

# THE NEW INTIONAL

Workers of the
World, Unite!
You have
a World
to Gain!

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

Vol. I. No. 4

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1917

5 cents a Copy

## I Refuse!

By LOUIS C. FRAINA.

I refuse to compromise my ideals of liberty and fraternity. I refuse to drag these ideals in the mud and blood of brutal slaughter.

I refuse my moral and physical support to the great enemy of progress and the destroyer of the race.

In a day when all the forces of rapacity and tyranny are organized to crush the ideals and conscience of the individual, I shall not allow myself to be crushed.

I refuse to fight for a ruling class that oppresses and kills us in the days of peace, and now insists that we fight and die to protect its interests.

I recognize no loyalty but the loyalty to my class—no war but the international war against Capitalism—no ideals but the ideals of revolutionary Socialism —no duty but the duty to my conscience.

They are using the lives and aspirations, the courage and enthusiasm of our youth as fertilizer for the sinister business interests that promoted this war and which alone will profit by it.

I shall fight for life and love, beauty and freedom. But I shall not fight for death and profits, business and tyranny.

I refuse to acquiesce in the accomplished fact of war. I refuse to submit to the reaction, and to the extinction of freedom.

They shall get have my sauction for

I refuse to shoulder a gun, and tramp,

I shall never use a gun to kill another man; a man whom I do not know and with whom I have no quarrel; a man whom if I did know I might love for his faults and ideals, and his joy in life.

I shall never stick the cold, sharp steel of the bayonet in the soft, unresisting guts of a human being, see him collapse in agony and the warm blood of life spurting out of his sagging body, hear the wail of the dying and the murmurs of farewell to dear ones who will never see him again.

I refuse to feed the guns that spurt out death, as if death were the allabsorbing business of life.

I refuse to shatter the body of a man that a mother agonized to bring forth for life and love.

I refuse to shatter the body of a man that has warmed a sweetheart, to cripple hands that have fond! I a child, to smash the mouth that has kissed a mother.

I refuse to blind eyes that have gazed lovingly upon life, and hoped for happiness in spite of misery and death.

I refuse to make corpses that rot, eripples that suffer, and men and women that weep.

You say these things are necessary? That they are sacrifices for our ideals? You lie, gentlemen! Your ideals are to make money, to acquire power, to insure your financial supremacy. The ideals of democracy and civilization that you pretend to fight for are a fraud.

I refuse to fight for these ideals! I shall not tolerate compulsion! I shall not shed blood in your infamous cause!

You may punish me, you may break me physically. You cannot break my spirit and my conscience!

Others may palter, and acquiesce. I refuse!

New Your ded the center agitation. There is less to act against the law is South, but also in the st. The city where publications to be greatest against the Kansas City, but there are also roups in Chicago, Cleveland, Cingan Milwaukee who will refuse trafted.—New York Mail.

# CENSORSHIP!

For ways that are dark the "heathen Chinee" has nothing on the representatives of "law and order" in this country.

Here is the proof:

An original cartoon by Maurice Becker was to have appeared in this space—a magnificent expression of the courageous spirit of the Conscientious Objector.

We were all ready to go to press, when the printer informs us that he dares not print the artoon for fear of prosecution by the government!

Similarly, the police do not prohibit meetings, but owners of halls are indirectly influenced and they refuse.

It's a mere trifle that the Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and assemblage. It's a mere trifle that no Censorship law has as yet been passed.

Three cheers for Democracy-in Russia!

Repeal the Conscription Act!

All our activity and propoganda in this particular crisis is to have Congress repeal the Conscription Act.

The Conscription Act violates Section I of the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution, which reads: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been dully convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

We have a right to demand that the Government live up to its own fundamental law. We have a right to agitate against the invasion of our liberty.

This agitation is not illegal, but the attempts of the Government to

The will of the people alone is law in a democracy, and Congress

must express the will of the people.

It is not simply a question of human rights, but of legal rights.

Gentlemen of the Congress, the people demand the repeal of the Conscription Act?

In the meanwhile, all men of conscriptive age, conscientiously opposed to war, may express their convictions by claiming exemption as Conscientious Objectors. So state in your registration form.

Do not argue with anyone. Do not allow anyone to provoke you into a fight. That is precisely what they want.

In reporting the great meeting at Madison Square Garden, the New York Evening Post says: "The only disturbance came from a group of soldiers and sailors who sat in a body directly opposite the platform and interrupted the meeting at intervals with yells and cat-calls."

Do not allow them to provoke you—we believe in peace, it is our opponents who want violence.

Remember: this is not a problem of the individual alone: it is a social issue. Organize and work for the repeal of the Conscription Act!

## The Revolt Against Conscription

THE news from all sections of the country the past two weeks indicate a spontaneous and powerful movement to resist conscription. This is not a statement in the nature of the wish being father to the thought, but is a fact emphasized by the press and the government.

A dispatch from Washington dated May 30 said:

"Government heads hoped to-day, though did not fully believe, that they had crushed anti-conscription plots. Riots like those of civil war days were still segarded as possible."

This statement was preceded by news of arrests throughout the country of men and women active in the fight against conscription. Socialist party headquarters in Pittsburgh had been raided, no-conscription literature seized, and many comrades arrested. In Texas, the president of the Farmers' and Laborers' Protective Association of America, which it is alleged has organized a movement to resist conscription, had been arrested, along with a score of other men. It is said the government will demand the death penalty. An aggravation in this case is that the despicable employing class of Texas is using the opportunity to crush a move

conscription movement, came the arrest of men and women throughout the country on charges of treason and conviracy to violate the conscription law.

In New York City, three members of the Collegiate Anti-Militarism League, Owen Cattell, Charles Francis Phillips and Eleanor Wilson Parker, were arrested on the charge of conspiring to violate the conscription law by advising r en not to register.

In Columbus, Ohio, charges of treason were filed by the United States District Attorney against Ammon A. Hennacy, a college student and Socialist; Harry E. Townley, a printer, and Cecil W. Bailey, a mechanic. "None of the three charged with treason winced when reminded at their arraignment that conviction on the charge of treason may mean death," says the newspaper report. Others are under arrest for investigation.

In Topeka, Kansas, Dr. Eva Harding and I. Goldberg, who had attended an anti-conscription meeting, were arrested on the charge of conspiring to defeat the draft. Newman, a carpenter, who was chairman of the meeting, was also arrested. Professor George W. Kleihege, former Socialist candidate for Governor, was arrested in Lawrence, also on the charge of conspiracy.

In Kansas City, two men who had appealed to the courts for an injunction to restrain the operation of the draft, were arrested after their proceedings were dismissed.

In New York City and in all sections of the country the police are being ordered to show no mercy. The secret service machinery of the government is actively on the job to round up objectors. Stenographic reports are being made of all speeches at no-conscription meetings. A dominant phase of the movement seems to be the determination not to register, and secret censuses are being instituted to check up on young men of conscriptive age. Others will register as conscientious objectors.

The government, through Attorney-General Gregory, has carried on a regular propaganda to warn men of conscriptive age of the drastic penalty attached to any activity against conscription. In spite of the warning, these men apparently are organizing, prepared to make an issue of the whole thing.

(Continued on page 4, cel. 5)

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

NEW YORK STILK OF E. 1917

5 rents a Copy

Workers of the

World Unite

You have

to Cabir

The Revolt Against Conscription

1

# CENSORSHIP!

For ways that are dark the "heathen Chinee" has nothing in the representatives of "law and order" in this country.

Here is the proof

An original cartoon by Maurice Becker was to have appeared in this space a magnificent expression of the courageous spirit of the Conscientious Objector

We were all ready to go topress, when the printer informs us that he dares not print the ;artoon for fear of prosecution by the \*overnment!

Attorney-General Gregory sense a warning that printers who "set seditious matter" are 1. Shi to prosecution for "Leason."

Similarly, the police do not prohibit meetings, but owners of halls are indirectly influenced and they refuse.

It's a mere trifle that the Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and assemblage. It's a mere trifle that no Censorship law has as yet been passed

Three cheers for Democracs - Russia

ng the apportunity to crush a moveefficients.

# Repeal the Conscription Act!

A DELLE STATE DE LONG DE PROPERTO DE LA PROPERTO DEL PROPERTO DE LA PROPERTO DEL PROPERTO DE LA PROPERTO DEL PROPERTO DEL PROPERTO DE LA PROPERTO DEL PROPERTORIDA DEL PROPERTO DEL PROPERTORIDA DEL PROPERTO DEL PROPERTORIDA DEL PROPERTO DEL PROPERTORIDA DEL PROPER

The consequence of a consequence of the sentent Amendance is the mistinguism who have also a sentent wavers as anyolantary envitude on epi as a punishment to time whereas the pairs shall have their duly convicted, shall rais to the time I nited Notes a any place subtent to their nurisdiction.

We have a right to demand that the covernment we up to its own fundamental law. We have a right to agitate again, the invasion of our liberts.

This agitation is not illegal, but the attempts of he Government to prevent this agitation are illegal.

The will of the people alone is law in a democacy, and Congress must express the will of the people.

It is not simply a question of human rights, but I legal rights.

consequent the congress of the formation of the second second

the meanwhile, at men it is knowned to see the section of the section of the max express their converts to the following element is as a section.

Threators So state in their region of the

Do not argue with anyone. It is also are set to be a some or a fight. That is precisely what they would

In reporting the great meeting as Madison Square standen, the New York Evening Post says. "The only disturbance same from a group of soldiers and sailors who sat in a body directly apposite the platform and interrupted the meeting at intervals with yells and carefults."

Do not allow them to provoke you we believe in peace, it is our opponents who want violence.

Remember: this is not a problem of the individual alone it is a social issue. Organize and work for the repeal of the Conscription Act!

complete and settle and a settle at a register and settle and the determination of register and settle and the determination of the settle and the settle and the settle are a conscientions of the settle and the government, through Attended energy for propaganda to warr ment to a register as propaganda to warr ment to a register and the settle are propaganda to warr ment to a register and the settle are of the drastal penal to a settle to any activity against a rescription. In spite of the warning these ment apparently are organizing, prepared to make an issue of the whole thing

(Continued on page 4, col. 5)

that we have that the second of the second o

the Laure

Retire

I ret it to agit to the record of shall medice course to the record of t

and my conscience!

Others may parter and across a refuse!

New Yorks a rided the senter of the notation agitation in here are least of cientious of agitation in here are least of the sentence of the sentence of the sentence of the city of the center of the

# CENSOL HIP

who set seditious matter, are table to prosecution for the son.

and the perpendicular to the second of the party party of

groups in Chicag severants nati and Milwaukee who we seem be drafted. New York Miles

Remember this was a restricted at the control of th

performed to perget 4 to 16

## Conscientious Objectors in England

N the Labor Leader of February 17, the dogma is not so fundamental, we as-1916, Clifford Allen gives a general summary of the position taken by dif-

He first states that there are roughly common weal. speaking three types of C. O.: Those objecting on definite Christian belief; those objecting because they hold that human life is absolutely sacred under all circumstances; those objecting on Socialy ist principles and international faith. which find expression in the Brother-rying despatches, clerical military work. hood of Man.

For the benefit of those who may face courts martial and tribunals," Clifford Allen summarizes different questions which used to be put before the C.O. when in court, and he gives different answers to those questions. The answers embrace all three kinds of C.O.'s and therefore should be analyzed for practical 'use. Questions and answers fol-

## 1.-Do we wan't the Germans to

No, we do not. But we are sure that the triumph of armed force alone, whichever side is victorious, will never bring a lasting peace. A durable peace is what we supremely desire, that the awful sacrifices of the war may not be all in vain, and we are sure that it can only be secured by the emergence and development of the sense of national duty and the practice of justice and trust among the people. We believe that our highest duty to our country and to humanity is to contribute to this great change of heart.

#### -What would happen if everybody held our opinion?

We believe that, if all persons in any nation held our opinions, the danger of attack would be removed. War results from fear. Where there is no menace, there will be a diminishing danger of armed aggression. It is fallacious to suppose that the Government of any civilized country would be allowed by its people to attack any unarmed nation, which could not menace other nations. Indeed, the whole basis of our belief is that, so long as the nations adopt the method of war, and the Government an command the support of their pu-ale for this purpose, war will continu ple for this purpose, wer will continue. It is necessary for some minority to re-

ter, until their example is followed and the use of armed force ceases between 3.-What should we do if in times of peace some ruffian assaulted

main firm in their conviction on this mat-

our wives or mothers? We believe it would still be our duty to hold lovally to our conviction. We would stand between the attacker and his object, we would endeavor to disarm him, but we should not feel it right to take life, even to save life.

#### 4.- Are we not hidng behind the protection of the fleet and army, to refuse such payment. which we will not assist?

We do not ask for that defense Many Christians and Socialists have long attacked armaments. The essence of our belief is that we should take the risk involved. If and when all men come to hold our opinions, armies and navies will no longer be required, and, meanwhile a minority must take the lead in stirring public opinion on this matter.

#### 5.-Do we not (especialyl if we hold Socialist opinions) admit the right of the State to compel its citizens to defend themselves and their fellows?

We do not dispute the right of the State to impose duties upon its members for the common good, but we cannot admit the right of any Government to impose a duty conflicting with a man's religious or moral opinions any more than to force him to adopt some uniform system of worshipping God. The State exists on behalf of the life of its memhers, it cannot rightly attempt to compel them to inflict death.

# 6.-Do we believe in capital punish-

We answer no, although we draw a distinction between the use of arms in the work of slaughter in war, and the preservation of law and order, which does not call for the inflicting of death.

7.- Do we decline to kill under any aces, or is it merely inpulsion to which we

As expressed above, life to most of us is sacred. But even in those cases where an answer.

sert that compulsion in such a matter as life and death cannot be admitted, alferent conscientious objectors in Eng- though men endorse the State's right to impose duties upon its citizens for the

#### 8.-Cannot we then undertake noncambatant service?

We cannot distinguish between fighting and assisting those who fight with duties, such as organizing supplies, caretc., for all these are designed to make the work of killing more efficient. By accepting such work, we free others for

9.-Will we not undertake duties that help to save life, such as medical work or mine sweep-

We cannot undertake such duties under a military oath, which necessitates obedience to all orders and makes us part of the military machine. Apart from the question of military oath, if we restore to health a wounded soldier, we are faced by the grave responsibility of making him fit to go out and inflict death again. If we mine-sweep, we are only allowed to remove enemy mines, not all mines. We are compelled to leave some mines, laid for the purpose of killing, whilst in all these duties we become part of the military machine.

## 10. Are we not willing to undertake some work of national import-

We have always desired to serve our fellow men, but many of us cannot allow the Government under a Military Service Act, to change our occupation, since there can be only one purpose in this, viz., to make the organization of the nation more efficient for the carrying on of war.

## 11.-But is not our present occupation useful in exactly the same

That may be rue, but that is the inevitable circumstance in which all citiens of a country carrying on war must to be directly a party to a change of dur regional work, princip, would exist up knowingly agreeable to organization for

#### 12.-But surely we help the war indirectly by paying taxes and in purchasing goods.

True, but there is a clear difference between helping involuntarily through the circumstances of our daily life, and definitely undertaking some work to assist the war. We are willing to pay taxes for general maintenance of the life of the State, and since all taxes are collected together and can be collected notwithstanding refusal to pay, it is useless

#### 13.- Ought we not to leave the country if we hold these views?

On the contrary. Even if we were allowed to do so, we do not desire it. We have always desired to assist the life of our nation, when this does not involve destroying the life of other people. We look forward to the time when we can render service in rebuilding what is best in our national life after the exhaustion of this war. Indeed we hold that our stand at this time is a work of national importance. We decline to leave our country (even if we could), which we desire to serve in time of peace, because mann of the Independent Socialists are bothered Russia with cables urging "not". And the Russian workers will not our conscience will not allow us to serve reported to be involved. Also Hoff-separate peace," were moved by their even have much time to wait for revoit by the method of war.

So far Clifford Allen and the argunents mainly used in England in the heroic fight against conscription. The arguments have not only great historic value, but may be of assistance to Conscientidus Objectors in the United States as well. They will appeal hot only to those who refuse on Socialist principles, but to a great many others as well.

There are, however, many other objections to be made besides those mentioned and especialyl our international asked for Saturday half-holidays and revolutionary Socialist principles can be brought forward more forcibly.

We invite our readers to give such adfitional arguments on the above mentioned questions, or on similar potential questions. The answers, should be short and to the point. Remember that a tribunal in dealing with C.O.'s generaly does not allow more than a few minutes for

## The International Movement

THE Serbian Social Democrat Ilia Milkitch appeals to the workers all over the world to protest against the annihilation of the Serbian race. Eighty per cent of the Serbian army and 35 per cent of the rest of the population have already sacrificed their lives for profit's sake. Those who are left in starving condition not only suffer from deportations by German authorities, including women and children, but the fathers and sons who are still fit to fight, are kept with the armies of the Allies, mostly in the first trenches of the firing line, and the Swiss Relief Committee reports that the foodstuffs prepared for the starving Serbs could not be shipped, because the Allies would not give the necessary permission.

If such conditions are going to continue much longer, our Imperialists willmiss in the next war the chance of hiding their lust for profits behind their alleged love for small nations, which will have been wiped off the map, in the name of dollar "democracy."

In a secret convention of the Hungarian Socialist Party, it was decided to agitate for such reforms as have been . hished. It is of secondary importance accomplished by the Russian Revolution. Peace was demanded without annexations, and international arbitration was demanded for future disputes. Sympathy was expressed for those who are prosecuted for their struggle for Socialism and peace.

Food and street riots are reported from Lisbon, Portugal. Bakeries and warehouses were plundered and destroyed and several hundreds of people arrested. The prices of all foodstuffs and of coal are sky-high and an actual condition of starvation exists.

The republican Government used the news leaking out.

lutionary comrades. An appeal has recently been issued to save the life of the Austrian Socialist, Dr. Adler, who shot the ultra-conservative Minister-President Sturgh. A few weeks ago a dem-Mooney, at the instigation of a Russian peace," and the echo of the social-

But what are we doing to support our valiant comrades in return? So far the only manifestation has been an appeal to continue to fight in the interest of Allied and American Imperialism.

THE Russian social-patriots are organizing their forces under the slogan "Unity," which to them means unity of all "democratic" forces, and war to a our Russian Left Wing comrades, who finish. The possibility of a proletarian want a "general" peace be ed upon the revolution in the near future is emphat- revolutionary action of the workers in ically denied. Here is a possibility for Charles Edward Russell and the Ameri- exploiters. It is criminal or criminal can gold he represents.

THE German Government contemplates a new trial for high treason in gress in Stockholm has been refused.

THE strike of women workers in Paris recently spread rapidly, and is meeting with considerable success. The milliners, furriers, lace makers, embroiderers, waterproofers, and feather workers are now on strike, and male and female employees of several department stores approached the managements and extra pay on account of the high cost of

Similar demands by bankers' and brokers' clerks were accepted by a number of houses, but are being resisted in other cases. The butchers', waiters', and grocers' unions are considering joining the strike. Representatives of

# The American Menace in Russia

### By S. J. RUTGERS

THE United States recently paid a bribe of a scanty hundred reillion, and is prepared to pay a few billion dollars more to any Government in Russia that is willing and able to fight and to offer the lives of additional millions of its workers and peasants for the cause of the Allies, for the interests Af American and Allied Imperialism.

The American Capitalist believes in the all-mightiness of the dollar. In a tatement of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, one of the new reations of the National City Bank of New York, representing the Rockefeller group, we read "that American interis in Petrograd are the most important factor in connection with the development of Russia's international policy."

American money kings are trying to put their golden heel on the neck of the Russian workers.

This is essential in the mission of Thhu Root, and he certainly is the right man for the job, if we only clearly inderstand what job is to be accomthe rulers in Wall Street whether the Government in Russia means anther Czar or a Milyukof or some ambination of social-patriots. Any ambination will do, provided only the ternational revolutionary workers do have their way.

The New York Times, for instance, openly states that although the government of the Czar was bad, its armies were at least able to fight.

It seems the historic task of the new autocracy in the United States to crush the revolution in Russia, to substitute for the old feudal autocracy the more efficient plutocracy of modern Imperialmethods of all Governments in sending ism, preferably in some sham form of troops.\ It is reported that in the capital so-called "democracy." Milyukof evialone ten were killed and fifty wounded. dently was powerless against the mass-The riots spread throughout the country, organization of the workers, but a but a strict censorship prevents further Milyukof or any other representative Russian imperialism, packed up by

ruption. Such is the noble mission Elihu Root and Charles Edward Russell, who no doubt are competent and well selected servants. The slogan of the capitalists in pre-

onstration was held for the life of paring their crime is "no separate comrade just arrived from the United patriotic traitors is "no separate peace." gnoring the fact that both the allied capitalists and the revolutionary Left Wing Socialists in Russia don't want a separate peace. But if both use the same formula, it does not have the same meaning at all. There is the abyss of class-division between the no-separate peace of the Allies for the sake of crushing a rival and establishing world power for the exploitation of the world proletariat, and the no-separate peace of, all countries against their Imperialistic stupidity not to discriminate clearly between those two fundamentally opposite

Meyer Lordon, Walling and his connection with the munition strikes, crowd, Ingerman and the scores of Ledebour, Vogtherr, Buchner and Witt- French and English social-patriots, who mann, member of the Prussian Diet, to desire to protect the Allied interests. whom a passport to the Socialist Con- Their action therefore is treason to the class-struggle in spirit and intended resuits. Those who want to respond to the call of the Russian revolutionists have only one answer: to prepare for revolution in their own country, not in ome distant future, but during this war. as a part of the international uprising of the world proletariat.

Our Russian comrades in their noble decision not to accept a separate peace from the hands of the German Imperialists, as long as there is a reasonable chance for an immediate general peace, realize that a proletarian revolution can only be accomplished as a world movement, and they rightly appeal to the world proletariat. In the meantime, they continue to fight their own capitalist class, to secure whatever results the employers and workers of the fur their partial efforts may permit them trade reached an agreement.

They at least have secured the release of their political martyrs and some other substantial gains of which we do not yet know the importance. They, however, did not yet secure the program promised to them after their successful overthrow of the government of the Czar. For promises of capitalists do not amount to the value of the paper on which they are written, if there is no power to enforce them, and our Russian comrades have more than efficient experience not to be fooled. It therefore is their positive duty to secure economic power is undeniable and to secure them before the American Capitalists will succeed in backing up the reactionary forces with their money, their industry and their organization. But even if the Russian workers succeed now in their demands, the results will be endangered if there is no response from the workers all over the world. The most important effect of the Russian Revolution should be the inspiration for the rest of the workers to follow the example, and if the rest does not act, they will be responsible at the same time for the failure of the heroic efforts of our Russian

If we fail to respond, if our only manifestation is an appeal to Russia to continue to fight for the interests of Allied Imperialism, if we have the bruality to ask our Russian comrades to continue to be slaughtered in order to coin more dollars and sovereigns for our masters, if we cannot prevent our Governments by keeping them busy in our own countries to send commissions and engineers and money to crush the Russian Revolution, then our Russian workers certainly will have no reason whatever to continue this capitalist war. It is not their concern whether German or Allied Imperialism is more or less successful, it is not their concern that Russian Imperialism should have a chance for more world power.

It is in the superior class-interest of the Russian, as well as of all other to be utterly hopeless, if the isa sponse from the workers and if they cannot command a general peace it would be absurd to expect our Russian revolutionary comrades to continue to be slaughtered in the service of Imperialism. If they will have to give up their hope for a general peace through proletarian revolutions, the soldier comrades

will most likely return home to complete important economic changes, leaving it to the Allied social-patriots, including the American pro-war Socialists and workers, to do their own fighting, if so they please. Some of the more intelligent American workers realize that in case the Russians withdraw from the battlefield, they will have to supply the millions to be slaughtered. Instead. however, of appealing to the Russian comrades to keep on fighting, they should unite to compel their capitalist masters to stop fighting altogether, which no doubt lies in the power of a combined effort of the American and Russian revolutionary proletariat.

No separate peace, as long as there is a fair chance for a general peace based on proletarian revolutio lary movements, but not a man and not a cent for a war of Imperialism.

even have much time to wait for revolutionary developments in other countres. Que the first bribe from Wall Street is accepted. Russia will rapidly come into the economic grasp of American Capital, and before long the Russian workers will feel the Iron Heel of American Plutocracy and this will mean a harder fight than the overthrow of the Czar. Will the American workers awake to the situation before it is too late, and listen to the call of their Russian com-

THE Young People's Socialist League of Chicago decided to resist conscription, as well as registration; so did a meeting of Socialists of conscriptive age in Pittsburgh.

Subscribe to The New International! Six months, 50 cents; one year, \$1.00. Address: 3246 Kingsbridge Avenue, New York City.

## The Arrest of Nesin and Graubard

TWO active members of the Soci Propaganda League in Bre were recently arrested in co with the agitation to repeal scription Act. The two q Meyer D. Graubard and Bail has been fixed at the trial will be held a

Nesin and Graubard street meeting at Havemeyer and South Third, Brooklyn. Nesin opened the meeting, preparatory to introducing Graubard; but while in the midst of his introductory remarks, Nesin was placed under arrest. Graubard thereupon mounted the platform and protested, and political results now that their citing Nesin's arrest as an example of our "democracy." Graubard was then also placed under arrest.

The official complaint alleges:

"That about 8:30 P. M. on the aforesaid date at place aforesaid said defendant George Nesin did ascend to platform at the aforesaid place and addressed a crowd of persons present at the aforesaid place by saying: "That we are here for purpose of opposing conscriction, an act passed by the Congress of the U.S. They tell us Germany is an enemy country of ours which is not and they want you young men to take up arm against that country that the Congress or no other body of men had any autority to force such coercion on to the cople of the U.S. and did continue to speak to the aforesaid people for a period of about ten minutes.

That the said Meyer D. Graubard did then ascend to the platform and did then and there point to George Nesin who had been placed under arrest by deponent and said to the people present to witness the coercion methods of the police department in suppressing their rights to speak and said further that no matter how many of them were arrested they were still 100 per cent. strong to show to the people that the congress of the U. S. had no authority to enforce or coerce them to take up arms against Germany or any other

danger the public peace of the persons in the neighborhood there residing." The sort of trials they have in Brooklyn is illustrated by the following from the official record of the "trial" of Hen-

The court-You are ready, are you: Mr. Raymond (Jager's counsel)-I

am not ready. The court-Then we will go on now. I will deny your application for an ad-

Mr. Raymond-I make application for an adjournment.

The court-I deny the application.

Mr. Raymond-I have not had an opportunity to subpoena my witnesses. The court-Proceed with the case/

Mr. Raymond-If your honor only will give me until tomorrow. The court-I have denied your appli-

cation, counsellor, and the case will proceed. You may have your exception, Mr. Raymond-Will your honor give

me one-half hour to see if there are any witnesses in this court room that I may The court-I have stated once, we will

proceed with this case now. I will hear no further motion in the matter. You have had full opportunity. That's all.

Mr. Raymond-Will your honor give me two minutes?

The court-No, sir; not one minute: no, sir. You may decide now whether you want to call a witness or if you don't. Are there any other witnesses to

We must defend 'our comrades. Others will follow. Money is needed. Send your contribution now to the Defence Fund, c. o. The New International, ue, New York 3246 Kingsbride City. Workers, own!

THE Central Con King's County decided to meeting and to continue th open-air meetings at the sa corner, under the auspices of S headquarters.

## Conscientious Objectors in England

## The International Movement

# The American Menace in Russia

By S J RUTCERS

The Arrest of Nesin and Graubard

What should we do it in times of peace some ruffian assaulteour wives or mothers?

Are we not niding behind the protection of the fleet and arms which are wall not assist

Do we not respecially in we hold Socialist opinions; admit the right of the State to compel its citizens to defend themselves and their fellows

en to the second of the second

6. Do we believe in capital punish-

distinction between the use of arms in revolutionary would propage an be extinged in the eg the work of slaughter in war, and the brought forward more toroibs. preservation of law and order, which does not call for the inflicting of death

circumstances, or is it merely object?

is sacred. But even in those cases where an answer

a state of we steel as to take

Ought we not to leave the rountry if we hold these views?

arguments have not only grown to asis well lifer a appear

methods for be made besites they men in the apply or entire in agree We answer no although we draw a moned and especials our ofernational asked to

We invite our readers to give such at the serial demands to battker in ditional arguments on the above men-7.- Do we decline to kill under any tioned questions, or on similar potentic. Der of houses, but are being resisted in questions. The answers, should be short other cases. The butchers, waters the compulsion to which we and to the point Remember that a trib- and grocers' unions are considering unal in dealing with CO's generaly does joining the strike. Representatives of As expressed above, life to most of us not allow more than a few minutes for the employers and workers of the fur-

I to Far

brokers clerks were accepted by a curtrade reached an agreement

sit proletariat. In the meantime

ontinue to fight their own capi-Subscribe to the Viscont engineeral Six months 50 cents one very \$1.00 et class, to secure whatever results eir partial efforts may permit them Address 3246 Kingshindge Avenue You book the

neeting and to conti pen air meetings at th rner under the auspices headquarters

# THE TO

Published Every Two Weeks by SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

OF AMERICA F. MULLEN, Secretary

Avenue, Dorchester, Mass Editor S. FREIMAN

Subscription One year, \$1.00; Six months, 0 cents; Three months, 25 cents. Bundle Rates 20 copies one year to one address, \$7.50; orders for bundles of a single issue, any number, 11/26 each, delivered free.

> RUSINESS-AND EDITORIAL OFFICE 3246 Kingsbridge Avenue, New York

This paper temporarily is issued every two weeks. But really effective propaganda requires a weekly. This paper will be issued every week as soon as your financial support makes it possible. Get subscriptions! Order a bundle! Contribute to the sustaining fund! Your Cause and Paper Need You!

## Mooney Again in Danger

THE Mooney case again comes forth to eloquently denounce the pretensions of the ruling class of this country to be fighting for democracy and civilization. While the country is asked to fight to make "the world safe for democracy," Mooney and his wife and others are. languishing in jail, in imminent peril of being hanged. In spite of the exposé of the plot to frame-up the defendants, the Grand Jury exonerated Oxman, and Mooney is again in danger. The conspiracy against the liberty and lives of our comrades is brazen and unafraid. and is going the limit to secure a conviction. The organized Socialist and labor movements must come to the Act immediately, else it may be too late!

## Democracy and Civilization!

THE New York Globe, an ardent enthusiast for the war, cannot stomach some things. In a recent issue it says:

"In the presence of ten thousand spectators a self-confessed Negro murderer, chained to a tree, was yesterday roasted to death in Tennessee. Women

"In all the black history of lynch law there probably has been no more shocking case than this. Because one man ten thousand citizens wreaked beast-like vengeance on him. That the man's crime was monstrous does not make the crime of the mob one whit more defens-

"Billy Sunday yesterday told his congregation that the American Indian with his tomahawk and scalping knife was a gentleman compared with the Prussian soldier. Could Prussian savagery go further than that of Tennessee?

"One account of the lynching says a Negro close to the pyre, unbalanced by the excitement, caught up an American flag as the last of the flames died out. and, waving it above his head, shouted: 'We're all through here, boys! Let's join the Germans!"

Will President Wilson now write a note to the government and citizens of Tennessee holding them to "strict accountability" for this outrage? Oh, ves. the Negro also is to fight for democracy and civilization-in Europe!

## Out with the Traitors!

THE expulsion of A. M. Simons and W. R. Gaylord from membership in the Socialist Party should be the beginning of a campaign to throw out all the traitors. These two men were particularly infamous in their actions. They wrote a letter to Senator Husting, asking the government to take action against the party for circulating the majority report on the war. They acted as spies of the vilest sort, and they seem to take a pride in their vile behavior. They made a denunciation and committed treason against their Socialist principles. We cannot blame a ma holding prinut we can inciples different fro decency. The sist upon chara Socialist daily in coined a phrase Novy Mir, the New York izes these men, and that aptly and the rest-"social t with them all! And the traitors that skulk try to hide the indecency uls. The Socialist party must by of men and women devoted to wolution, not a prowling place for and intellectual degenerates.

#### The Negro and Conscription

An interesting feature of the conscription issue in Congress was the opposition of certain southern politicians to conscription because it would confer equality and power upon the Negro! They do not object to the Negro shedding his blood for democracy, but they fear the Negro might turn around and demand democracy for himself. Democracy is all right for the Belgians and Serbians, and others abroad, but, of course, it is unthinkable that the Negro should be given the democracy supposedly granted by the Republic and the Sixteenth Amendment. Imagine, the Negro might compel the whites to give up the gentle sport of lynching! And isn't lynching characteristic of the honor and chivalry of the South? But still-it is a war for democracy. Don't forget that!

#### Fraud of "National Liberation"

In the news recently appeared the following highly significant item:

"A congress of the Swedish political party, representing a majority of Finland's wealthiest and most influential classes, yesterday passed a resolution favoring a complete separation of the Grand Duchy of Finland from Russia."

This is a reactionary move instigated by the industrial and feudal aristocracy of Finland. The workers and peasants have nothing to gain and everything to lose by separating themselves from revolutionary Russia. The people of Finland should fight with the revolution, and not for their aristocracy against the revolution. Imagine the rivalry and incitement to war should Russia be split into half a dozen nations! There are situations in which the phrase "national liberation" hides the most reactionary and infamous motives. The task of the peoples of Russia is to fight for a democratic federated republic as a preliminary to the Socialist Revolution.

## Courage!

THE claws of the reaction are seizing I its prey. While their lips make the motions of freedom and democracy, the actions of their claws are destroying the freedom and democracy that existed before the war. They cannot do it! They cannot

crush our spirit, they cannot maintain their tyranny. Their success shall be They imprises a man? A hundred spring up to take his place. They imprison a woman? A thousand devote themselves to the cause-you cannot crush a woman! They build new jails? They can never build enough. And ifthey do, it won't matter anyway. They shall be opened, and their inmates again bask in the light of the sun and of free-

to give up its victims. Courage!

The terror can never succeed. Not even in Russia did it succeed. And the spirit of the Russian Revolution throbs throughout the world. It will prevail!

dom. Even the Bastille was compelled

We are not blind. Our eyes are open. We go into this fight with courage in our hearts and a song upon our lips.

They may imprison, and they may kill. What matters it? Life is not life if used in the service of death. Death is sweet if it comes in the cause of life and

Life is precious to us. But freedom is still more precious. Courage! They dare not-they shall not.

## Wealth and Productivity

N all the discussion of the war's "higher strategy" and such highfalutin' matters military, the one fact that sticks out is that the life of a nation, including its military power, lies in its work-shops. The mobilization of the strictly military forces depends upon the mobilization of industry and the whole civil population. The greater the industrial power of a nation, the greater its military power. The military weakness of Italy, Austria and Russia, contributing factors aside, is the result of relative industrial inefficiency; the military strength of Germany, France and Great Britain is the result of industrial strength.

Bourgeois economists have stressed these facts. Some of them are going further, and emphasizing that the life and strength of a nation lies not in its wealth, but in its productive capacity -which means in the bone and sinew of its Working Class. H. L. Gantt, an efficiency expert and a shrewd ob-

server of things industrial, says: "Soon after the breaking out of the war it was recognized that the life of a

nation was to depend not upon the wealth it had stored up, but upon its productive capacity.'

Exactly; wealth is a symbol. pro ductive capacity a fact that dominat all other factors.

When the war broke out, freely predicted that its course be run in six months, or less. Socialist, whose economics have taught him better, indulge the same illusion. "The finance the argument ran, "will stop the The wealth of the belligerents w rapidly consumed, and this draina wealth will induce exhaustion. compel peace."

But six months passed, and the year, and now three years. And only does the war go on, but each the belligerents increases its effort equips more men, spends more mone and new nations are drawn in.

The war would be over to-day depended upon the accumulated we's of the belligerents; but it does not: depends in an economic sense upon the productive capacity of a nation, upon its industrial resources and its work ing class. Even an apparently purely financial transaction such as a loan not a transaction in wealth, but based upon the productivity of a nation-is a lien upon the future labor of the workers.

Grant a government control of pr duction, and it could fight practically indefinitely. The hope of peace, A immediate peace, lies in the activity the revolutionary Working Class, par ticularly in Russia and Germany.

Will the fiction that wealth itself power become apparent to the mass of the people? The Working Class is the great productive factor in a nation: it controls the process of production. The Working Class is dominant, eco nomically; all the wealth of the world would shrivel into nothing, war would cease and Capitalism collapse, if the Working Class used its economic dominance in its own revolutionary interests and against the interests its masters.

The Great War brought along with it the collapse of Socialism as an organized movement; but it has demonstrated, in a new way and emphatical ally, that the Working Class holds the future of the world in the hollow of it

"The real fruition of life is to do things we have said we wished There are times when work seems great. Such a time to the cornerstone of an and only action seems great. Such a time to the imperialistic policy to-day is unihas come."—President Woodram Wile total military service, and the purpose

THESE are lofty sentiments. To-day, A action alone is great, but to be great it must have a great purpose.

It is a habit of the President to indulge in lofty sentiments, but their interpretation usually dispels the loftiness and reveals them as the ideologic expression of gross capitalist interests. In this same Memorial Day address

the President said:

"In one sense the great struggle into which we have now entered is an American struggle, because it is in the sense of American honor and American rights, but it is something even greater than that: it is a world struggle. It is a struggle of men who love liberty everywhere, and in this cause America will show herself greater than ever."

American honor! We are jealous of the honor of the American people, but it is precisely, the forces that engineered this war that sully this honor. The Congress of the United States has refused redress to Colombia, and thereby approved the stigma placed upon American honor by the brutal and illegal action of Theodore Roosevelt in "taking" the Canal Zone. To-day, the government of the United States is trampling upon the rights of small nations in the Carribbeans and Central America. Is

this American honor? For two and a half years, according to the sentiments of the president, liberty was in danger. Germany raped Belgium, destroyed Serbia and Rumania, devastated Poland; for two and a half years France was bleeding to death. Did the American government rise to defend liberty? No! Apparently it cared not a snap of the fingers what happened to the liberty that they now claim is

being menaced by Germany. For two and a half years the sole interest of American Capitalism and its government was to protect its commercial interests, to coin profits out of the blood and agony of Europe. It refused to affiliate with the European neutrals

for the protection of neutral rights, because it considered itself safe from attack after the Sussex pledge by Ger-

Only a month or two before the severing of diplomatic relations with Germany, this government instituted what was virtually a peace campaign-in the President's historic phrase, "peace without victory." And then-and then Germany resumed her ruthless submarine eampaign, menaced the profits of American Capitalism, and this country declared war.

The American people has never wanted to do these things-to shed its blood to protect the profits of its spoliators.

The men who love liberty everywhere are being shot, tortured, imprisonedin Germany and Austria, in Italy and France, in Great Britain and the United States. If these governments are fighting for liberty, why deprive its people of their liberty? We are fighting for liberty! The other fight for liberty is a fraud!

"Work seems empty and only action seems great"-but it must be action for liberty, and not against it. This war is a war against liberty. It is trampling upon the people. It is crushing democracy. It is imposing the burden of an odious tyranny to-day, and for the future.

The war is empty, its consequences horrible, and only our action for liberty and international emancipation is great.

## America Preparing

THE reactionary interests in America 1 are using the war as a means of preparing their forces for aggression in the

A comprehensive plan of action is being mapped out. The events that throng faster and faster upon us may be rightly interpreted only by relating them to this fundamental fact: American Imperialism is preparing its social, economic and political forces for aggresaction in the days to come. And this ential menace is graver than the imliate menace involved in the triumph reaction.

he great menace of the future will an armed and aggressive American backed up by the tremen-

ain events may be understood and th intelligently. Conscription, for Germany violated Belgium. nple, was not at all necessary for war. But the cornerstone of an active imperialistic policy to-day is uniof conscription is to accustom our people to the idea of universal service. It is a move in the campaign to develop a mighty militarism that shall hold the world in awe.

To-day, America has two great tasks before it, according to the New York Mail, in an editorial on "American Policies": "One is to successfully meet the emergency of this war. The other is to formulate a broad policy for the future, a policy into which we must fit our present emergency efforts." This is prereded by the statement that "no great hing can happen in the world, after this war, which will not affect us and our vital interests." A frank avowal of the eal purposes animating America in the

The most significant feature of the things needed to make America prepared:

"The policy of making America ready nust include, first of all, the principle of universal military service. This means hat all the male youth of the land, pon reaching a specified age, nineteen or twenty years, will be required to spend one year preparing themselves to defend their country.

"Second, we need a navy that is secend to none in the world. We have two great exposed coast lines, connected by that vital but vulnerable link, the 'anama Canal.

"Third, the policy of this new world mpire that we call America must include the creation of a great merchant marine. We shall have at the close of the war a foreign trade with which no other nation's foreign trade will compare. Our ocean carriers must not fall behind the demands of the nation's

"Fourth, our policy of preparedness must include the co-ordination and development of our transportation system. ... The American railroad net must not stop at the Mexican border. It must stretch down through Mexico to the

Panama Canal, to be that canal's sure defense.

"Finally, we must develop and maintain a consistent foreign policy, co-ordinated with our policy of domestic preparedness. The inevitable development of American farm, field, mine, industry, finance, demands new markets, new fields for our enterprise, our investments, our products. To hold open these fields is the main task of modern diplomacy. We are used to calling it 'dollar diplomacy.' We must have done with the vacillations which the last few years have seen. We must never again induce our investors, industrials and traders to go into Central and South American fields and then abandon them to whatever fate bandit governments choose to put upon them. Mexico is a landmark, and will long serve as a warning to us. The country must demand a foreign policy that endures, no matter what may be the fate of political parties.

"These are the things that will make the future of America secure. Policies like these look to an extension of America's sphere of influence in the world. They guard our safety and our growth. But their enforcement can rest upon nothing except our own strength. Even if Germany is defeated in this war, we cannot hope to ride into a great future in the triumphant war chariots of others. Others will guard their own interests. With those interests, particularly the interests of England, Germany and Japan, our industrial and commercial future will inevitably be in rivalry. Upon the balance of power, of potential striking force, will depend that balance of influence and opportunity which will mean peace and justice between us and our great rivals among the world's leaders. The mailed fist of military power is behind the velvet glove of diplomacy. But where the mailed fists are of equal size, the velvet gloves are not drawn

Exactly! And this is a war for civilization and democracy! The hypocrisy of it all is vile.

What does it all mean? War, and aggression, and conquest. Economic and political expansion, and its inevitable reign of terror.

One point alone will express the spirit of the whole programme. America is to build railroads through Mexico to the Panama Canal. But Mexico is - as yet - an independent nation, and in a war of the Unite

coly recourse would be to useless. The only recourse would be to violate the neutrality of Mexico-as

Oh, yes, citizens; this is an unselfish war for democracy and civilization

## Industrial Unionism and Mass Action

THE phrase "mass movements" in the majority resolution's declaration on conscription is making Mass Action an issue in the Socialist movement of this country. And it is fortunate that, just at this juncture, the Russian Revolution has provided the movement with a vivid demonstration of the meaning and power of Mass Action.

The central feature of Mass Action lies in its emphasis on the action of the Working Class independent of the parliamentary machine. It means the action of the workers themselves, organized and unorganized, as mass groups fighting for particular purpose. It means that the Working Class depends primarily upon Mail's editorial is its analysis of the its own action and power, and not upon parliamentary machines or representatives. It means, moreover, a true appreciation of the historic fact that the emancipation of the Working Class must be the task of the Working Class itself.

It was the Mass Action of the Russian people that drove on the revolution, transformed it from a clique revolt to a social uprising. Behind the declarations of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates stands the power of the workers, the power of their action en masse that makes good the declarations.

The general theory of Mass Action is one, the concrete application and emphasis differ according to different conditions. It is important, accordingly, that we do not accept Mass Action without considering the historical conditions of its European origin, and adapt it to our particular needs and revolutionary practice.

We did not do this with Syndicalism, and it proved more of an injury than a benefit. Syndicalism contributed nothing of value that was not implicit in Industri ' Unionism, except Sabotage. And even in this we did not relate Sabotage to our own conditions and industrial de-

It is different with Mass Action. This practice contributes an important idea,if we interpret rightly.

Mass Action means more revolutionary action against Imperialism, against war, against Capitalism. But, apart from this program, Mass Action is indefinite. It is indefinite-that is to say, incompletebecause it does not emphasize the ultimate revolutionary mission of unionism. It is indefinite because in Europe it is used primarily to fight the conservatism of the Socialist movement. When rebels in Germany urge Mass Action upon the party, they mean more aggressive action and not a comprehensive program of re-

Mass Action, precisely as does Industrial Unionism, urges the extension of Socialist activity to conscious and aggressive action on the economic field. This activity stimulates the independence of the working class and warms its idealism into aggressive action. It "puts a bone" into the parliamentary struggle and compels it to become revolutionary. The fight against Capitalism becomes an active mass fight, not merely an electoral and parliamentary debate.

But Industrial Unionism goes much further: it bases the whole Socialist movement upon the economic action of the Working Class, organized and unorganized; it sees in the immediate economic struggles of the workers a preparation for the revolutionary strike that will overthrow Capitalism; and it organizes the Working Class in a way that provides the means of assuming control of society, -builds in its organization the structure that will function as the administration of the new society.

Karl Kautsky, in an article in the International Socialist Review, April, 1901,

"The trades unions . . . will constitute the most energetic factors in surmounting the present mode of production and they will be pillars on which the edifice of the Socialist commonwealth will be erected."

But trades unions are not working for the revolution; they are working as a caste for a place in the governing system of the nation,-making for State Socialism, and not the Social Revolution. Nor does the structure of the trades unions admit of their assuming possession and management of concentrated industry. Industrial Unionism alone provides the the means, the theory and

All this isn't emphasized in the gram of Mass Action; nor does it project a new and more effective form of union organization. Moreover, Mass Action, without a definite industrial organization around which to coalesce, has a tendency to disintegrate, to be taken unawares. It is strategically strong, but tactically vulnerable. Industrial Unionism would rally around itself the mass actions of the Workers, unify and organize them. Industrial Unionism integrates Mass Ac-

Accordingly, Mass Action and Industrial Unionism are not antagonistic: they are supplementary.

Industrial Unionism, alone and in itself, is compelled to abstain from action until the future, or to indulge in small action. On the whole, it may preach, but as yet it cannot always act. Through the practice of Mass Action, however, the revolutionist may participate in all the struggles of the Working Class, organized and unorganized. We come to them with a program of immediate action, and in this way emphasize our propaganda. Industrial Unionism without the prac-

tice of Mass Action may be doomed to propaganda alone; Mass Action without the theory and practice of Industrial Unionism neither builds for the future nor develops the maximum power of the proletariat. The two must fuse: our movement

must accept the practice of Mass Action. May our European comrades fuse their Mass Action with the theory and practice of Industrial Unionism.

IT is an encouraging fact that in different European countries the members of Young People's organizations are among the most active in opposing the war. In Sweden, the leaders of the Young People even went to jail for their conviction.

The recent party convention in Stockholm practically decided to expel these young revolutionary Socialists. It passed a resolution inviting the "disrupters" either to withdraw their former criticism of the Party or withdraw from the Party. The Social Patriots will everywhere soon be in control of the sinking vessel of the Second International.

THE

Was \* US

The with the Trusters

and randred looked in wind we use only a temporary success.

They imprised a map? A high including a map only a temporary success.

of men and women devoted? The state of the participation is such that the state of tion ned a prowling bear to the second restriction of the second restriction and the second restriction of the second rest

Fighting for Liberty

Hally too. to de exa enis empty this weh a time a to

an as an de ohat. . . T y time

States an another aspiration and the mention of the attimate revolutionary that then. The range as would be virtually, act.

## Free Speech and the War

#### By HARRY WEINBERGER

Attorney of the New York Bar.

QUESTION No. 1: The police and other local authorities ding street speaking and even meetings in halls on the grounds that discussions of the war constitute "treasonable utterances." What are "treasonable utter-

Answer: There are no utterances which are treasonable in themselves. Mere expression of opinion, even when indicative of sympathy with the public enemy and sufficiently strong to justify public indignation and the suspicion that the speaker is at heart a traitor, are not sufficient under the Constitution and Laws of the United States to warrant a conviction of treason. In re Charge to Grand Jury, 30 Fed. Cases, No. 18,272. The crime of treasan is not completed until there is an overt act. Even a conspiracy to overthrow the government or an intention to commit treason, or treasonable words, whether oral, written or printed, have been repeatedly held not to constitute "treason." U. S. v. Burr, by cables about protests against speakers 23 Fed. Case, No. 14, 692 U. S. v. Pryor, 27 Fed. Case, No. 16,096.

utterances?"

Answer: There is no such thing as a "seditious utterance" under the late. The Alien and Sedition laws passed in 1708 expired after two years. They were so intensely unpopular that they caused the death of the Federalist party. The present spy bill had, in its original draft, a clause giving the postmaster general ,the right to bar from the mails anything of a "treasonable, anarchistic or seditious character." Fortunately the house dropped the word "seditious."

My advice to all speakers is that when they speak they advocate a change in the laws or the repeal of a law. All meetings to discuss conscription, for example, and all literature issued on that subject should state plainly that it is held or issued for the purpose of petitioning Congress to repeal that law. Such statements, speeches and literature are absolutely privileged and can not legally be aippressed.

Question No. 3: What legal authority have the police over public meetings?

Answer: The police have no right to enter without a warrant, meetings held on private property, or to break up public meetings, whether held in private or in public places; they have no right to stop street meetings, or to prevent a man from speaking before he says anything on which to make a charge. Some cities have regulations providing that people who desire to hold public meetings on the street shall secure permits. These should be complied with, but the police have no legal right to refuse the permits. Neither have the police any right to stop the distribution of literature on either the streets or in meetings. Some cities have regulations forbidding the littering of the streets. If the person distributing the literature hands it to another who throws it on the street, the latter is the offender and not the person distributing. See People v. Samuel W. Simpson, Court of General Sessions, N. Y., Judge Joseph F. Mulqueen, Jan. 5th. 1915: City of Philadelphia v. Brabender, 51 Atl., 374; People v. Armstrong, 73 Mich., 288:

Judge William J. Gaynor, of the New York Supreme Court, said in Murphy v. Snitzpan, 15 Misc. (N. Y.), 500:

"The police have no right to forcibly interfere with citizens except to arrest them for crime. The contrary has become all too common. The like is not permitted in any free government in the world, except in some of the large cities of this country, and it will not be tolerated there much longer. A citizen has as much right to arrest even a policeman committing a criminal offense as a policeman has to arrest a citizen. To be plain about it, as the citizens do not want to be doing police duty, they hire policemen for that purpose, but do not thereby make them masters nor give them any more right to interfere with individuals than they have themselves."

THE American Union Against Militarism has taken the initiative and organized the different organizations and ns of Conscientious Objectors in New York City into a League for Legal and Economic Aid to Conscientious Objectors. The Headquarters of the

League are at Room 722, 70 Fifth Ave. The Advisory Board of the League decided by a vote of 18 to 6 to advise their members not to register on June 5th.

"We have available the names of 15,-000 men who have announced they have conscientious objections against military service," according to Roger N. Baldwin, the secretary. "Our purpose is to give legal aid to them and also to arge the War Department to make some provision for their exemption on grounds other than religion."

## The Russian Revolution

from a Lecture by

H. ROLAND-HOLST

THE program of the provisional Gov-I ernment contains big promises. If they were to be realized, Russia would be the freest country in the world.

The revolutionists who understand Imperialism know, however, that the government cannot and will not keep to this program. There will develop a tremendous struggle in Russia, as we are now only in the honeymoon of the Revolution. We have already been informed who present "impossible" demands. We know what this means. The Social-pa-Question No. 2: What are "seditious triots combine with the bourgeoisie against revolutionary Socialism. How large a part of the Russian working class will keep to the revolutionary principles we don't know, but what we know is this; if the Revolution stops now, if the workers listen to those who urge a return to work, to calmly continue regular life, then within six months a compromise will be effected between the reactionary forces of the old regime and the modern capitalists, and even the ordinary bourgeois freedoms will not be granted. Only if unrest and action continue to prevail in Russia and the working class is not itself infected by Imperialism, will the Revolution benefit the Russian people, and at the same time, other peoples

We do not know how this Revolution will develop, but we do know that the field was prepared by Revolutionists, who have undermined Czarism through persistent revolutionary activity. What was done in Russia will have to be done all other countries, The soldiers, whole regiments of them, actually went over to the people, and such we may expect to be their action in the Proletarian Revolution. And the same energy with which the Russian Revolutionists have continued their efforts to weaken Czarism, we Revolutionists of Western Europe have to develop to undermine Imperialism. This will have to be the essential part of our struggle.

## A Bit of Satire

THE Socialist party of Pasadena, California, has perpetrated a satirical masterpiece. It adopted the following resolution and sent it to the Secretary of War at

"We, the Socialists of Pasadena, Cal., representing a large share of the .employes of Pasadena, hereby pledge our loyal and patriotic employers to the service of their country. We feel that, now war has been declared because of their efforts, their services will be given, and we ask you to use them in any way you can, feeling sure that, because of their patriotic utterances in the past, they will gladly lead any charge against the enemy, even if it is at great danger to themselves.

"Our employers have always maintained that they were much more useful than we, and, because of this, they have insisted on receiving the lion's share of the wealth produced by us. We have never before agreed with them in this, but now will take them at their word, and feel sure that, with this great array of brains and superior ability, our country will be in no danger whatsoever.

"Their presence at home will not be missed, and our work of producing all this world's goods will go on as usual. However, we might add that, as we will not have the benefit of their wonderful intelligence in producing these goods, they, the owners, need not expect any return, but that all wealth produced during their absence will be divided among us according to the value of the labor done."

This is magnificent! But it can't stop there. Satire can never take the place of

# THE HAVEN

## By JEANNETTE D. PEARL

M YRTLE felt annoyed, and operated her typewriter with jerky speed. She was indignant because the whole office force had filed out for lunch and left her alone with the electrician, who came to make some repairs. She felt hurt because of their slight, but more so, because of the thought that had she been a younger girl this oversight would not have occurred. This thought took hold of her and she began brooding over it. Was she actually getting old? As she questioned herself she slackened her speed, feeling an imperceptible stiffness of the joints, as if the infirmities of age were already upon her She languidly suppressed a wry smile and drew a small hand mirror from the top of her desk. Her reflection cheered her. There was no gray hair, none visible, for the lew she had were well concealed. Her face had a pleasant mobility with delicate indeterminate lines that left the skin clear and smooth. Her large mouth was set in softness. A tension of reserve showed only about the eyes held firmly by flexible lines, admitting of swift movement. She appeared youthful-twentyfive, thirty-but the eyes' setting and intensity indicated an older woman. She was thirty-

Myrtle was a hard and capable worker, well thought of by the office force, but they resented her reserve and unsociability. They considered her haughty and on that account left her out of their calculations more than nce. And each oversight Myrtle took as a rebuke to her age. The girls in the office were all young, and she would gaze with secret longing and envy at the ebullient agility of their youth. She felt irritated over their neglect-her own supersensitiveness-and struck at her keys as if in castigation.

The electrician was persistently staring at her, but she felt too annoyed to even resent He was a well built fellow of about thirty, good looking, with marked swagger and was fidgeting about for an opening to start a con-

You keep pretty busy, don't you, miss?" he finally ventured

"Yes." she nodded.

Not I, I take it easy," he boasted. And your boss allows it?" She smiled with good natured contempt, continuing with

"He don't know," he answered with pride, You see, I'm pretty quick at this, been at it twelve years and I can locate trouble in no time. Other fellows have to monkey around a job for half a day, I can loaf on a job without any one suspecting it." He settled himself comfortably in a swivel chair near her,

resting his stretched legs on a waste baster he drew up for the occasion.

You know be confided. Live too, will ing you ever aloce I bear come fire I wanted to speak to you before, but I didn't have the nerve."

not lacking in nerve?" you'd take it. I was sort of afraid." He gazed at her with a slow lingering look that seemed to penetrate right through her clothes She became quite confused and rose from

"You're not running away?" he laugh. good naturedly. "I could sit here and talk to you all day," he assured her.

Myrtle laughed nervously, resuming her seat Maybe you don't believe me?" he asked

"O-yes-I-do." Then swiftly eyeing him, Seeing you could do one thing twelve years, you surely ought to have no diffiulty in keeping this up for just one day. He lowered his eyes momentarily as if to drive away a fleeting shadow, shrugged his shoulders and forgot it. But he liked her the better for the blow. It dispelled the distance and brought her nearer to him.

"Say, would you come to lunch with me?"

"Why-yes," she smiled dubiously. "When?" His eyes were absorbing her ever

ovement with a hungry, relishing gaze "Why-any time-now," she stammered. S felt a warm wave sweeping her toward this hig unpolished fellow and to check herseli the walked off to the window.

"No, not in my uniform. Say, make Friday, and I'll have my other clothes. Is it

She nodded assent with the warm coy il

light of a young girl. "I'll drop you a line to remind you.

"Do," she drawled.

He detected the note of uncertainty in roice and searched her face as if to her sincerity. "You haven't told me name," he said with caressing reproach. "Why-you can address me-in care

firm-to the prettiest lady." As she she came toward him, her body at a st receding angle. "The nicest," he put it. The distant

pleased her, and she leaned forward, ing back her head. "You may be man she teased through her half-shut eyes. "No, honest," and in confirmation he d

from his breast pocket several snapshots of rather voluptuous girl and handed them to "Your wife," she shook her finger at 1

"Just a friend-a good friend," he added

"I'm sure you're married," Myrtle laughed

playfully, taking a deep breath and bringing to view the outlines of her full form.

"Do it again," his eyes narrowed, "do."

"You're married," she emphasized, to divert

Honest, I tell you I'm not." Vell, maybe I am," she laughed challeng

Would make no difference to me." Then

dertone, "Maybe I'd like it better." His ightened in anticipation. re bashful," he added in a low deep and I like you for it, for that-and in your eyes." He sucked in his

rolling up his eyes. he drawled lazily with confidence, hold hands-for a minute-let's-just

Come, don't be stingy,' got up awkwardly, stretched himself with k intent upon her. "You're going to with me Friday, Jon't forget."

she laughed delightfully, picking up at and toying with it. And why should t go, she asked herself. But the thought fellow, boastfully bantering her name perhaps at some public bar-she shudwith disgust at the thought of it.

stunner," he muttered as he watched ave the office, then proceeded to go for

at evening in her furnished room, Myrtle very lonely, lonelier than she had been ig all the three years' separation from her and. She was wracked by nervous uninty and shame for the indiscretion of

She felt as if all her self-control were ng from her, and now, she began to stand the meaning of the indirect proshe had been receiving lately from difmen. A feeling of intense uneasiness her. What if her reserve was to give and she should yield? The possibility at thought alarmed her and she rose from eat, in disgust with her weakness. She pacing up and down her long narrow with brisk elastic step. Suddenly her ontracted, her step became slow and cumme and her carriage stiff. That's just how walk when I'm old, she told herself, and t into hysterical laughter at the absurdity.

be had a queer feeling something must be g with her, yet she was enjoying splendid Her well cared for body was tense Vibrating animal spirit, and her attention

and interest in things had a new alert-She was conscious of a new assertive e in her. She noted of late that men ht her out, and looked at her not with fference. She recalled, a bit ashamed, how a few nights ago she actually had to

rain from an overwhelming desire to enmrage a flirtation in the subway. What if she were finally to let herself go-and suc-Was it she asked herself mockingly.

Unfal recently Myrtle had felt her moral character impregnable. She was safely insula of by her past marital troubles to want her contact with man. She had found a few friends relatives, a little recreation suf-beed for diversion when the day work was done. But during this last year Myrfle had grown restless. There was an intaggible some-thing she flungered for. And now she was bening to realize what it was. Could she re-"Why," she laughed out right, "you're surely strain herself, was she equal to the occasion? noon, misgivings assailed her and she began uphraiding herself for her weakness. And in the midst of her condemnation she found herself speculating on the next adventure. The floon experience persisted in bobbing up before her, tantalizing and tormenting her with

She put away the stockings she had intended to darn and picked a book. She could not read. The elusive uncertainty of her conduct frightened her. She saw the abyss and wondered in whose clutches she would fall. She felt a fall was imminent. What a mess she had made of her life! What a mess! she added aloud. Then she felt compassion for herself. after all-she was not to blame, it was hehe had wrecked everything, she consolingly told herself. It was now three years since his desertion. His last letter, written more than a month ago, pleading that she take him back, was still unanswered. What was the use, since

she preferred her life apart. For two years Myrtle had known a life of comparative contentment. Her husband's desertion had left no void in her life, on the contrary, she was glad to be free of him, and alone. But now she was beginning to find herself lonely. The calm in her life was leaving her and loneliness was entering in. Her little room which had been so restful was now close and oppressive and seemed to weight her down.

To-night, particularly, she felt very gloomy and gave herself up to moody conjectures and copious tears. As she stood before her dressermirror, gazing her herself, her supple curves revealed through the kimona cheered for. She was not old, she assured herself, just lonely. She lazily removed her hairpins and, tenderly shaking out her hair, wound it about her neck. How beautiful her naked arms looked in their loose sleeves! She kneaded the soft flesh lovingly, then passionately began kissing each naked arm. How lonely every part of her felt! Commiserating with herself, Myrtle was startled by a knock, and before she could answer, the door opened and her husband came in. She sprang up, her languidness gone and stared at him with cold indifference.

He was a placid looking individual with the fire of him all burnt out, "Myrtle," he began in an even metallic tone, "let us two make a fresh start-it will be different now." As he spoke he took her hand and caressed She did not repel him, but his contact hilled her and she leaned further back on the cot when he brought his chair closer to her. He did not see her retreat, but grasping her hands he pleaded piteously, the plea of a lonely

His pleadings seemed to recall the vision of on, vexing and tantalizing her. She clasped scarcely hearing him. But he, swept on by the momentum of his own force, felt as if she to were going his way. He caught her in his arms and kissed her again and again. There was no response in her, except that the warmth

of him visualized more intensely her feeling of noon. He felt a stir in her, and took it as a response to his supplication. He was certain he had her love and that in time she would show it more openly. He showered all kinds of promises upon her, their magnitude impartng to them a sense of reality which further encouraged his generosity.

As she watched him, she again saw the emotional warmth of noon and the memory of it beckoning and alluring. But she forced the thought from her. Associated with it was too much uncertainty-perhaps shame-degradation -who knows? She shuddered in fear of it and stretched out her arms to her husband.

### (Continued from Page 1)

This revolt against conscription is national. It is not confined to any particular section of the country, nor to citizens of alien birth, nor to radicals, although the radicals are active. The revolt is not arising out of any particular propaganda, but is the spontaneous development of an instinctive horror of and objection to compulsory military

The press is spreading the report that the whole campaign is engineered by agents of the Kaiser. This is a damnable lie. It is an insult to the American people. The agents of the Kaiser have nothing to do with the movement, except in the imagination of the hirelings of

A general movement of this character cannot be inspired by ulterior motivesit cannot be engineered by the agents of a foreign government. The movement is essentially a protest against the action of Congress in imposing conscription upon the people without the people's consent. It is a tribute to the instinctive democracy of the American people-of all people. While activity in the United States was organizing itself, the people of Montreal broke loose in demonstrations and riots as a protest against the proposed plan of the Canadian government to introduce conscription.

The situation is serious. Instead of weakening, the opposition is developing new strength. The government is apparently forcing the country into civil war. It is hoped that, for the sake of peace and democracy, the government will alter its plans.

Gentlemen of the Congress, the American people, whom you should represent. petition you to repeal the Conscription

## Meeting to Protest Against Conscription

THE Non-Conscription League of New York City is going to hold a treendous mass-meeting on the night preceding Registration-Day-Monday evening, June 4th, at Hunt's Point Palace, 503 Simpson Street, Southern Boulevard at 163rd Street.

Besides speakers active in the fight, such as Leonard D. Abbott, Louis C. Fraina and Emma Goldman, young men of conscriptive age and mothers will voice their protest at the iniquity.

The meeting is to develop into a gigantic protest, and every revolutionist should be present.

A meeting of the League, held the same evening that President Wilson signed the Conscription measure, was one of the finest meetings ever held in New York City. More than 5000 enthusiastic, aggressive men and women were present, nearly all the men being of conscriptive age. The chairman was Leonard D. Abbott, and the speakers Harry Weinberger, Alexander Berkman, Louis C. Fraina, Leonora O'Reilly and Emma Goldman. About 15 soldiers in uniform were present, apparently to create trouble; but the spirit of the meeting was such that they dared not "start something," and before the meeting closed walked out meekly.

MARRIED men will only be exempt when their wives and children are financially dependent.

This would look bad for rich married men. But the Evening Mail in reporting this decision reassures its readers as

"This rule is not general, since some wealthy married men will be numbered among those who are of greater potential value to the nation in their usual vocations than they would be at the

Remember, this is a "selective" draft. A millionaire at home is worth a million anyhow, but at the front his life might not be worth a cent!

THE Socialist Local in the district of Solingen in Germany, where Scheidemann has been elected to the Reichstag. decided by a vote of 51 to 13 to leave the old party and to join the opposition as recently organized in the Independent Social-Democratic Party.

## Propaganda League in Brooklyn

THAT the Socialist Propage League is an absolute nece proven by the activities of the brooklyn Branch of the Socialist Prop. League. Now you of the Down Hearted League, look this over and get come inspiration to get back into the ham ss!

Chief among the activities of the Prop. League of Brooklyn are the Anti-Militarist Mass Meetings which are rousing successes. The first one held a month ago resulted in packing in 1400 people in a comparatively small hall, and turning away hundreds. The doors were closed at 9 o'clock for lack of room. Overflow meetings were held in the street. The second Mass Meeting to protest against conscription held two weeks later in the same hall resulted in another overflow crowd, too large to be accommodated. The collections have never been equalled before by any other meeting held in Brooklyn. Enough was collected at both meetings to pay all expenses, and leaving a nice surplus which was turned over to the Mooney Defense Committee.

Hundreds of copies of the New International were sold at this meeting, also guite some "subs" were obtained for our

The Propaganda League was well represented on the speakers list. The following is a list of the speakers who addressed these mass meetings: L. C. Fraina, Editor of the New International, Joseph Schlossberg, Secretary of the Amal. Garment Workers, Ad. Goldfarb, B. Vladek, and S. P. Kramer of the Socialist Party, Winter Russel of the World Peace Fed. and Harry Weinberger of the Free Speech League. Ed. Lindgren and J. C. Rovitch presiding.

Another Mass Meeting to line up the workers against Conscription and to enlist sentiment for the repeal of this bloody bill was to have been held Friday, May 31, but the proprietor refused to open the hall and the meeting was held in the stret.

Our business meetings are well attended. The S. P. reds are lining up, with the old timers who dropped out of the S. P. due to a disgust of its conservative middle class tactics.

Open air meetings are being held for the purpose of securing funds for the Mooney Defence and for imprisoned Westinghouse strikers. The first openair meeting netted \$5 for the Mooney Defence though the night was too cold for open air meetings.

We have decided to pay for 200 copies of the New International of each issue, though we will sell more.

This live wire branch meets at the headquarters of the 14th A. D. S. P. at 225 S. 1st Street, every Thursday night. Discussions on timely topics follow the business session

Give us a visit. If interested, call at above address, or write to S. Nesin, Organizer, 294 Bedford Ave., Brooklyn, Watch this paper for more news of

the Banner Local. For the Revolution,

Press Committee, per S N. P. S.-We have sent about \$20,00 to the Mooney Defence.

## A Magazine of Revolutionary Socialism

That is the task imposed upon itself by our magazine, The Class Struggle.

## The Class Struggle Devoted to International Socialism

LOUIS B. BOUDIN LOUIS C. FRAINA LUDWIG LORE

The magazine contains 112 pages of interesting, vital reading. It is scholarly and comprehensive—a magazine in all ways worthy of the finest traditions of Socialism.

While cleaving to the revolutionary principles of Socialism fully and uncompromisingly, the magazine is not rigid or didactic, but seeks to express all the living forces in our movement.

Published every Too Ment 25c. a copy, \$1.50 a Four Send Subscriptions

Socialist Publication Society 115 Worth Street, N. Y. C.