

I. W. W. MAKES STATEMENT CONCERNING DEFENSE OF CENTRALIA VICTIMS.

Ten workers, members of the I. W. W., are in jail at Centralia, Wash. They are charged with the murder of one Warren Grimm who as you probably know was one of the five men killed at Centralia, Wash., on November 11th.

Owing to the fact that all labor papers, notably the Seattle Union Record, were immediately suppressed it is very likely that you got your version of the Centralia affair thru the Capitalist Press. What credence you have given to the matter contained in these papers we do not know. We believe and hope that you will at least examine our side of the story and let your own reason render judgment.

The sum total of the accounts in Capitalist Press can be stated as follows:

(1) That the members of the I. W. W. stationed themselves in windows and other places of concealment and without provocation fired on those who were marching in the parade.

(2) That the members of the I. W. W. had plotted the whole affair a week before.

(3) That the whole thing was done because many of those in the parade were returned soldiers.

(4) That it was an attack on the Government.

To bolster up the above charges the Capitalist Press had glaring accounts of alleged confessions and of roving bands of I. W. W. who were defying all authority.

If you have normal reasoning power you must have immediately rejected the tales of lies and slander spread broadcast in the Capitalist Press about the I. W. W. and its members. Your reason cannot accept the idea that ten ordinary working men would have stationed themselves with guns and deliberately shot into the ranks of a passing parade composed of men and women from whom, according to the Press, they had nothing to fear.

To say that these men plotted the affair because many in the ranks were returned soldiers is absurd. Here again sane logic repudiates this falsehood for the reason that ten, or even a hundred, men would not adopt such a plan to kill returned soldiers any more than a like amount of men would enter into a plot against a certain town or city and start shooting indiscriminately at people walking along the streets. Besides, several of those now charged with murder are ex-service men themselves.

That the members of the I. W. W. plotted the affair a week or ten days before is so evidently false that it scarcely needs denial. So one acquainted with the particulars it needs no refutation. But lest you, the reader, not knowing the facts of the case might believe such a thing we will point out that on the date it is alleged that the plot was formed (said plotting place being a regular business meeting held in the I. W. W. hall) ten days before, not a person in the town knew there was going to be a parade. Arrangements for the parade and plans for the line of march had not yet been laid out by the people who organized the parade. It is doubtful if a celebration for Armistice Day had even been broached. How then, we ask you, could these men have plotted to shoot at a parade when they could not have possibly known that there was ever going to be such a thing? So much for the plot.

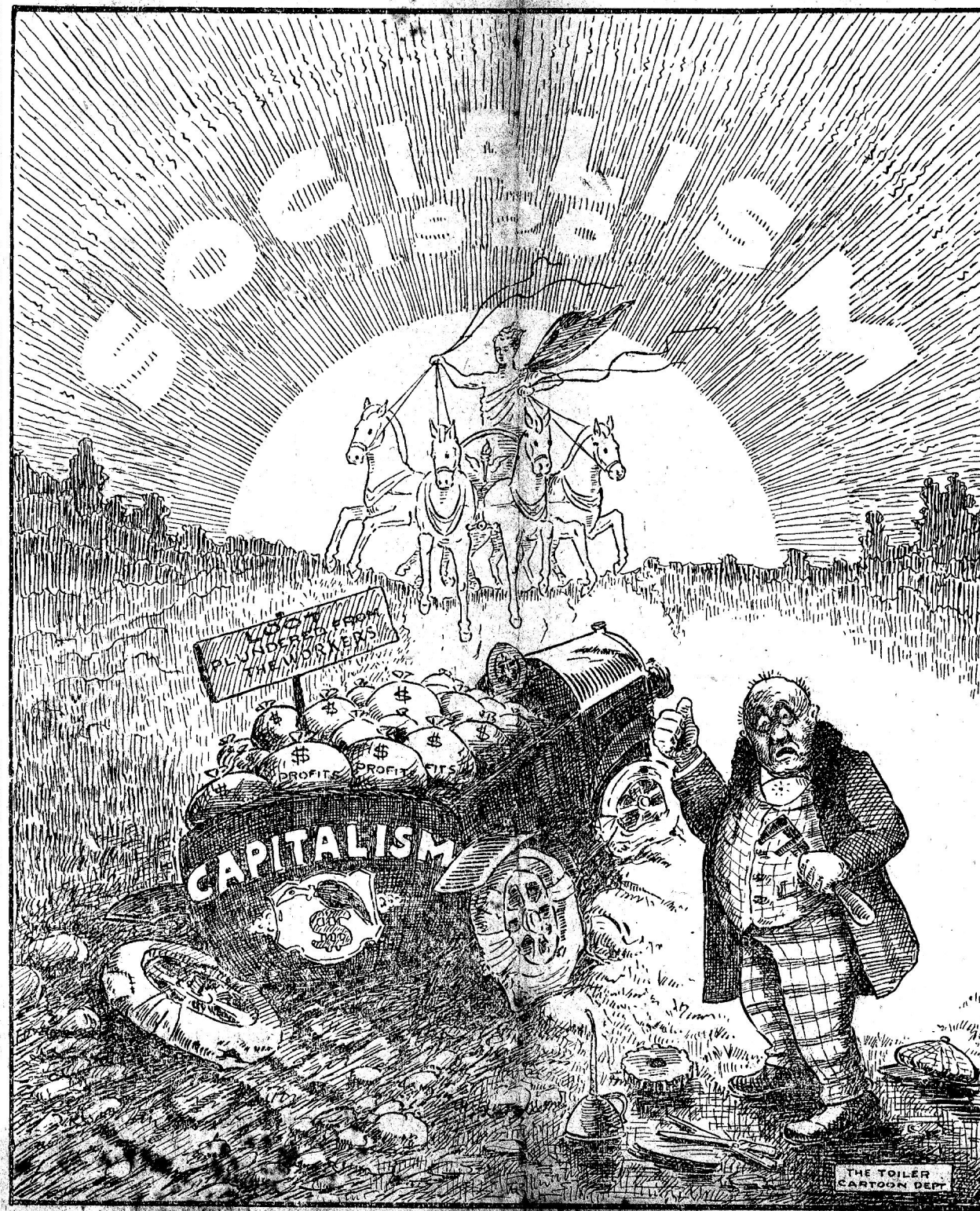
The assertion that the whole thing was an attack on the Government is ridiculous. This charge was made by the Capitalist Press to bewilder the average person, who has no definite conception of just what is meant when the Capitalist Press use the term "Government". "Attacking the Government," is a familiar phrase used by the Capitalist Press whenever the Industrial Autocrats are confronted by the insistent demand for justice. The same cry was raised during the Seattle General Strike, in the Steel and Coal Strikes and will be shouted by them at all times to camouflage their lies and thievery. They

would have the people believe that Government and its functions are the property of a few individuals who can do no wrong. They never charge the profiteers, who have laid the grasping hand of profits on food, clothing and shelter and doubled the price on every thing necessary to life. No; because their conception of Government means a Government controlled by these very profiteers. Thus it is that when a strike is called by workers to get higher wages and more of the good things of life they shout "an attack on the government." That is why they have continually charged the I. W. W. with "attacking the Government". Establishing the eight hour day and getting better conditions in the Lumber Industry of the Northwest was an "attack on Government" but entirely respectable.

The right conception of Government is that it is an institution set up by a majority of the people (not profiteers) for the good and welfare of that majority. When a minority gets control of that Government and use it for their own ends it is they that are attacking the Government. The Constitution of the United States gives the right of Free Assemblage to all. An attack on that right is an attack on the will of the majority which is the Government.

The members of the I. W. W. at Centralia were in their hall when it was attacked. In defending the hall they were defending the Government. The attackers of the I. W. W. Hall were attacking the right of free

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Workers New Years Greeting to Capitalism

The Sun of Socialism has Already Risen.

The eyes of the world are upon Russia.

The Thot of the world is upon SOCIALISM.

Russia is an example and a prophecy to the capitalist world of what is to come in every civilized country on the earth. It is a warning of what is coming to every capitalistically developed nation. It is the skeleton at every capitalist feast, it is the haunting shade that dogs the every step of capitalistic imperialism and drives into its heart the terror of impotence.

For Soviet Russia is a FACT.

From the greatest world catyclism in history has sprung the greatest hope and promise for the world. From the blood soaked graves of ten million dead has sprung and blossomed the red flower of Russiam Sovietism and Idustrial Democracy. And the flower of Industrial Democracy will blossom elsewhere—it will blossom in every civilized nation, in every nation where the capitalistic system has become established, and that now is the whole world. And the year 1920 is prophetic of this blossoming in more than one nation where capitalism has broken down, where it is no longer capable of functioning and supplyig the needs of the masses with the necessities of life.

Socialism in Russia is triumphant.

For two years the Russian masses have battled against the reactionaries within her boundaries and against the armies of capitalistic world imperialism from without. For two years Russia's workers have fought hunger, starvation, disease, lack of arms and munitions, lack of sufficiency of every essential to a normal life; they have fought against allied treachery and anavalanche of lies by the entire capitalist press of the world. They have suffered and endured as no nation has ever done for the social ideals which they knew alone, could lift them from slavery into the sunlight of freedom.

Never in history was a more wanton and cruel system of persecution established against a people than the undeclared war against the Russian masses by the United States, Japan, England and France. Never before did capitalism show its real nature more clearly than in the unofficial blockade of Russian ports and the starvation of her people by thus cutting them off from trade with the world. But Russia has triumphed. Her Red army has driven before them the mercenaries of capitalism. The Allies are pulling out of Russia—because they cannot stay there safely and with any hope of re-establishing capitalism within her borders. The sun of Socialism shines brightly in Russia.

The rays from her sun illuminate the world.

Into, over and thruout the capitalist world its searching rays tillating rays from the rising sun of Socialism in Russia are gleaming. Not all the lies of capitalism's hired press, not all the chicanery of its state's officials have been able to keep them out. Into, over and thruout the capitalist world its searching rays

are bearing and every ray strikes capitalism with terror and bewilderment at its own impotence in the face of the truth which these rays bring forth. Its rays are revealing the darkness of capitalism and the methods by which it has kept the masses of the world in bondage.

But while the breaking of dawn is a source of terror to capitalism, it has a different meaning to the world's oppressed. To the masses everywhere, Russia is a fountain of promise. They warm themselves in her sun. They exultate in her victories; thy hearten themselves in her successses. Russia it to-day the hope of the world of labor. Labor elsewhere knows that thru her victories, so too, will it be victorious. By her example we have been shown way to industrial freedom.

The Proletarian Dictatorship, the method.

The world to-day is governed thru the dictatorship of the capitalist class. There is not a social institution in existence that is not dominated by its rule. Its pover is supreme in the public school, where nothing inimical to its interests is taught nor allowed to enter. The social thruths are perverted and twisted to bolster its rule. The minds of the world's children are directed from the kindergarten to college, thru all the years of youth along channels of thought which will tend to make them subservient slaves to the capitalist oligarchy. The Church is dominated by its power and the gospel of Christ perverted into a gospel of the right of the exploiting class to rule—divinely and by God's will. The public press is the servant and the tool of the capitalist class and thru it public opinion is molded along the lines which will give support to the capitalist dictatorship. The amusements of the people are under its control. Especially is this true of the "movies". Not a picture is shown that even remotely can tend to awaken the masses to the fact of their exploitation and knowledge of the fact of this dictatorship.

The means by which all men live and work are under control of this class. Not only has the capitalist class complete control of the economic lives of the masses, but it also owns body, boots and breeches the governments of the various nations. IT OWNS THE STATE, IT IS THE STATE! And because of this fact of political control, its dictatorship is established and practiced.

The workers must supplant capitalist class dictatorship with working-class dictatorship. We must supplant the dictatorship of the few with the rule of the many. We must seize that which is now the Capitalist State and make it a weapon in the hands of the workers to institute the beginning of industrial and also political democracy. The State, the political power must be placed under working class dominance before the social institutions can serve the workers. The workers must control the State and thru it exert their power in every field of social endeavor.

This does not mean the workers must use ONLY the bal-

SHIPLOAD OF RADICALS SET SAIL FOR FREE SOVIET RUSSIA.

LABOR MARKET MAY BE DEPLETED BY EXTENSIVE DEPORTATIONS OF FOREIGN BORN. MORE LAWS ON WAY TO DESTROY LIBERTY. AMERICAN CITIZENS TO BE PENALIZED FOR THINKING.

Steaming toward an unnamed European port laden with several hundred radicals, including Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, two foremost intellectual anarchists, the United States transport, Buford sailed from New York last Monday. The Buford will make a European Port and from there the deportees will proceed to a Soviet Russian seaport city at U. S. government expense.

This eventful sailing of the Buford marks the beginning of the government's long heralded program of deportation of foreign born radicals in the U. S. Anarchists, I. W. W. anti-war agitators, labor union organizers and just plain ordinary working men and women who have had the misfortune, or good fortune to fall under the displeasure of government officials are among the 250 which sailed away from the so-called land of the free to what many of them at least, believe to be a better land—Soviet Russia, the first Socialist Republic.

Last week a number of "mystery" trains speeded from various points in the country to New York, there, in-loding scores of men and women gathered into the government's net at various times and who have been held in custody, some for many months awaiting deportation. Agitators in the steel strike districts, union organizers, from the north west, and the Canadian border, and trike agitators in shipyards are among the number. About every

variety of agitator which industrial and social conditions have produced may be counted among them. It is stated that fully 350 more radicals are now in various jails awaiting the same fate as those deported. Wives want to go too.

One circumstance which indicates that the deportees do not consider their fate a very terrible one is the fact that a number of the deportees' wives have petitioned the government officials in a signed statement to allow them passage with their husbands. Apparently, the terrors of Bolshevism do not loom large to these women whose bread-winners have been taken from them and their children.

That the deportees carried with them the well wishes of hundreds of friends and relatives left behind, is shown in the great quantity of gifts showered upon them and which they will carry back home with them. These gifts number into the hundreds it is stated. Over \$100,000.00 is said to be the amount of cash which they will carry away with them.

Probation urged for immigrants. In line with the government's ambitious schemes to clear out of the country all who differ with things as they are under the beneficence of King Capital comes a proposed bill in Congress sponsored by Representative Johnson of Washington. The provi-

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WHICH WAY, OH CITIZENS?

The re-election of Victor Berger, Socialist, To Congress from the 5th Wisconsin district—and the all-too probable refusal of his seat in the national law-making body brings up the question the solution of which will be an interesting episode in the present class conflict.

Berger was elected to Congress from the same district in 1918, his vote being 17,882 and that of his opponents' combined vote being 22,539. Because of his alleged anti-war attitude and actions his fellow congressmen declared his seat vacant under constitutional provision on Nov. 10th.

Berger now is returned to his seat by the votes of a majority of the qualified voters of his district. His vote being in this election 24,367 and that of the fusion candidate 19,561. giving Berger a majority of 4,806 votes. Thus far, the American voting kings have expressed themselves in a manner that is significant. Apparently they prefer to be represented by Victor Berger rather than any other person.

That his re-election cannot be wholly claimed as a victory for Socialism or even the Socialist Party goes without saying. Doubtless, many voters, who would not place themselves, upon record as avowed socialists, have voted for Berger, feeling a sense of outraged justice at the denial of his seat in Congress. Berger's statemnt after the votes were counted bears out this view.

Mr. Berger said:

"While my election may undoubtedly be characterized as nothing short of a revolutionary act in view of opposition by the entire capitalist class — not only of Milwaukee and Winsconsin, but of the country—yet it cannot exactly be called a victory of the Socialist party.

"The Socialist party simply took the lead and furnished the advance guard and foremost champions!"

But this is not the end. Representative Dallinger, chairman of the elections committee, states that Berger will not be allowed his seat. According to Mr. Dallinger, the House may take

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lot as a means to capture the capitalist State. There are other means which the workers must necessarily use. Class action on the industrial field is the workers' greatest and strongest weapon for acquiring political power. We must school ourselves in its use. We must cultivate in the shops the organization of the workers. We must learn to strike not as crafts but as a CLASS. We must direct all our class efforts to capturing political power and using that power to institute Industrial Democracy and build a world whose functions shall be carried on in the interests of the workers instead of the present owners of industry.

The way to Industrial Democracy leads thru the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the lesson of successful Russian working-class tactics.

HISTORY -- PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN. A YEAR-OLD

Written for the TOILER by
W. E. REYNOLDS.

"The greatest pain in the world is the pain of a new idea."

The Ancient History as thought in the high schools, while containing a mass of detail about soil, climate and various peoples, is marred by the ever recurring concept that warriors and great men make history, and that religion makes for a better citizenship and a higher morality.

The simple truth of the matter is, that away back in the mists of antiquity, more than two thousand two hundred years ago, the educational world slipped a cog and has never yet fully recovered its mental balance.

The Early Greeks began a scientific investigation of their material environment for a solution of their problems. Notable beginnings were made in the sciences of astronomy, mathematics, physics, biology and sociology. It was not until the advent of Anaxagoras, whose teaching of the idea that MIND instead of matter was of superior importance, that the blighting influence of a religious belief had an opportunity to substitute a belief in a mythical Saviour for a knowledge of material environment as a means to salvation.

Phillip Van Ness Meyers in his Ancient History in speaking of the Grecian philosophers, says (pp. 330);

"The philosophers of whom we have thus far spoken were in general, men who made the physical universe the subject of their speculations." (Note how craftily the author uses the word 'speculation' instead of the right word 'investigation'). "Their system of thought possessed little or no practical value. They did not supply motives for right living, having no word or the citizen in regard to his duties Godward, etc."

The philosophers referred to were the Seven Sages who first aroused a world intellect to scientific thought and formed a fitting prelude to Greek Philosophy. Thales, who was noted for his works on geometry and astronomy, was the first to predict an eclipse of the sun. He taught the Egyptians how to measure the height of the pyramids by the length of their shadows. Pythagoras, a "lover of wisdom" was another of the Greek philosophers. His views on astronomy anticipated by two thousand years the work of Copernicus. Another was Empedocles, the father of the idea of evolution. Like the evolutionist of today, he taught that the higher forms of life arise out of the lower. Another was Democritus who taught like the modern physicists, that "all things are composed of invisible atoms alike in quality but differing in form and combination."

In the days of my youth I often heard of the dark ages but it was not until I had reached the age of maturity and had learned the scientific method of investigation that I learned the term dark ages meant the age when the materialist teachings of these Greek Philosophers had been set aside and the doctrines of the Christian church reigned supreme.

Many a well meaning youth of today joins one of the numerous Young People's Church Societies such as the B. Y. P. U., the C. E., or the Y. M. C. A., under the delusion that he is doing something that will make for world betterment. If it were only possible to get them to understand that their action is but a step toward a repetition of the dark ages, what a blessing to the world it would be!

The unthinking mass has a habit of allowing its philosophers and teachers to be crucified, while it gives its pennies to the band organ man. Few people have the moral courage to boldly proclaim that the vile thing called Christianity must go to make room for a newer and better order of society, and those who do are ostracized, reviled and persecuted.

Lester F. Ward, known the world over, and recognized by the world's scholars as an authority upon matters pertaining to sociology and psychology, and the effect of a changed environment upon the human mind, says concerning Christianity vs the Ancient Greeks. "The question then is, 'In what respect would the civilization of Europe be different from what it is today, had the Grecian Polytheism remained unmolested by Christianity and all other forms of religious faith?'"

Greece and Rome maintained toward the national religion an attitude quite similar to that which France, Germany, Great Britain and America present now towards Christianity. The masses believed and went through the ceremonies while the philosophers and schoolmen stood aloof and remained indifferent to religion appearing to consider it beneath their notice, just as now the rank and file observe the forms of the church while the most cultivated and notably those en-

gaged in scientific research are for the most part indifferent to religion and do not feel called upon to devote any time from their pursuits to its consideration.

There were indications THEN that the bonds of religious restraint were about to fall from the people and the light of knowledge to be admitted to all just as now we see the forms of religion more and more ignored and education further and further extended. BUT Christianity rekindled the religious zeal, proscribed philosophy, abolished the schools and PLUNGED THE WORLD INTO AN ABYSS OF DARKNESS from which it emerged only after twelve hundred years! Ignorant of what would have happened if this had not happened, nothing is left but to regard the advent of Christianity as a CALAMITY. And if we look at the history of Christianity we find that its activities have been so intense and its deeds so violent that it has been almost impossible for thought to obtain a foothold.

Racial hatred is a terrible thing, but religious hatred is a thousand times worse. While religion claims to be anxious to establish a heaven on earth its effect has always been to prolong a hell. The Israelite proceeded to exterminate every inhabitant of the land of Canaan because they worshipped a different God. The Mohammedan gives the conquered the choice of the Koran or death. Christianity claims to have been propagating peaceful means but this is pure plain lie as it is on record a thousand times that the conqueror demanded the acceptance of the Christian religion as a part of the terms of surrender.

Religion and Communism have this and this only in common. They both claim to offer salvation to an oppressed people. Communism has this advantage, its salvation is a here and now proposition, something you do not have to die to win. Faith was the watchword of the old Gospel. Science is the hope of the new. Religion was a substitute for ignorance, fact is fast taking the place of faith. Religion claims an absolute and complete monopoly on all the goodness and all the virtues and all the morality there is in existence. He who would question the validity of these claims is tacitly charged with a sort of moral turpitude. He is socially taboo and the idea is circulated by the Christian (?) folk that he is a moral degenerate of some sort and a very dangerous citizen. Only a few generations back he was lucky if he escaped the torture chamber, maintained by Christians or the glory of the Christian God, or death by burning at the stake or in boiling oil.

Religion has always and everywhere been a powerful ally of the master class. The master class has traded the slave the pleasures of a "rest" in a mythical Heaven after death for a real material heaven of luxury and rest for the master here and now. Religion and commerce go hand in hand. And these two are the causes of all the wars that have cursed the world. The few who rebelled against the master-class God or the master-class dominion could be managed by the dungeon or the stake but when the many rebel they get the sword—and the slave wields the sword at the masters call in the master's interests!

The unwarranted assumption of the religionists that they have a monopoly of all the morals and virtues has been allowed to go unquestioned for long enough. The religionists lives in a world of fancy and ignores the world of fact, yet he is careful to keep his ideas of morals general and not specific, abstract and not concrete. When forced to SPECIFY, the religionist presents a sorry spectacle of intellectual emptiness. As the poet Moore put it

"I find the doctors and the Sages
Have differed in all climes and ages
And two and fifty scarce agree
On what is pure Morality."

The whole question then resolves itself into this, — What IS Morality! and has the Church and the "various established forms of religion" been a benefit or a curse to the world? The answer is plain, but to understand it, one has to know that there are classes in the world. A working class and a capitalist class. A making class and a taking class, whose interests are opposed. Whatsoever the capitalists get the worker has to go without. Knowing this, the establishment of a worker's code of morality is easy. Whatever is beneficial to the working class is BAD. Viewed in this light the Church and the "various forms of established religion" with their "meekness" "servility" substitution of faith for fact, with rewards payable after death in-

PROTEST.

RADIO.

On December 2, 1918, George Chicherin, People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, of the Russian Socialist Federal oviet Republic, sent out the following wireless telegram, protesting against military intervention in Russian by the Allied Powers. This protest is fully a year old, but intervention still persists. It is to be hoped that the negotiations now in progress at Copenhagen, between Litvinov, representing the Soviet Government, and O'Grady, representing the British Government, may lead to some satisfactory arrangement between the powers, that may definitely put an end to intervention. The text of the protest is as follows:

To the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States of America:

The Government of the Russian Socialist oviet Republic, through which the great laboring masses themselves, the workers and the peasants are ruling, and which embodies their aspiration for the peaceful self-government of the toiling and producing people, who have no quarrel with the toilers of any other country, has learned that a British fleet is moving in the Baltic Sea towards Russian shores, that the ships of the Entente countries have been directed from Constantinople to the harbors of Crimea and the outhern Ukraine, and that the troops of those same countries have already crossed the borders of Bessarabia. The Russian Socialist oviet Republic has never menaced, or tried to invade the Entente countries; it only demanded to be left in peace, to develop itself on the lines which its people have chosen for themselves, contenting itself with influencing, by word and by example, their toiling brothers of other countries, and not to be interfered with by the great military powers which were carrying on the world war. Without any provocation from the Russian side, without any reason and without any shade of justification for their action, the armies of the Entente countries last summer invaded the borders of the Russian Socialist oviet Republic, occupying its towns, seizing its villages and hamlets, ransacking the country and shooting down its best sons, and trying to advance into the heart of Russia, to crush its independence, and to drown the emancipation of its laboring masses in the blood of its defenders. The Entente troops were moved through the Far East for the support of the Czecho-Slovak and White Guards' counter-revolutionary mutinies, participating together with them in masses massacres of workers, of peasants, of fighters for freedom, which were their constant deeds. British and French officers took a leading part in all the movements against freedom in whatever part of Russia they were devised; they were the principal authors and instigators of the dark subterranean conspiracies which aimed at taking by surprise the Soviet Government through base treachery and bribes and overthrowing it

through its nearest servants, which nevertheless proved themselves to be incorruptible and faithful and turned to the discomfiture of the unmasked Entente plotters their treacherous attempts. After all these blows aimed at the liberty, at the life of the Russian laboring masses and of their popular Socialist Republic, the governments of the same Entente countries are now tightening their net against the ever-peaceful Russian Socialist Republic, which, far remote from any aggression against others, thinks only of defending itself against the aggressors. The plans of the Entente governments are hidden in the dark. They have declared that their armed forces will protect in those regions which had been occupied by the German armies the same social order which these German armies had protected. — The armed forces of the Entente countries are coming to these regions as the enemies of the great popular masses in order to give support to their exploiters and to keep upright the old social regime which these popular masses wish to overthrow. Numerous utterances of responsible statesmen of the Entente countries prove that the government of these countries have further reaching views and directly aggressive intentions against the independence, the freedom and the popular government of the Socialist Republic of the Russian laboring masses. The Soviet of the Russian workers and peasants have called out the youth of the people to rally around the banners of the Socialist republic and to defend it to the last drop of their blood. At the moment when the Entente armies are crossing the borders and the Entente fleets nearing the shores of what was previously the Russian Empire, the Government of the Soviet Republic protests once more solemnly before the great popular masses of the Entente countries, before the deluded soldiers and sailors of their fleets, before their toiling brothers all over the world, against this wanton aggression, against this act of sheer violence and brutal force, against this act of crush the liberty, the political and social life of the people of another country. The Russian Republic has offered peace to the Entente countries, but the governments of the latter have left this offer unanswered, their answer is the present new aggression. The Socialist oviet Republic always ready, as before, to make peace; against attacks from without it relies upon its faithful and valiant Red Army; it makes responsible for the new bloodshed those who are coming to attack its borders and to continue their oppression in the occupied regions, and, with clear conscience, and pure intention, it answers the new menace of the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States of America with this solemn protest.

THE PEOPLES COMMISSARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, . . . CHICHERIN.
December 2nd, 1918.

With none to blow the bugle blast
To call the dogs of war,
Who then would march to murder those
They never met before!
And all the retinue of priests,
That say their God ordains
The crown that rests upon the brow
Of every brute that reigns
Let these go to, and take their myths,
Their goblins and their hell,
And give this poor old world of ours
A longed-for breathing spell.

Two Young Fellows.

By ANISE

Out in our university
Studying
In the LAW school
Are two young fellows.
One of them said to me
About the other:
"That fellow has all sorts
Of RADICAL ideas,
He's always sympathizing
With some LABOR cause
Or other!
And THAT wouldn't be
So BAD in ITSELF,
ONLY
He won't quit TALKING!
He lets out all his views
To EVERYONE.
And I said to him once:
'Why do you want
To CRUCIFY yourself?'
Why, when HE gets through
And begins to look for cases
He'll be a MARKED man!
And he just answered:
One man's career
Is a very little thing
And hardly worth attention.
Now, what do you think of that
For a FOOL?
If HE won't pay attention
To his FUTURE,
WHO'S going to do it
FOR HIM?
And I said: "I hardly know,
But what of YOURSELF?
Any stirrings of response
Do you never feel
To the great movements
SURGING through the world?"
"Why, of course I do," he said.
"MY FATHER
Is a strong UNION man.
I guess I know the viewpoint
Of LABOR,
But I keep it under my hat,
For I mix mainly
With folks who would be
ANNOYED by it:
But THEY'RE the folks

that can shove me AHEAD
When I start practicing law."
"Do you never find it hard,"
I asked him then,
"To keep SILENCE
With all the whirl of events
In this great age?"
"Well, I did at first," he said.
"May radical leanings
BOTHERED me a bit,
But if you never express them
I guess in the end
You LOSE them."
He went out, cocky and smiling,
And I thought of many things,
Of why universities are
THE WAY they are!
And of an ancient saying
About a certain man
Who GAINED the world
And LOST
His own SOUL!

Socialism Behind Bars

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

Socialism grows anywhere, everywhere. Everybody and everything helps it to grow. Its worst enemies are its best friends. Strange, but watch it, and you will find it works out that way every time. The reason is that Socialism is truth applied to society, and truth finally wins out because everything has to square with it in the end. The most thriving, well-attended and enthusiastic Socialist local is the one in the Federal jail at Fort Smith, Ark. It numbers 36 members. It meets every day and every night in the week; is, in fact, in continuous session. There is never an absence at roll call. The Federal government pays the rent and furnishes the members with light, heat and sleeping quarters. These are not of the best, it is true, but there is no complaint on the part of these choice and cheerful comrades.

The story of this local is interesting and dramatic enough to put on the stage.

Fred W. Holt is the hero of the story. Holt, district secretary, and 10 of his fellow miners in the United Mine Workers were sentenced to jail and fined heavily for fighting bravely for the striking miners in Arkansas. The judge, a corporation hireling, was determined to strike Socialism its death blow. Holt having been the Socialist party candidate for Governor of Oklahoma in the last election and having polled some 50,000 votes, enough to throw an awful scare into the mine owners and other exploiters who rule that section.

When Holt and his comrades, 11 in all, began serving their six months' sentence in the jail at Fort Smith they found 25 other Federal prisoners there serving jail sentences for various minor offenses for which the poor are sent to jail under capitalism. There was not a Socialist among these when Holt and his bunch of revolutionists entered there. They were all Republicans and Democrats.

Now there is not a Republican or Democrat in the lot. The whole 25 have been converted and have joined the local in jail, consisting now of 36 members, and probably the only one of its kind in the world.

The comrades on the outside have kept Holt well supplied with literature, and he has made good use of it. The converts are all enthusiastic. They now know why the poor are sent to jail and the rich to the Senate.

Here are two sets of prisoners, victims of capitalism, distinctly separate, and yet with a peculiar affinity for one another.

Holt and his 10 comrades are in jail for fighting the brutal system that sent their 25 poor, jobless fellow prisoners to jail. The whole of them are of the working class. It is an interesting study and a unique and powerful object lesson.

Fred Holt is a typical industrial unionist and Socialist. He stood and fought for the miners without wavering through the fiercest of their battles. The operators feared and hated him, and when their tool on the bench sent him to prison they heaved a sigh of relief.

But, alas! Fred Holt, in prison, has multiplied himself. Socialism grows everywhere, and when the jail sentence expires Holt and his host will march forth, thanks to the operators and their hireling judge, trained and equipped revolutionists and full to their toe tips of the fighting spirit which is crowned with victory or death.

—Sunday Call, April 5, 1915.

Comrade Metcalf of Youngstown, has been very active of late in Party Work. He uses his Sundays and evenings in rounding up subscribers to THE TOILER and doing other necessary and constructive work.

The Black Sheep

CAPT. X.

The Night.

It was two o'clock in the afternoon when they had been thrown in jail, and now it was five. In the tank it was already dark and bitterly cold. The men were huddled in little groups and sat for the most part in stoic silence. The cold gripped their very vitals as they had not yet had time to purchase winter clothing. Many of them never bought clothing for winter. For years it had been their way to leave the harvest field as soon as threshing was over and make their way to the Pacific North-west where the winters are mild. But this year the winter came with a sudden onset plunging the world into its grasp of snow and ice.

Less than an hour after they had entered the jail it had begun to snow, and the wind was blowing a veritable gale. It was a full fledged blizzard. The mercury dropped to about zero, chilling the men to the very marrow. A few minutes after five the doors were opened and two men entered. One carrying an armful of kindling and a scuttle of coal, which he deposited near the air tight stove. The other carried a smoky lantern and an adult sized police club. He fastened the lantern to a wire attached to one of the rafters of the building, and then proceeded to count the catch. He remarked that he would have to know for how many he would have to bring breakfast. That meant that there was to be no supper.

As most of the men had eaten nothing since breakfast, and the breakfast had been rather scant, being the last of the season, and therefore consisting chiefly of a few odds and ends to be found in the cook car, their appetite was naturally enormous.

No sooner had the jailers left than a babble of conversation broke loose. Jack noticed that it was entirely focused on one solitary point and that point was—food. The desire to eat seemed to have overcome all other emotions. There was no longer talk of law, vengeance, or philosophy. The mind seemed to be absorbed in but one thing, and that one thing was food. The boy noticed just one casual remark that Collins made. It was not addressed to any one apparently; it was just said. It may be that no one but Jack heard it, altho it was not peculiarly meant for his ears. It was this: "Bread, the foundation stone of empires, the bulwark of civilization." Why he should say such a thing the boy did not fathom at the time, and yet, subsequent years were to teach him that bread is the very heart and soul, not only of individuals but of social and national life as well. Eleven hours without food, and he himself was beginning to feel the pain of hunger rise above all other emotions.

Collins did not join the crowd, even when they kindled the fire and the group huddled close around it. He sat Sphinx like upon this bunk; his face a riddle of the universe. Neither did Jack move from where he lay upon an old mattress. His head was aching dreadfully and he was too feverish to even feel the biting cold. His scalp wound infecting the adjacent tissues, swelled and discolored the side of his face and almost closed his left eye. This gave him a rather comical appearance.

Collins looked at him once or twice, grinned but made no comment. Wounds, cuts, and bruises, when on the other fellow, did not stir any apparent emotion in his giant frame. It was different with the Jew. Altho now, he too with the rest was endeavoring to get as near to the stove as he possibly could, and was discouraging eloquently upon the viands to be bought in some of the down town New York restaurants. Apropos of which Collins said. "Listen to Rudie's kosher idealism."

It must be said of the Jew, however, that he soon returned to his former companions. And it must be said to the credit of the stove that while the fuel lasted it made its immediate confines rather comfortable. Jack looked rather the worse for wear as already described. His face was badly swollen, while blood had matted his hair and incrustated his unshaven face. His appearance awakened the sympathetic nature of the young Hebrew, and he set to work to make the boy more comfortable wetting an old handkerchief at the faucet, he threw it on the stove and left it until it was steaming hot. He now used this appliance to wash Jack's face and remove the blood from out of his hair.

The hot water from the filthy rag felt grateful to the inflammation tensed skin. The rough kindness of the act greatly warmed Jack's friendship for the Jew and incidently brought the trio back to conversation.

"I thank you, Rudolph," said Jack, "that hot water made that cut feel better."

"Yes, and if I had lived up to Collins' philosophy you could have lain there and died as one of the unfit. The fact is, you are just as fit as he is; the only difference is you were hit and he wasn't."

"The trouble with you is," Collins roared, "that you're forever governed by your sentiment rather than your judgement. You mistake incidents for ultimates. Incidents are not important. Houses are made of bricks, but one brick more or less does not make or break the house. What if it is the first time the kid is up against it, before he has been in the class struggle ten years he will be sapped over the bean and sloughed in the can, and chased by the dicks, bitten by bulldogs and carressed by mission Janes. It's all in a days work to a man engaged in this fight. Nature will heal his head whether you sponge it or not. What I am interested in, is the part he will be able to play in building up a fighting organization, so that it will not be necessary to sponge ore heads with dirty handkerchiefs, or the freedom of the working class to develop to their full mental, physical and social capabilities that holds my attention."

"Yes, Ed, but listen," Rudolph ejaculated, "you said that an organization had to be built upon the principle of decency to one another, and when I try to be decent you bawl me out."

"Bawl you out nothing," Collins growled, "I don't object, to you practicing the principle of mutual aid, I am just trying to tell the kid to cheer up for the worst is yet to come. That's all. I am willing to admit that you're a better red cross nurse than a soldier."

"You may say what you like," interposed Jack, "but I appreciate Rudolph's help. A modern army needs a red cross division. I salute the medical corps."

This last remark caused Collins to smile, faintly at first but it soon broadened out into a grin as he watched the Jew pull out the shirt tail of one of the drunken men and cut it off to make a bandage for Jack's head. "That's your damned idealist for you," said he, when necessity arises he is willing to rob the very victims he is anxious to save,—talk of your consistency, ye gods!"

At this point in the conversation Jack noticed that the men had divided into three groups. One consisting of Collins, Rudolph and himself. The rest of the men were about equally divided. He asked his companions for an explanation of this phenomena and he received the reply that one group consisted of suitcase tramps and that the other group were bindle stiffs.

"Now what is a suitcase tramp," he asked.

"The fellow who came to the harvest fields with enuf junk for a honey moon. They only do it once or twice. They gradually develop into bindle stiffs."

"I thot it was primarily a term of reproach."

"Not exactly; its rather a term signifying a degree of industrial adaptation. The man who 'totes' a suitcase generally imagines that he is of the same social, political and industrial importance as a property owner."

"Well, isn't he?"

"Wait till 'hizzoner' gets thru with you to-morrow; he will show you that he is wise enuf not to judge between suitcases and bundles. He'll proceed to relieve you of your wad and it makes no difference whether you fold or roll your dirty shirt."

"I see," said Jack, "you maintain the same position that George and Herman held. They said that the property classes consciously or unconsciously looked upon the workers as their legitimate prey."

"You've got the idea," Collins said emphatically.

"Now I'd like to ask you a question," said Jack. "You say that the blind pigs are run to ensnare workers. Should we not then direct our attacks upon the officialdom that permits the illegal traffic rather than upon the victim. Should we not prosecute the officials?"

"Yes, but how in hell are you going to do it when the prosecuting powers own the pig—you will have your lesson to-morrow, Greenie, when 'hizzoner' takes your wad for the crime of defending yourself and tells you to beat it out of town with a forty mile gale blowing in your teeth and the mercury twenty below zero, and not a sou in your pocket. Then when you come to the next town you'll have to ask some 'Jane for a hand out and she'll set a dog on you that needs no dentistry."

"If he fines me for defending myself I'll tell him what I think of him and of the whole outrageous system." Jack snapped, for the first time showing any thing but a curious interest.

(Continued on 3rd page.)

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EDITOR Elmer T. Allison
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Telephone: Harvard 8639.

CLEVELAND, O. WEDNESDAY, DEC 24th, 1919.

A 100 PER CENT ESPIONAGE SYSTEM.

Here in America we are setting up one of the loveliest espionage systems ever fastened upon the backs of a suffering people. By espionage system we mean a system of spying upon the citizens of the nation by the governmental agencies.

We used to read about the espionage system of Russia, how the Czar's emissaries were in every village and city, on the trail of every man or woman who sought to teach and organize the people in the ways of acquiring liberty. We thought that a government that relied upon such tactics to maintain itself was a damned poor sort of government and deserved to be replaced by one that had some faith in its principles and would trust those principles in the hands of its citizens.

The espionage system failed to keep democracy from toppling over the decayed and outworn government of Russia. In the end the people won, won against the combined forces of reaction and world capitalism; won as they always will win in the end. Spy systems and jails, deportations and exile never for a moment stopped a revolution. They are all as wind to a fire, they merely develop a conflagration.

About our own system. Lots of people don't know there is one yet. They will soon learn— are learning in fact. The system has been built up so rapidly that it is already full grown. It is already nearly 100% complete. The funny thing about it is that conservatives are on the books as well as the radicals. This will be good news for the conservatives when they learn it. Scarcely a labor union official that has not a "Dick" on his trail. In every city and town the spies pass thru, stay awhile and leave, having posed as photo enlargers or what not. Every mining hamlet, every steel city, every place where labor appears to be not so quiet and docile as it might, is infested with these gentry of the governmental spy system. Hardly a telephone receiver can be taken down but a voice is heard. "yes that's it, take in down". One can almost hear the scurrying of a stenographer's pencil as the messages are transmitted to paper by the nimble fingers of the "listener in". One feels hardly safe in the bath even with the light turned off, for fear that knowledge of the fact is being transmitted to some magical records somewhere, and each splash recorded in a hidden dictaphone. One may assured that the government is spending many hundreds of thousands of dollars in keeping tabs on its citizens. Just how many men and women are employed at the present time in doing nothing but trailing the radicals merely would be interesting to know.

Taking it all in all, there is a close resemblance and harmony between Russia as she was and America as she is. We are getting there fast and the espionage system helps.

'NOTHER WAY TO BEAT BOLSHEVISM.

NEW YORK, Dec. 6. — Baptists of thirty-six states will join tomorrow in a seven-day drive for enlistment of the entire membership of the northern denomination in a campaign for the aggressive application of Christianity to the problems of reconstruction which now confront the world — a campaign which, it is declared, should sound the death knell of bolshevism.

"Where there is Christianity," said Dr. J. Y. Aitchison, general director for the board of promotion of the northern Baptist convention, "bolshevism cannot survive."

The above illuminating clipping from the daily press offers a new version of the reasons of the Red Menace. After two thousand years of Christianity to learn that Christianity is the one sure cure for Bolshevism, is a startler indeed. We have always understood that we are a God-fearing and Christian nation — so much Christianized in fact, that we had quite a bit to spare for the "heathen". But no, we must have been mistaken. Else this Red Menace could not have risen in our midst to set our pulp-poultices agog with their nostrums.

Before the revolution the Church next to the Czar, wielded the greatest power in Russia. The domes of its churches shone over every city, every village had its priest and its church. The ikon was in every home and hut. The land was priest ridden. "Christianity" ruled supreme. But Bolshevism came and swept the Czar into another world and the church into at least a third rate place in the peoples' mind.

"Christianity" did not save Russia from Bolshevism. So we judge that the Reverend Aitchison must be mistaken. Nevertheless, we would like to see a bit more of the supposed ethics of Christianity practiced here and now. The coal operators might signify enough of the Christian spirit to accede to the miner's demand for living wages and humane hours of employment. The managers of the steel trust might also exercise their forgotten Christian teachings and part with some of the blood money wrung from a suffering and crucified world by paying the wages demanded by their employees. Some of their hired gun-men and thugs which have been used against their employes might be "Christianized" a bit and offered jobs at something less devilish than murdering women, trampling children under foot, and shooting down their husbands and fathers.

We might continue indefinitely pointing out ways in which the Christian spirit might be exercised to the good and welfare of the world. But we haven't much faith in the Christian spirit or

any other "spirit". The fact of the CLASS STRUGGLE is enough of a problem to deal with at one time. Gary's thugs shoot workmen because the demands of the workmen, if granted, mean the lessening of Gary's power and profits. Granting the coal miners' demands means the curtailing of the profits of the operators and so on down the line. No doubt the coal operators and steel magnates love their fellow men as much as any body — when it does not endanger their profits. Men do not act from either "good" or "bad" motives but from motives of self-interest.

If Rev. Mr. Aitchison hasn't found this out, he will before he kills Bolshevism with Christian practices.

SPARKS.

"I too, see that we must each make ourselves a committee of one to distribute literature and do organization work." Thus writes a comrade, and he sends a dollar for 100 copies of The Toiler. Don't you agree with him? Then send in your dollar for literature and get on the job.

Local Niles orders new minute and account books and other supplies for present and future needs. Every Local should have on hand all the necessary books for the Locals' use and proper stationery. Write the State Office for these supplies.

Literature orders are reaching the State Office from every part of the U. S. including Alaska. One recent big order was sent us by the Alaska Labor Union of Petersburg Alaska.

Local Portsmouth has now announced its affiliation with the C. L. P. This is one of the liveliest Locals in the state. The comrades there seem to take a delight in doing every thing possible to make the Cause prosper in their locality.

Comrade Ira Jones of Millfield, O., has been scouting around a bit lately, and as a result, we have a list of 8 new readers in that section. Good work, we admit and if comrade Jones will send us another dollar and a quarter's worth of the same we will send him Lenin, the Man and His Work free.

And that is what a lot of Comrades are doing. Just now we wrapped up ten copies of Lenin and mailed them to comrades who have sent in their five spots for subscription cards and got this splendid work free. You can do the same. Better get one of the next shipment which arrives in a few days.

Field worker Knecht reports subscription sales good and getting better. Leave the subs to Knecht, he gets 'em.

Comrade Kritzell of Local Fremont sends in an order for supplies which includes Platforms and Programs of the C. L. P. These are for distribution. While we are mentioning this, we leaflet just off the press. It's the Platform and Program of the Communist Labor Party. Order some for distribution to call your attention at the new button and for your members. They are 50c a hundred postage paid.

Frank Vallant is another booster as his recent list of six subs shows. He takes two papers weekly himself. Apparently he shows them to his fellow workers.

Comrade John Fugitt of Portsmouth rolls in a fine bunch of subs this week. Of course he gets a copy of Lenin. And another Lenin goes to G. J. Green of Barberton, O.

Local Lima orders \$10.00 worth of dues stamps. Which all shows that Local Lima is up and doing—and we know will keep it up.

Five dollars worth of subs from comrade W. H. Tilley, of Ransome, Kans. He gets a free copy of Lenin.

Comrade Maddox of Bellaire, O., sends the first order for both volumes of Pelle the Conqueror.

Writes one of our filed worker,—The Toiler is getting into the hands of the sailors, I am told by a member of a submarine crew stationed at a Massachusetts port.

And that it is also at hand in the steel and coal strikers' meetings too. Articles from The Toiler are read from the platforms at the workers' meetings.

A Tenn. booster is comrade Jas. W. Booker, of Baileton. A list of six subs proves it to us.

One book order we filled recently was for 50 copies of Mr. Block and the Profiteers. These went to a Machineists Local down state.

SOCIAL AT BYESVILLE

Local Guernsey County will hold a "get together" on Jan. 10th. There will be speaking, singing, music, refreshments and all that goes with a real socialist social. Guernsey comrades are a sociable lot and we know there will be much enjoyment at hand.

"Your paper was given to me by one of your subscribers and in turn I am subscribing along with others." So writes comrade Harry H. Volkman of Columbus, O. Just think, all it took was just one sample copy handed out. If comrade Volkermann can get results like these, then so can you. Just try it.

R. T. Haworth of Toledo is another comrade who keeps up the boosting spirit. Most every week or so he sends us some subs. Three names are on his latest list.

Local Robins comes in strong for the C. L. P. writes our representative there. Local Robins is a coal miners' local and most of the comrades are of foreign birth.

Two good boosts this week from comrades Geo. L. Slessmen of Toledo and F. E. Blake of Cincinnati. Their lists total 9 subs.

Two boosters, both from Hamilton, O., come to bat this week. They are C. W. King and J. L. Bauereiwiss. Eight subs they send us

HAVEN'T YOU OFTEN WONDERED?

1. Why an umbrella plant don't grow umbrellas?
1. Why a man is proud if you tell him he is level headed and sope if you call him a flat head?
3. Why a woman calls it pin money when she gets the weekly pay check?
4. Why we humans don't go south in the fall along with the rest of the geese?
5. Why you will walk anywhere from four to ten miles around a pool table and not get as tired as you would get going to the drugstore for a postage stamp for your wife?
6. Why you will sit here and read this fool stuff when you've got a public library full of the works of modern scientists that ought to be read?

Our weekly bible lesson, Colossians 3:22 "Servants, obey in all things them that are your masters according to the flesh, not with eye-service as men pleasers, but whole heartedly fearing the Lord."

Fine spiritual (?) food for slave consumption eh? Yet you must do this, Henry or its hell for you sure.

—Skygac.

THE "AGITATOR" AN INSIDE MAN.

Certain employers who are trying very hard to keep their industrial policy back in the middle ages are fond of pointing to the "outside agitator."

The Outside Agitator. Great discovery. Caught, at last. Here is the root of the evil.

Have no dealings with labor unions because there is an Outside Agitator in their midst.

Simple. Why didn't somebody think of that before?

But— Unfortunately that there has to be a "but" to spoil anything so beautiful.

But— it isn't so. That's the only trouble. It's a good idea, but it is a false idea.

Labor unions elect and pay men to represent them. Some of these men are called secretaries, some treasurers, some presidents, some business agents. It is these men to whom some employers refer as outside agitators, not Outside. They represent the men who elected them.

The chosen representative of a union is no more an Outside Agitator than is the president of a corporation, or the superintendent of a plant.

SHALL WE SIT BY, IDLE?

—By Ruth Schwaegerle.—
In a grim, white marble prison,
Squatting low on the brow of a hill,
"Our 'Gene' is lying imprisoned;
And "Our 'Gene' is ill.
He has done no wrong,
Love is his only sin;
Love for all mankind.
Condemned to ten long years within
The dreary, cramped confinement
Of a five by ten foot hole!
Shall we sit by, idle, and let him
Be crucified in that tomb of the soul?

"Our 'Gene' has not wasted his life
Lolling in ease and plenty.
He took up the fight of the worker
Before he reached the age of twenty!
He grew old in our cause.
Now, when he is sick and frail,
Shall we forget him?
Shall we just give up and fail
Him now when he needs us?
He loves life and freedom, even as you
and I.

Shall we sit by, idle, and watch
His sad, sweet smile die?
Can't you see him, Comrades,
Hemmed in by steel bars?
When all he did was cry a protest
Against sending our boys to war.
"Greater love hath no man
Than he who lay down his life for his
friend."

Such a love fills the heart of "Our
'Gene.'
Shall we let this be the end
Of him who loves us?
He fought for us through strife.
Shall we sit by, idle, and let him
Be heartlessly robbed of his life? *

Shipload of Radicals.

(Continued from 1st page.)

sions of the bill provide that all foreigners coming into this country shall come on probation, their remaining here being dependent upon good behavior—that is, judging behavior from the view point of capitalist interests. Representative Johnson believes that the foreign born are responsible for the present unrest prevalent and growing more so in this country. To quell unrest, deport the foreigners, and pass more liberty destroying legislation is Johnson's method.

Hits Agitators.
Explaining the bill Johnson said it enlarges the deportation clauses to include aliens who print, circulate, edit, display or distribute vicious literature who are members of organizations that issue revolutionary publications or those who financially aid such propaganda. He predicted that a bill penalizing American born persons who commit similar acts soon would be presented to the House by its judiciary committee.

In this connection Johnson displayed to the House revolutionary publications, including some printed so as to appear as having been blood-soaked. He also exhibited letters appealing for release of I. W. W., and anarchists ordered deported during the last two years, but who are still in this country.

Escapes Deportation.
"One Scotch I. W. W.," he said, "was conveyed from Seattle to New York last spring with the fifty-four radicals ordered deported. The Scotman was released promptly in New York and was back in Seattle almost as soon as the guards who brought him east. He still is out there inflaming, fanning and organizing the I. W. W. revolution."

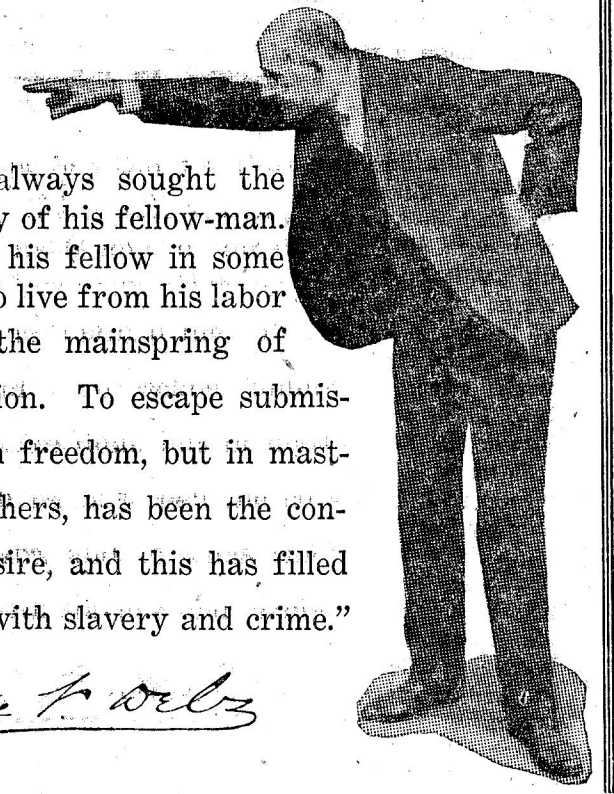
Deportations will affect labor market

That the proposed deportations will have a visible effect upon the American labor market is widely predicted in some circles. Heretofore, American capitalism has depended upon the hundreds of thousands of foreigners, who yearly came to our shores, to supply and keep up the labor market. For four years this immigration has fallen to practically nothing. It has practically ceased during the war period. Deportations, if carried on upon the scale which is predicted will further deplete the market. Probation schemes, such as proposed by Representative Johnson, will have a further effect by discouraging immigration. Sensing the inhospitality expressed in such probation laws, it can hardly be expected that immigrants in large numbers will seek to better their conditions here, if they can be bettered under the capitalist exploitation practiced in American industry. Deported radicals returning among their native countrymen with the facts of true conditions here will also have a deterrent effect in keeping the foreign born from rushing headlong into the maw of American capitalism.

In view of all these circumstances, the outlook does not favor the employers. A depleted labor market means rising wages and better work-

DEBS SAYS TO YOU

MAN has always sought the mastery of his fellow-man. To enslave his fellow in some form and to live from his labor has been the mainspring of human action. To escape submission, not in freedom, but in mastery over others, has been the controlling desire, and this has filled the world with slavery and crime."



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Lost Face	The Sea Wolf
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Martin Eden	When God Laughs
Moon Face	White Fang
South Sea Tales	

Address: Communist Labor Party, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)
"Thirty days," said the Jew. It seemed strange to Jack that his present predicament did not frighten him. He had always lived in dread of the fleshless fingers of the law. He had been taught to regard arrest as the deepest disgrace and jail as an unobliterable shame. Now he was in a crowd, many of whom looked upon it as a matter of course—a mere incident of a working man's life. It seemed as tho he had caught the spirit of that crowd and with them calmly faced the inevitable. Yet there was one thing that distinguished the trio from the rest and that was their determination to fight on, come what may.

As the night wore on the crowd and the stove having used up most of the available oxygen, the air became poisonous. There was a foul stench prevailing the entire room. It was so heavy that it deadened the sensibilities of the vast majority of these victims and one by one they lay down upon the louse infested rags, without the formality of undressing. Some of them fell asleep while others tossed restlessly as if they were in a stupor. Two of the company, the ones who had drunk the most prohibition whiskey were still lying on the cement floor just where they had fallen a few minutes after their arrival. It surprised Jack that none of the company paid any attention to them. He was perfectly sure that these men were not all like Collins, violently opposed to drink and drunks, yet no one paid the slightest attention to them, while the only professed idealist in the crowd had taken pains to divest one of them of the nether portion of his shirt. He wondered how Collins would explain this singular phenomena but did not ask any questions.

BELGIAN SOCIALIST SUCCESSES IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTION.

Old Chamber	New Chamber
99 Catholics	71
40 Socialists	70
45 Liberals	34
2 Christian Dem.	2
186 Christian People's Party	2
Other parties	7
186 Totals	186

(Continued next week)

The Diplomatic Balance Sheet in Russia.

By EVANS CLARK.

Modern diplomacy is international business. The war, and even more the peace, has brought diplomacy down to earth in the minds of the common people of all countries. With every fresh glimpse of the inner offices at Versailles, Washington, and London, the talk of the common man about world affairs becomes more a matter of plain economics and less one of picturesque personalities. All diplomacy is rapidly coming to be considered as "dollar diplomacy."

All business is essentially a matter of profit and loss. The greater the likelihood of loss the greater must be the prospect of profit. So it is also in modern diplomacy. No venture in the history of diplomatic business has presented more risk than recent Allied policy in Russia. A mere catalogue of the losses and possible losses is quite staggering. In the first place there are human lives. Already some five hundred American youths have been killed or maimed in the Russian venture. British and French losses are considerably greater.

There is no means of estimating the amount of money sunk in this venture. First of all are the military and naval expenditures. Since the United States is at "peace" with Russia, President Wilson has been forced to contribute money from his private fund for emergency uses to support American troops in Siberia and Archangel. There has been no public accounting of this expenditure. In England, however, the items of the Russian expense account up to July 31 last have been published in a recent "White Paper" as follows:

Naval and military operations connected with the occupation of and withdrawal from North Russia (Murmansk and Archangel) \$89,000,000
Maintaining an army in the Caucasus ... 14,000,000
Naval operations in the Baltic and Black Seas 26,000,000

These are but a part of the original investment. The British have supplied Denikin and Kolchak with great quantities of military equipment. Newspaper dispatches are frank in stating that much of Denikin's recent success is due to large numbers of tanks supplied by the British, as well as quantities of small arms and ammunition, poison gas, and other supplies. It has been stated that all the war material at Salonica was placed at his disposal by the Allied Governments. The amount of equipment supplied to Kolchak is also immense. Even the United States Government, it was recently announced, has dispatched 75,000 rifles and other arms to the so-called Omsk Government. The Northwestern Government of Judenitch is an English creation that must already have involved a considerable financial outlay. A Helsingfors dispatch to the Stockholm Dagblad on August 28 stated that Great Britain had guaranteed a 350,000,000 ruble issue of notes of this Government at a rate of 40 rubles to the pound. These items of expense do not include the cost of setting up and maintaining the Archangel Government, nor the financial aid and comfort rendered to lesser lights than Kolchak, Denikin, and Judenitch. British "assistance" alone has reached the following proportions:

Assistance to the Baltic states, including the Northwestern Russian corps \$14,000,000
Assistance to Admiral Kolchak 72,000,000
Assistance to General Denikin 130,000,000

A less tangible, but none the less real, financial loss is that occasioned to the business of the Allies by the blockade. American exports to European Russia in 1913 were \$25,000,000, but in 1917 they had increased to \$400,000,000 in value. These were not alone war materials, but also great quantities of agricultural implements, automobiles, cotton, cordage, locomotives, typewriters, machinery, and leather.

Just as American exporters were beginning to develop the possibilities of this vast market the blockade intervened. In the year ending May 1, 1919, American exports to European Russia had fallen from \$400,000,000 to \$7,000,000. For a country whose business men are supposed to be extremely eager to open new markets, these figures do not begin to show the loss involved. The loss to British business is greater in proportion to the larger share of exports to Russia that the English had captured before the war. The blockade has reduced an export business of \$72,000,000 a year in 1912, to practically nothing.

This represents the loss in exports alone. The loss in imports of raw materials from Russia is even greater. Russia has been one of the world's chief purveyors of flax, hemp, timber, furs, hides, bristles, and other materials used in European and American manufactures. Never in the world's history has there been such a demand for raw materials as there is today. European industry, reviving after the war prostration, and American industry, grown immeasurably and straining at the leash, require unprecedented supplies. The blockade has cut off one of the chief sources of these materials. To take but one illustration: recent reports from Belfast and other producing centres in the United Kingdom state that the shortage of flax has caused a partial shut-down of great numbers of linen mills, with resulting hardships to manufacturers and working people alike. The annual flax requirements of the United Kingdom before the war were 100,000 tons. Of this amount 10,000 tons came from Ireland, and 10,000 more from Belgium, France and Holland. No less than 80,000 tons came from Russia. Great Britain has cut off 80 per cent. of its flax by the Russian blockade. Nor is England the only loser. American manufacturers use British linen in making piece goods. The first half year of 1918 the export of piece goods were 17,481,500 yards. This year the figure is 5,528,000 yards.

Nor does this loss in raw materials of all sorts complete the total expenditure involved in the Allied Russian policy. National prosperity rests on national unity. Business flourishes on domestic confidence and tranquillity. The amount of unrest, suspicion, and antagonism aroused by Allied Russian diplomacy among the working people and the liberal intellectual classes in the Allied countries is a matter of common knowledge. Its effect on Allied prosperity cannot be estimated in dollars and cents. When the great Triple Alliance of British workers, controlling the nation's transportation system, seriously considers a strike against the Russian policy of the British Government; when workers in Milan, Seattle, San Francisco, and other ports refuse to load vessels with arms and ammunition consigned by Allied Governments to Kolchak; when the Italian workers call upon the workers of the world to refuse to produce ammunition for use against the Soviet Government, it is safe to say that the Governments of the Allies face a risk of no mean proportions. And to this must be added the moral effect on the Allied nations of pursuing a policy that violates human decency and finds no sanction in international law.

Such are some of the risks of the Russian venture. That the Allied statesmen realize their significance we are bound to assume. Whatever else these men may be they are not stupid. Especially are they not stupid in the matters of Real-politik. We may assume that they weigh with some care the profit and loss of undertakings of such magnitude.

What, then, are the profits that weigh against these extraordinary risks to tip the balance in favor of this Russian policy? Current explanations and apologies fail to reach the heart of the matter. Fear of Bolshevism, horror at Communist "atrocities,"

and love of anti-Bolshevist Russians are doubtless elements in the determination of Allied diplomacy; but however great may be their importance as justifications, they are of minor significance as motives. Czarism was fully as repugnant to Anglo-American and French democratic ideals as the communism of Russia today, and not a whit less aggressive and internationally ambitious. And yet there was not even the suggestion in Allied diplomatic circles of a cordon sanitaire against the monarchist and Even granting the validity of the most extreme re-bureaucratic "infection" of Russia under the Czars, ports of the "Red Terror," the amount of violence and bloodshed under the Soviets could not begin to compare with the atrocities committed under the Czars. Beside the hideous barbarities of the Black Hundred, the wholesale exiles and executions the "punitive expeditions," and other cruelties of militant autocratic bureaucracy, even the wildest tales of Bolshevik excesses seem mild. And yet the Allied Governments did not seek to overthrow Czarism by violence and in intrigue. Americans, British, and French have time out of mind lauded and feted the democratic forces of old Russia. Kropotkin and Breshkovskaya were prophets honored beyond measure in countries not their own. But the Allied Governments never proposed to invade Siberia to effect their release from Czarist tyranny and oppression, nor to lend troops to aid the forces of the Revolution.

The expected profits of the Russian venture were not so intangible as these profits of fear appeared or of friendship championed. Russia is the world's unopened treasure box. Who shall open it? That is the heart of the matter. Russia leads the world in the magnitude and immensity of its natural resources. Russia lags behind in their exploitation. Vast wealth, backward development—it is this magic combination that draws out, like fillings to a magnet, the designs and ambitions of modern diplomacy. When domestic conditions in such countries have been unfavorable to the development of these designs and ambitions—in a word to the profitable investment of foreign capital—foreign intervention has invariably resulted. When peaceful penetration fails, penetration by the sword must follow. Such are the ways of diplomacy in the days of economic imperialism. We have witnessed them in Africa, Persia, and China. We see them now at work in Mexico. Were it not for the barrier thrown up by the Monroe Doctrine we should have seen them also in South America.

In Russia the situation is simply this: The Soviet Government is dedicated to the public ownership and public enjoyment of the wealth and resources of Russia. The people themselves, through their Government, propose to exploit their own riches and reap their own profit therefrom. It is true that Lenin has offered wide concessions to outside capital; that the Soviet Government is willing to let the foreign investor make a profit in return for the technical skill which he can hire and furnish for the rehabilitation of Russian economic life. Ultimate control, ultimate ownership, however, in all of these offers have been reserved to the people of Russia. No perpetual franchises are to be handed out to private interests in the exploitation of Russian wealth. Nor can the workers of Russia be made the helpless victims of such exploitation. Their status as citizens in a democracy of industry is protected by the fundamental laws of the Soviet Government. The firm of Kolchak and Denikin, however, does business another way. Products of the old regime, versed in business imperialism, they are dedicated to the unlimited private exploitation of public wealth. From them the foreign investor will get the whole loaf, not half. Kolchak and Denikin offer inducements to Allied diplomacy that Allied diplomacy can

understand. Their key to the treasure box of Russia is one that Allied interests can use with complete freedom and great profit.

An what other basis is it possible to explain the vast economic and political aid which the Allied diplomats have furnished to the counter-revolutionary forces of Russia? Do statesmen and their backers throw away others' lives and fortunes, sacrifice great immediate gains, and risk even their political future to aid such as Kolchak and Denikin without having received definite commitments and agreements as to the return for value received? The recent note issue of the Northwestern Government, it is reported, will be redeemed "three months after the occupation of Petrograd," and is guaranteed not only by the British Government, but "by the entire wealth of the Russian Empire." The entire wealth of the Russian empire—that is what Kolchak, Denikin, and Judenitch are playing for, and it is that with which they hope to repay later those who help them now.

A glance at what this wealth means will be a sufficient explanation of many things. Russia is four times the size of the European continent and contains one-sixth of the land surface of the entire world. Every sort of climate and soil is contained in that vast area. In population Russia is surpassed only by India and China. Russia holds 37 per cent. of the timber resources of the entire world. Some of the forests of the northern provinces of Siberia have yet to be thoroughly explored. Russia holds 50 per cent. of the world's resources of iron ore. It produces 97 per cent. of the world's platinum. No other country in the world has such a wealth of manganese. Russian oil wells in 1900 produced 48 per cent. of the world's output of petroleum. It is conservatively estimated that Russia contains 35 per cent. of the world's resources of fur. The agricultural resources of Russia are unsurpassed. In 1910-1913 Russia produced 79 per cent. of the world's yield of flax, 56 per cent. of its supply of rye, 54 per cent. of wheat, and 14 per cent. of sugar. Russia also produces large quantities of buckwheat, millet, corn, and potatoes. Russian bristles supply the markets of the world, and Russia is second only to Australia and Argentina in the number of sheep that graze on its land.

This vast production has been achieved in Russia by the most antiquated of methods. Russia is still a backward country from the point of view of modern industrial, agricultural, and commercial methods. Its vast resources are practically untouched; its immense possibilities are as yet latent. The industrial revolution which transformed the economic life of England and Germany in the middle of the last century did not affect Russia, to any great extent, until the beginning of the present century. The steel production—an index to the development of the industrial system—was only 157,000 tons in Russia as late as 1887. In 1897 it had increased to 920,000 tons, and in one year more it had shot up to 1,145,000 tons. In 1887 the total production of Russian industry and mining was 1,300,000,000 rubles. In 1897 it was 2,800,000,000 rubles. The average yearly increase between 1887 and 1890 was 56,000,000 rubles, while between 1893 and 1897 it had reached 276,000,000 rubles.

The years from 1890 on mark the real invasion of Russia by modern capitalism. Mr. Olgin speaks of these years as "revolutionary times in Russian economic life. A wave of energy, a spirit of bold adventure, was abroad. Capital hurried from Germany, Belgium, and other countries to share in high profits. In the metallurgical profits of 100 per cent. were not unusual. Stock companies often paid as

much as 20 per cent. in dividends. Promoters were active everywhere from the sombre northern St. Petersburg to the hot sun-kissed Odessa." The old regime offered a paradise for investors of foreign capital. It was the development of this paradise that was so rudely interrupted by the war and the revolution; and its renewed and unrestricted exploitation so seriously menaced by the policies of the Communist regime. In the few years of feverish capitalist invasion of Russia, however, only the fringe of the economic life of Russia was touched.

Russia's immaturity of commercial development is shown by the fact that the number of joint stock companies before the war was but 2,000, while in England there were 56,000 such concerns. The total capital represented in the Russian firms was about two billion dollars, one-ninth the amount of United States railway securities alone. The outstanding securities of all the industrial and commercial corporations in Russia, exclusive of railways and banks, barely exceeded those of the United States Steel Corporation.

The same backwardness reflected in agriculture. The soil of Russia is in many parts richer than that of most of the agricultural countries of the world. In spite of this, the average wheat yield in Russia before the war was one-half that of Austria and France, one-third of that of England and Germany, and only one-fourth that of Denmark. The per capita value of the production of the most important grains and potatoes was thirty dollars in Russia against \$200 in the United States. Russia had 23 per cent. more land under cultivation than had the United States, and yet the average yield of grain was ten per cent. less in Russia than was the yield in United States.

This backwardness of Russia is due in the main to the very limited use of modern agricultural machinery, to inferior methods of cultivation, and to unscientific choice of seeds. In spite of enormous imports of agricultural machinery from the United States and Germany, a vast proportion of the peasants still use the agricultural implements of their ancestors. Not only is intensive cultivation practically unknown, but not less than 95 per cent. of Russia's land area is not cultivated at all. Professor Goldstein, of the University of Moscow, states in a recent book on Russia that "this points unmistakably to the immense possibilities latent.... for cattle raising and farming as well. If only one-fifth of Russia's land were made adaptable for cultivation through reclamation, irrigation, well-directed colonization, the construction of railways.... Russian production would increase at least four-fold."

In this summary of economic conditions lies the heart of the Russian situation. Here is the secret of Allied diplomacy. The ways of economic imperialism are the same in Russia as they are in the Saar Valley, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Mexico, Alsace-Lorraine, and China. That they have been less clearly recognized by the public in the case of Russia has been due, mainly, to the boggy of Bolshevism. But there is always a boggy. Probably no more successful bit of imperialist publicity was ever perpetrated than the popularization of misinformation about Soviet Russia; but underneath the smoke-screen the real game goes on. The Allied diplomats, responsive to the dominant interests in the Allied nations, have undertaken the biggest venture in history. Whether their estimate of the balance sheet is correct, whether the wealth of all the Russias will in fact be the profits of Allied diplomacy, time alone will tell. The present situation on the battle-fronts of Russia makes such an outcome appear at least improbable. —From The Nation.

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I. W. W. MAKES STATEMENT.

(Continued from page 1)

assemblage and brazenly knocking out the very foundations of Government.

The role of defending the Institution, the government, at Centralia belongs to the members of the I. W. W. who are now charged with murder. That five men lost their lives is lamentable. Nothing would have been more desirable to the program of the I. W. W. than that such as did happen at Centralia had never occurred. But this was not the desire of those who directed the attack on the Hall. To them the death of one or a hundred men meant nothing. They meant to destroy the I. W. W. at any cost.

The men charged with murder at Centralia must be defended. To deny them a chance to put up a defense is subversive of Government itself. Yet that is what they are attempting to do by denying the use of the mail in Seattle for defense purposes.

A defense committee has been organized to defend these men. Funds are needed and needed badly. Will you help in the defense? You can do so by sending your donation to Geo. Williams, 318 No. Wyoming Street, Butte, Montana.

POST BELLUM

By Helen P. Groth

He had tasted the bitterness of war, and had come back with death-wearied heart;
He had seen man kill man, and had watched, while destruction-filled bombs tore the night.
His eyes had looked often on woe—deep woe that would make the tears start;
But it all seemed a part of the work for Justice—Humanity—Right.
For Democracy—world-wide, secure—he had left home and all he held dear;
Young Galahad—many like him—with a white shield and sword clean as flame.

And down in the trenches of France he had fought and had bled without fear;
For the Cause was a great, sacred one—a World-hope—a high, noble aim
How startled he looked—how amazed—at a speech that the President made:
St. Louis, Missouri, the place, and September the fifth was the day.
And Wilson said, surely we know that all modern wars are for trade,

That commercial, industrial rivalry was the seed of the recent fray!
He remembered the boys who had died, like Crusaders of old, for "the Right,"
And he visioned the row upon row—white crosses on Flanders' red field;
And his death-calloused, horror-torn soul grew sick as there rose to his sight
A memory of some maimed and blind—
—for the cause that had just been revealed!

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Which Way, Oh Citizens?

(Continued from page 1)

action on a resolution to deny Berger a seat without the "formality" of referring the matter to an elections committee.

If the House carries out this apparent design there will be no representative of this district in Congress until the regular elections in 1920. Gov. E. L. Phillips has announced. "I do not believe in spending any more of the people's money in that way", he is credited with saying. What will happen then should the electors choose Berger again, is a subject upon which the voters there can cogitate in the intervening period.

But here is the point that's in our mind. Milwaukee has long had the reputation of being the heart and soul of political socialism in the United States. Milwaukee socialists are political socialists—not revolutionary socialists. They promulgate the idea that action of the workers at the ballot box is the simon-pure method of attaining what they call socialism and the gradual usurpation of power by the workers thru legislative reforms is their avowed method. They shy at class action on any other field than the political one. New they will have a test case of the efficacy of their teachings. Votes have won the election, will votes win the power? The representatives of the capitalist class say, NO.

What effect will this have upon these political socialists? Are they open to the logic of events? Will this denial of power by the capitalist class thru its representatives in Congress teach them the needed lesson that the ballot, unless backed up by the power of the workers on the industrial field is useless? Will it turn them from the "right" to the "left", toward industrial class-action? Or, on the other hand, will it seem to prove to them the only way to win is to elect more Congressmen? And by electing more and ever more political representatives at last sweep the workers into political power nationally—and in a million years also establish a Socialist Democracy?

Well, whatever these things prove to the politicals of Milwaukee, we see nothing in it at all surprising to any one schooled in the class-struggle. We know that the laws (election or any other), of the capitalist class will be shattered into smithereens by the capitalist class the moment the workers attempt to use them for themselves—if they have the power to do so. Laws, however fundamental will not stand for a moment in their way when by so doing the capitalist class can retrench itself in power. Without a moment's scruple they will be, are being cast aside.

The sign points to the "left". Can Milwaukee socialists see the sign?