will and equal opportunity for a nation made up of many diversified personalities of wide range of talents, and a very wide range of capacity to enjoy and appreciate the material and spiritual possessions of a great nation. On this you would probably agree with me in the main. Granting that you do, then to say that Socialism is the form of government by which this is to be realized does not make it so. Socialism is the most vague thing that ever hit this planet. There are a thousand definitions for it; it can be defined most any way to suit the fancy of any radical group. If Socialism is government ownership of the natural resources, the means of production and distribution, which is the best economic interpretation of Socialism I know, there is no assurance whatever that it would be, in any sense, a solution of our industrial and economic problems. If it is a solution it will gradually come to pass under our present democracy. In any event it is not fundamental. The thing that is fundamental is not economic at all. It is to be found in the realm of tolerance and good will, of the spirit of altruism; it is found, fundamentally, in the Sermon on the Mount, and in the whole realm of Jesus' teachings and personality. And that is not, fundamentally, a program. Programs have their place, but they are not fundamental. That is the reason I am preaching the gospel, and not Socialism, or any particular form of human government, although I am devoted to the best form of government or economic program that may be devised, by which the Christ message may be realized. But there is no evidence that Socialism is that form of government.

"My prophetic vision, if I may be pardoned for using the phrase, is farther flung than that of the Socialist or any other adherent to a party or particular form of government could possibly be. It lays hold of a redeemed humanity. I am glad to leave the radicals and let them play the fiddle on one string to their hearts' content. For the most part they will do little harm, and may do a lot of good. As you say, 'We need the builders as well as the pioneers.' But it is more glorious to be both pioneer and builder at the same time. That is what I am doing, within the limit of my capacity, my vision, my convictions, and my strength. I am both that in my Bible class, on the platform, in the pulpit. I say this in no spirit of boasting, but it is a simple fact."

The letter from which I have quoted at length was not written for publication, and if there are any infelicities of phrasing allowance must be made for the intimate and spontaneous character of the communication. It is the outpouring of one heart to another.

It will seem very shallow to most of the radicals who read it. And this will be reckoned by those who are not radical as a proof of the charge of intolerance which is laid against radicals in this confession of one who was once of their number. So, then, leaving all personalities and generalities aside, let us see what the letter is really worth to us who are still of the radical household of faith.

And first of all we may as well recognize the fact that the crisis which is on us is one which will separate many from us who were once with us. The war played havoc with our Socialist meetings and our Socialist membership. Some of those who left us did so because they were nationalists more than they were Socialists. Speaking of one of these the other day, a friend of mine got off a rather clever bon mot. "He thought he was a Socialist, but discovered that he was only an Englishman," was the sharp remark. Others dropped out for the time being because they were intimidated, or compelled to caution by their particular economic situation. These are coming back, as well as many of the former kind. And there will be accession of many who were never Socialists before.

But the days of the winnowing process are not done. Even in ordinary times every radical movement loses many from sheer weariness of waiting for results. And these are not ordinary times, and the results of the social agitation are not going to be altogether such for the next few years as to make adherence to the radical cause an easy thing. The lines of cleavage between those who are really radical and those who only think themselves radical are going to be more and more sharply drawn.

Nor is there any use to deny that contact with radicals is sometimes disconcerting to the man whose own radicalism is a matter of feeling more than of profound economic understanding. Radicals are contentious. They always have been. Why deny or excuse what is so obvious, and so easily explained on philosophic grounds? Conservatives are those who stand for the established order, and represent therefore only different degrees of the passive, acquiescent mood. Radicals are those who are against the existing order, and represent therefore the attacking, protesting mood. It requires no individuality to be a conservative, since the attitude is negative in the main. It requires, on the contrary, independence, self-reliance, even self-assertiveness, to take the position of assault on things as they are. And the more strongly things are entrenched the more militant must be the mood of him who dares personal loss and misunderstanding to combat them. The reformers of the Religious Revolution of the sixteenth century were an aggressive, outspoken, contentious lot. They quarreled bitterly among themselves, and fought each other sometimes more aggressively than they did the common enemy. The real Luther was a violent man, exceedingly violent in speech and temper, and very much that the Catholics say against him is true. That was why he won as against the more cultured and more even-tempered Erasmus, who went back in disgust at the harshness and fanaticisms of the reformers. The early Abolitionists were also men of extreme temperament and speech. So were the first "temperance cranks." And Ambrose Bierce, a quarter of a century ago in his clever paragraphs in the San Francisco Examiner, always referred to the brave souls that led the way in the battle for woman suffrage as "Them Loud." Even yet the "militant suffragists" are frightfully "unladylike" to a lot of "nice" people.

"Nice" people have been on the wrong side of every

revolutionary movement. They were against Moses; they were against Elijah; they were against Jesus; they were against Paul. And if you prefer more "profane" examples, they were against Socrates, against Galileo, against Columbus, against even Mrs. Eddy less than half a century ago. And if you will look up the matter you will find that they were terribly against the use of forks at table instead of the godly and respectable fingers which our Creator gave us. If you doubt this last, just dig into the encyclopedias and look up the item of the introduction of forks into England.

Did you ever watch a procession come into town? You can tell when it is moving by the riff raff of boys and idlers of all kinds running on before. And we admit frankly that when the human procession gets a real move on it there are always lots of very loosely related characters who are much in evidence. Why shouldn't there be? When was a city ever founded by the devotees of kid gloves and silk petticoats? And when did ever an Abraham Lincoln come out of a millionaires' club?

But all this is incidental and mere by-play to the main thing that needs to be said. Much more might be urged in defense of the alleged "intolerance" of radicals, which every intelligent radical knows. And something might be said as to the assumption that nice people are really tolerant, in spite of their appearance of greater gentleness and refinement of speech. If I remember rightly, they gave Socrates the cup of poison to drink, and gave Jesus the crown of thorns and the cross. Likewise, they burned a few thousands of martyrs in the middle ages, and tormented them in a way to make an American Indian envy their diabolical ingenuity. Not all the radicals of all time have killed as many human beings or wrought such destruction of property since time began as the nice rulers of the world have effected in the last four years. Nice people tolerant! Wait till the real record is given of what men have suffered and are suffering today in the prisons of the United States for taking our constitutional guarantees of free speech and a free press seriously. Was it the radicals, or was it the judicial, temperate-minded, nice-mannered Supreme Court of the United States which decided less than seventy-five years ago in the Dred Scott case that a negro had no rights which a white man was bound to respect?

Mild-mannered, gently spoken, nicely cultured folks have been behind all the most abominable and atrocious intolerance of the world. Radicals sometimes talk intemperately, but it takes your gracious conservatives to keep the crosses of the world well loaded down with victims, the dank dungeons of "Holy Inquisitions" filled with rotting human beings, and the fires of Smithfield and Oxford burning.

But let that all go. We plead guilty. Some of us are intolerant in speech, some of us are harsh in accent, some of us are vulgar in manners. We are only pioneers, and we have all their faults, and, perhaps some of their virtues. And, yes, we are sometimes vague. The wilderness is a big place, and the streets are not all laid out yet, much less macadamized.

"It seems to me," said a Philadelphian to a Boston friend, "that Boston is not so well laid out as Philadelphia."

"Well," remarked his friend with a mile, "when Boston has been dead as long as Philadelphia she will be well laid out too."

And it may be that when Socialism has been dead as long as the Republican and Democratic parties it will

be as stiffly and rigidly defined as they are. Or rather as they were, for just now the cadavers of the two old parties seem to be actually falling to pieces. The figure is too suggestive to follow it further.

But there is nothing vague to any man who has eyes to see in the great outstanding fact of this world crisis which is now upon us. Names are of little consequence here, and even "programs" are of minor importance. It is a vast glacial movement of human society which is under way, and they are blind indeed who do not sense the direction in which the world moves.

The present revolt against the wage and profit system in industry is as clear and definite as was the revolt against the church in the sixteenth century, or the revolt against king-craft in the eighteenth century. Neither of these revolts won a perfect victory then, for the reason that they had to wait on each other, and on the greater revolt against the priesthood and kingcraft of industrial lordship to-day. But as the church was overthrown by the first revolution, and the king was overthrown by the second revolution, so is the "boss" to be overthrown by the revolution which is now upon us. And with the passing of economic slavery the lingering hold of both priesthood and king-craft will find its end.

Or to use more modern illustrations, the revolt against the wage system in industry is as definite and uncompromising now as was the revolt against slavery or the revolt against the liquor traffic of the last hundred years. There were those for reaction in both instances. There were those for compromise. Many of these last were mighty men, the Woodrow Wilsons and the Lloyd Georges of their day. The abolitionists in both cases were "despised and rejected of men," and in both cases they won. And won largely by reason of the fatuousness and stupidity of the opposition.

The slave oligarchy could have had almost anything if they had been willing to reform. If you doubt, read James G. Blaine's account in his "Twenty Years in Congress" of what the Republican Party offered them in March of 1861. The saloon oligarchy could have had almost anything if they had been willing to reform. Even twenty years ago a moderate "temperance" program on their part would have delayed prohibition for another century. They drove the world into the arms of those who were out to utterly destroy them. Does anybody doubt that issue is clear cut to-day?

The money oligarchy could have had almost anything before the great war had they been willing to adopt even the most moderate program of economic reform. Who are the present "conservative" party in Germany, on whom the hopes of the conservatives of all lands depend? Socialists, who ten years ago were beyond the pale of conservative consideration. Germany would not listen to her moderates then, and now the Spartacans are thundering at her doors.

The day is not far distant when American Socialists will be recognized as having been the really constructive conservatives of this hour. But such fiddling as my "once-Socialist" clergyman friend now proposes is as innocuous and fatuous as was the proposal of Bishop Potter twenty-five years ago to establish a "Christian saloon." Where are the slave compromisers now? Where are the "reformers" of the liquor traffic. They are where the compromisers of our wage system and the reformers of our profiteering will be twenty-five years hence.

The economic revolution is on, in all lands, and it will

not stop now till the wage system is utterly overthrown. And all your talk of "good-will" and "preaching the gospel" is as idle in this hour as it was after the firing on Fort Sumter, as it is on the part of the saloon men now that national prohibition is part of the constitution of the land.

And to see this is to see the unimportance of our personal foibles, which are natural enough in folks individual enough to stand up in these strenuous times. What if we are intolerant, because we are so dead in earnest? When did ever lackadaisical, easy going, good natured folks lead an army into battle against the enthroned abuses of the world? Indefinite? No, that we may have been, when we also were dallying with reforms. But we are indefinite no more. We know the one thing we want, and the one thing we are going to have now, the complete overthrow of the whole capitalistic order of control of the world's work and the world's goods. We are going to have the land for the people. We are going to have the tools for the people. We are going to have government for the people. Is that indefinite? We have no objection to good-will, if it is not a disguise for stealing and murder, as it commonly has been. We would rather have good will, and peaceful discussion than to have hard feeling and violence. If there is violence it will not be of our making. But if your good will and your "gospel of Jesus" means that our leaders are to rot in jail for daring to speak out their souls, that our papers are to be suppressed, that our meetings are to be broken up, that we are to be hounded on every hand for demanding the things guaranteed us by the victories of earlier pioneers who led the fight against church and king, then take it from me, they are poor students of history who think to overthrow us so.

There is a new justice rising in the world and they who oppose it will only make it more drastic when it comes, as come it will in spite of all the worn out devices of repression and hate. We shall lose many a former comrade as the struggle grows in intensity, as we shall gain many a soul that has not hitherto been ours. And the struggle is already on, an "irrepressible conflict" indeed, in which the compromisers and the preachers of personal moralities and pious platitudes will be swept to one side or the other, and compelled before many days to line up either with those who are for or with those who are against the "new freedom" which is breaking upon the world.

And compared with this struggle the League of Nations itself is of minor consequence, for it is the League of Labor which is to rule the nations and to govern the world.

THE I. W. W. DEFENSE

With the war-time prosecutions being pushed relentlessly by the U. S. government and with a fresh outburst of capitalist prosecution everywhere meeting the increased activity of the radical labor elements, the I.W.W. is being driven to redoubled efforts to raise the large sum needed to protect its members throughout the country and defend the right of the organization to carry on its work as a labor union.

The committee, in its appeal for the support of all friends of the radical labor movement, points to the fact that, in addition to 93 I. W. W.'s convicted in the famous Chicago trial last summer and sentenced to 807 years' imprisonment and fines aggregating \$2,570,000, 46 mem-

bers were convicted last January in the Sacramento bomb frame-up. Besides these, 34 more are to be tried in Wichita this month, while 28 are still awaiting trial in Omaha and 27 in Spokane, in addition to scores of individual cases throughout the western states, either under the Espionage Act or under state laws against "criminal syndicalism" enacted within the past year for the express purpose of crushing the I. W. W.

The government plan for the wholesale deportation of foreign-born workers holding radical economic opinions is aimed particularly at the I. W. W., the committee claims, pointing to the fact that, of the first batch of 58 deportees received at Ellis Island, 45 were members of that organization.

The systematic newspaper campaign now under way charging the I. W. W. with complicity in wild plots of assassination, bomb explosions and incendiarism is cited as part of a plan to prepare the public mind to justify any arbitrary acts deemed necessary in the effort to wipe out this militant labor organization. It is pointed out by the I. W. W. that their philosophy in no way endorses destruction or personal violence, but aims solely to educate and organize the workers so that they may be prepared, when the time comes, to take over the industries and operate them for the benefit of society at large—what the I. W. W. preamble calls "building the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

With eight or nine hundred of its members confined in jails or deportation pens throughout the country, the I. W. W. finds itself obliged to raise a staggering sum of money for their defense. Between two and three thousand dollars a week, it is estimated, is required to supply these men with the food, clothing, reading matter, tobacco and other "jail comforts" they need, provide for the wives and children many of them have left without support, and meet the cost of legal defense and publicity.

"The fight of the I. W. W.," the committee says in closing its appeal for funds, "is the fight of all the workers throughout the country who long for freedom from industrial slavery. It is their fight as well as ours. We cannot win it without them. They must help, or the present opportunity for gaining industrial democracy will be lost and capitalism will be firmly entrenched for years to come."

Contributions to help in the work of defense should be sent to the N. Y. Defense Committee, 27 East Fourth Street, New York City.

Little Barbara

BY MULTITULI

(Translated from the Dutch by Nicholas Steelink)
 Dramatis Personae: Lothario, the Judge, a Constable, and Little Barbara.
 Scene: The courtroom.

Constable: Your honor, here is the man who murdered little Barbara.

Judge: The man must hang! How did he do it?

Constable: He cut her in little pieces and pickled the parts.

Judge: That is a crime. He must hang.

Lothario: Your honor, I did not kill little Barbara! I have fed her, clothed her, and given her lodging.

Judge: Man, you must hang! You make your crimes worse by your arrogance. It does not look well for one who is accused of something to hold himself for a good man.

Lothario: But, your honor, there are witnesses to corroborate my story, and as I am accused of murder—

Judge: You must hang! You have cut little Barbara to pieces, pickled the parts, and you are arrogant—three capital offenses! . . . Who are you, little woman?

Little Woman: I am little Barbara.

Lothario: Thank God! You see, your honor, I did not murder her!

Judge: Hm—yes—so! But the pickling?

Little Barbara: No, judge, he did not pickle me. Instead, he treated me well. He is a noble man.

Lothario: Your honor, hear; she says I am a good man.

Judge: Hm—so. The third point remains, however. Constable, take your prisoner; he must hang. He is guilty of arrogance. Recorder, cite in the premises the jurisprudence of Lessing's patriarch.

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