

# THE TOLLER

PAPER SCARCITY

Scarcity of print paper compels us to issue a six column paper this week. We hope to revert to our usual 7 column size next week.

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## Our Washington News Letter

BY PAUL HANNA.

WASHINGTON— Do wage-earners benefit from a big export trade? What becomes of the fruits of industry above what wages will buy back? These and other pertinent questions fill the minds of honest economists as they view the industrial and financial wreckage caused by war.

At present every day's news is filled with facts which contradict the old "laws of sound business." At Washington nobody can be found who any longer attempts to explain the contradictions. There is only bewilderment, and hope that the world may somehow muddle through its welter of high prices, debt, taxation, falling exchange and worthless paper money.

Before looking abroad there is a condition at home worth mentioning. For a year past business men and politicians have been telling the working man that he must produce more. Figures were used to show that the demand for shorter hours could not be granted without slowing up production and further increasing prices on account of the shorter supply of commodities. All polite people grasped at that doctrine as an easy explanation of the high prices mystery.

Within the past fortnight, however, the drop in foreign exchange has brought an implied denial of the above argument. Hopeful leaders, from cabinet members down, are saying that prices will soon come down because vast stores of food, clothing and the like, which Europe can no longer buy, will be dumped on the home market at almost any hour.

This is taken as a confession that Americans have been paying terribly high prices because the export gambler was taking food out of their mouths and clothing off the backs and holding those necessities in storage to sell abroad for more than the people at home could pay. It indicates that with all the shortening of working hours in America, our farms and factories have still turned out a vast surplus for speculators to hold for sale to Europe.

And hopeful politicians declare high prices will end as soon as the American people are allowed to have a bigger share of their own excess products!

Crossing to France, we hear Minister of Commerce Isaac saying: "The only way to re-establish our credit is to increase our export trade. We must not allow the foreign market to be taken by others. Manufacturers must reserve a large part of their output for export."

But to that good old gospel — so familiar to Americans — another conservative French faction replies: "If we export more we will be shorter of supplies at home. We cannot be saved unless we produce more for ourselves and stop exporting so much."

Arguments, like the above are going on all over Europe. And the wage earners, it is reported, are learning from it all that goods shipped abroad are goods which labor has produced but is not permitted to consume. In "normal" times this process works smoothly enough; the workers being contented with their "living wage" and not caring what becomes of the surplus. But the workers of Europe have emerged from the war with a new interest in their work and what it is for.

Last summer the American railwaymen postponed their wage demands when the president gave a solemn promise that the government would leave nothing undone to bring down the cost of living. If they have been exerted, all the powers of the government have proved useless at that task. The masses know now that political promises do not lower the cost of living. The old arguments are all shattered by the facts.

## Another Week to Organize Your Study Class

For the purpose of allowing our readers more time in which to organize classes to take up the study of "Proletarian Science, An Economic Interpretation of History," by W. E. Reynolds, which will appear serially in The Toller, we have put off printing the first chapter until the next issue.

This gives you another week in which to complete your arrangements for taking up this interesting and instructive course in Proletarian Science.

Complete your arrangements this week. Be prepared to follow this entire course from the first chapter which will appear in our next week's issue.



The Snake in the Grass

## A Challenge He Won't Accept

LONDON — George Lansbury, editor of The London Herald, now in Moscow, last week wireless a challenge to Premier Lloyd George, to come to Moscow and join in his conference with Lenin.

"You are making the mistake of your life in your estimate of the soviet leaders," Lansbury told the premier.

"I beg of you to come here to Moscow and join in conference with Lenin. I am sure your eyes would be opened as soon as you crossed the frontier. The soviet leaders are first rate, clear headed, honest, and humane. It is to the interest of England and to the world to make peace with them without delay."

The London Herald contains Lansbury's challenge to Lloyd George and also gives an account of an interview Lansbury has had with Secretary Malenichansky, of the Federation of Russian Trade Unions, with the soviet government.

"The Russian trade unions," said the secretary, "are an integral part of the soviet organization. Their form, in effect is that of one big union with many sections very similar to the British conception of industrial unions."

"Their chief function has been to organize the supply and distribution of labor and to control work shop organization. Their formation of industrial armies is in no sense militaristic. They are result of the desire of the rank and file themselves who cheerfully have realized that such an organization is the only way under conditions that have obtained to restore Russia economically."

Lansbury added with emphasis that the Bolsheviks have nothing whatever to hide. They understand their mistakes and openly acknowledge their failures, he said "they know that their friends will understand the obstacles they had to overcome. The diseases, starvation, and sufferings that have been endured, have been on an unequal scale but with it all the spirit of the people remains unbroken."

## QUERY OF "WHERE IS JOHN REED" ANSWERED

Shipped to Norway, Then Turned Stowaway.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 22.— John Reed friend of Lenin and Trotsky, who is under indictment in Chicago for alleged conspiracy to overthrow the United States government arrived in soviet Russia by way of Finland last December, it is learned. Since his indictment last month federal and Illinois state agents have been searching for Reed all over the United States. On being told of Reed's presence in Russia — it is not known yet whether he has left there—the state department was interested to learn the channel through which he obtained a passport. The department is informed that he shipped as a sailor from an American port to Norway. From there he traveled on foot to Stockholm. There he stowed himself away, or was stowed away, on a vessel about to sail for Helsingfors.

### Narrowly Escapes Arrest.

Reed narrowly escaped arrest in Helsingfors, but, by disguising himself as a Russian peasant, he crossed the frontier into Russia. He was received in Moscow as the official envoy of the American Communist Labor party. As such he attended the meetings of the third internationale and made a speech at the all-Russian soviet convention in the middle of December.

In Moscow Reed lived at the Kremlin as the guest of the people's commissaires.

He was in constant communication with Lenin and Trotsky it is stated, and visited the Red army at the front. Reed was in Moscow until the middle of January. Of that the state department is quite certain. His reception in Russia was the warmer because two years ago Trotsky appointed him bolshevist consul general at New York.

Mr. Reed never assumed that office, for, as it turned out, the appointment was made to facilitate his return to the United States.

## AGAINST RUSSIAN BLOCKADE

An Appeal of the Checho-Slovak Social Democratic Women to the Women of All Nations.

Prague, December 24th.

Women! The Russian Soviet Republic is oppressed with hunger and distress. Exhausted by the world war, distracted with inner conflicts, cut off by the rigid Entente blockade, the millions in Russia are suffering misery and horror. Mothers become insane when they look at their half-dead children; men in the desperate effort of saving their children find themselves tempted to commit crimes — and the children, struck by the blighting frost, die like a young, tender crop.

The blockade, the wilful starvation of Russia, which is a terrible crime equal to that of war in its effects, is being perpetrated against millions of innocent men, women and children, a race with a high cultural mission, a people that has presented to us the most magnificent literature in the world, the greatest thinkers, the most self-sacrificing heroes of progress. Women! Call upon the conscience of your Governments, of your representatives in Parliament, of your labor leaders, demand the lifting of the blockade against Russia! Raise your voices for the protection of weeping mothers, dying children, men in despair. Protest against the blockade in the name of humanity!

You American, English, French and Danish women, should demand the opening of the boundaries and the sending of foodstuffs to Russia, which will also be done by the women of the Slavic nations, who have lived through the blockade of the world war and who know all its terrors. Citizens! Women! Show that you can unite a love and understanding of human misery with an abhorrence for violence, and devote your powers to the struggle for peace between nations, for the humanizing of civilization and for the lifting of the blockade. Russia is the advance-guard of Socialism, the bearer of the ideas and aims which we honor, and for that reason Russia must not starve! Demand the opening of the boundaries of our European states, for free trade with Russia! We must help the hungry; and we must also secure them peace, labor, and bread!

Committee of the Checho-Slovak Social-Democratic Women of Prague, Soviet Russia.

## Reds Better Americans than Prosecutors, Says Jane Addams

Jailed Agitators More True to Flag Than Men Who Raid Them.

Miss Jane Addams of Hull House, speaking yesterday afternoon in Recital Hall at the Auditorium Theater, (Chicago, Feb. 22) brandad the activities of the federal government in the suppression and deportation of foreign-born radicals as a form of intolerance. She called the reds in jail and under suspicion more American in their basic ideas and thought than the agents of the government which is sending them to banishment.

These Socialists, Communists, members of the I. W. W., or whatever they may be, she said, are being persecuted for no other reason than that they represent the voice of the majority of the people and the constitutional right of free speech, free thought and free press.

### Suffrage Leaders Speak.

Miss Addams, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Grace Abbott and other suffrage leaders spoke to more than 300 men and women as a part of the program of a school of political education being conducted during the convention of the National American Suffrage Association.

"This wholesale and so-called deportation of radical thinking and speaking peoples is very disconcerting to those working for the Americanization of alien-born citizens," said Miss Addams. "It is significant that since the so-called red raids began more than 1,500,000 aliens have applied for passports back to their native lands. They feel America no longer is a safe place to live."

### Trying to Deport Party.

"Hundreds of poor laboring men and women are being thrown into jails and police stations because of their political beliefs. In fact, an attempt is being made to deport an entire political party."

"These men and women, who in some respects are more American in ideals than the agents of the government who are tracking them down, are thrust into cells so crowded they cannot lie down. I know of one batch of radicals, thirty-two in all, who faced this situation in an American jail. They were huddled together like rats and treated as criminals because of their political opinions."

"And what is it these radicals

seek? It is the right of free speech and free thought; nothing more than is guaranteed to them under the Constitution of the United States, but repudiated because of the war.

### Dangerous Situation.

"It is a dangerous situation we face at the present time, with the rule of the few overcoming the voice of the many. It is doubly dangerous because we are trying to suppress something upon which our very country was founded—liberty."

"The government is proceeding on the theory that because these thinking aliens demand an end of class struggle and equal rights for all they are plotting to overthrow the United States. So it was said of suffrage years ago. Anything that is radically new to the established order of things is revolution in the eyes of many."

"But, I tell you, these radicals simply are struggling for equal rights; to down the spirit of intolerance which has crept into our government."

"They are proceeding as they are simply because in no other way can they gain attention."

### Speech a Safety Valve.

"The cure for the spirit of unrest in this country is conciliation and education—not hysteria. Free speech is the greatest safety valve of our United States. Let us give these people a chance to explain their beliefs and desires. Let us end this suppression and spirit of intolerance which is making of America another autocracy."

Carrie Chapman Catt was almost equally vehement in denunciation of what she termed the attempt of the federal government to curb free speech and free thought.

"If all the talk—even the pro-German talk—had been out in the open before and during the war, we would have had a chance to answer in the open and so clear away misunderstanding," said the suffrage leader. "As matters stand, there is danger we may lose what has been our proudest boast—our republican government."

### Rule of the Few Now.

"Because of the political corruption in the United States—corruption which began fifty years ago, and included the buying and selling of votes—we have come to a form of government that is not of a class or classes but a rule of the few."

## Bolshevik Policy in the East

Talk with Lenin's Chief Lieutenant.

I had a long conversation to-day with Radek, formerly the Russian Soviet "ambassador" here, upon the "Red menace to India." Radek, one of Lenin's chief lieutenants, is in regular communication with Moscow and entitled to speak with authority.

"Press engineered" was his comment on the Red menace agitation, yet he added that it contained a mixture of truth in its untruth. Radek's knowledge of world affairs is almost a legend in Russia, and he showed what a great measure of truth the legend possesses as he rapidly passed his finger over the map of Asia and in quick sentences described the local situations. The Eastern world is in a state of ferment, but Soviet Russia, he affirms, is not responsible for the unrest, which is due partly to historical reasons, partly to "Entente Imperialism," and partly to the effect of the world-war. Thus, throughout the Far East prices have risen proportionately higher than in Europe.

Radek, mentioning other causes of trouble, said that Semenov's Cossacks in Mongolia were assisting the Mandarins against the famishing population. There was a popular movement in Persia directed against foreign domination. Of late a peasant land movement has arisen in Anatolia, to which the Young Turks were compulsorily adapting themselves. The Middle East, he added, was disturbed by British Admiralty designs on the gulflands within the stretch indicated by Bagdad-IKhanikin-Baku.

"No Propoganda" Guarantees.

Radek admitted that emissaries from the whole East, Far, Middle, and Near, could be found in Moscow. It was natural enough, he said. The same phenomenon was observed at the time of the first Revolution, in 1905, which sent a similar wave across the Asiatic Continent. "Our attitude is simple," he declared. "We sympathize with these Eastern peoples, but we go no further. Soviet Russia has no Imperialist aim. Imperialism means either a desire for the subjection of other na-

tions by arms, or their exploitation in the interests of capitalism. Neither motive applies to Soviet Russia. Our aggressiveness is merely a newspaper invention. On the contrary, our one desire is for peace. Russia is ruined by lack of transport.

"But what of the invasion of India by propoganda?" I asked.

"The Russian Government conducts no such propoganda," answered Radek. "On the contrary, it is prepared to give to any country that established peaceful relations all conceivable guarantees. Of course, the march of ideas cannot be arrested, but we are ready to give guarantees that we shall use neither money nor agents, direct or indirect, for the conduct of propoganda in India or elsewhere in the British Empire. We have too great need for peace with England to haggle. We are under no illusions. British Imperialism is not merely a capitalist intrigue, but is rooted in the psychology of the masses. The British domination of India and Ireland is popular. If we desire the English masses to become Socialist we cannot do anything from outside. Salvation must come to the English proletarians and oppressed peoples of the Empire from

Continued on page 4th.

## Advance in subscription price

The subscription price of The Toller will be advanced to \$1.50 per year beginning April 1st.

We are compelled by the constantly rising prices of paper and general printing costs to make this advance.

A special opportunity will be given our readers until April 1st to renew their subscription at the old rate of \$1.00 a year. This opportunity is extended to all regardless of the time of expiration of their subscriptions. By order of the State Executive Committee.



# Skygac's Column

Now that the purchasing power of the dollar is only about 50% of normal, (in other words it takes a dollar now to buy what we used to buy for 40c) now in these days of underpaid school teachers, the term Little Red Schoolhouse, takes on other significance. The term now in many cases refers more to the heads of the inhabitants there of than the color of the pigment smeared upon the other surface.

In other words, poor pay, over-work and lack of consideration, has put a little red teacher in the little red schoolhouse, and that means a lot of little red scholars who will be better read by far than the old fashioned square-pegs-forced-in-round-holes, machine-made scholars. It was Ingersoll who described the capitalist-controlled school as "a place where pebbles are polished and diamonds are dimmed." The red teacher in the red school will rectify that mistake.

Six pretty little maidens have fore-sworn matrimony until their church is successful in raising a budget fund of a hundred thousand dollars. We don't wish the girls any hard luck, but knowing the evil the church has wrought through the ages, heres hoping these girls have to stay single all their life.

Our public men succeed in eradicating vice from the public eye, not in eradicating vice. They are now "eradicating" the reds the same way.

Let us all move to Gary (Ind.) In a series of articles by Emerson Hough in the Sat-Eve-Post, Hough makes this statement, "I passed most of my first day or so among the oppressed WHO COULD HARDLY MAKE MORE THAN TWENTY OR THIRTY DOLLARS A DAY, and who were ground under the heel of a military and industrial despotism."

Of course Mr. Hough is a thoroly reliable writer and the Post surely wouldn't deliberately allow an article to appear in its columns which it knew distorted the truth, so with the authority of both Mr Hough and the Post that wages are twenty to thirty dollars a day in Gary, let us all go.

Of course Mr. Hugh didn't SAY that wages were \$30.00 a day in Gary but there is what he did say. What inference could be drawn from it?

Mr. Hough also tells of the presence of the soldiers in Gary but he forgot to tell us whether the \$30.00 a month "oppressor" envied the \$30.00 a day "oppressed" or not. Possibly he will tell that in a future article.

Who called any body a liar?

Happiness is a by-product of proper conditions in industry.

Nothing doing is the result of doing nothing. Does this apply to our town?

Bolshevism means that before you can have pie you have got to raise the pumpkins.

Murmansk (the former base of the Allies) has fallen to the reds Petrograd still stands.

Wilson once advocated "pitiless publicity" but like a lot of other things he advocated, he has placed a reverse English upon it. He is particularly desirous of avoiding any pitiless publicity about his little agreement with England to allow her to buy the German Ships held by the U. S. at a price equal to approximately 30c on the dollar.

Upon convenants openly arrived at, is another phrase which fell easily from the lips of the great phrase-maker. Wilson's method of "openly arriving" is always behind closed doors.

There is a rumor current now that it was Lansing who was the great phrase-maker. Wilson only took the credit for it, asvs the rumor.

"The reds are better Americans than the ones who raid them," said Jane Addams, thus confirming my suspicious.

Tolstai is now going to "save the world from the menace of Bolshevism". Some Poies ARE thick-headed and slow to learn. But experience is a great teacher

They are selling Irish Liberty bonds now. Palmer will probably get after them next.

Lincoln the Great Emancipator would not trade horses while crossing a stream, but if he were alive today he would instantly and indignantly repudiate most of the guff-peddlers who in the name of Lincoln and Americanism used the power of his good name to put across a lot of master-class piffle on his birthday. Lincoln is too great a name to be smirched by linking it to the names of most present day politicians.

The Interchurch World movement thru paid advertisements in the daily press is asking people to "dedicate a first portion of your income to God thru your church" is using the name of Washington as a religious man of great faith. The truth of the matter is, that Washington was not an orthodox believer but like many of the earlier American Statesmen, was a free thinker and a friend of Thomas Paine.

The spread of science is causing the church to lose its ground, and the church needs the money—even if it has to lie a little to get it.

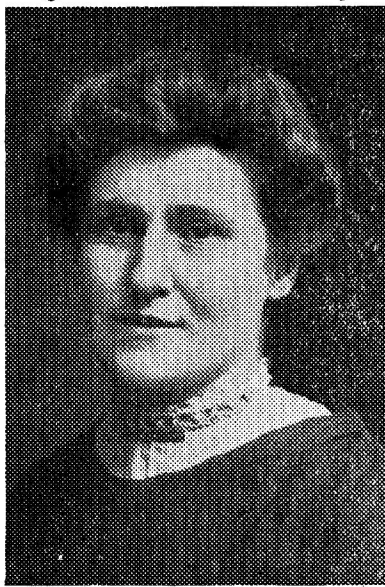
The Literary Indigestion advertizes that it "presents public opinion AS REFLECTED in the press of the country." That is about the ONLY public opinion it presents.

Representative Blanton of Texas characterizes the recent A. F. of L. pronouncement as "the greatest menace ever sounded. A Congress of serfs \*\* a National crisis \*\* threatening the institutions of the country." This Representative would probably drop dead if he should ever stumble upon a copy of Marx and Engels' Communist Manifesto!

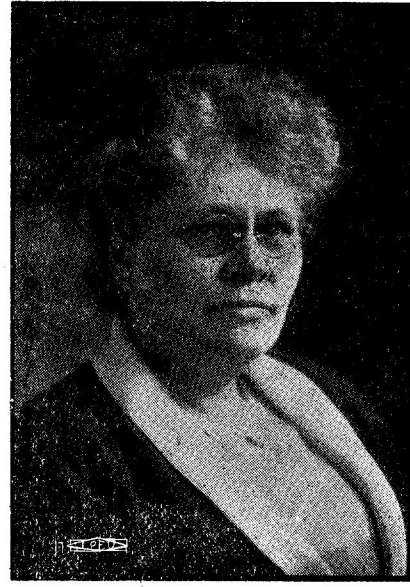
Workers of America! Now is the time when it strongly behooves you to know which side of your bread carries the Olemargarine.

# Two Comrades Who Need and Deserve Your Support

ONE HAS APPEALED FROM THE OTHER IS FIGHTING AN UNJUST AND OUTRAGEOUS COURT DECISION OF 15 MONTHS IN PRISON. EXTRADITION INTO MAW OF ILLINOIS CAPITALISM.



Lotta Burke



Marguerite Prevey

On Feb. 25th at Cincinnati Ohio, Lotta Burke with 12 other socialists and Communist Labor Party members were given sentences ranging from three months and \$100.00 fine to 15 months in county jail and U. S. penitentiaries. After two years of litigation the sentences were imposed by Judge Peck of the United States district Court. The charges were conspiracy to defeat the conscription act. The cases were immediately appealed and all defendants are out on bail of \$3,500 each.

At the hour this is written, comrade Marguerite Prevey, of Akron is confined in the Columbus Ohio jail, charged with violation of the capitalist made "criminal syndicalism" law of Illinois in that she helped organize the Communist Labor Party at Chicago, last August.

She is fighting extradition from Ohio. Altho the extradition papers were signed by Governor Cox, and her arrest was permitted in his office by an Illinois agent, Jos W. Sharts, her attorney, secured a hearing before Judge F. B. Kincaid of the Franklin County Common Pleas Court. At this hearing Judge Kincaid gave the decision that before comrade Prevey could be taken from Ohio, the state of Illinois would have to prove the Communist Labor Party was organized for the purpose of overthrowing the government by "violence and other unlawful means". The hearing will probably be had before this issue of The Toiler reaches its readers. In the mean time she is held a prisoner as Judge Kincaid doubts his authority to allow bail in this case.

Both these comrades are members of the State Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party in Ohio. Both have been long recognized for their loyalty to the workingclass and the principles of uncompromising revolutionary socialism. Both have sacrificed much for the workers, both have given unstintingly of all that they had for the Cause. Both have stood their ground when weaker comrades have felt the desire to get out from under persecution. They deserve all the support you can give them now.

No women comrades in the Ohio Movement are more universally respected than Lotta Burke and Marguerite Prevey. None have rendered more service to the workers of Ohio than have these two uncompromising fighters for Industrial Democracy. None deserve the support of all workers more than these two comrades.

If Marguerite Prevey is allowed to pass into the clutches of the capitalist class of Illinois and be persecuted under the most drastic and infamous of all the state syndicalism laws, we must carry her case thru the courts even to the highest one. She cannot fight this battle alone, you and all of us must help bear the cost.

Lotta Burke's case and that of all the 13 Cincinnati comrades who were convicted with her, must be carried to a court where evidence is at least respected as such. Funds must be subscribed to defray the costs. They will have to come from the workers. It is to the workers that we must appeal for help in staying the hand of persecution in these cases of our comrades. Send us what you can spare for this work. Help defend them. Address all funds to The Toiler 3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, Ohio.

# The Black Sheep.

Chapt. XX.

(This chapter was by mistake published in an earlier issue. We herewith publish it in its regular order so that there will be no break in the continuity of the story.—Ed.)

PHILOSOPHY.

"I know not whether laws be right.

Or whether laws be wrong.

All that I know who lie in jail Is that the wall is strong;

And that each day is like a year, A year whose days are long."

This in a declamatory voice at about five-thirty in the morning, from Rudolph's cell, awakened Jack and Collins from their slumbers. It also awakened the temper of the latter. Collins was not fond of esthetics when at his ease; and when irritated he shared none of the sentiments so dear to the average radical. Unless he happened to be exactly in the right mood, he had an absolute aversion for what he termed the aberrations of an effete culture. He often said that poetry and novels were written by men who had nothing better to do to be read by people who could do nothing better.

"Say, what in hell do you mean by spouting your whoresome poetry at this time of the night! Do you begrudge a fellow what little sleep he can get in this infernal hole? O, if I could get at yuh, I'd slou you in the mush," thundered the big man from off his bunk in the opposite cell.

"Oh, well!" retorted Rudolph, "you don't need to be so peevish about it. Its nearly broad daylight. Its time to get up! Then after a pause.

"If you were in this cell all along you too might want to give vent to some sort of expression."

"Why don't you do like the rats—gnaw the bars. It will keep your jaws busy and not disturb us." This said, the big man turned over and drew the ragged quilt about his shoulder and once more attempted to sleep. This proved to be impossible. Rudolph's eloquence had banished the fingers of Morpheus from his eyes. Jack too, was wide awake, and in contradistinction to his cell mate, not peevish. In fact he was rather interested in the subject matter of the poem. The days for him had been rather short; his companions keeping his mind busy with a recital of the wonderful phenomena in the social world.

He asked Rudolph from what poem this stanza was quoted and received the information that it was a part of the ballad of "Reading Gao!" by Oscar Wilde, who was as Rudolph avered, one of the lord's of language of the last century.

"Oscar is one of Rudie's heroes," sneered Collins who was still in bad spirits. "One of your temperamental artistic gents."

"Yes, that's right. Oscar Wilde is one of my literature heroes, but for all that I do not appreciate your intending that I would want him for a cell mate," protested Rudolph.

"Who was this Oscar Wilde?" asked Jack.

"A degenerate," snapped Collins.

"An artist," explained Rudolph.

"Well in ninty cases out of a hundred it amounts to the same thing," Collins growled.

"What you really mean is that Mr. Wilde awakens strong convictions either for or against himself. He must have been an interesting personality. Tell me more about him," remarked the boy.

"He was a great writer of poetry and drama," Rudolph explained. "A man with a splendid sense of the beautiful, in nature, in language and in man, but his weakness got him into trouble. I might describe him best if I said that he wrote splendid books but lived a rotten life." Then after a moments reflection, "no the last part would be too strong. His life was not so bad, he simply had an abominable weakness."

"I might say of you Rudolph," Jack observed, "what Huxley said of Gladstone, that you retreat under a cloud of words. From what you say I cannot make out whether Mr. Wilde's weakness was worms or wiggles."

Collins explained to Jack in the commonest of common language just in what Wilde's weakness consisted. After which the boy wanted to know more about the man and his books.

Rudolph explained to him that the man was dead. That he died as a result of a prison sentence imposed upon him for his weakness but that his books could be found in every library public and private thruout the English speaking world; that they had been translated into nearly all civilized languages; that they were read and admired by cultured and refined minds everywhere. To which Jack replied that in that case it would be well to consider the books apart from the man. To think of him only as a great author, the products of whose brain had enriched the world and forget his weakness which after all did not enter into his books.

"Let us forget his life and remem-

ber his work for their beauties sake," said the boy.

"I cannot appreciate anything a ekunk does," Collins said. "I cannot read a line he penned without thinking of his infernal degeneracy."

"Oh, you christian," sneered Rudolph.

"I am no christian," the other retorted.

"No, you mean you're no Church Member, but you are as fanatic as any Jesus lover I ever knew. You are a free will Christian, and nothing else can be made out of you."

"You're crazy," roared Collins, "I hate christianity as much as you do and you know it."

Rudolph agreed that this was technically true, but asserted that that when it come to showing the spirit of intolerance he was a regular Calvin.

"Take your stand on the drink question, you are as extreme as a howling methodist, Rudolph said. Then continued "You know that the drink appetite is a physiological condition. That its victim cannot resist the temptation even tho he see the faces of his starving children in the glass. Cursing his weakness he gets drunk. He ruins his health, impoverishes his kids, while crying to his God for help. But he is a dipsomaniac; his body has an affinity for drink as ether has for air. He cannot help being what the forces of heredity made him. Yet, you who call yourself a radical and a liberal, curse your fellow worker whose appetite differs from your own. You call them every name on the calendar as if they were victims from choice instead of from circumstance. Imitating the christians you make everybody but yourself a heretic. No Collins dear, you may not be a christian, but if you are not, then you are a Jew or a Mohammedan, or a Brahmin or perhaps a Voodist, but you're no radical, you are no scientist, you are no idealist, you are too damned intolerant; you are good at condemning but you never make an effort to understand for if ever you learn to understand then you would learn to forgive."

"Yes and you are Christian, also, for you talk about forgiveness. Your consistency is something wonderful," snapped Collins and he leaped out of his bed as a tiger leaps at his prey. "To forgive means to surrender, and surrender means death. You'd burden yourself with so much human waste that you'd be smothered in the fifth of your own choosing. I've told you on several occasions that I don't hate these vermin, I only seek to eliminate them from my environment. I hate vermin, high brow and low brow. That's the reason I'm against them. They hinder me in the struggle for existence, that is all. That's enuf."

Rudolph's sally had made Collins too angry to answer with his customary coherence. He trailed off into mutterings about the inability of the workers to center their minds on a common purpose because they tolerated within their ranks these elements who placed their own personal appetites and ideas above the common good. "Try to hold a meeting for the purpose of fighting the boss with one third of the membership sound and the other third filled with poetic dream stuff and capitalist lies, you have just one third who are ready and willing to fight the master, loaded down with two thirds of their own numbers in the shape of physical and mental nincompoops"

Jack, who had been listening to both of them now asked Rudolph what he had to answer the big man.

"You understand that drunkenness is a result of a peculiar body chemistry which people inherit from their ancestors, therefore the owners of such bodies are constantly in danger of having their brain befuddled thru yielding to their inborn craving. I know that a drunken man is dangerous. But the bread and butter question is not an individual proposition; it is wholly collective in its nature. Drunk and sober must solve it together. I have told Collins many a time hat if you don't take drunkards into the organization they will seab enough to build an organization who on us and help break your power. Then where are you going to get men don't drink. We must deal with people as they are and not as we want them to be.

Jack still wrapped in his blanket laughed good naturedly, "Oh, oh! you poor fish! You get on the track of truth and when you get insight of it, you shy like a broncho colt. Neither of you have the necessary guts to be real scientists; both of you are seeking the light blindfolded; for fear that if you should find it, it would reveal to you your naked impotence. For two weeks I have listened to your arguments and tried to test them in the light of reason, and when all is said it appears to me that your ideas would be screamingly funny if

(Cont. on page 4.)

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3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

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EDITOR ..... Elmer T. Allison

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CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, MARCH 5th 1920.

## Promoting Americanism

About every method imaginable is being advocated and practiced to promote the growth of drooping "Americanism" in these decadent days. From extremes of mildness and conciliatory methods to the roughest of "rough stuff" the treatment runs. It all indicates a very positive uncertainty on the part of those in authority as to the most politic methods to deal with the new forces developing in the mire of rotten capitalism. Nowhere have the methods of desperation been put in more extensive operation than in the city of Cleveland. Here the White Guard of capitalism has reached a perfection of organization that is the envy of every capitalist controlled city in the nation. During the war this delectable crew of "100% Americans" operated under the misnomer of the American Protective League. When the war was over its official existence came to a sudden ending by ukase of the Department of Justice.

But it had proved too invaluable an aid to local capitalism to be allowed to be extinguished. Its reorganization was effected under the happy christening of the Loyal American League. It is very loyal to every thing which is generally understood as un-American. Its special love for the American principles of free speech and assembly are best judged by the fact that it has been the chief instrument used in the repression of these Constitutional liberties, or shall we say privileges? It is composed of local capitalist and such dupes as can be hired or cajoled into its service, backed up by the local police who are made to serve as its puppets. But there seems to be a trimming of sails just now. Has the Loyal American League sensed a feeling of public opposition to its free handed methods in cultivating the theories of true 100% Americanism? We wonder if those of its members who are gifted with a degree of wisdom are not aware of a reaction against the methods which it has pursued in the establishment of silence of the proletariat? We believe that possibly a few of them may be able to see a straw in the passing wind. But that many of them will have such strength of vision would be too much to expect of any parasitic element. Few indeed, may be expected to realize the existence of any passing breath until it grows to a hurricane and brings down upon their witless heads the house of cards in which they dwell in seeming and smug security.

As an instance of at least an appearance of an awakening of some of the League members to the unpopularity of their actions, we quote the following from the Cleveland Press of Feb. 26th and to be impartial we also print alongside a news item that appeared in the Plain Dealer the following morning.

Here is what they do.

### 18 HELD IN RADICAL RAIDS

Police and members of the Loyal American League raided a rooming house at 622 Hamilton avenue N. E. is a search for radicals at midnight last night. They found six men, two of whom said they were aliens and were held for examination. Copies of "The Rebel Worker," "The Fellow Worker," and "One Big Union" were taken. Inspector George Wadsworth of the Loyal American League was in charge of the raid.

Later operatives of the department of justice, aided by police and Loyal American legion members, visited a score of homes in various sections of the city. Twenty-five men were brought to the Federal building and after being questioned twelve were held for further examination.

That the president of the League should voice such a statement on the eve of a raid conducted by his organization upon the homes of workers attests to the fact that either the League's president is out of tune with the purposes of the organization or that he is camouflaging—to use a mild expression. And we don't care which it is for we wouldn't believe him no matter what his statement.

The point we wish to reach, and we confess we have gone a long way around, is this: capitalism is organizing its White Guard in America. Let us all realize that fact. Chambers of Commerce are the source from which spring the organizations, political or otherwise, which have throttled every liberty and Constitutional guarantee whose corpse swings from capitalism's gibbets. It is behind the doors of the Chambers of Commerce (robbery) that every onslaught upon the workers has been planned. They are organizing, and they are organizing for ruthlessness. The past five years proves what they will attempt; the past few months ought to prove to Americans what they intend; the present ought to make us realize how tightly the class lines are being drawn.

## A White Collar Revolt

We gather from a perusal of the papers that there is a degree of "unrest" developing among our intelligentsia, or what is known in western parlance as the "white collar brigade". The conference of the National Educational Association at Cleveland this past week has brought to the forefront the pitiable conditions and circumstances in which this contingent of workers exists.

It seems that the teachers of our g-r-e-a-t American public school system are paid the wage of peons, given the treatment of slaves and according a general existence so far below the standard of common laborers that we wonder in what their great education and deep erudition is lacking to render them such spineless bipeds as to stand for it.

Of course we know that the wearing of a clean collar is or was, considered compensation on its own account, while if not entirely adequate in itself for any outlay of effort and life, was very largely to be considered as part payment. In other words, the clean job was its own compensation — and honors. But lo and behold, we are confronted with the dilemma of keeping in

# EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

## SPARKS.

Local Portsmouth came up front last week and took a pot shot at old man capitalism in the form of a \$26.00 donation to the press fund. The names of the donors are J. S. Rapp; A. A. Adams; Geo. Emmett; Robert Shelton; Wm. Rapp. We willingly concede that the members of Local Portsmouth are "on deck" and then some.

A group of workers at Youngstown have arranged for weekly open forum meetings at Bushnell Hall. These meetings are expected to prove of great educational value. With good speakers and well organized meetings, they should prove most successful. The Youngstown workers are cordially invited to attend them as are also workers from near by cities.

Brothers Payton, of Huntington W. Va., have formed a "trust" that seems guaranteed to withstand the most doughty attempts to "bust" it. No, it is not formed for the purpose of raising the H. C. of L, but is guaranteed to raise the standard of knowledge of the workers of Huntington. In short, they have combined their efforts to corral every thinking worker into the ever growing group of readers of The Toiler. Looks like they would soon have a complete monopoly too. Every week we have to repeat — another bunch of five, or ten, from comrades Payton.

How about forming a "combination in restraint of ignorance" in your city, comrade?

Or will a brick house have to fall on you before you show signs of life?

If others can do it so can you.

Can any one help us out on this? A comrade writes for information regarding the "place, day, hour and minute" when the Soviet government was set up. From this data, he will cast a horoscope — he says. And the best answer we can give is that it was the same place, day, hour and minute, when the capitalist system of the entire world was doomed to absolute oblivion. We believe this is authentic to a nat's eye brow. If you don't believe it just ask any politician or capitalist.

Local Leetonia comes to bat this week with a substantial order for dues stamps, literature and press stamps. Eleven fifty in all. Looks like business in Leetonia, we'd say.

Our Power Point list receives an additional two subscribers and Lisbon, O., one, thru the efforts of comrade Tusek.

Six more from comrade Arley Staples of Christopher, Ill., puts the city of Coella, Ill., on the map and also boosts the Christopher list by two.

Every new one is another one.

Two Bullit Reports and two year's renewal comprise an order from comrade Geo Lipz of Morton, Wash. When they come back strong like that, we think there must be a reason for it.

And the reason is that The Toiler is worth any worker's time and coin.

We must repeat that there is magic in the number 5, especially if it is \$5. But it requires no magic to make a \$5.00 bill work for Socialism. Comrade James of Irondale is going to prove it by selling at least that many subscription cards. We hope this gives him an appetite for more.

Comrade Dodge says that the victory of the Russian Soviet government has put new life and spirit in the comrades at Portsmouth. In line with that we would state that the workers of all the world are showing marked reaction to the victories of Sovietism.

clean collars in these days of high prices. When the price of a laundered collar has risen from 1 1/2 cents to 5 cents straight — lingerie accordingly, the we decline to go into details in this latter. our white, immaculate slaves male and female alike, are up against a proposition.

The teachers are not alone in their difficulties. While laborers have the sense to organize into unions for their own welfare and have profited accordingly, the intelligentsia — so called, has not been so intelligent. It has held aloof from contamination with the "proletariat" on the theory that its social position was a somewhat higher one and that "brains would be recognized and rewarded". They have been. The white collar brigade is recognized as the most enslaved and most pitilessly exploited of all classes of workers and according to its own admission is rewarded accordingly.

The rising costs of living are giving them numerous and constant jolts. They are beginning to learn that it would be the part of intelligence to organize into associations for their own economic welfare. From stenographer to college professor and preacher, the idea is taking hold. And while the present stage of querulous agitation will avail little, we may hope that economic determinism will overcome caste and false ideas and the great army of brain workers will soon join their comrades of toil and make the world a fit place for human beings to inhabit, and bury forever the caste system in the ranks of labor.

It is now up to us to make this rise of the revolutionary spirit count BIG. And the way to do it is to get on the job with those WHO ARE WINNING.

A comrade writes to learn if the Toiler could be issued in Italian. We regret that we have to confine ourselves to the one language our parents taught us.

Eighty one years old and as young in spirit as the New Day that is dawning, is our comment on the letter we just received from comrade Buckley of Springfield, O. We more than appreciate the words of appreciation from this comrade and we will try to make The Toiler a source of inspiration to the workers in future as in the past.

Comrade Engstrom of Moline comes to bat with a bunch of five new ones.

Comrade Rospert of Toledo, has sent in \$30.50 worth of subscriptions in two weeks. Looks like he was tramping on the trail of comrade Evans of Girard Kans.

While we are on this subject, we just wonder if the Toledo comrades are going to leave comrade Rospert walk away with all the honors? Well, they will have to hurry if they want to make him "divide up".

Right now — is the moment of order that Half Price Literature Combination. Fifty cents will do it.

And you can't buy more with a four-bit piece whether it be bottles, buttons, beans or books. Order it.

The idea is growing fast. Pretty soon we expect we shall have to record its development in YOUR town. What, you ask? We mean the idea of combining two or more comrades into a group for the eradication of ignorances among the workers by means of subscriptions to The Toiler.

The latest combination of this sort that has come to our attention is that of comrades Norlin and Doesburg of Holland, Mich. Word just received from them states they are on the job and their first installment is to hand — 20 three month subs. Good start, boys. A few more teams like yours and we will be on our way.

He's coming again soon, is comrade fellow worker Billy Kroger of Muskegon, so he states. This trip he brought two new subs. Here's hoping. And believing.

Another booster at Sallito, O., is comrade J. M. Scott. Two half yearlies are on his string this week.

The organization fund gets a dollar boost this week from comrade S. Rubin of Milwaukee, who renews for another year.

Another combination that is working for Socialism seven days a week, is that of comrades R. A. Huebner and Joe Rehm of Springfield, O. Just how successful it is is proven by the subs. sent in this week amounting to \$8.50.

And again we say: form a combination in your town for the Eradication of Ignorance. Do it now.

"I am still selling them", writes comrade Rospert of Toledo and we agree. He is. He sent us \$5.00 worth of proof.

An order for 20 copies of the Manifesto of the Third International comes from Local Dayton. Every Party member should read it. And it is in the 1/2 price combination too. Get the package.

We wish to record the successful efforts of comrade Karl Malmstrom of Moline in getting subs. Five dollars worth as a first attempt is not bad.

## WAR ON IGNORANCE!

We have declared WAR ON IGNORANCE. Will you enlist in the ranks of the ENLIGHTENERS? We intend to establish in the State Office of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio a Book and Pamphlet Department second to none in the nation. We will handle only the best of the Revolutionary literature of the past and present. We will also publish new literature of our own. We have since Jan. 1st gotten one pamphlet off the press, another will be ready for sale in a few days. Others are contemplated.

The co-operation of all readers of The TOILER and of all Locals and literature agents is earnestly hoped for. The demand for new and good revolutionary literature is greater than can be supplied. We want YOU to help us supply this demand of the workers for ENLIGHTENMENT. Every worker can sell pamphlets every week to shopmates and other workers. Every Local must carry a full line of the best there is.

Every Class-conscious Worker must help Strike Down the Monster, Ignorance, that Enslaves the Workers.

HERE IS OUR LATEST LIST. READ IT EVERY WEEK FOR ADDITIONAL TITLES.

- Crimes of the Bolsheviki 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
- Russian Socialist Constitution 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
- Soviet Russia ..... 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
- Debs Goes To Prison, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
- The Dream Of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
- The Trial Of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
- Mr. Block and The Profiteers, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
- Manifesto of the Communist International, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
- The Class Struggle, Kautsky, 25c each, 10 or more 18c each.
- Communist Manifesto, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
- Evolution and Revolution, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
- How the Farmer can get His, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
- Scientific Socialism Study Course, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
- Industrial Autoeracy, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
- Marxism and Darwinism, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
- Slander of the Toilers 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
- Socialism Utopian and Scientific, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
- Shop Talks on Economics, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
- Violence or Solidarity, 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
- Bullitt Mission to Russia, 50c each, 10 or more 40c each.
- Communist Manifesto (cloth), 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
- Evolution Social and Organic, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
- Law of Boigenesis, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
- Jack London's Works, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
- Debs Authorized Life and Letters—Karsner, \$1.50, 5 or more \$1.25.
- Man or the State, Essays famous writers ..... \$1.00
- Russia in 1919, Ransome, \$1.50, 5 or more, \$1.25.
- Lenin, the Man and His Work, Williams, \$1.50, 5 or more \$1.25.
- Pelle the Conqueror, \$4.00 (2 volumes).
- Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen, \$1.25, 5 or more \$1.00 each.
- Savage Survivals, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.
- Socialism for Students, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
- Socialism and Modern Science, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.
- Stories of the Cave People, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.
- Socialism and War, \$1.00 each.
- Ten Days That Shook The World, \$2.00 each.
- The World's Revolutions, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
- Universal Kinship, Moore, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.
- Value Price and Profit, Marx, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.

## TWO REAL WORTH-WHILE OFFERS

While the winter months are here, why not read to advantage? The above titles offer you a wide choice of scientific and interesting literature. Send us \$5.00 for an order of the above titles and we will give you a year's subscription to The Toiler. That's worth while isn't it?

ANOTHER CHANCE.

Send us \$5.00 for subscription cards to The Toiler and receive free \$1.50 worth of any of the above literature. You sell the cards and get your money back. Toiler sub cards sell easily. PLACE YOUR ORDER TODAY—ADDRESS:

THE TOILER  
3207 Clark Ave.—Cleveland, Ohio.

In fact, it is very, very good and worthy of YOUR emulation.

Sandusky Local remits \$6.00 for Toiler stamps and literature. Some reads absolutely refuse to "quit it". Reason? They're real red.

Comrade McMillan of New Lexington, O., remits \$2.50 for renewal, organization work and the cartoon fund.

As we have said before, if you don't like our cartoons, don't send us a sent.

"I am going to keep this \$5.00 working for subscriptions all the time and will come across for the cartoon fund soon", writes comrade Ben Carpenter of Harrison, Mich. And how better could a little old five spot be kept busy?

"It is still on, the drive for new subs.", is what C. Bramson of Joliet tells us in a letter in which he sends another \$5.00 for subcards. With live wires like comrade Bramson running at large there is certainly no chance for the work to slacken, eh bo?

To prove it's still in the fighting mood, Local Fremont remits \$5.00 for dues stamps and press stamps.

And when all is said, we must admit that a revolutionist in action is worth a dozen inactive one.

So what's the use of being one if you aren't a busy one?

We note the determination to "spit on his hands and get busy", which permeates the letter recently received from comrade Warner of Wellington, O. And we smile and say to our selves, "there is another one coming back strong". It's the life — and we should never weaken!

If there is one thing that makes us more gleeful than another, it is to see another Toiler booster join the Red Regiment of Sub Hustlers. That's the way we felt when we observed the \$7.00 worth of yearlies from comrade Long of Findlay, O.

Note the advertisement in this issue of the reduced prices on The Slander of the Toilers, by Kirkpatrick. If you want to do real educational work among the workers, just order a package of this booklet and proceed to get them into the hands of the workers. We have made the price so cheap that you cannot afford to let the opportunity pass.

"The Toiler is great and I will send more subscriptions soon". These are the words of comrade Rowlands of Minea, N. Y. He sends two subs and an order for literature.

A three dollar order for literature and subscriptions is in from comrade Fabyanich of Bessemer, Pa.



# GOVERNMENT -- THE COMMUNIST VIEWPOINT

— By Linn A. E. Gale —

Anarchism has a lure and fascination that often attract almost irresistibly even the hard-headed. Its uncompromising spirit of revolt, its impatient, irrational longing for that absolute freedom which is an impossibility on an earth inhabited by human beings and circumscribed by limitations of mundane existence, its fierce chafing at the leash of laws, be they just or unjust, — all these things find almost unconscious response in many of us.

There is a strong appeal in this philosophy that would abolish all forms of restraint and leave us "free" to unite in voluntary cooperative groups or live individually, as we might wish. It is so easy to forget that this is a relative world, not an absolute one, and that "absolute freedom" is an impossibility, to attempt which would only produce an extreme reaction that would result in a tyranny worse than that from which we seek escape. The Hermetic axiom that extremes meet is literally true with regard to Anarchism. The fierce desire for liberation which would end all government, would send us back into a slavery more intolerable than ever by the unrepressed force of the extreme reaction.

"If it is wrong for an individual to rob, murder or interfere with another's liberty, is it any less wrong for a group or class to do these things?" asks K. B. E. Yes, most emphatically. Morality is not an abstract thing, a blue-print of human actions, some of which are forever and inherently right and some of which are forever and inherently wrong. That which is right under some circumstances is wrong under others. Conditions are the determining factor. As a general proposition, it may be wrong to steal, but if it were necessary to steal to save the life of a starving man, I would say, "To hell with the rights of property!" and take what has needed to prevent starvation.

Notwithstanding what Edmund Burke says, government can be used for good as well as for ill. K. B. E. directs his artillery against the uses to which government is put under capitalism. He ignores the point that government resting on exploitation and legalized robbery must necessarily be evil,

whereas if government rested on the ownership of wealth by its producers, it would be just and beneficent.

It is true that one has a right to the product of his own labor. It is also true that capitalistic governments do not assure that right, but instead, deprive the worker of what he creates and give it to capitalists. But under Anarchism and without a central governing authority, the chances of a man keeping the fruits of his work would be far less than they are now. "Absolute freedom" would be nothing of the kind, at least so long as the present qualities of greed and selfishness have not been bred out of human nature. Instead of people living like brothers and sisters, and exchanging their products in equitable, fraternal fashion, the erstwhile profiteers and money-lords would get together, pounce upon the well-disposed of the community and try to make slaves out of them. The "absolute freedom" wouldn't last 10 days. Either those who formerly exploited the masses would regain their dominance by raw resort to brute force, or the masses would have to unite economically, establish a proletarian dictatorship just as Russia did, and ruthlessly expropriate the expropriators.

In either case, Anarchism would be short-lived. Autocracy would succeed it or the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Government, much-despised tho it were, would come back to curse or bless, depending on the kind of government established.

The Anarchist comrade asks, "Since the only just title to the ownership of anything arises from its production by its owner, is it not just as much robbery for a majority to take property from an individual as for an individual or a minority to do so?" Certainly, but under Communism the majority won't take property from an individual. Communism will give to the individual what he produces and eliminate the class which has hitherto lived on the labor of others. That is the difference between Communism and capitalism. That is the purpose of Communist government. It will be an industrial government, not a political one. When there are no cap-

italists and all are useful workers, and when those useful workers are the government, functioning collectively in industry, government won't be a means of oppression. Government can't oppress when there is a rich, privileged class that owns the resources of the country. Strip that class of land, mines, factories, industries, etc., and give them to the People don't rob themselves. K. B. E. is constantly thinking of a bourgeois government which, of course, is owned by a few people. His criticisms don't apply to a proletarian democracy at all, for the simple reason that under Soviets, the people are the government. They are not exploited because they have no reason for picking their own pockets.

Instead of Communism aiming to steal from the worker and give the products of his toil to a different set of people than those receiving these products under capitalism, it would provide the force necessary to protect the worker in the enjoyment of these products. Anarchism wants the worker to get the fruit of his labor, too, but it would provide nothing to guarantee him in its possession, nothing to stop a bigger fellow from snatching it away from him. It would leave the laborer at the mercy of the economic highwayman, just as capitalism does. But Communism, realizing that "right without might is moonshine," would back up this unquestionable right of the worker, with a new kind of government, an economic one, which could crush the robber the minute he began to ply his old trade.

If, however, when K. B. E. speaks of the majority taking property from the individual, he refers to taxation under Soviets, his reasoning is equally defective. True, the worker would not get quite all that he produces, for a small percentage of it would have to be deducted to help defray the expenses of government. You can't maintain a government on nothing. Neither could you do so with a factory, even if that factory were run by its workers in voluntary cooperation under Anarchism. They would have to set aside a little of what they produced to pay for secretarial work, upkeep, etc... wouldn't they?

If this is "robbery", then there always will be robbery, and Anarchism — assuming it were successful, which is inconceivable — would be no exception to the rule. The only difference is that under Communism the taxation would be imposed by a central authority elected by the workers, while under voluntary cooperation, it would be imposed by each separate industrial group, independently of every other group. In order to gain the benefits of collective action, we must surrender a little, at least, of what we might receive if each worked alone and received the total result of his efforts. The "absolute freedom" of the Anarchist is like the personal liberty" of the bootlegger, a farce and a fantasy. The isolated inhabitant of the desert comes as near having "absolute freedom" as anybody can in a relative world, and even he doesn't have it, entirely. And the minute he enters into relationship with other human beings, he has still less. All we can enjoy, at the most, is a maximum of liberty consistent with the liberty of others. Communism, by taking away from the bourgeois class some of the "liberty" it possesses to steal from the proletariat, would give every man a larger share of liberty than any other system yet proposed.

"The absolute inalienability of person and property every man a larger share of liberty than any other we all want — Anarchists and Communists alike. But we won't get it by throwing off all government, laying aside all weapons and going on in the blind and blissful delusion that because we don't rob others, they won't rob us.

We must have power. The master class has power to day — economic power, from which comes political power, its offspring. Let the workers take that power away from the masters, appropriate it to themselves, and be the government. Then — and not till then — will the workers retain the nearest possible approach to all that they create.

workers in each unit — subjecting each industrial group to control by a central body elected by themselves — and it will be an impossibility for that government to be used for robbery and tyranny.

## Bolshevik Policy in the East

Continued from page 1.

their own exertions. It is their own affair, not that of the Soviet Government. We can only offer our sympathy; anything further would be forbidden towards a country with which we were at peace."

Relations with Other States. "Soviet Russia would then settle down amid a non-Socialist world as one State among the others?"

"Why not?" was Radek's reply. "It is the standpoint of the Russian Government that normal and good relations are just as possible between Socialist and capitalist States as they have been between capitalist and feudal States. For example, Imperialist England lived on quite good terms with Tsarist feudal Russia in the days of serfdom. I, personally, am convinced that Communism can only be saved through good relations with the capitalist States. All the capitalist States are moving towards Socialism along their own roads and in their varying degrees, and the pace will be quickened by the burden of war taxes and debt, high prices, and the lowered standard of living. But in each of these countries the battle will be won from within in the growing struggle between the peoples and Governments. Revolutions never originate in foreign affairs, but are made at home."

"But so far you have talked only of possibilities," I pointed out.

"Yes, I am speaking not of plans that we have, but of things we may be compelled to attempt. Russia to-day is too weak to indulge in a world-policy or in a drive against India, yet she is strong enough to hurt in self-defense. The workers are utterly tired of war, but know that peace is denied them by the Entente. If they have no work and nothing to eat they know it is due to Entente intervention, and the knowledge only strengthens their will to fight. Our campaign is one, ordered by the Government, which could not by its mere command make the workers fight, but is supported by the masses in desperation. To sum up in a few words, when the Northcliffe press talks of a Red invasion of India it does so insincerely, and as sheer vilifying of Soviet Russia. Nevertheless, if the Northcliffe press succeeds in misleading English opinion into war against Russia, then what is now a fantasy may easily become a reality."

"If We are Forced to Fight." "You are accused of political expansionism—an Imperialism of Revolution."

"The two words 'Imperialism' and

'Revolution' are mutually contradictory," replied Radek. "Revolution means the achievement of self-government by the masses. The French Revolution became Imperialist for two reasons: (1) it was only a bourgeois revolution; (2) it was the last act in the struggle between France and England for colonies. As one of your historians says, Pitt made Napoleon. Let me refer to Lenin's statement at the last party congress in March, 1919 — 'The sword is not the means by which the victory of Communism is to be won. Such a policy of aggression would weaken us and our cause. Were we by action from outside to enable a revolutionary Government to be set up in a country not strong enough to carry through a revolution itself, we should weaken ourselves by dispersing forces needed for our own defence.'"

"But there is another side of the question. If we are forced to fight, naturally we seek a field of war where success is most easily attained. It is not true that we can do nothing; the Eastern door is open, and there are great possibilities. Had the old Tsarist Government determined to advance on India it would have had to build railroads, organize armies, accumulate supplies — in short, employ the resources of a capitalist Kultur. With us it is quite different. All we have to do is to send out our most active workers to stir up unrest among populations. That is no new thing for Russians. You may remember the part played by Social Democrats from the Caucasus in the Persian Revolution in 1906 and later. I know personally quite a number of Caucasian comrades who were revolutionary leaders in Persia."

Ten Agitators Equal to an Army. "What we can supply is the leadership so lacking in the East. We can send officers as instructors — not officers of the old school, but men of our own training, in particular artillery instructor who were formerly engineers in the Putiloff Arsenal. These, the most intelligent artisans in Russia, have the necessary mathematical knowledge to make first-rate artillery officers. We can send technical experts and can erect explosive factories and arsenals. And remember that when we proletarians send ten picked men, after our experience of the last two years, it is equal to an expeditionary force. We are already in touch with the Young Turks by way of Tashkent, the Caspian, and Caucasian Azerbaijan. Our armies are already on the Sea of Azov. Young Turkish officers whom I have recently met here in Berlin assure me that it would require fifteen

## REVIEW OF I. W. W. CASE.

(By a Special Correspondent)

Montesano, Wash., Feb. — There have been times in the four weeks of the Centralia tragedy when the lives of the 11 defendants seemed balanced on the point of a needle. For the main tragedy at Centralia happened in a space of time to be measured by seconds, and the stories of eye-witnesses frequently conflict.

Day after day the prosecution has produced evidence which on its face looked damaging to the men on trial for the alleged murder of Warren Grimm in the Armistice Day parade. And then George F. Vanderveer, counsel for the defense, would tear at that testimony with accumulative confidence and astuteness, and lay waste some of the state's best foundations.

Standing out from the months' events in the trial are: the admission as evidence of Loren Roberts' alleged confession after a battle by the defense to exclude it; the story told in court by Tom Morgan, former I. W. W. who turned state's evidence against his fellows; and the smashing down of the testimony of one of the state's star witnesses under the sledge-hammer blows of Vanderveer.

Roberts' statement was opposed by the defense on the ground that he was insane when he signed it; and Vanderveer offered to prove this, contending that the Centralia mob had put the fear of death upon Roberts to obtain the confession. But Judge John N. Wilson ruled that the statement was admissible and that the jury must decide what weight should be given to it.

If it is accepted at face value, however, it will bear out Vanderveer's contention that the defendants shot at the paraders only in self-defense, for it says the Industrial Workers had been warned of a raid and prepared to defend themselves. Morgan's story also bore this out.

When Elsie Hornbeck was put on the stand, it marked a sudden sweeping turn in favor of the defense. This slim Semetic girl is a bookkeeper in a garage opposite the Avalon Hotel, from which the prosecution declares some shots were fired.

divisions to dispose of the existing Turkish armies. Moreover, Asia Minor is already something of an international, interracial powder magazine.

"But there is no need to enlarge further on possibilities. Our crippled industries are paralysed. Our historic task is to reconstruct Russia, and for that peace is essential. We are fighting simply because we are forced to do so, and are given no other choice. Russia is a democracy of peasants and workers for at least half a century to come. Your statement can count with certainty on the entire absence of capitalist Imperialism in Russia. All the talk about our plans to disrupt and destroy the British Empire is the sheerest nonsense and Northcliffe bluff."

This girl said she saw a thin-faced man in a window of the Avalon shortly before the riot; identified Eugene Barnett in the court-room as that man; insisted that she had never seen him from that hysterical day three months ago until this day in court; led the jury to believe that she was able to identify Barnett solely through the vivid impression his face had made upon her on Armistice Day. Then Vanderveer trapped her into admitting she had seen two photographs of Barnett. Her manner throughout has been hesitant and uncertain; she had looked helplessly at Special Prosecutor Abel, causing Vanderveer more than once to command her to look at him; had admitted that a man out in the hall had told her that Barnett was inside; and then, commanded by Vanderveer to go out and find him, did so and returned to report that he wasn't there.

Knowing it was a matter of life and death, she swore, with the manner of one taking a plunge into the dark, that Barnett was the man she had seen in the Avalon. She repeated her positive assertion that the man in the Avalon was thin-faced. But, as Vanderveer pointed out, Barnett is full-faced.

Both the Associated Press and the United Press picture Elsie Hornbeck as identifying Barnett unqualifiedly, — and say nothing about the photographs; and practically every newspaper in the country, except the Portland Journal and three radical papers, The New York Call, Butte Bulletin and Seattle Record has printed the same unqualified story about the "identification."

## THE BLACK CHEEP

Continued from page 2.

they did not lead to such painful conclusions."

"What do you mean," the other two gasped almost in one breath.

"I mean what I say. We belong to the working class. You say the working class must be organized. One of you say soberly and the other says generally. Now why don't you ask can they be organized. Collins says yes, at least that part of them who do not drink. For this Rudolph calls him a christian. How are Rudolph and Collins going to work together in the same organization, when it takes steel cage to keep them from "beating each other up," yet both of them are sober men. Collins wants to eliminate the weak and let them die, Rudolph wants to forgive the weak, which means that he must carry them. For it is logical that if a man is weak he will have to lean on you. Now if you are fighting the boss who has both of his fists ready with a drunkard in one arm and a mental defective in another, then who is going to get rich."

"That's what I say," roared Collins. Jack ignored him, "Both of you say that acquired characteristics are not transmitted, yet you try to give to the race a mental tendency which by

## Ruminations of a Rebel

— By Tom Clifford. —

"My Dear Mr. Lansing," chirped Woodrow in his billet doux to the Secretary of State announcing, that his dignity had been ruffled by the assumption of Presidential functions by the latter gentleman in calling sessions of the Cabinet without permission from his royal highness, preparatory to administering the coup de grace that would separate the Secretary from his job. "My Dear Mr. President," parroted Lansing in his reply, all the while knowing he was to get it where the chicken got the ax. Of course these are little bourgeois social amenities that are understood to be meaningless. I am not in the least interested in the fracas other than that if they had declared war on each other the affair should have been settled without indulgence in hypocritical cant. Insincerity is so common among the bourgeoisie that a positive vice has been transformed into a virtue. They are morally cockeyed. A bourgeois is so dishonest he can't play solitaire without cheating himself. Chicanery and deceit are so generally practiced by our "best citizens" that it is surprising their endowed colleges have not established chairs to teach camouflage. Yet it must be confessed that this moral obliquity is in complete harmony with capitalist ethics. An honest man to day has about as much chance in combating the wiles of these past masters in the art of duplicity as the proverbial snow ball in hell.

It now transpires that the leaders of the Democratic party are becoming frantic over the political situation. All efforts to suppress Wilson's ambition for a third term have apparently only stimulated that gentleman's burning desire to be a record breaker, and they are running around in circles seeking a way out of their dilemma. The League of nations is still the pet hobby of the President, and he evidently desires to succeed himself for the prestige accruing therefrom to qualify for the position of high priest in that organization of world imperialism. Some of the best talent among the statesmen at Washington are engaged in the futile attempt to convince the President he has had honors enough and should give some one else a chance. Nothing doing there, gentlemen. You've a white elephant on your hands.

nature it does not possess except for purposes of battle. There is no tendency toward productive solidarity in the human race that I can see. They do not organize for production. They lurch together for strife. The brainiest and brightest of the race are continually crawling upward over the duller and the weaker. That is the law of life, and it appears to me that your endeavor to set up a republic of the weak will always be successfully thwarted by the strong."

Continued next week.

In the meantime the woods are full of hungry aspirants for the same job. McAdoo wants it, Bryan yearns for it, and a score or more of others are ready to swap their chances in the sweet bye and bye for four years in the White House. Not a single one of them, however, can offer any reason for this inordinate craving to succeed the man who made the "world safe for democracy" other than — he wants the job. Well, that is a good and sufficient reason, isn't it? At least it has always been so considered. None but Socialists expect a man to desire public office as a means of serving society, and everybody knows they are impracticable visionaries.

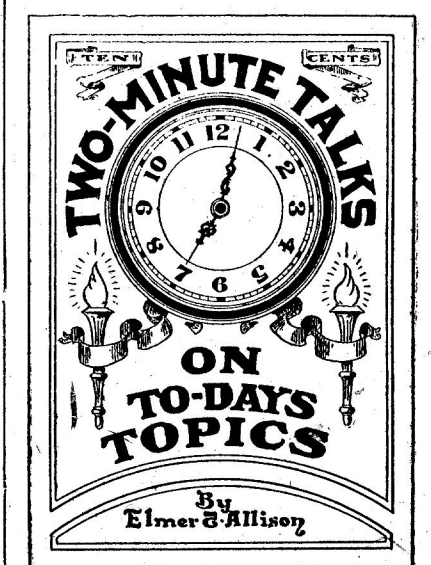
The bankers are getting scared over the financial situation notwithstanding it is everywhere conceded that we are passing through an era of "unparalleled prosperity." They are demanding a reduction of outstanding loans. If you want to save your bacon, dig up your Liberty bonds, tote them down to the bank, and turn them in at discount. Don't grumble brother. Just take your medicine uncomplainingly, like a good little wage slave.

It is now announced that the foreign diplomats at Washington, out of respect for the national prohibition law, will waive their right to import liquors for their own use. Does anyone believe it? Not if his brain is working normally. Those gentlemen are not noted for indulgence in self sacrifice. This statement is doubtless prompted by a desire to conserve their stock of wet goods for themselves and prevent an onslaught of their friends.

## BYESVILLE MEETING

Tom Clifford will speak at Byesville Sunday - 2 P. M. March 7th.

All Guernsey County comrades are invited and urged to bring another worker with them.



A booklet for the non-socialist. Order it—distribute it. Address—The Toiler.

LOCAL AKRON, COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY is continuing its regular Sunday Afternoon

## Propaganda Meetings

AT 50 SOUTH HOWARD ST.

These are the livest worker's meetings in town. The public is invited.