

# THE INTERNATIONAL NEW

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## The International Revolution Sweeps Onward

THE eunuchs of Socialism, who are prostrated before the shrine of "votes of protest," or backing up their governments in waging an infamous war of conquest, or else sitting fatalistically in the library mumbling "the war will bring Socialism."—these eunuchs are getting shock after shock these days by the revolutionary events precipitated by the proletariat awakening to consciousness of strength and using its own mass power as its action against the war.

The impending revolution is sweeping irresistibly onward, drawing new nations within its vortex. The ground is being cut from beneath the feet of the social patriots, while the opposition of the moderate Socialists is being stiffened by the "mot d'ordre" of the workers tired of the carnage and tired of being misled by their treacherous representatives.

In Russia, the revolution is preparing to dispute the final control of events with the half-way revolutionists and the reactionary forces lined up behind the provisional government of the would-be dictator Kerensky. In Germany and France, the rumblings of the Russian revolution are stirring the enthusiasm and action of the proletariat; while in Italy and England, the working class is on the verge of actual revolt against the ruling class. Discontent is seething in Austria-Hungary, and the aspirations of the intrepid Fritz Adler may soon find expression in revolutionary action. The proletariat is everywhere finding itself. It is everywhere coming back to first principles, to its own needs and instincts, and its own form of activity in mass action. Everywhere, the revolutionary spirit sweeps onward, now flaming into local revolts, now temporarily suppressed only to flame up again stronger than ever. The governments of the ruling seek to cajole the coming revolution by juggling with cabinets and by making concessions in words that are empty of meaning: do they imagine that revolutions are thus easily cajoled? Don't they realize that the revolution is not against cabinets and words, but against the infamous system of things of which all the peoples at war are the victims?

The governments are trying another form of cajolery by prattling of a demo-

cratic peace. The working class distrusts any kind of peace agreed upon by the governments of the ruling class. The working class has learned from three years of immemorial agony that the governments are not worthy of trust,

Kerensky is determined upon a vigorous war under conditions that inevitably mean imperialistic peace. At the recent "democratic congress," which the Bolsheviks justly rejected as not representative and counter-revolutionary, Keren-

jected by the Bolsheviks and by the Left Wing Socialists everywhere: the class struggle, the struggle against all bourgeois-imperialistic governments and for the Social Revolution, is alone the straight and sure way to a proletarian peace. The mission of Skobelev was apparently the last manoeuvre of the conservative revolutionists in the Councils of Soldiers and Workmen: everywhere the Bolsheviks are becoming ascendant,—in Petrograd, in Moscow, in Odessa, and elsewhere. The Russian revolution is determined upon revolutionary action, and is cleaving firmly to the principles and tactics of revolutionary Socialism.

The news from Germany and France is less complete because events there have not come to a head, and because of the rigid censorship. But what we do know is full of promise.

The national solidarity of Germany is definitely broken. The German people are no longer immovable in their apparent determination to see an imperialistic war through to the finish. Bethmann-Hollweg was forced out as Chancellor, and the militaristic mannikin, Michaelis, has now equally been forced to go. The fraudulent peace resolution adopted by the Reichstag some months ago, and which the Independent Socialists voted against, has been exposed as an instrument of imperialistic projects. The ousting of Michaelis comes upon the heels of the revelation of an important mutiny in the German Navy, and the news of an attempt to organize a Council of Workmen and Soldiers on the Russian model. Minister of the Navy von Capelle's attempt to smash the independent Socialists through this mutiny resulted in a humiliating fiasco: the government was afraid to press the issue. The most significant thing about this mutiny is not its occurrence, but the fact that the government was compelled to reveal it in order to make an attempt at destroying the revolutionary opposition. And more significant than all was the dismal failure of the government.

All these occurrences are simply the froth on the surface of events. Beneath it all are the real events,—the awakening of the workers and their endeavors to take things into their own hands. It is out of this action of the mass that

### GREAT NEWS FROM RUSSIA!

As we go to press, the first reports come of the successful Bolshevik revolution in Petrograd. The Kerensky government is overthrown.

The Bolsheviks have organized a new government, with Nikolai Lenine as Premier and Leon Trotzky as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

At this moment, it is apparent that the new revolutionary government will have to fight to maintain itself. Civil war may be necessary.

The Russians are prepared to bring about an immediate general peace by means of the revolutionary action of the proletariat in all the belligerent nations. Will the Socialists of these nations act in the same contemptible, cowardly manner as a minority of conservative Socialists in Russia are acting, and refuse to co-operate with the real revolutionary forces? And these cowardly Socialists be allowed to betray the International Revolution?

that they are instruments of oppression and deceit. The workers everywhere are developing a determination to make their own peace in their own way; it isn't peace alone that they want, but conditions which shall make peace secure and oppression impossible. And they are learning that this can be secured only through revolutionary action, by the overthrow of Capitalism.

Diplomats are preparing to dicker, but the workers are preparing to act.

And here are the facts in the case,—just a few of the facts that censorship and isolation allow us to secure:

The revolution in Russia is preparing for the final struggle to erect a dictatorship of the proletariats. The Petrograd Council of Soldiers and Workmen, through its president Leon Trotzky, has issued a declaration of war against the provisional government. They are determined to lodge all power in the hands of the proletariat, and use this power to secure a revolutionary peace. They are preparing for the struggle, for civil war if necessary; and they are equally prepared, as Lenin and Trotzky have repeatedly declared, for a revolutionary war against Germany or any other power that might refuse to abide by a revolutionary peace.

sky made an appeal for the revival of the patriotic spirit shown during the days of the July offensive,—an offensive undertaken under pressure of the government of American Capitalism. The social patriotic Kerensky is rapidly rushing to defeat.

The Central Executive Committee of the All-Russia Councils of Soldiers and Workmen has adopted a series of peace terms very interesting and important, specifying concretely the meaning of "no indemnities and no annexations" and which includes a necessary demand for disarmament and the neutralization of the Panama Canal. The Central Executive Committee, which still places more emphasis on words than on deeds, delegated M. Skobelev to present these peace terms to the coming Conference of the Allies at Paris. But Jules Cambon, of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, declared that "the Allied Government will absolutely refuse to consent to M. Skobelev's taking part in the deliberations." The rebuff will stiffen the revolutionary moderates, and dispel all illusions. Not through diplomatic methods, and certainly not through national imperialistic conferences at Paris or Stockholm, may a revolutionary peace be assured. These tactics are re-

revolutions arise. These events are not blazoned to the world until they break loose in formidable activity, but they alone are of supreme importance. The German proletariat is preparing to act.

And the temper of this arising movement in Germany is gauged in the minority Socialists. In Dresden a number of them were imprisoned for distributing leaflets urging the workers to strike and proclaiming the Social Revolution. The Independent Social Democratic Party is increasing in strength, having some months ago 120,000 members in good standing, as compared with 200,000 for the majority. And while the independent party increases in strength, the majority decreases. A part of the Left Wing Socialists in Germany are in the Independent Socialist Party, stiffening it and imposing a revolutionary attitude upon it in accordance with events; while a considerable number of Left Wing Socialists refused to join the new party, and are locally carrying on an intensive revolutionary propaganda.

Still less is known of what is going on in France, but the little is significant in itself and significant in relation to the French characteristic of acting impulsively en masse, clear and sharp. The government has been adopting more and more stringent measures against the pacifists. The Bolo Pacha episode has been used for all it is worth to discredit the advocates of peace. Thousands upon thousands of agitators against the war have been imprisoned, but still the agitation increases in scope and intensity. Left Wing papers are continually suppressed, and our comrades imprisoned. But all to no avail. Herve in "La Victoire" declares that he receives letters from soldiers in the trenches asking him why they shouldn't make a revolution in France as they did in Russia. The sentiment against war was strongest in France in the years preceding 1914, and it is stronger to-day. It matters not that Guesde and Thomas are with the government; it matters not that the minority captained by Jean Longuet is not sufficiently aggressive. There is a powerful Left Wing group; and then the proletariat of France has a magnificent habit of thrusting aside its leaders in crisis, taking things into its own hands, and making a revolution. It is coming!

In Italy the situation is apparently still further developed. The news of the Italian disasters at the front appeared simultaneously with the revelation of wide-spread revolutionary activity. Riots broke loose during the summer in Turin and other cities, and there were clashes with the troops in which a large number of people were killed. It is rumored that there is an agitation in the army for the organization of Soldier's Councils as in Russia. According to the New York "Evening Post" there "is a profound stirring of the masses, hastened by lack of food, coal and oil and general war weariness."

The opposition to the war is open, and the government dares not use drastic measures at suppression. General Secretary Lazzari, of the Italian Socialist Party, recently issued a circular to Socialist officials and municipal locals to refuse payment of certain government taxes, and in this way strike against the

war. Lazzari followed this up on September 12 with a letter the salient features of which follow:

"You know the opinion expressed by our comrades in the Chamber against a third winter of war. Our party must honorably and determinedly keep to its given word. Because of their direct influence upon the populace, the local governments are surely a mighty political weapon. Those that we have won by our votes must serve through a united acts of protest to victory. **Before the winter there must be peace.** This is the policy about which there must be unswerving party unity. The means of accomplishing this are in my opinion two: (1) To bring about the immediate dismissal of Socialist officials in numbers, by means of universal and equal political agitation, in order that your carrying on of your offices shall not contribute to the continuation of the war, which can bring no solution for certain problems and is merely multiplying the economic and moral deprivations of all the nations; (2) by handing in your resignation and that of your entire common council upon a given signal."

These actions were discussed in parliament, action being urged against the traitor, Lazzari was cited before the authorities, but the government dared not prosecute him, and Lazzari is still at liberty carrying on the propaganda.

The Italian Socialist Party, which since the beginning has taken a splendid stand against the war, is being driven into even more aggressive and revolutionary tactics. The Left Wing group is developing increasing action and demanding more decided revolutionary tactics. In Florence and Naples the Socialists instructed their delegates to oppose the tactics of the party leaders at the Socialist Convention, and insist upon more aggressive action. A. Caroti is touring the country to arouse revolutionary sentiment, the tour being organized by the Young People's Socialist group, which in Italy as elsewhere is intensely revolutionary. It may be interesting to mention that last Christmas the headquarters of the Young People in Rome was raided by the police, revolutionary leaflets seized and destroyed, and the active members imprisoned. But the government failed to suppress their activity.

It is our firm conviction based upon the facts and the situation, that a revolution will soon break in Italy. And then will come the end!

The situation in England is less distinct, perhaps, but more promising than in any other nation. The reason why the world is still largely unaware of the real temper of the English proletariat is that the movement there is a strictly mass movement. According to the London "Times," it is "without acknowledged leaders." The leaders of the past are talking volubly, and create a wrong impression; they either dicker about cabinets, support the war, or indulge in a sickly propaganda of bourgeois pacifism. The revolutionary movement is developing considerably among the organized workers, and among the unorganized; it is sober but determined, and it is mapping out a program of revolutionary action that squares with

nearly every essential of Left Wing Socialism.

The London "Times" holds out the prospect of an impending civil war, and thus describes the situation:

"There exists at the present moment a revolutionary movement in this country which has gathered considerable momentum; it has long passed the stage of mere talk, and has realized itself in formidable action. There has been no attack on the Throne, no rioting in the streets, no destruction of visible property, but changes have been already brought about which are thwarting the efforts of the government to conduct the war. . . It is a ferment working within the area of British organized labor, claiming for the proletariat's self-direction and enjoyment of the whole product of industry."

The Workman's Council, recently organized and representing 1,000,000 organized British workers, has a program which contains these three provisions:

"Expropriation of private landowners and capitalists. No compensation beyond ample provision against individual hardship."

"Ownership by the State; management by the workers; instead of the present capitalistic methods of production. This shall be applied immediately to the case of mines, railways, shipping, ship-building, and engineering, electric light and power."

"Abolition of the House of Lords. Substitution for it of a chamber based on the representation, not of geographical areas, but of occupations, industrial, professional, and domestic; labor and professional bodies thus becoming a constituent part of the country's government."

This is a thorough program, and indicates the deep revolutionary spirit of the workers. It is largely, though not fully, in accord with the new Mass Action and our own Industrial Unionism.

And this revolutionary spirit is forcing the war leaders to modify their stand in order to save their prestige. It was this revolutionary spirit that compelled Henderson to get out of the cabinet, and it is this spirit which will flame up in revolt as it did in Russia.

All of which indicates that what the war began and the Russian revolution accelerated, the workers in all nations are organizing to complete. The conditions of Imperialism and war inevitably generate mass action and revolution. Slowly but surely the forces of the proletariat are gathering for the great struggle with capitalism. And the revolution when it comes will be an inter-generate mass action and revolution. international aspirations of our intrepid comrades in Russia. Not in a day, not in a month—but it is coming!

Very significant it is that everywhere the Left Wing Socialists are the most aggressive against the war. Significant, moreover, is the fact that wherever the workers assert themselves in revolutionary action, they adopt the principles and tactics of the Left Wing Socialists. It is our day, comrades, and there is great work ahead! Our principles and tactics are in these times the determinant factor.

## I. W. W. Defense Fund

The General Defense Committee of the I. W. W., through W. D. Haywood, has issued the following appeal:

"Do not think that the world war for democracy is waged only in the trenches of Europe. Far from the thunder of the guns the greatest battles, the most important to Labor, are being fought in shop, mine and mill between organized Capital and organized Labor. "Liberty" and "Democracy" find highest expression in, and are best represented by, Unionism in Industry, and Unionism is on trial!

"For years past the wolves of Wall Street and Commercial Clubs have shown Labor no quarter as industrial unrest was mirrored by larger and larger strikes. They have raised private armies of gunmen, laughed at law, subverted all government and spread a network of protected villainy from coast to coast. They have conspired with authority in strike after strike. As bloody monuments to greed stand the names of Cripple Creek, Homestead, Coeur D'Alene, Holy Grove, Lawrence, Paterson, Ludlow, Mesaba, Everett, Bisbee, Butte and the Mooney "Frame-up."

"In November, 1916, men representing Eight Billion Dollars of Corporate Wealth organized at New York City and openly announced a purpose to crush organized Labor. They selected the Industrial Workers of the World as the first organization to concentrate upon. Since then the I. W. W. has been subjected to most unbelievable and inhuman, illegal violence. We have thousands of affidavits for proof. Strikers have been deported into deserts and left to die. Frank Little was murdered at Butte. Hundreds of union men thrown into sickening "Bull-pens," starved, beaten and shot. The climax is reached by the present indictment at Chicago of 166 officers, members and sympathizers of the Industrial Workers of the World on charges of Conspiracy. The lies of "German Gold" spread broadcast by the serpent press were proven false. The present charges will prove false. Yet, Labor's Right to Organize is at Stake. "Today it is the I. W. W.; tomorrow it will be the A. F. or L." The charges against the I. W. W. are industrial in character and can be turned against any labor union.

"Capital counts upon clouding the issue with cries of "Treason," and accentuating the petty differences between labor groups. If Freedom of Labor—if the Right to Organize—the Right to strike, means anything to you, forget these petty differences and aid those men and women now in jail whose lives prove their faith to Labor in word and deed. They are willing to spend their lives in prison and leave their bones beneath its walls rather than see the dearest rights of Labor lost to you.

"Defense is now organized and asks your help. Send funds to the undersigned. Receipts will be forwarded and itemized statement rendered at close of trials. It is a fight for Life and Liberty. Act now."

Address: Wm. D. Haywood, 1001 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill.

# The Case of Fraina and Cheyney

**I**N the case of Louis C. Fraina and Edward Ralph Cheyney, arrested at a meeting of Conscientious Objectors, a jury in the United States District Court returned a verdict of "guilty" on the indictment alleging conspiracy to aid, abet and induce men of military age to evade and violate the Draft Law.

The government had indicted Fraina and Cheyney under the Draft Law and under the criminal section of the Espionage Act.

Each indictment carried two counts: the Draft Law indictment alleged (1) that the defendants had conspired to themselves violate the draft law by agreeing to refuse military service; and (2) that they had conspired to aid, induce and abet others to violate and evade the law.

The indictment under the criminal section of the Espionage Act charged (1) an actual attempt to create mutiny, insubordination and the refusal of duty in the army and navy of the United States; and (2) a conspiracy to commit the same offense.

The prosecution introduced as evidence the speech made by Cheyney as chairman of the meeting, and the speech of Fraina as well as his leaflet on "Conscientious Objectors." The passages in Fraina's speech considered most objectionable by Assistant United States District Attorney Harold A. Content were as follows:

"This country is blessed from the capitalist standpoint, and cursed from the working class standpoint, by a president peculiarly adept in the coining of phrases, in the making of symbols, which in themselves mean nothing in the struggle for democracy, but which are so glittering that they exert a poisonous influence on the minds of the people."

"They are not going to exempt the Conscientious Objector. They are going to penalize us. They are going to compel us, if they can compel us. But I say right now that they cannot conscript the Conscientious Objector. They cannot conscript the Conscientious Objectors, because we have made up our minds and we are going to stick."

The passages from Fraina's leaflet considered most objectionable are as follows:

"The Conscientious Objector is determined, come what may, to refuse all forms of military service.

"He is equally determined to refuse alternative, or non-combatant service."

"Against all forms of military service, because all are equally objectionable,—that is our animating purpose."

"The Conscientious Objector is supremely indifferent to what the government may decide."

The prosecution was determined upon a conviction, refusing counsel for the defence sufficient time in which adequately to prepare the case. It is understood that this procedure was dictated by order from above.

During the trial itself, which lasted four days, the defense, under the able management of Louis B. Boudin,

counsel for Fraina, completely smashed the case of the prosecution.

Boudin first succeeded in having the first count in the Espionage indictment dismissed; and before the case went to the jury, he made a motion to dismiss the Espionage indictment entirely, on the ground that the statute referred to attempts to incite mutiny, insubordination and the refusal of service in the **actual armed forces** of the United States, and that the evidence did not show that there were present at the meeting any men actually in the military service of the United States. In spite of the frenzied arguments and objections of Prosecutor Content, the Judge granted the motion. This is an important ruling, as it shows that there should be no indictment under the Espionage Act unless the actual military forces are involved.

In his address to the jury, Mr. Content indulged in a lot of talk about Americanism, and free speech not being license, and insisted upon a verdict of guilty.

In his speech to the jury Boudin made a powerful argument on the merits of the case. This was a prosecution of over-excitement. Conspiracy is legally very broad and indefinite. A specific act or crime is not sufficient proof to convict, as the facts must show a conspiracy. The simple fact is that there has been no evidence introduced to show that these defendants entered into a conspiracy. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the problem of Conscientious Objectors, to create public sentiment to bring pressure to bear upon the government and the president to recognize their convictions. This has been a general public problem, discussed even by the Secretary of war; and this meeting, and the speeches and leaflet, were part of this general public discussion.

When the case went to the jury, there were two counts in the indictment, the one alleging that the defendants conspired to themselves evade the draft law, and the second that they conspired to aid, abet and induce others to do the same thing. The jury found the defendants not guilty on the first count, and guilty on the second.

The Judge, Robert T. Ervin, imposed a sentence of thirty days for each defendant in the Mercer County, N. J. penitentiary. The reason for the light sentence, according to the judge, was the youth of the defendants. District Attorney Content pleaded for a heavy sentence, particularly for Fraina, whom he accused of being the more dangerous of the two, editor of *The New International*, and very active in the propaganda.

The case is being appealed, in spite of the light sentence, because there are vital general principles involved. This is the first case where Conscientious Objectors have been convicted because of their propaganda; Fraina and Cheyney were in fact indicted as Conscientious Objectors, tried as Conscientious Objectors, and convicted as Conscientious Objectors. Through them the

prosecution tried to strike a blow at the movement that they represent.

Moreover, the law of conspiracy under which they were tried is one of the most dangerous statutes that can be and has been repeatedly used against the workers and their representatives. Where the prosecution cannot prove a crime, they indict for conspiracy, and in this way secure a conviction which otherwise would be impossible. The case must be fought to a finish.

But most important of all is this fact: that if the verdict stands, organizations of Conscientious Objectors may be automatically indicted for conspiracy to violate the draft law. Here are the facts in proof:

The defense introduced in evidence two telegrams, to show that the meeting was part of a general movement to discuss the status of the Conscientious Objectors. The first telegram, sent by The League of Conscientious Objectors to Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, was as follows:

"On behalf of 3500 Conscientious Objectors whose idealism compels them to decline all forms of military service, we ask: What of the Conscientious Objector? May we have your reply not later than Thursday, so that we can advise our meeting the stand you suggest."

The reply, sent by F. D. Keppel, Confidential Clerk to the Secretary of War, was as follows:

## Lenin on the Russian Land Problem

**S**INCE the peasants form the great mass of the Russian population, the outcome of the present revolution largely depends upon their attitude, and the position taken by different parties towards the land problem therefore is most important. The fact that the Provisional Government does not even attempt to solve the problem may contribute largely to its failure.

It is of great interest to learn the attitude of the Bolsheviki towards the peasants as expressed in a letter written by Lenin, in accordance with instructions from the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party in Russia to the Congress of Peasants' Delegates. Part of the letter relating to the land problem reads as follows:

The difference between us (the Bolsheviki and the Social Revolutionists), as well as the Mensheviki, manifest themselves in three important issues: the land problem, the war problem and the organization of the State.

All the land must belong to the people. All the land of the big land owners has to be transferred to the peasants without payment. This is relevant. But the difference regards the following: will the peasants themselves take possession of the land immediately without paying anymore rent to the land owners, without waiting for the constitutional assembly, or will they not?

Our party is of the opinion that they should do this and advises the peasants to take immediately and locally possession of the land. They should do this as much as possible in an organized way,

"Telegram received. No specific answer at present, matter being still under consideration by the President and the Secretary of War."

In his charge to the Jury, the judge used these telegrams against the defendants. He said in substance that if the defendants knew of the sending of the first telegram, and were aware that the organization holding the meeting consisted of men who "declined all forms of military service," then the defendants were guilty of implied conspiracy, and the jury should find them guilty.

This ruling is monstrous, and the verdict must not be allowed to stand. If it does, then two Conscientious Objectors are guilty of conspiracy by virtue of their convictions, and organizations of Conscientious Objectors may be automatically indicted and convicted.

The issue is serious. We must fight out the issue. The defense is organizing a campaign in order to arouse public sentiment against the outrage. It needs money. Counsel for Fraina is not being paid for his services; all money received will be used to pay the actual expenses of the appeal (printing, filing, etc.) and for printing a pamphlet describing the case in full and for general propaganda. Send all funds to S. J. Rutgers, 477 East 16th Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

without causing damage to the property and should use all efforts to increase the production of grain and meat, as the soldiers suffer immensely from hunger. The constitutional assembly will have to arrange for the definite division of land, but a temporary division for the coming harvest is only possible through local committees, because the Provisional Government, a government of big land owners and capitalists, postpones the calling together of the constitutional assembly. In order to bring the land to the workers, it is necessary to create a close contact between the industrial workers and the poor peasants, who are semi-proletarians. Without such co-operation, it is impossible to defeat the capitalists, and without such a defeat the land will not come in the hands of the people, and there will be no liberation from poverty. Without money, without capital, it is impossible to get tools, cattle, seeds. The peasants should not rely on capitalists nor on rich land owners, who are capitalists as well, but only on the workers from the cities.

## BUNDLES.

Help along the good work by ordering a bundle of *The New International*—3c. a copy.

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# The I. W. W. Arrests and Trials

ON Sept. 5, simultaneously throughout the country, federal raids were made on I. W. W. headquarters and halls, in the alleged search for evidence of "German gold." Twenty-three days after a grand jury returned 166 indictments against 166 members, on grounds of "Seditious conspiracy"—no "German gold" having been discovered—and wholesale arrests began. Up to the present time, 82 have been arrested. They are: Chicago, George Andreychine, Richard Brazier, Ralph Chaplin, Edward Hamilton, Clyde Hough, William D. Haywood, Vladimir Lossieff, Bert Lorton, Herbert Mahler, Paul Pika, Charles Plahn and Chas. Rothfiser; Waukegan, John Pancuer; Rockford, Harrison Haight and Fred Nelson; Springfield, Joe Usapiet; Los Angeles, Angeleo Vincent Azuara, James Elliat, Chas McWhirt and Glen Roberts; Duluth, Charles Jacobson and Fred Jakokola; Minneapolis, Sigfried Sternberg, Carl Salteen, Dan Buckley, Forrest Edwards, Ted Frazier, Ragner Johnson and Chas. L. Lambert; San Francisco, Geo. Speed and Luigi Parenti; San Jose, Peter McEvoy; Stockton, Wm. Weuh; Bemidji, Archie Sinclair; St. Paul, Pete Dailey; Portland, Chas. Bennett, Peter R. Green, Alton E. Soper and T. H. Beyer; New York City, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Aurturo Giovannitti, Carlo Tresca and John Baldazzi; Buffalo, Manuel Rey; Huron, Alexander Cournos; Detroit, Arthur Christ and Otto Justh; Philadelphia, Edward F. Doree, Walter N. Neff and Joseph T. Ettor; Scranton, Joe Graber, Albert B. Prashner and Salvatore Zumpano; Pittsburgh, Harrison George and Jack Law; Denver, Meyer Friedkin; Boston, Roy S. Fanning; Salt Lake City, H. A. Giltner, Chas. H. MacKinnon, Fred. C. Ritter and Grover H. Perry; Spokane, H. Humphrey, Wm. Moran, James Rowan and Don Sheridan; Seattle, Harry Lloyd and Jas. A. McDonald; Bellingham, Walker Smith; Tacoma, J. T. Doran; Raymond, Jas. P. Thompson; Cleveland, Geo. Hardy and Jas. C. Slovick; Youngstown, Dave Ingar; Akron, Samuel Scarlett; Butte, Peter Kerkonen; Providence, Francis Miller; Paterson, John Avila; Tulsa, Arthur Boose; Muskogee, H. H. Munson; Enid, Walter Reeder; Jacksonville, Stanley J. Clark; and Wm. E. Gourland, place of resident not given in reports. Doree, Law, Neff, Giovannitte, Flynn, Ettor and Tresca are out on bail.

A glance at the above list will convince one that it is thoroughly international. Despite the newspaper attempts to make the I. W. W. out to be largely Austro-Hungarian, one will be impressed in the above, by the large number of American names, like Hamilton, Chaplin, Hough, Haywood, Edwards, Speed, George, etc. He will also be impressed by the Scandinavian, Swedish, Finnish, Russian, Mexican, Spanish, Italian, Irish,—in brief, by the relatively few Tuetic names. The I. W. W. are truly The Industrial Workers of the World, with a membership of all nationalities and with international ramifications. In the Frisco

hearings of Speed, Parenti and McEvoy, Lawyer R. M. Royce said:—

"The I. W. W. is affiliated with the union movements of Italy, France, England and Russia. And the commissioner may be certain that the proceedings of this courtroom will be reported to these organizations and will also reach the Council of Workmen's and Soldier's Delegates in Petrograd. These are matters of public policy of which the government should be informed."

Another glance at the above list will show cities and states that are the strongholds of huge industrial trusts. Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma, Portland, Bellingham, in the state of Washington, stand for the lumber trust; Duluth, for the steel trust; Butte and Salt Lake City, for the copper trusts; Tulsa, Muskogee and Enid, for the oil trusts; San Jose, fruit trusts; Minneapolis and St. Paul, metal, machinery and agricultural trusts, etc. In all these cities and states the I. W. W. conducted strikes against the trusts (who are reaping untold profits from the war) for more wages and less hours. The I. W. W. assert that back of their prosecution these interests most likely may be found.

A final glance at the above list will show a wide diversity of occupations and skill; fruit pickers, harvest hands, R. R. construction workers, metal and coal miners, railroad workers (operating division), textile workers, transport workers (longshoremen, sailors, firemen, etc.) auto builders, machinery constructors, and others too numerous to specify. A wide range of ability, in organizing, oratory, editing, poetry, historical research, etc., is also included in the list. In fact, the brain, the brawn,—all the aspirations of the workers are represented in the above list. So are all schools of politico-economic thought—quite a few of the imprisoned being graduates of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party—Haywood having, at one time, been a member of the national executive committee of the latter.

The I. W. W. answer to the "seditious conspiracy" charge is very simple. They hold the greed of the war profiteers responsible for the obstruction. These profiteers refused to listen to even governmental suggestions of concessions. The I. W. W. also point to the fact that the A. F. of L. has done and is doing the very things that they are charged with doing. They want to know why it is not prosecuted as they are? Is it the policy to first convict the I. W. W. and then go after the A. F. of L. with the precedent in hand?

It looks as if the A. F. of L. feared such a result. Washington news despatches report it as preparing to have lawyers at the I. W. W. trials to note the issues raised. The despatches read, in part, as follows:—

"The American Federation of Labor officials now fear an attempt to destroy the right to strike during the war."

The I. W. W. are preparing to defend their members well. An able legal staff as been secured. Geo. Vanderveer, who

became favorably known for his handling of the Everett cases, is chief counsel. Otto Christensen, who aided Judge Hilton in the defense of Joe Hill, is first assistant. John Matzan will be second assistant, with a record yet to make. They announce that they will be ready to go to trial on the first of January next.

A general Defense Committee has also been organized, with headquarters at 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. This defense committee urges the organization of local defense committees by labor organizations when and wherever possible. Local defense committees have already been formed at Boston, Omaha, Chicago, Seattle, Spokane, Portland, Cleveland, New York City, and other large points. The New York I. W. W. Defense Conference meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at 74 St. Mark's Place. It is very successful, raising almost \$1,000 in a very short time. If the desire to help the I. W. W. federal prisoners that exists in New York is general, they will be found to have a

great many friends all over the country.

What the outcome of the trials will be, none can tell in advance. Some believe, that, having killed the lumbermen's and miners' strikes, the authorities will remain content with this achievement and let the I. W. W.s down easy. Others believe that the I. W. W. will be outlawed. Haywood, in his bulletins to the membership, following the raids on Sept. 5, hints at such a possibility being on the program.

But whether freed or outlawed the I. W. W.s believe economic, social and political tendencies, at home and abroad,—in Australia and Russia,—are working in their favor. So they calmly face the future, convinced of their irresponsibility, now more than ever before. Like the Socialists, their belief in the tides of evolutionary fates moving towards their ends, makes them undaunted, and unafraid of the outcome.

Here's hoping that their beliefs are well founded, as, indeed, they seem to be!

## Items of the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. is more sinned against than sinning. Instead of committing 10,000 crimes, 10,000 crimes are committed against it. The I. W. W. never lynched a capitalist. But the capitalists lynched Frank Little. The I. W. W. never deported mine owners and deprived them of all rights. But the copper capitalists at Bisbee, deported 1,200 I. W. W. amid deeds that shamed the Prussian deportations in Belgium. The I. W. W. never terrorized thousands of innocent men and women. But the commercial clubs, citizen's, and other leagues, did that, and worse, to I. W. W.'s by the hundreds, in Washington, Oregon, etc. The "ten thousand I. W. W. crimes" are merely a "stop thief" cry to hide the ten thousand crimes of law and order."

In the Frisco federal cases against I. W. W. members Speed, McEvoy and Parenti, there are some curious features about the complaint sworn to by Special Agent Rathbun. It is charged that the defendants had conspired to violate all of the statutes of the United States concerning the conduct of the war and particularly the Acts of Congress of May 18th and June 15th, but the date of the alleged conspiracy is given as May 15th, three days before the passage of one, and twenty-eight days before the passage of the other of the laws mentioned. Conspiracy to violate laws not yet enacted is certainly a new sort of crime and one to be committed only by the I. W. W.

In the face of the nation-wide attack on the I. W. W., Chas. Moyer makes himself ridiculous when he calls the I. W. W. "a tool of the employers." That Moyer is allowed at liberty would indicate that the charge can more reasonably be made against him.

Lawyer Royce is right. The authorities charge the I. W. W. with 10,000 crimes in order that they may be able to prove one, at least!

## THOSE SABOTAGING SLEUTHS.

We would hate to accuse the sleuths of the bureaucracy of the terrible crime of sabotage, but the evidence is all against them. They seized the effects of the I. W. W. in Seattle and dumped the whole works,—death masks, waste paper, due stamps, blanket rolls, membership records, spittoons, literature, laundry, typewriters, adding machines, and general paraphernalia into big moving vans without any regard for order. This conglomeration was taken to the police station and unloaded in a way that mixed it up more than ever. Then it was piled back into the vans helter-skelter and carted to the Federal building, where the stirring up process was repeated. In each case there were scores of police and sleuths accompanying the moving vans to see that the terrible I. W. W. did not swoop down with their German rifles and regain possession of the cuspidors. The entire process seemed to be designed to make the job last for the investigators.—*The Industrial Worker.*

## PILLORYING GOMPERS.

In a second letter to Samuel Gompers, James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor again demands a reply to the question whether certain activities of the Alliance for Labor and Democracy, of which Gompers is the President "have been financed wholly or in part by the widely recognized enemies of labor with whom you (Gompers) have lately been appearing on the platform—such men as Elihu Root and Governor Burnquist. I asked you and ask you now, who paid the expenses of the special train from New York to Minneapolis, the rent of halls etc.

# THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

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## A FEMINE C. O. IN ENGLAND.

Our readers will appreciate the tragic humor of the following open letter sent to the British War Office in reply to a regimental paymaster's memorandum.

Re 48034, Bristol, Pte. T. H. Higgins.

Madam.—As your husband refuses to sign the necessary army form to enable separation allowances to be issued to you, will you please forward the two birth certificates to this office, so that children's allowance may be issued to you in respect of your children. Whilst separation allowance is not admissible to you in respect of yourself owing to your husband having refused to sign A.F.D. 4181B, the regulations permit allowance to be issued to you in respect of your children only. Will you, therefore, please forward these birth certificates as soon as possible.

C. Hewlett, Lt.-Col.

Sir.—In reply to yours of the 17th re "Children's Allowances," I beg you to wait until I ask before offering me allowances paid by the War Office for my children.

I know no such man as Pte. T. H. Higgins. My husband is Mr. Thomas Henry Higgins, aged 41 years, going bald-headed, having put in 30 years for industrialism.

When we were married I well remember these words being read: "Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder." I always have had an aversion to soldiers, and it's impossible for you to make me the wife of one now. Governments can rob us of our husbands, but they can't force us to bring more children into this country under conscription, so I reckon that they and I will be quits.

The dear children I already have I will work for, independent of "military pay," and in spite of my being a chronic dyspeptic for 15 years.—Yours faithfully,  
Mrs. Higgins

(A very conscientious objector.)

In New York City, Joseph J. Ettor, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Arturo Giovannitti and Carlo Tresca, are fighting extradition, and are seeking trials separate from those of the I. W. W. men. They do this on the ground that they are not members of the I. W. W. and were not actively associated with it during the period specified in the federal indictments. They take no stand prejudicial to the interests of the I. W. W.

# The American Menace to Peace

THE capitalist interests in the United States not only are against a victorious Germany, but against a victorious England as well. What is wanted above all is the continuation of the war, and the United States at present forms the greatest obstacle to a peace in the near future.

Prior to its own participation in the war, in the period of fabulous war profits, coined from the blood of its present Allies, there was but one dark spot the bright heaven of capitalist prosperity: peace might interfere, had to interfere some day and then a breakdown was inevitable. A peace rumor meant a drop in the stock market and a curse on the lips of the Wall street profiteers.

Not only were golden profits filling the coffers, but at the same time competitors were destroying each other in a fight to a finish, leaving no powerful European rival in the struggle for world power. "Peace without victory" meant peace without a victorious rival for the United States, and was based on mutual destruction for those involved.

But it is not enough to gather profits, since the productive forces of the United States by far surpass the demands of the national market, and the problem of reinvesting profits is already a burning issue. American capital needs expansion, permanent expansion, world expansion, and therefore world power. Not only has there been a physical lack of military force, but still more a lack of "national" spirit, indispensable for success of Imperialism. The preparedness campaign did not fulfill the expectations, the Mexican invasion had to be given up since the militia proved totally inadequate. Wilson's "League of nations to enforce peace," which would have made it possible to saddle a military organization upon the workers under the pretext to enforce peace, did not find response either abroad or at home, and it became evident that the only hope to create a war spirit was through actual war. And even then this spirit did not develop very rapidly.

The longer, however, the war lasts, the more chances of creating a war spirit characteristic of modern "patriotism," the more chances also to build up a thorough equipment of military power, unequalled in any nation on earth and superior to the European powers, weakened by mutual destruction.

For the next two or three years, the interest of the United States Capitalists is for continuation of the war and every move towards peace will find the most bitter opposition here, although, no doubt, American politicians will continue to claim their humanitarian love for peace.

When the Russian slogan "peace without annexations and indemnities," which in its vague and indefinite form is very near to Wilson's "peace without victory," threatened to become a basis for peace negotiations, the American slogan, had to be dropped. The Pope in his endeavor to strengthen his International position, skillfully used the very words of President Wilson in his proposal, only to prove once more that

words do not rule the world. "Peace without victory" became "peace without autocracy"—in Germany. Evidently Mr. Wilson feels confident that the overthrow of the Kaiser will give some respite and if this calamity should happen untimely, the future slogan is easily constructed. A revolution in Germany would result in a terrific internal struggle and a state of affairs even more confused and unstable than Russia presents to-day. The future slogan of American Capital, no doubt, will be "no peace without a stable government in Germany," strong enough to keep its promises and treaties; no peace with a revolutionary working class, under any conditions.

The United States not only constitutes the most dangerous Imperialistic force of the future, the most imminent danger for the next world conflict, but also the great menace to a proletarian revolution in any part of the world. At

present American money and American industrial and economic influences are active in trying to crush the Russian Revolution, backing up whatever counter-revolutionary group seems capable of getting the situation "in hand," and just the same but with hundred-fold energy the United States Capitalists will help to crush any revolutionary movement in Europe, using the conscripted American workers against their European comrades. American autocracy is more modern, more efficient and therefore a greater menace to the future of the international working class than even the Prussian autocrats. This makes the responsibility of the American working class a heavy one. We have to re-double our energies in the class struggle, not only for victory at home but also to prevent our exploiters from becoming the dominant reactionary force all over the world.

## The Revolutionary Action of The New International

A reprint of Dr. Herman Gorter's "Imperialism, the World War and Social Democracy" contains an appendix from which we translate the last paragraphs:

The weapon of the Social Revolution in each separate country and in all countries is the organized action of the masses.

For this purpose all the revolutionary socialist workers will have to unite in the New International, along national and international lines, during and after the war. In Germany, France and England the revolt will break out and other countries will follow. The groups of the New International will lead the way everywhere and will transform the revolt into the Social Revolution. For this purpose they will have to separate from the reformists and also definitely from the radicals (of the type Kautsky) unless the latter join the revolutionists in time.

As a preliminary to the struggle, the revolutionary socialist workers will adopt internationally the following program as a basis for national and international action:

Guarantee of a compensation to all workers, who are unemployed or whose wages are insufficient.

Repudiation of national debts.

Confiscation of war profits.

Taxation of capital and income only.

Expropriation of Banks.

Expropriation of all Big Business.

Equal political rights for all inhabitants without discrimination of sex, nationality or religion.

Democratization of all representative bodies.

Abolition of Senates, Herrenhouses, etc.

The Republic.

Abolition of all protective tariffs.

Abolition of the military system.

The armed proletariat trained in this war, by endorsing these demands and enforcing them through mass-action, while it is still in possession of the weapons, can overcome the capitalists

and inaugurate the Socialist Commonwealth, at least as far as Western Europe is concerned.

## SOCIALIST DEFENSE FUND.

The national office of the Socialist party has issued the following appeal:

"There are scores of comrades who have been tried and convicted by juries prejudiced by the capitalist press. These comrades are entitled to be defended. We don't expect the profit-mongers to contribute to our defense fund. Yet legal defense cannot be had without money. If you were in the place of those indicted, wouldn't you expect every champion of justice to contribute every available penny to keep you out of prison? You would justly be entitled to their help. So then, we appeal to you to treat others who are fighting your battles as you would expect to be treated by them.

"The cases where convictions have been returned must be appealed to the higher courts. In other cases people are under indictment and are soon to be tried. There are still other cases involving the freedom of the press. We insist that this, the only means of communication open to the common people, shall not be denied.

"We need a fund of at least \$100,000 to meet the situation forced upon us. Nothing encourages, comrades, more than to know they are not deserted in crucial moments.

"We appeal to you to come to the aid of those who are slated for prison by officialdom gone mad with power. Send in at least One Dollar for the Defense Fund. Give more if you can, but do at least this much. This is an extraordinary appeal made necessary by an unusual condition. Bring this grave situation to the attention of your friends and enlist their support. Act at once! The fate of these active workers depends on you. Don't desert them!

"Make all remittances payable to: Adolph Germer, Secretary, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill."

# The International Movement

The changing character of the revolutionary movements in Russia, when compared with those of twenty and more years ago, is illustrated by the fact, that between 1884 and 1890 two-thirds of the political prisoners were intellectuals. In the period 1901—1903 their number had decreased to one-quarter and between 1906—1911 to one-tenth of the total number of political offenders.

Fifteen fellow-workers of the I. W. W. in San Francisco have been charged with having "conspired and agreed together and with each other unlawfully, willfully and feloniously to make or convey false statements with intent to interfere with the operations for the success of the military and naval forces of the United States, etc."

The charge is based directly on membership of the I. W. W.: that these people have received cards of membership and had voted in meeting of the I. W. W., paid dues and distributed literature and subscribe to certain principles which interfere with the success of the military and naval forces and obstruct recruiting and enlistment. Funds to be sent to the Fresco Workers Liberation League, 85 Third St., San Francisco, Cal.

At a Congress of labor unions in Petrograd, July 19th and 20th, a resolution was passed unanimously by two hundred and fifty delegates from different parts of Russia, voicing an indignant protest against the contemptible slander of the counter-revolutionists, against worthy leaders in the labor movement, such as Lenin, Trotzky, Zinovief, Kamjenef, etc. The Congress considers this an attack on the entire working class and its organizations. A similar protest was adopted at the general meeting of the executives of the Councils of Workingmen and Soldiers of all Russia on July 23rd.

It is the object of the Russian Bolsheviks to overthrow the Government of the Bourgeoisie and the reformists, to conclude a proletarian peace through a European proletarian Revolution.

For some time there was a rumor that Liebknecht was in a dying condition, which was denied by the social patriotic semi-governmental paper "Vorwärts."

The German Left Wing paper "Kampf" (Struggle) answers:

The government organ on order from above, tries to create the impression that Liebknecht is feeling alright in prison and is properly treated. The "Vorwärts" knows perfectly well that this is a lie. Unfortunately, Liebknecht is by no means feeling well. It is true that he is not ill as was reported, but if his torturers are not yet so far, this is due to the iron constitution of Liebknecht and the power of his will. The intention to get rid of him, no doubt, exists, for the food given to him is not only totally insufficient, but inferior in every respect.

It was comrade Ruhle who recently shouted in the Reichstag: "They starve Liebknecht." If things develop according to the will of the German

rulers, this valiant fighter for the working class, whose heroic spirit so far could not be broken by all the tortures behind prison walls, will not leave the prison alive.

Form a Manifesto of the International Organization of Young People's Socialist League in Zurich, August, 1917:

"Nowadays even a child in the most distant village knows that this is not a war waged for the defense of any kind of a civilization, but that the armies of millions fight and die for the sake of profits. The cause of this war and of the mutual strangling of the peoples is simply and alone the Imperialistic policy of groups of capitalists, the struggle for world conquests and world exploitation by Big Interests. And the responsibility for this gigantic blood-orgy falls on the Governments, together with the treacherous social patriots. The workers and revolutionary socialists have no part in this war. The most active among them pay behind prison for their faith towards international solidarity and their fervor for peace. To fight the class struggle for the speedy end of the war, is the first and most holy duty of the revolutionary Proletariat."

The number of Conscientious Objectors in Holland, who have preferred to go to jail rather than to submit, has increased to over one hundred and fifty.

It may be interesting to learn that even a general in the Holland army pleads for exemption, partly on purely military grounds. He claims that not only alternative service connected with military service should be organized, but writes: "It may be expected and it is sensible that in general Conscientious Objectors for principle's sake, will refuse this kind of service. It cannot be approved to treat such men as criminals in a court martial and to put them in jail. It is our duty to end this evil, which has become actual on account of the mobilization, by some special ruling."

Food demonstrations in different large cities of Switzerland tied up the street car traffic for several hours.

Kerensky in his final address to the Moscow Congress said: "The Russian (provisional) Government does not regret having called this conference, for although it has not secured practical results, it has given an opportunity to all Russian citizens to say openly what they have on their minds. And that is essential for the State."

Better than all criticism these words of Kerensky himself show the complete failure of the counter-revolutionary Moscow Conference.

One of the most interesting moves in England is the preparation of capital to meet the labor situation after the war.

The English Government officially adopted the June report of the Special Committee, previously commented upon in these notes. Concurrently with the announcement of this decision, the em-

ployers made it known that they are forming a great combination to protect capital and to adjust the relations between employers and employees.

The Government is to establish in each industry a council, in which employers and employees are represented and will have an equal control over all matters affecting their common interests, with the exception of buying, selling and finances!

The English capitalists gladly accept this scheme but at the same time build a strong organization of their own, both to meet their commercial enemies abroad and their class enemies at home in case this new scheme of labor peace might prove a failure.

It is reported that many labor unions (read leaders of labor unions) have also accepted the government industrial councils, but that there is considerable opposition from the more radical elements in the labor movement.

New conflicts in the class war throw their shadows before, and the days of the old craft union leaders belong to the past. Industrial organization and state capitalism gradually take a more definite shape and character.

The French Majority Socialists refused to support the new cabinet of which Painlevé was the head. Their opposition largely concentrated against the foreign minister Ribot. The latter now has been dropped and the Socialist Majority in France once more will line up behind the Government. But the intense feeling of discontent among the workers and soldiers is rapidly growing.

An Austrian regiment consisting mainly of Serbians from Bosnia, deserted as a unit to the Rumanians. Only through the most brutal discipline and wholesale murder can the Austrian army be kept together. It will be remembered in the early days of the war, that whole regiments had to be court martialed and in some instances every third man shot.

A most unbelievable example of terrorizing the civilian population is reported in the Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung" of August 16, 1917:

A trial for high treason resulted in six death sentences and ninety-one years of hard labor, mostly for boys and girls from high school between fifteen and seventeen, the only crime being the distribution from hand to hand and by mouth of a resolution without even the intention of actually influencing politics. Each boy or girl who read the resolution and passed it to a friend was sentenced to death. These most revolting achievements of justice were stopped by the amnesty after the death of the old emperor, but the sentences will form a lasting contribution to the picture of our Imperialistic civilization.

An eye witness of the raid recently on the headquarters of the Bolsheviks in Petrograd gives some particulars which strongly remember similar events under the Government of the Czar, as well as certain recent happenings in the United States.

One hundred soldiers in four autos, together with two armored autos appeared before the building in which the Bolsheviks have their office. The rifles were loaded, the machine guns pointed at the windows of the office, and the officers entered with drawn revolvers to find in the office two women and one man, who were put under arrest. The women were questioned at the point of the revolver. All the papers, books, flags, money etc., were confiscated and the efforts of several months' organization completely destroyed.

Not one single bomb or weapon nor any document pointing towards relations with German Headquarters was discovered, but nevertheless the office was completely robbed.

## TROTZKY AND LENIN.

In an open letter to the Kerensky ministers, published in the Pravda Correspondence No. 15, a statement is made by Leon Trotzky in relation to the revolt in Petrograd on July 16th and 17th.

Trotzky shows that the demonstration developed spontaneously and was not even considered opportune by the "leaders." After the advices of Zinovief, Kamjenew and Trotzky had remained without effect and the demonstration actually took place, it was strongly supported, however, also by those who originally were not in favor of the action.

Trotzky further declares: "My principles are the same as those of Lenin, Zinovief and Kamjenew and I have always publicly defended those principles in my paper 'Wpered' and in all my speeches. The fact that I do not belong to the Pravda and the organization of the Bolsheviks does not result from differences in politics, but is caused by circumstances which divided the parties in the past, but have lost at present every meaning."

Trotzky then challenges the government as follows: "What I have here stated shows clearly that there is no logical reason whatever to omit me in the warrant to arrest Zinovief, Lenin and Kamjenew, which arrest is only the result of counter revolutionary despotism."

The I. W. W. continues its activities, undaunted by the destruction of their records and the loss of typewriters, adding machines, mailing lists and office equipment. New members were even secured while the raids were in progress. The most widely known members and officials, practically all the "leaders" have been taken to jail, and still the I. W. W. halls are open and business continues as usual, even better than usual. Such is the characteristic of mass-action in Russia, as in the United States and mass-action is the only force for victory.