

"This country belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they grow weary of their government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to overthrow it."—Abraham Lincoln.

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Open door to Russia will solve deportation problem.

— By W. E. Williams. —

NEW YORK.—"Let us go back to Soviet Russia and you will have no Russian deportation problem on your hands" is the word which Russian workmen detained as "anarchists" at Ellis Island and elsewhere have sent the following letter to Secretary of State Lansing:

"As attorney for eighty Russians, now being held at Ellis Island pending investigation of their right to remain in the United States, and as attorney for other Russians held in jails and immigration stations elsewhere in the United States, I am authorized to make the following proposal to the Department of State:

"My clients, one of whom is under conviction of crime and one of whom is charged with crime, are willing to leave the United States at their own expense, taking their families with them, providing that your department will give its assurance, (first) that they will receive safe conduct to some point in Russia under the control of the Soviets. If, however, they must be deported, I am instructed by my clients to refrain from taking any legal action for delaying or preventing deportation, providing the assurances above referred to are given.

"As the Department of State must know, to land these men, charged with advocating anarchy and deported, upon territory held by any Russian faction other than the Soviets will mean their imprisonment or ex-

"If your department sees fit to give these assurances, it will at once dispose of a matter which is now costing the government large sums of money in investigations, maintenance of detained persons, hearings, and the like. Furthermore, it will eliminate the cost to the government of opposing us when we have recourse to our legal remedies, as we must, if the government does not see fit to give assurance that the men deported will be landed upon, or conducted to, soil held by the Soviets."

COSSAK RULE IN STEEL CENTERS

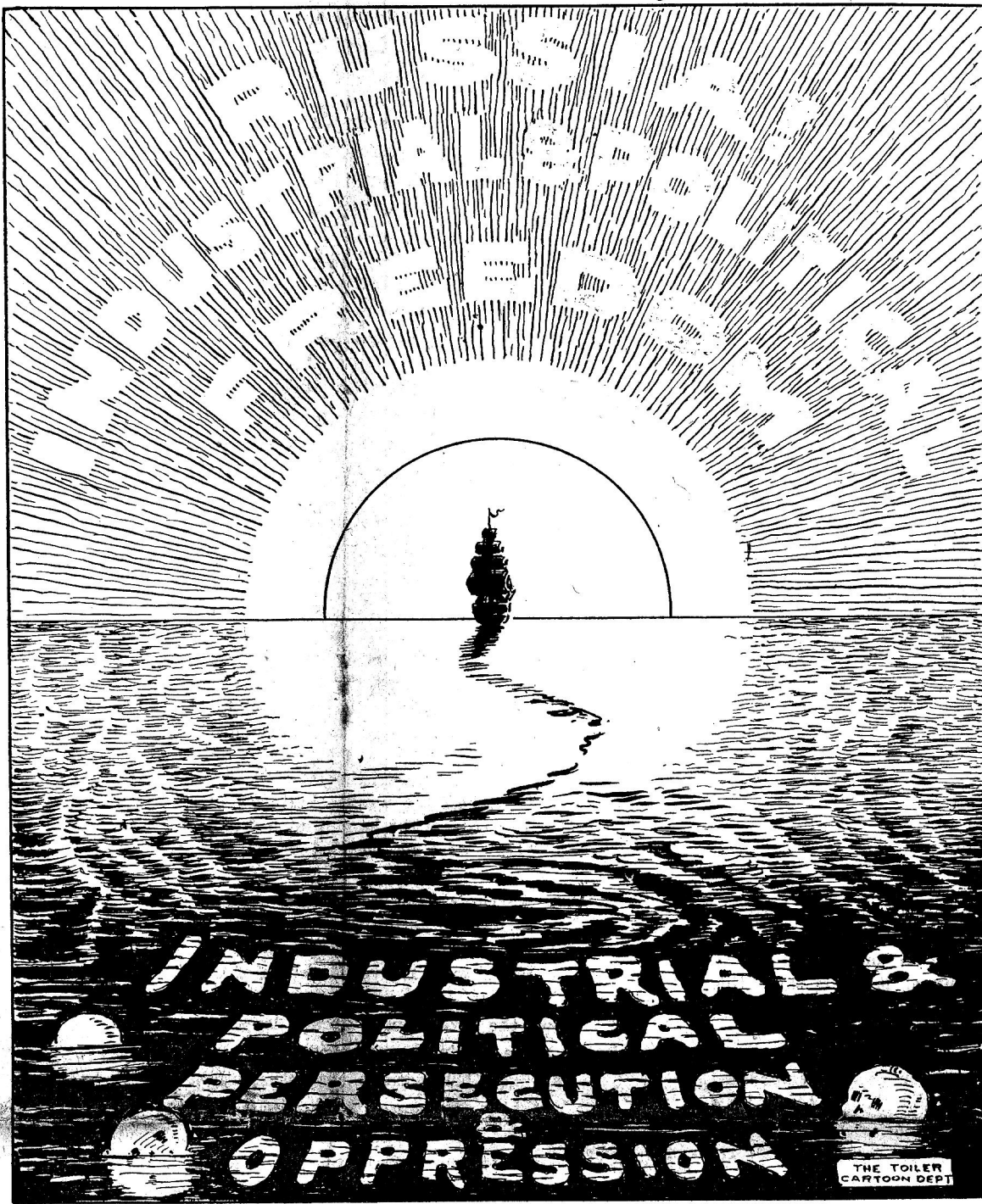
— By SARAH LIMBACH. —

PITTSBURG, PA.—Despite the fact that Congress does not consider it necessary to investigate the denial of Constitutional liberties to the thousands of steel strikers in Western Pennsylvania, on the assumption that these liberties have been "restored," the past week brings fresh evidence of further flagrant injustices on the part of the Penn. State Cossacks. Backed by the local authorities and the courts a final attempt is being made to batter down the resistance of the hundred thousand men still out in the Pittsburgh district.

Twenty-seven strikers were recently sentenced in Butler, Pa., to varying terms on a technical charge of riot. The Butler men have been out on strike since August 3rd when a walk-out occurred at the plant of the Standard Steel Car Co. On the night of August 20 the men were aroused from their homes and informed that a carload of strike-breakers was to arrive. They were requested to meet them at Odell station. Instead, the men were greeted by a special car containing state police and a score were arrested. That the men were victims of a frame-up is beyond doubt.

In Donora, where the plant of the American Steel and Wire Co. is located, the strike headquarters were raided on December 5th by state police. Walter Hodge, organizer in charge and one hundred men were arrested on a charge of conspiracy. The conspiracy being that the men had instigated dynamite explosions in the residential section of Donora several nights previous. A thorough search on the part of the strikers has failed to reveal anyone who heard the explosions. They were taken to the local jail and later they were discharged on bail, Hodge bail being placed at \$500. After a hearing in the county court, those who were citizens were discharged and 94 aliens were held. Walter Hodge was also held, tho a citizen. At the hearing the most damaging bit of evidence was produced by Michael Tuth, a state wit-

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"THE SOVIET ARK."

Let 'Organization' Be Your Answer.

The greatest attack of the government upon the political rights of the working-class occurred last Friday night when a nationwide blow was struck at the workers in the round up numbering into the thousands. In this latest and most idiotic attempt of the capitalist interests of the United States to throttle the aspirations of the workers, methods were used, that would put to shame those of the former autocrat of Russia. Men, women and children were routed out of their homes and beds, carted off to bull pens and herded like cattle without even the semblance of ordinary comforts being provided. Hundreds and hundreds were compelled to stand thru the whole night and even the following day while an army of "investigators" decided their fate. Mothers were taken from their children, fathers from their families and communication denied them. Jails were filled to overflow, thousands slept upon the filthy floors of the capitalist jails without even a lousy mattress or a coverlet for protection.

These are the methods of tyranny. It is by these insane methods that the government of the United States proposes to weed out radicalism in this country. The lessons of history remain unlearned by the present autocrats who hold official power in the government. "Tyranny breeds radicalism, persecution aids the cause it seeks to demolish. Revolution thrives thru such unjust and cruel misuse of power. Is the government of the United States erected upon such flimsy foundations that it can be menaced by an idea? Does the government believe for a moment that the deportation of a few foreigners and the jailing of a few native born will have the slightest deterrent effect upon the proletarian revolution that is sweeping over the whole world? If it does, then the history of the progress of the human race from savagery thru barbarism to what

is mis-called civilization has taught nothing to the ruling class of this country.

Instead of quelling radicalism, these roundups, deportations, persecutions and jail sentences but add to the numbers of the discontented. If the government and the ruling class of America have no answer to the workers when they demand justice in the industrial and political life of the nation except jails, deportations, arrests, persecutions, hounding, spying and the blacklist—then the sooner the government extends its persecutions and adds to their severity, the better it will be for the working-class of America. The sooner then will the workers learn the lesson of organization.

The workers' answer to these outrages must be ORGANIZATION. The capitalist class fears the workers only when organized. Unorganized, it knows the workers are helpless to resist the exploitation which it seeks to fasten upon them. Unorganized we are completely at the mercy of brutal capitalism. Only by perfecting our organizations can we hope to successfully oppose the organized power of capital and capitalistic governments which are its tools. Then organize! Organize in the shops, form a group of workers for carrying on propaganda, for support of the workers' press and the work of education. Distribute propaganda, sell books, get subscriptions for the revolutionary papers. Take your rightful place as a leader in the craft unions if you belong to one. Join the Communist Labor Party and the I. W. W. Take your place in the organized ranks of the Proletarian Revolution against capitalist oppression, tyranny and exploitation. Join the world's Red Legions that are making this world a fit place for the workers. Join the International Proletarian Revolution against capitalist exploitation.

Organize and put a stop forever to the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

We are raided, yes-no.

Yes, the nation wide raid on radicals hit the state office of the Communist Labor Party, but not as hard as the raiders contemplated. The C. L. P. membership was demanded but didn't come forth. When the gents in charge of operations had gathered up some papers of uncertain value to them or us, they offered to trade them for the membership list. However, we were not in a swapping mood so the deal did not go thru. As a consequence, seven well paid officers of the U. S. government went away emptier and wiser than when they came—wise to the fact that some things are unobtainable in this world. We should worry.

A Cheerful Letter From Leavenworth Prison.

Elmer T. Allison,
Cleveland, O.

Dear Comrade and Fellow-worker: You will probably be surprised to hear from me, but then a wobbly is always doing something unexpected so you see I am only upholding the traditions of the organization of which I am proud to be a member.

I receive a copy of "The Toller" every week, and it is a fine paper. To my mind it is the best paper that comes in here and we get almost all of them. It (the Toller) seems to have discovered the proper method of disseminating news of interest to the radicals and of educational value to that biological specimen, found in large numbers on the North American continent, known to biologists as *Seissorbilicus Americus* (the English translation is Mr. Block I believe.)

The trial in Kasas City, Kansas is over and the boys were found guilty of encroaching on "oily John's" preserves. They arrived here this afternoon and I will renew acquaintances with numerous friends here. Their sentences range from three to nine years, but you will know all about the trial by the time this letter reaches you, so I will not enlarge on it.

I hear from Walter and Laura Reynolds every once in a while and their letters are always full of that spirit that has done so much to keep alive the desire for freedom in the hearts of the American workers.

If you can find time to drop me a line I will always be glad to hear from you but I realize how busy you are and if I don't hear from you I will know the reason.

Hoping that fellow worker Santa Claus will visit you and with best wishes I remain

Yours for Industrial Freedoms
Archie Sinclair.

LONGUET ON THE RECENT ELECTION

PARIS.—Jean Longuet, Socialist leader, has given an interview to the Paris correspondent of the "London Daily Herald", in which he ventures the following interpretation of the recent French parliamentary elections:

"The results of the elections, which in a large measure recall the British khaki elections in 1918, surprise only those who did not calculate on the inevitable consequences of the monstrous electoral system created solely to overwhelm socialism. . . . Thus, in the great working class suburbs of Paris, with 114,030 votes against 145,000 for the Coalition (all the bourgeois parties, including the renegades from socialism), it comes about that fourteen seats are allotted to the Coalition and none to the Socialist party. The Alsace-Lorraine Socialists obtained 120,000 votes and have not a single seat. . . . In all, our party, which had 101 deputies elected in 1914, will have seventy in the new chamber. Yet the number of votes received by our party is 1,700,000 against 1,100,000 in 1914."

SOVIETS SWEEP ON TO VICTORY.

Kolchak, Denikin gone. Soviets make truce with Esthonia. Self determination offered by Lenine as part of peace pact. Russia seeks trade with Italy. Red Victories coming strong.

Editor's note: The week's news from Russia containing account of the onward sweep of the soviet forces to victory on all fronts and the collapse of the Kolchak and Denikin "governments" invites us to publish some recent dispatches from Moscow. While these have appeared in the daily press many hundreds of our readers will appreciate their publication here. The promising outlook in Russia for peace with the Allies and the opening of trade relations with the world are some of the most promising developments of today.

LONDON, Jan. 3.—Gen. Denikine's government in southern Russia has been overthrown and Gen. Romanovsky has been chosen to replace Gen. Denikine as anti-Bolshevik chief, according to a wireless dispatch received here from Moscow quoting advices from Taganrog.

The report indicates that owing to defeats along the front, a coup d'etat occurred at Gen. Denikine's headquarters and that his government has been replaced by a group known as the "Vozsokhdenye Rossie," meaning the "regeneration of Russia."

Gen. Semenov has been named to head the Siberian army, succeeding Admiral Kolchak, who, after a series of disastrous reverses at the hands of the Bolsheviks at Irkutsk and Omsk, Siberia, is still retreating. Kolchak's health has suffered as a consequence of his labors in fighting the Reds.

Gen. Semenov was recently commander of the Cossacks operating in the Siberian region, and he is known to be strongly anti-American, having had several misunderstandings with the American forces stationed in Siberia.

DORPAT, Esthonia, Jan. 1.—The first step toward peace between Esthonia and soviet Russia was taken tonight by the signing of a preliminary armistice, which is to exist for one week, stipulating an immediate cessation of hostilities and covering questions concerning Esthonian independence and military guarantees with regard to the frontiers.

The agreement, which may be terminated on twenty-four hours' notice by either side, is to become effective Saturday. Unless action is taken to end it the agreement automatically renews itself after seven days.

The agreement consists of five documents, and includes a map defining the frontiers. An interesting clause absolves Esthonia from all obligations to Russia resulting from former connections with that country. The signing of the agreement had been set for 1 yesterday afternoon but it was not until nearly 8 that the conferees succeeded in adjusting all details.

Esthonia is Recognized.

The next of the clause recognizing Esthonia says:

"In accordance with the principle oft proclaimed by the soviet Russian government of the right of all peoples to a free determination of their nationality, even to the complete secession from the state to which they belong, Russia recognizes without reservation the independence of the Esthonian state and freely abdicates for

(Continued on page 4.)

THE "TRIAL" OF THE 'WICHITA BUNCH'.

Extracted from two personal letters to the editor.

"The so-called 'trial' started on Monday Dec. 1st, more than two years after the arrests. 4 and a half days were used in examining and selecting a jury of twelve men. The Plute press had done its work so well and the public mind was so poisoned that more than 100 men stated openly 'they could not give a fair and impartial verdict'. Others, equally prejudiced, tried to hide it in order to get on the jury with the intent of conviction regardless of the evidence.

Kansas City is an industrial center, with an overwhelming preponderance of wage earners, yet it is significant that not a single working man was called from which a jury might be chosen. The farce had no sooner started than it developed into the most disgusting sight ever witnessed by liberty-loving men. Every constitutional "right" the defendants were supposed to have, was ruthlessly trampled under foot by the "public servants" who are supposed to deal out 'exact and impartial justice'.

Everything the Standard Oil Company chose to introduce was allowed to go into the records. The indictment specially charged the men with "conspiracy to overthrow the U. S. Government, violation of the Espionage Act, causing men to desert from, and become insubordinate to the army, navy and marine corps, and to prevent production and distribution of fuel oil, natural gas, food and farm products during the period from Apr. 6th to Nov. 24, 1917. The prosecution dug up everything possible from the inception of the I. W. W. in 1905, and the court allowed it to be introduced as evidence!

UNDATED and UNSIGNED letters, and what was purported to be minutes of meetings went in regardless of the objections of the attorneys for the defense. One of the defendants writes:

"The usual stool pigeons are here and one of them has testified to criminal acts committed by himself, but could not implicate any one of us. Our attorney gave him an awful showing up, and now the prosecution is trying to make a hero of him. The U. S. Government has three of these miserable creatures on a regular circuit going from place to place, betraying innocent members of the working-class (members of their own class) into the hands of the avenging master-class. We all stood up before this cringing cur, while our attorney asked him to point out one of our number he ever knew to do a criminal act, and of course he was forced to admit he knew nothing about us.

The fact of the matter is that this stool-pigeon was kicked out of the I. W. W. in 1917. At that time he was arrested in Minot N. Dak., charged with highway robbery. One of our boys took his credentials and supplies and told him there was no room in the I. W. W. for the likes of him. The government has something on this bird and is forcing him to testify against all I. W. W. to save his own hide."

Continuing further he writes: "the government placed a county attorney upon the stand who admitted throwing I. W. W.'s in jail without any charge against them and holding them for days without trial and then letting them go. A sheriff and his deputy from Oklahoma also testified to the same kind of treatment.

The press tables are crowded with reporters who draw pictures and kid one another all day long. They do not have to take notes as they write nothing only that furnished them each night by the prosecuting attorneys.

Practically everything appearing in the capitalist press regarding this trial has been a mass of lies. They publish long articles on letters and evidence supposed to have been submitted that has never appeared. As a matter of fact the "reports" of the trial published here is news to us and furnishes comedy for each day. We look those reporters over each day and wonder how they can so prostitute brains that might really be made to serve a useful purpose in society.

From now on, I am for silent defense. There is no such thing as justice in the master's courts."

That letter was written before the jury had brought in its report. A later letter informs us that the jury was out twenty hours and brought in a verdict of guilty of four separate conspiracies, to wit 1st To overthrow the U. S. government. 2nd To resist the Draft Act. 3rd For violation of the infamous espionage act. 4th for violation of the Food and Fuel Act, better known as the Lever act. Sentences ranging from 9 years

downward and totaling 123 and 1/2 years were imposed upon 26 of them.

Writing of the scene our correspondent says: "As each man's name was called, he advanced before the bar of Justice?? and took the master's token of revenge with a smile. Tonight all are in the finest spirits, the day we have waited 25 months for has at last arrived. Twenty five months, the major portion of which was spent undergoing persecution the like of which would bring a blush of shame to even the Czar of all the Russias in his palmist days.

During that time we have been forced to witness once powerful men become physical wrecks. We have watched our fellow worker's minds break under the lash of DELIBERATE PERSECUTION. One of our number sought freedom in death, cutting his throat from ear to ear.

Prompt action saved his life, but his mind broke under the strain, and for months we watched him grow steadily worse, suffering great anguish ourselves because we were unable to do anything to save this lad's reason. For months we took turns guarding him night and day to save him from his own hand. After 9 months the authorities finally transferred him to a hospital for the insane. We recently heard from him and he is on the road to recovery.

Another of our boys went insane. We asked the U. S. district Atty in Sept. 1918 to have this boy examined and he refused. We had an authority on mental diseases look this boy over and of course he was pronounced insane. After we came here (to Kansas City) Judge John C. Pollock selected an expert to examine our fellow worker and this expert reported to the judge that our boy is a hopeless maniac who can not live another year. And still another one was ordered to the hospital today by the judge. This boy is a physical and mental wreck, and the irony of it all is that this happened in a country which boasts of its freedom and justice.

Still another fellow worker a mere boy, died in the miserable surroundings of a jail only the loving care of his fellow workers to make his last moments as pleasant as possible.

This boy died on the same day that his brother returned home from France minus an arm and a leg. His mother was heartbroken. I could thus write on and on for hours telling you of persecution almost unbelievable, but what's the use? It is the terrible system we are living under *.

The sentiment of the business element here was intensely bitter against us. Open threats of violence were made in the court room and corridors, and of course the capitalist press also tried to stir up mob violence. The Kansas City Star in particular has taken to quoting General Leonard Wood. Tonight the Star quotes Wood as saying, "Ship or shoot all radicals." Another issue says, "crush radicals like insects". And this is the man being touted as presidential timber! He certainly has a distorted idea of law and order, to say nothing of constitutional provisions!"

In closing, our correspondent says: "Every one of those boys were splendid today, amidst smiles of sympathy, sneers and glances of hatred, each man looked his persecutors in the eye and took what they gave him with an amused smile. I wonder if the master-class in attendance today realize that such a spirit as that can never be crushed?"

These boys are today in Leavenworth penitentiary, serving time for being loyal to their class. Their case is worth remembering. When the constitution plainly and specifically calls for a speedy and an impartial trial and men are held for OVER TWO years without trial there is a vast difference between what the loud-mouthed spouters of Americanism SAY and DO. And the rank and file of workers are noticing the difference, which means that the rule of bloody ruthless capital is doomed and will soon have to make way for a mere orderly and just order of society.

DELEGATES TO THIRD INTERNATIONAL

MEXICO CITY, D. F.—The Communist Party of Mexico has elected the following delegates to attend the Third International at Moscow: Geo. Bareda and Linn A. E. Gale, both of Mexico City, and A. P. Araujo, of Muzquiz, Coahuila.

Barreda is International Secretary of the party, Gale is publisher of "Gale's Magazine," and Araujo is a former Mexican revolutionist who was imprisoned in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, during the Diaz regime.

THE ARSENAL AT SPRINGFIELD.

(By Henry W. Longfellow)

This is the Arsenal. From floor to ceiling

Like a huge organ, rise the burnished arms;
But from their silent pipes no anthem pealing
Startles the villages with strange alarms.

Ah! What a sound will rise, how wild and dreary,
When the death-angel touches those swift keys!
What loud lament and dismal Miserere
Will mingle with their awful symphonies!

I hear even now the infinite sycophorus,
The cries of agony, the endless groans,
Which, through the ages that have gone before us,
In long reverberations reach our own.

On helm and harness rings the Saxon hammer,
Trough Cimbric forest roars the Norseman's song,
And loud, amid the universal clamor,
O'er distant deserts sounds the Tartar gong.

I hear the Florentine, who from his palace
Wheels out his battle-bell with dreadful din,
And Aztec priests upon their teocallis
Beat the wild war-drum made of serpent's skin;

The tumult of each sacked and burning village;
The shout that every prayer for mercy drowns;
The soldiers' revels in the mids of pillage;
The wail of famine in beleaguered towns;

The bursting shell, the gateway wrenched asunder,
The rattling musketry, the clashing blade;
And ever and anon, in tones of thunder,
The diapason of the cannonade.

It is, O man, with such discordant noises,
With such accursed instruments as these,
Thou drownest Nature's sweet and kindly voices,
And jarrest the celestial harmonies?

Were half the power, that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth, bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts;

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred!
And every nation that should lift again
Its hands against a brother, on its forehead
Would wear forever the curse of Cain!

Down the dark future, through long generations,
The echoing sounds grow fainter and then cease;
And like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say, "Peace!"

Peace! and no longer from its brazen portals
The blast of War's great organ shakes the skies!
But beautiful as songs of the immortals,
The holy melodies of love arise.

Mouthings of Two Anarchists

PERSHING URGES VIOLENCE

CHICAGO, Dec. 20.—"The American Legion, I am sure, will stand against revolutionary doctrine to the last breath," Gen. Pershing told 2,000 cheering legionnaires here today.

The unrest in this country and throughout the world is the natural aftermath of the war. The magnitude of the war measures the magnitude of the unrest.

"It is up to you to realize that you are guardians of our future. It is up to you to oppose radical doctrine—not passively, but if necessary not to hesitate to employ physical force."

"KILL THE REDS," SAYS WOOD.

DENVER, COLO.—Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood, in an address before the Legislature on December 19, advocated that the only way to "handle the Reds" was:

"S. O. S."—ship or shoot." In detail, the Major General advocated the most drastic measures to curb the "agitators" and halt the spread of "anarchistic propaganda."

In enlarging upon his "S. O. S." method of dealing with "agitators," he said:

"Yesterday." "What was he doing?" "He was piloting the rest of the bunch around town."

Jack laughed aloud—the judge rapped on the desk with his fist. When quiet was restored the lawyer proceeded. "Did you speak with him?" he asked the witness.

"Yes: he asked me when the next train left for the west, also if I could direct him to a good restaurant and a place where he could get something to drink. I pointed out the restaurant to him and then took him and his bunch to the depot where they assaulted me."

"Why did they attack you?" "I don't no. I suppose they were drunk."

Jack interrupted, "in a small prohibition town, with a judge and a city attorney and everything, we would get drunk on what?"

"Will you hold your bazzoo!" yelled the judge, "I'll have order in this court do you understand."

"If this were a court I'd be satisfied, but I consider it a disgrace."

"Silence!"

"What was the assault?" "I think it was this fellow. When I first noticed him he was fightin' and cussin' like a demon. He was beatin' up the little fellow in the other bunch and when I yelled at him to stop it, he threw a bottle of whisky at me."

"Did the bottle hit you?" "No I dodged."

"If you were telling the truth and I had thrown the whisky I'll bet a dollar it would have been the first

The Black Sheep

CHAPT. XII.

Jack's keen eye noticed how his fellow victims were awed by 'hizzoner's' thunder; how they looked at him with bitter disapproval in their eyes. They hated him because he prejudiced their cause before the court. These men still had the idealistic conception that justice is an ephemeral something that may be administered wrong or right, according to the wisdom or folly of the judge upon the bench. George and Herman had taught the boy a different conception. He had learned to take the materialistic view that justice is determined by the class interest involved.

Of course it is conceded that this was not a representative court; that in it, law was not taken into consideration. True the forms of law were observed; that had to be done. If you want to steal, first make a law legalizing the act or get a court that will do your stealing for you under the pretext of enforcing the law. The court at Anamoose was simply a camouflage for brigandage.

It must be remembered that when we say that this was not a representative court we do not mean to infer that the others and more regular courts do not work upon the same principle. It is a notorious fact that justice like everything else is a commodity for sale to the highest bidder. The man with a slim purse has no chance in the market.

The lawyer prosecuting the city's cases was known as Smallhead, a name that might have been descriptive of the man. He informed the judge that the men were not equally guilty, meaning of course that they were possessed of different amounts of money, which might be extracted from them by convicting them for slightly different offenses. So he recommended that they be tried separately, to which the judge agreed.

"We'll take him first," said he indicating Jack. Then to the boy: "Are you guilty as charged?"

"No; not as charged." "You are guilty then."

"O yes, I suppose so." "If you are not guilty as charged, how then do you consider yourself to be guilty?"

"Of having been at work. Of being away from home, gathering the world's supply of bread for which the farmers paid me wages. These wages consist of money, which is legal tender or perhaps it were better to say an exchangeable commodity which looks good to 'Hizzoner' and the taxpayers of the town. My guilt consists in having the where with all to pay a fine. That's enough isn't it?"

"That will do" roared the judge. "Smallhead produce your witness."

The lawyer called a man whom we shall call "Lowbrow" (because that title best describes him,) to the stand. Jak recognized him as the man who had thrown the coal, and had subsequently struck him in the face.

The clerk mockingly administered the oath, after which the lawyer asked the witness: "Do you know this defendant Mr. Lowbrow?"

"No, I can't say that I know him." "Have you ever seen him before?" "Yes."

"When?" "Yesterday."

"What was he doing?"

"He was piloting the rest of the bunch around town."

Jack laughed aloud—the judge rapped on the desk with his fist. When quiet was restored the lawyer proceeded. "Did you speak with him?" he asked the witness.

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"Did the bottle hit you?" "No I dodged."

"If you were telling the truth and I had thrown the whisky I'll bet a dollar it would have been the first

booze you ever dodged." At which all the officers smiled.

Lowbrow continued, "I nearly lost my balance, regaining it only in time to avoid his rush. I believe he would have killed me if I hadn't been ready for him."

"The whole truth s'help me God," Jack piped up.

"That will be all Mr. Lowbrow, said the lawyer.

"Your honor, shall I call officer Larson to the stand?"

The judge sat for a few moments biting his finger nails, that said: "No that'll not be necessary. Swear the defendant."

This formality past, the lawyer asked several preliminary question, to which Jack answered promptly, if not always truthfully. But when the lawyer asked him why he had thrown the bottle of whisky, he answered: "If I had so little brains as to carry whisky, I wouldn't have sense enough to throw it away."

"You say you did not throw a bottle?"

"No, nor anything else."

"Why did you lead the fight?"

"I did not lead it."

"I suppose you will tell us you wasn't even in it?" sneered the lawyer.

"That would be the truth and there fore out of place here." Jack shot back.

"How did you get that cut on your head?"

"That was the work of your friend. I was in the platform when the fight started, having just taken leave of my friends, with whom I had worked on the Bell outfit. I had left my suitcase on a seat in the waiting room and as I did not care to have it smashed I went in to take it out. In civilized communities a man is supposed to have a right to protect his property."

"Your friend Lowbrow was fanning the fight and when he saw me coming into the room he hit me with a piece of coal. Of course I resented it and thereby fell into your official net." Then looking both judge and lawyer square in the face, he said: "Gentlemen as far as I am concerned you may as well discontinue this farce; I know your game, and the reason you have for playing it."

The lawyer interrupted by asking the judge if the witness was going to make a speech or answer his question. "O, let him talk" said the judge. "I like to hear him." Then to Jack "Go on."

"Well as post says' there is a reason' and the reason is not found in yourself, but rather in the influences in which you are surrounded. You are a product of your environment just as much as a maggot is of rotten meat. You are elected by the tax payers of this town, many of whom are retired farmers. In order to be elected, you have to make certain promises, chief among which is the promise to reduce taxes; you know that you cannot do this while the prices of necessities constantly raise, due the declining value of gold which is your standard money commodity. The improved methods of mining continually lessen the labor necessary in its production, with the result that greater amounts of it must be exchanged for other products. As the cost of gold production goes down the price of all other commodities must go up. You are up against it, to reduce the money rate of taxes on a declining money value. Yet, of you do not reduce these taxes you do not stay in office. You must therefore resort to expedients.

"In other states you license saloon and use the money received from the sale of such license and the fines collected from the victims of drink to reduce the tax rate. I shall not dilate upon the moral issue involved, of licensing places that deprive men of their responsibility and then fine men for irresponsibility which they acquire in the places you have licensed. This state has outgrown that vice. It has not out grown politics. It has the thoro American characteristic of saying 'let George do it,' when it comes to paying taxes. We have abolished the saloon but retain the drugstore and the lively stable, the rooming and the road house. To these places you lead your victim thru the medium of your Lowbrows who are employed not for the purpose of up holding the law, but rather for the purpose of securing money with which to reduce taxes and so curry favor with the electorate. That in turn means re-election and re-election means continuous salary. It was said by a learned philosopher that the working men were tied to the machinery of industry by their heart strings. I might paraphrase that and say the sheriff's, constables, squires are tied to the machinery of politics by their

(Continued on page 4.)

The Toiler

ONE YEAR \$1.00 BUNDLE RATES \$1.00 Per Hundred SIX MONTHS 50c.

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EDITOR Elmer T. Allison
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CLEVELAND, O., WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 7th,

HOW TO START A REVOLUTION.

If, five years ago, the query "how to start a revolution", had been put to the average American, his inevitable answer would have been something like this: prohibit free speech and assembly. Arrest every one who voices disapproval of the present government, search his home without warrants, terrorize his wife and frighten his children. Raid the offices of every organized movement of the working people, take the files, gather up all literature found, throw the officers of the organization in jail, organize and countenance mobs which shall carry what is left into the street and set fire to it.

Deny mailing privileges to the papers of the poorer classes but give them freely to all others. Make the carrying of a membership card in a political party a crime and a labor union membership a felony. Set an army of sneaks and gum shoe operators on the trail of every man and woman who believes this is a free country. Prohibit all parades of workers, deny them the use of halls for meetings. Open the mail of all workers' organizations and keep it for as long as you want. Put spys in every labor union and instruct them to preach violence in order to trap the "radicals".

Elect fools and politicians to public office instead of men of social vision. Put the police power into the control of the local rich class and, use it always against the workers. Put judges on the bench whose idea of law is that it is for the rich and against the poor. When in doubt, hit the poor man and hit him hard.

Should the working-class get organized strong enough to elect their men to office, cook up charges against them and throw them out. If possible throw them into jail afterward.

If any of foreign birth should raise a voice of protest against conditions, throw them in jail for a few months, then ship them out of the country. If a foreign nation sets up a government that doesn't suit the American millionaires, draft a bunch of soldiers from the working class and send them out to war against them. Don't declare a war however, let it be a one man affair. Don't let the people have any thing to say about the policy of the government in foreign matters. And if they don't say what you want them to say about anything, jail them.

If the workers strike, get out an injunction against them, call out the soldiers and intimidate them, shoot up their towns and murder a few of their leaders, especially their women speakers. Don't let them meet to talk over their grievances. If they will do it get the soldiers to scab on the strikers. In all cases take full control of all big daily papers, the little weeklies will follow the lead. Print all the lies that can be coined about the workers, create public opinion favorable to the capitalists, deny the workers any possible opportunity to state their side. Use the entire forces at the command of the government, not to make conditions better for the poor but to keep them in submission to their exploiters.

This will start a revolution most anywhere— especially in the United States".

SOMETHIG TO REMEMBER.

If we need an example of the brutality of our American prison system the hanging of a prisoner at Chicago before an audience of 200 "picked" prisoners affords us a perfect example. Not only of the brutality of the prison system but also of those in charge of our penal institutions. If there is one institution which demands the highest type of officers in charge, it is the prisons. No other institution affords as complete an opportunity to study the varying types of mankind under one environment and to work out the principles of a solution to criminal acts as do they. Yet in charge of them are placed not students of psychology and humanity, but men of the type of Sherriff Peters, whose idea of teaching a moral lesson is on a par with the philosophy of punishment practiced in the ages of savagery—and before.

"It will give them something to remember", he stated in defense of his brutal plan to force the prisoners to view the hanging of a fellow prisoner. Sherriff Peters probably does not know (being merely a politician), that brutality always brutalizes never reforms. The theory that men must be punished for crimes committed, is both false and brutal. The true conception of crime is that it is a product of social conditons. Unsocal acts follow in the wake of unsocial environment. The purposes of prisons should be as places of safe keeping of the unsocial in order to protect the rest of society. They should also be schools for the teaching of right living, and right thinking. Instead, they are principally breeding places for more crime. Generally under the control of politicians whose sole purpose is graft and getting a living, who have no higher purpose than to get by with the job in the established order, little improvement has been accomplished in the prison system and little can be hoped for as long as the present ideas continue.

When the social conscience is awakened to the fact that society is responsible for the acts of its individuals, then and not until then will we have a penal system that will be a deterrent to crime. A society that is built upon the principle that the biggest hog gets the fattest living is a prolific basis for crime. As long as the present capitalist rule continues there can be no radical change. The system breeds crime as it breeds poverty and millionaires. The system is brutal, consequently its institutions are likewise.

Read This

Manifesto of the Communist International
ORDER NOW 10c
THE TOILER
3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, Ohio

SPARKS.

MEET AT CAMBRIDGE.
Comrades of Guernsey County will meet for a social time at Socialist Hall Byesville on Jan. 10th.

All comrades are cordially invited to be present for a good time is assured every one. Singing, music, games and a general social time including speaking will be enjoyed.

The many good wishes and holiday greetings received by the State Office from comrades testify to the revolutionary spirit that animates them. Surely these holiday greetings testify that 1920 will be one of the biggest years in our movement. The growth of the proletariat revolution over the world is a source of great inspiration to all class-conscious workers. That 1920 will prove to be one of great activity of Ohio comrades is the wish of the State Office force.

Five fifty for subscriptions from comrade Dan G. Berg of Bellaire, Mich., is a good New Years start. A copy of Lenin goes to him by return mail as a premium.

Comrade Geo H. Spitler of Canton is a literature booster. Orders for pamphlets from him lately attest to his work of educating those who need it.

Comrade Nate Rickey of Akron remits \$6.50 for sub cards and Debs photos. He states his approval of The Toiler and wishes all workers had the same privilege of reading it that he enjoys.

Five dollars for the Liberation fund and the same amount for sub cards is contained in a letter from comrade Chas. Boydelatour of Canton. Another booster is he.

A comrade writes—"I love The Toiler tho I cannot read English. A little Bolshevik girl reads it to me".

"Here I come again with two more subs," writes comrade Dishart of Canton. Just a proof of genuine sincerity in the work.

To read The Toiler regardless of cost is the sentiment expressed in a letter from comrade Mrs. Pearl Patterson of Shirley, Mass. We have to confess that a lot of people think the same.

"Whoever does not violate God's law, violates no law. Debs would be a free man today of justice existed, but when laws exist in violation of God's law, that law is corrupt and those who support it are also corrupt." Albert Hanni.

Back again is our old booster, F. W. Wack of Battle creek. This trip he brings three more subs.

A. E. Knisley remits \$5 for sub cards and gets Lenin for a premium.

A recent literature order consisting of 100 Mr. Blocks comes from comrade Mrs. A. Jones of Youngstown, O.

"I believe the Toiler is going to be a winner, I wish I could put it in the home of every worker in this County" thus writes comrade Ben Carpenter of Harrison, Mich. And he helps to do it by ordering \$5 worth of sub cards.

Comrade Metcalf of Youngstown is on the trail of subscribers there He gets them too, as a recent bunch of three proves.

Nick Weltlich is at it every week—getting subs we mean. Two yearlies this week proves it.

"To show you how easy it is to get subscribers. Took my paper to work with me to-day and read one article to the bunch. That was enough. I am sending three subscribers. Hoping to send more soon." H. H. Voelkmann, Columbus, O. You ought to take this evidence to heart and try it too.

Three yearlies from A. W. Wacker of Massillon indicates he is on the firing line.

Five yearly subs arrived this week from comrade Henry Sexaner, of Canton.

TROTZKY DEAD AGAIN
COPENHAGEN, Jan. 1.—Esthonian papers affirm the rumor of a injury in the red army and that Trotsky has been hanged by marines at he station at Volosov.

1,500,000 GERMANS SLAIN
BERLIN, Dec. 30.—Official statistics made public today place the number of Germans killed in battle at 1,500,000. These figures do not include those who died in prison camps.

ONE MINER'S VIEW.

Mulberry, Kans. 12/22/19

Editor Toiler.

That was hot stuff you published about the strike. You sure hit the bulls eye every shot. We lost that strike good and hard and our own rotten, weak kneed, hypocrital officials were the only cause. I don't blame a thing on the government or on Gov. Allen, or any of the others involved in that struggle. It was our own so called LEADERS who lost the Miner's strike.

The rank and file was standing like a cement wall, I know what I am talking about for I was doing organization work among the strikers all during the strike and the chief blame rest on (LEWIS AND GREEN). We never asked them to go to Washington and swap us body and soul for a little respectability and that is just what I believe they did. I don't think they had guts enough to get any money out of the deal, while I for one, would think more of them if they had sold me straight out and got the money and then quit the job.

I remain yours truly,
a coal digger.

A NEW AMERICAN COMMANDMENT

I am writing to call your attention to a magazine called "Now" sent out by Andrews & Co. of New York City.

On giving it the once over I discovered it was a propaganda sheet for the Kolchaks and Denikines of America. It contains a frantic effort of satire to annihilate what is left of decency in the world, the one hope of civilization. Pleading desperately for the continuation of a system where one human can say to another "You work and earn bread and I'll eat it." Where the inhumanity of man to man makes countless thousands mourn."

The 1st 6 pages are given to a description by Karl K. Kitchen, of the type of civilization, which is a by-product of the capitalist system. When the radicals succeed in grafting some brains on to the heads of some of the workers such ulcers on the body politic will cease to exist. On page 10 of the Nov. issue 1919 Myron T. Herrick, ex-governor of Ohio gives out what he calls the New American commandment. He is blissfully ignorant of the fact that this is the very commandment that will be put into action by the people he is opposing.

"No one class shall selfishly rule" who denies the workers, who produce all wealth, the right to live? What class is committing the atrocities against the oppressed? Who oppresses the oppressed? What class is making it illegal to strike?

Abraham Lincoln said: "This country belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they grow weary of their government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to overthrow it". Was not this revolutionary right exercised in the Dred Scott Case? The court that decided the Dred Scott case, by no means had a corner on the didos that add to the gayety of Nations and make the angels weep. Witness the espionage act, criminal syndicalism law, laws making it illegal to strike etc. etc. all of which will speedly clarify the thoughts of the workers as to which class is ruling and how, will do more to speed up the revolution than all the Bolshevik propaganda could ever do. Their actions simply verify this propaganda. Just as the removal of the street cars of Toledo proves that if the public does not want to be left at the mercy of greedy corporations it must own its own public utilities.

The ruling class of America may call the Bolshevik all kinds of names, its easy to call a man a fool, but it rests with the man to verify his statement or by his actions prove you a liar. All the laws and all the lies the present ruling class can pass and tell will get them about as for in preventing the on coming revolution (or day of reckoning), as a celluloid dog chasing an asbestos cat through—ell. Its too late, the machine is displacing enough hand workers to insure us on ever increasing army of the unemployed. No work, no pay, no pay, no eat, no eat—reconstruction for the whole of society—in which no one class shall selfishly rule but all those who justify existence by some honest effort.

This same magazine contains on age 12 The Truth about Russia, by Lawrence Poushine, evidently one of the Russian oppressors, who would

FLINGS AND STINGS BY SKYGAC

rather beg in America than spend a few hours a day in Russia earning his own bread. He whines because the world do move. Here the coal miners went on strike in the winter time, when the people needed coal instead of waiting as usual until the springtime and people can get along without coal. Another result of bolshevik influence or I. W. Wism!

One motion made and carried in a union hall backed by the necessary power to make it stick beats a day's debate in Congress any old time.

The bourgeoisie tell us that the proletariat has more brawn than brains, but in a struggle where might makes right, that may not be a handicap.

When society gets sick revolutions crop out just as boils and pimples show up in a person with bad blood. So why blame the agitator?

We used to hear a lot about the professional strike-breaker, but so great is the industrial unrest today that the strike breaker is lost in the shuffle.

Besides they're using the army for that now. The army's most popular song nowadays is, "Larry's on the coal pile now."

Next time you hear one of those idealistic wheezes emanating from the vicinity of Washington just remember that all the Russian prisoners in Germany that would go to the counter-revolutionary army in Russia were sent there but all who came from Soviet Russia were kept in Germany AND ARE THERE YET, clad in rags and half starved, KEPT THERE BY ORDER OF THE AL-LIES of which Uncle Sammy is one.

Government by injunction worked very well as long as it was an employer getting the injunction, but when for the first time in our history the government itself got an injunction, somehow or other the injunction failed to injunct!

The coal miners seem to have what might be termed individual solidarity. If they would only stick together and bunch up, one machine gun regiment could intimidate the bunch, but when they have five hundred thousand separate and individual strikers each carrying on his own individual strike—gee its some job to roun 'em all up—besides where would they put them if they could find them? The executive committee for the dominant class is up against a condition and not a theory.

Now that the puky press all over the country has had a chance to spew

Bolshevism in Russia is the revenge of the oppressed classes for CENTRIES OF PERSECUTION". Threatens to make it a sorry day for the Bolsheviks when the real Russians (the oppressors) by the aid of the American Working man, get in control again. Of course the Bolsheviks have classified such "real Russians" as he is, with the bed bugs, sheep ticks lice and other parasites who get their living by virtue of their position on your back. Imagine criminals dressed up in clean linen, with Morris chair proivities asked to earn their own bread!

Terrible is the sight of ignorance in action, says the poet Goethe, and according to Lincoln Colcord, that is the story of present civilization, of autocratic industry, plutocratic government, business for the sake of profit and authority for the sake of power.

An American farmer.

its venom about the I. W. W. firing on the armistice day parade in a western city we do not expect them to have the decency to print the TRUTH about the matter, to-wit;—that the paraders went out of their way and ATTACKED the hall, even breaking the door, and the shots were fired in defense of property, and that the coroners jury knowing this truth failed to name the guilty parties. We do not expect the capitalist press to have the decency to tell the truth about this matter—because all who know the plute press, do not expect it to ever show any signs of decency. Let it be known for what it is—the lickspittle prostitute of the dominant class.

The dominant class thinks they can use the American Legion for a cats-paw but it had better look out for a wallop from that same paw once the A. L. gets hip.

Unless the persons responsible for law enforcement make the various criminal sindicalist laws retro-active and chase down the law violator who in the name of 100% Americanism and patriotism does violence and commits murder the reds will be justified in looking upon those laws as so many bulwarks of the dominant class. It is not the red that is teaching a disrespect for law—it is the courts and those responsible for law enforcement, winking at acts of violence perpetuated against the reds.

Up in the state of Michigan a millionaire by the name of Newberry made a senatorial campaign on 100 per cent. Americanism vs Pacifism. The grand jury (federal) just brought in an indictment for him and 182 others charging them with fraudulent use of money in the campaign. Thus gradually we get to learn what they mean by 100 per cent. Americanism!

FOREIGN NEWS.

NEW YORK.—A curious side-light is thrown upon the great printers' strike in Paris last month by French newspapers arriving in this country. Instead of dozens of journals of the most diverse kind, usually received as exchanges by American papers, only two sheets are reaching this city for each day of the strike.

The first of these is called "La Feuille Commune." It is "published with the authorization of the strike committee," and is jointly edited by the staffs of the following papers, most of them working class organs: La Bataille, Bonsoir, La France Libre, Le Journal du Peuple, L'Heure, L'Humanite, L'Oeuvre, Le Pays, and Le Populaire. This paper consists of but one sheet, the first page of which is taken up with general news and with a daily bulletin from the strike committee. On the second page the editors of the various publications joining in the enterprise are allotted a certain amount of space (usually one column) for editorial utterances.

Running in competition with this sheet is a "scab" paper, bearing the title "La Presse de Paris." It is the joint undertaking of fifty-seven papers opposed to the demands of the workers. Among them one finds the names of the New York "Herald" (Paris edition) and of the London "Daily Mail."

Four pages of reading matter are furnished daily. Pages one and four are taken up with news and stock reports, while pages two and three are entitled, "Tribune libre" ("Open forum"), and carry editorials by the various papers supporting the enterprise. The editors assert that they might have published each their own paper despite the strike, but that they took this means of "showing their complete solidarity."

BAKER DEFENSE MEETING

Speaker CHAS. BAKER

National Organizer Communist Labor Party

Sunday Jan. 11th 2:30 P.M.
50 So. Howard St. Akron O.

Admission Free

SAVAGERY OF PRISON OFFICIALS REBUKED AT HANGING.

Supposing you witnessed a hanging, what would you think then and afterward? Doubtless your thots would be grewsome enough. But suppose you were a life prisoner and a hanging was staged for your special benefit—"to teach you a lesson". We wonder if under those conditions, feeling yourself a helpless victim of those in authority, your thots would not bound past the grewsomeness of the scaffold and the blackcap and by the force of reaction develop an inclination toward the comic. This seems to have been the course pursued in the minds of 200 long-time prisoners at Chicago recently. The barbarity practiced upon these prisoners by compelling them to become unwilling spectators to a hanging was justly rebuked and the theories of the officials of the moral effect of the scene upon the prisoners were derided in a sufficient if surprising mannr.

Oppose Execution Before Prisoners.

CHICAGO, Jan. 1.—Announcement by jail officials that 200 prisoners would witness the hanging tomorrow morning of Raffalo Durrage, double murderer, as on object lesson, has brought forth many protests.

Mis Jane Addams of Hull House says: "The notion that such an exhibition will afford a deterrent to crime is an old and savage punishment and is a survival of the times when the heads of criminals were exhibited on London bridge. It is taking a step backward to the dark times when it was difficult to distinguish punishment itself from tribal vengeance."

Mis Mary McDowell of the University of Chicago settlements says: "It would have a very immoral effect on any criminal's mind and is wholly unnecessary. I wish to voice a strenuous objection, and Mrs. Gertrude Howe Britton of Hull House feels the same way about it as I do."

Harry C. Laubenheimer, first deputy sheriff, thinks differently. His opinion is:

"I know from experience that any one who has witnessed a hanging will never kill deliberately."

"It is the greatest lesson that can be given a criminal! The prisoners will be kept in cells, but will be placed in sympathy on murdered and criminals who can witness the execution. I'll guarantee every one of them will be sick of crime after they see Durrage hang."

Dr. J. A. Todd, professor and head of the University of Minnesota, was very outspoken in denouncing the plan. Frank Wilson Blackmar, member of numerous prison assotations, also protested.

Sheriff Defends 'Lesson' Hanging

CHICAGO, Jan. 3.—An experiment in psychology was tried out this morning at the county jail, in the grizzly dim hour of dawn, when 200 prisoners were forced to witness the hanging of Raffalo Durrage, convicted murderer. Hardened criminals—selected from among other murderers and felons

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

*guts. For salaries mean bread and bread is the staff of life."

The judge turned uneasy in his chair, the lawyer grinned, one or two of the officers laughed. It was a well known fact that the blind pig was located in the office of 'hizzoners' livery stable.

Jack went on, "You do not hate us; your relation to us is like that of the wolf to the sheep; it is not an attitude of malice but of relish. You arrest us, not as erring souls who need correction, but, rather as well feathered ducks that need plucking. It would be a disappointment to you if we were broke and now in conclusion let me say, that I for one do not know my fellow prisoners. I had nothing to do with the drinking and was forced into the fight. I do not say this in an endeavor to modify the sentence of this court; you do not serve the cause of justice, but the financial interests of your constituency. Your constituency is shocked at your methods. It wounds their sense of morality but they will not put you out of office tho you rob us of our last cent and turn us out to freeze to death along the railroad track, as long as you succeed in keeping down the budget. Our plight touches their pity; the taxes their pocketbook and they will react to the most sensitive spot. You are up against it judge, I pity you some but of course I pity my pocketbook more."

At this all, including the prisoners, laughed.

"What shall we do with him?" asked the judge.

"The prosecution has no recommendations."

"Well," said the judge, "we'll just fine you fifteen for disorderly conduct and ten dollars for contempt of court, and give you thirty days to think it over—officer remove the prisoner."

(Continued next week)

whose expiation is not yet the gallows—were placed in cells, tier on tier of which surrounded the space in which the scaffold had been erected.

Sheriff Charles W. Peters, later issued a statement answering critics who opposed his action. The statement read as follows:

"In my opinion the modern codding of criminals by well meaning but misguided, symapthetic, theoretical reformers and self-constituted organizations, is one of the greatest causes of the present crime wave in this city. Their interference with the vigorous enforcement of the law has destroyed the fear of punishment by criminals to the extent that it is no longer a detriment to the further commission of crime to be incarcerated in our penal institutions. A large number of prisoners openly acknowledge that they would prefer to be incarcerated in the county jail, where they are better fed and where sanitary conditions are far better than in their ordinary environments.

"The reformers are constantly advocating the adoption and enactment of laws which are for the purpose of alleviating the punishment of the criminal, forgetting and losing entire sight of the protection that the law abiding and peaceable citizen is entitled to as against these human parasites.

"If one-half the energy now spent in sympathy on murdered and criminals would be devoted to the families of the victims and the other half to bringing to justice the brutes who have blotted out the lives of law abiding and peaceful citizens and darkened forever the lives of others, this would be a happier and safer world to live in."

When the noose was slipped over the murderer's head, from one of the higher tiers came a strident shout: "When do we eat?"

Tier by tier, cell by cell the cry was taken up. It became a roar above which the warden's voice could not be heard.

COSSAK RULE IN STEEL CENTERS

(Continued from page 1)

ness, who declared that at a meeting addressed by Hodge he had urged the men to use their heads. Hodge has been threatened before by the troopers and ordered to leave town. The American Legion in a resolution denounces Hodge as an undesirable citizen and recommends that he be turned out of town. They point to his record as a conscious objector in the war.

In Braddock, the location of the Edgar Thompson Works of the U. S. Steel Corporation, state troopers charged the funeral of a dead striker and dispersed about 400 men who had formed into a procession. The funeral cortege was leaving the S. S. Peter and Paul Greek Catholic Church when the troopers charged down Braddock Ave., swept their horses into the crowd, hurling the men right and left and causing them to flee for their lives. Since the first attempt was made, scarcely a year ago, to organize the steel workers, no meeting or demonstration of any kind has ever been permitted in Braddock or in any of the surrounding towns. The same obtains in Duquesne where, James S. Crawford is burgess, Chief police magistrate, a director of the Carnegie Steel Works and president of the local bank. Crawford is dubbed the "Duke of Duquesne" by the strikers.

With the exception of the two cities, Pittsburgh and Homestead, no meetings are being allowed in Allegheny County. In Homestead occasional meetings are being held and only where a triple permit is first obtained from the local authorities, the sheriff of Allegheny County and the officer in charge of the state troopers. In the city of Pittsburg all meetings have been stopped except those at the Labor Temple, which is owned by the local trade unions and so far has been exempt.

"May the New Year see all the political prisoners free and the Party split welded with true bands of Communism which cannot be severed," writes Fred White of Martins Ferry. He sends two subs too.

A Year of Revolution.

"With Germany crushed and autocracy enthroned, with the strong hand of power at the throat of liberty, the battle opens which is to make men free." In these words *The Nation*, on May 17 last, greeted the Treaty of Versailles, whose promulgation marked the culminating effort of the financial and political imperialism that has ruled the world for half a century. Today, far earlier than we had anticipated, the Treaty of Versailles is all but repudiated and the peoples of the world are taking uncertain steps toward freedom. There is no need to rehearse the events of the past twelve months. We have known the failure of the attempt made at Paris to prop the old order; the breakdown of the old economic and financial organization; the progressive collapse of political authority; the astonishing spread among all class of ideas only yesterday deemed utterly subversive; the many unprecedented outbreaks of economic and social unrest that have shaken every country in the world, from the United States and Great Britain to far-away China, India, and Australia; and, perhaps most striking of all, a steady progress of the armies of Soviet Russia and the strengthening and solidification of the communist organization of that country. Men cry Lo, here! and Lo, there! but the discerning perceive the truth; we live today in the midst of a revolution—a revolution of ideas and institutions and modes of life. Violence and bloodshed attend it from time to time as they have attended most of the revolutions of the past, but they are not of its essence nor of its making. If they come they may rather be the creation, as indeed we have already seen, of those who resist the revolution than of those who urge it on. God is not mocked; whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.

A year ago, Italian peasants were burning candles before the picture of President Wilson; today, some millions of men and women the world over, starving, freezing, dying, are grimly denouncing the statesmen who sacrificed honesty and kindness and simple humanity on the altar of outworn political ideas. A year ago, all save a small fraction of the people, in this country at least, appeared to believe that the shattered economic structure was capable of repair without another building; today, large numbers of the working classes, whether they work principally with the head or mainly with the hands, are questioning the whole foundation even though they topple down the entire structure in the process. A year ago, lulled by the honeyed promises of the war period, most men still believed that the new order might be builded in peace; today, disappointed by twelve months' experience of government promises unfulfilled, many of the same men declare, mistakenly we hope, that this revolution, like its predecessors, cannot escape the baptism of blood. On the one side the past year has brought hunger and misery and violent repression of all complaint; on the other, a mad profiting, ostentatious luxury, and riotous excess of power. That in such soil revolutions grow, history shows.

The revolution which we are witnessing is not merely negative and destructive, however. Certain positive concepts and modes of action begin to occur with amazing frequency. Losing faith in leaders, men gain faith in themselves; and we witness, the world over, spontaneous mass action creating its own leaders. Losing

SOVIETS SWEEP ON TO VICTORY

(Continued from 1st page.)

all time all the sovereign rights which belonged to Russia with respect to Esthonia's land and people in accordance with former state orders, as well as those rights given under international treaties. "Esthonian land and people shall have no obligations whatever with respect to Russia because of the former connections of Esthonia with Russia."

LONDON, Jan. 1.—The capture of Yekaterinoslav on the southern Russian front and Novomoskovsk, fifteen miles northeast of Yekaterinoslav, is announced in a Bolshevik official statement issued today.

The reds also are fighting fiercely for possession of Tcherwassy, on the Dnieper, ninety-five miles southeast of Kiev. They have occupied Mariinsk, east of Tomsk, on the Siberian front, the statement adds.

Bolsheviks Seek Pact With Italy.

LONDON, Jan. 2.—M. Tchitcherin, posed to Italy a resumption or relations between that country and Soviet Bolshevik foreign minister, has pro-

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the usurping of Social Revolutionary troops Dec. 24, during which they captured the railway station but were unable to take the city from the Kolchak forces. Order is being preserved by the Cecho-Slovak troops.

Several of the cabinet ministers have been arrested. The revolutionary forces are in virtual control of the railroad from Irkutsk westward to Krasnoyarsk, but no serious outbreaks have been reported. Admiral Kolchak is said to be at Achinsk, 220 miles east of Tomsk.

LONDON, Jan. 1.—The capture of Yekaterinoslav on the southern Russian front and Novomoskovsk, fifteen miles northeast of Yekaterinoslav, is announced in a Bolshevik official statement issued today.

The reds also are fighting fiercely for possession of Tcherwassy, on the Dnieper, ninety-five miles southeast of Kiev. They have occupied Mariinsk, east of Tomsk, on the Siberian front, the statement adds.

Bolsheviks Seek Pact With Italy.

LONDON, Jan. 2.—M. Tchitcherin, posed to Italy a resumption or relations between that country and Soviet Bolshevik foreign minister, has pro-

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faith in the political side of government, men recognize their own power as parts of an economic government; by direct action through their trade unions and other voluntary organizations they are here and there taking over the power which the nerveless hands of politicians have dropped. Losing faith in the essential justice and honesty of the present economic system as they see that system applied, they are already in process of creating a new one. Witness the growth of co-operation, with all its revolutionary implications; the relentless pressure of labor for actual, not nominal, control of natural resources and the tools of production; and the growing demand for the nationalization of fundamental resources and the democratization of basic industries. All of these are phenomena never before so marked as in the year just closing. It is needless to do more than recall the land legislation of a half dozen European countries, the coal, railway, and general industrial situation in Great Britain, or the plans and programs of the Plumb Plan League, the Nonpartisan League, the Labor party, and the Committee of Forty-Eight in the United States. Such is the structure which the revolution is already building. The aim is service rather than profits; production rather than exploitation; administration rather than dominion; liberty rather than mastership. With an assurance of power at once alarming and inspiring the hosts are beginning to march forward meeting misrepresentation, persecution, and violence with unwonted quiet and patience and with a significant absence of bluster, yet with a profound seriousness and determination that bode ill for those who do not try to understand what all this movement means.

It would be idle to deny that the greatest of all incentives to this revolutionary movement has been the example of Russia. For new revolutionary movement has been the example of Russia. For good or for ill there have appeared in Russia the outlines of a huge social experiment whose shadows stretch in long uncertain lines over the whole of Europe and across the Atlantic to the American continent. The fact that government is breaking down everywhere, that the Allies and Americans in Paris have been unable to control the destinies of the world or settle such comparatively minor problems as Fiume and the future of Hungary, that in nearly every country there is unrest and unhappiness, has impelled men to look to Moscow to see whether there is anything in the strange new devices of government put into effect by the Communists which may with advantage be adopted elsewhere. It is anathema even to suggest this in America today, for the mists of falsehood that have surrounded the Russian situation are only gradually beginning to disappear. Yet the fact remains. The Russian experiment is still frankly an experiment. Its crudities and excesses and the violences which have accompanied it still bulk most largely in the prints. It is not yet clear what will be the residuum of good. But if out of it there comes something that is worth while in the way of new ideas in selfgovernment and self-determination, the whole world will profit. So deep is the world's distress that men turn eagerly in any direction in which there seems to lie hope, and they will continue to do so in the coming year as eagerly as they have done in the year of world-wide revolution which is just ending.

—The Nation.

Soviet Envoy on Imperialism.

Litvinoff Explains Russian Policy on Peace, Land and Labor.

By H. W. Nevins.

COPENHAGEN.—"The Russian Government has absolutely no imperialist design," said M. Litvinoff. "It aims neither at Constantinople nor any other extension of frontier. Peoples, he continued, "should make their own boundaries," (apparently by the decision of the majorities.) "The Soviet ideal is a federation of peoples attached to Russia by position and economic relations."

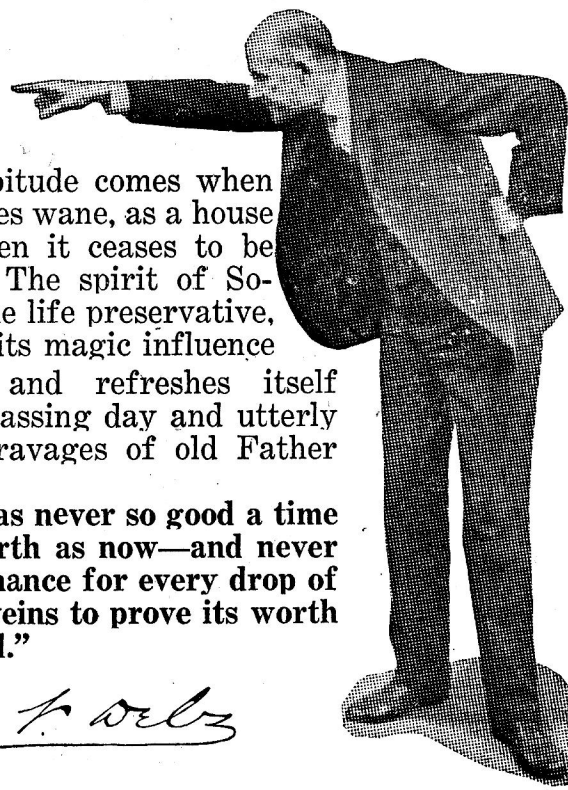
"No military pressure should be brought, for instance, against Georgians or Lets or Ukrainians if they chose to stand aside (he admitted the special difficulty of the Ukraine owing to its rapid changes of social order and government.) Secession would be allowed to all, in the hope that a natural economic alliance would bring all together in time.

"Russia has no concern with Constantinople, and hopes the Turks will be left free within their own boundaries. Even Siberia can separate, if it chooses the national or bourgeois condition rather than the Soviet, as Poland at present does. When the Letts reconquered the Baltic provinces from the Germans, Moscow once acknowledged their independence and so it has done throughout...

"As you know all work is nationalized so far as at present possible, and wages are fixed by scale according to occupation. 'Intellectuals' who have not run away are working at their special profession under the State. But I think, lawyers at least must have a poor time, for the old law has lapsed, and there cannot be many legal disputes about property where nearly all property is nationalized. In criminal cases the State provides a counsel for defence.

"Land is allowed to those who work it, but the produce remains private property, though it must be sold to the State. Under this head there seems to be a good deal of illegal profiteering. And, indeed, the lust of thrift among all peasants in every country is one of the main difficulties in every social reform. The Government is working Communal estates as an example to the peasants of how things might be done and gradually, I think, the peasants are coming round.

DEBS SAYS TO YOU



"Decrepitude comes when the life forces wane, as a house decays when it ceases to be inhabited. The spirit of Socialism is the life preservative, and, under its magic influence life renews and refreshes itself with each passing day and utterly defies the ravages of old Father Time.

"There was never so good a time to be on earth as now—and never so good a chance for every drop of red in our veins to prove its worth to the world."

Equus A. Debs