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WHAT IT IS?

"The most important deterrent (to radicalism) is religion."

Statement in report of Dr. Moley in investigation of radicalism among foreign born of Cleveland. Now perhaps we understand the WHY of the Interchurch World Movement.

QUAKERS TO SEND MEDICAL RELIEF TO RUSSIA

CHICAGO—Relief will be sent to Russia from Chicago, by way of the English Quakers. This announcement, together with the fact that the United States Department of State has continuously refused to grant clearance papers to American vessels carrying medical and other relief to Russia, was made at a mass meeting in the Chicago City Club held July 1 by the Committee on American Relief for Russian Women and Children.

Graham R. Taylor, once a Red Cross worker in Russia, stated that last April the American Red Cross was ready to extend its activities into Russia. "But something must have occurred politically to cause a change in its plans," he added. "I think that the Red Cross officials ought to be given a chance to clear themselves before the American people, or else ought to be given the opportunity to begin relief work in Russia."

Resolutions, submitted by Professor Robert M. Lovett of the University of Chicago, called upon the United States government to permit relief work in Russia to be conducted, to grant clearance papers for American vessels bound to Russia for relief work and to permit the American Red Cross to extend its activities into Russia. Isaac Don Levine read the exclusive Federated Press report stating that Herman Luckner had been killed while attempting an aeroplane demonstration over the Democratic Convention in San Francisco in favor of the blockade on Russia.

Miss Jane Adams, as chairman, announced that the committee already has received \$3,000 from eastern sources to be diverted to this cause. She stated that when the drive for relief of women and children in all near eastern countries is started in September, an attempt will be made to include Russia.

Raymond Robins Unveils Forms of Long Lost Liberties

Cleveland Public gets glimpse of once fond favorites in meeting at Public Square.—A letter about it from the Editor.

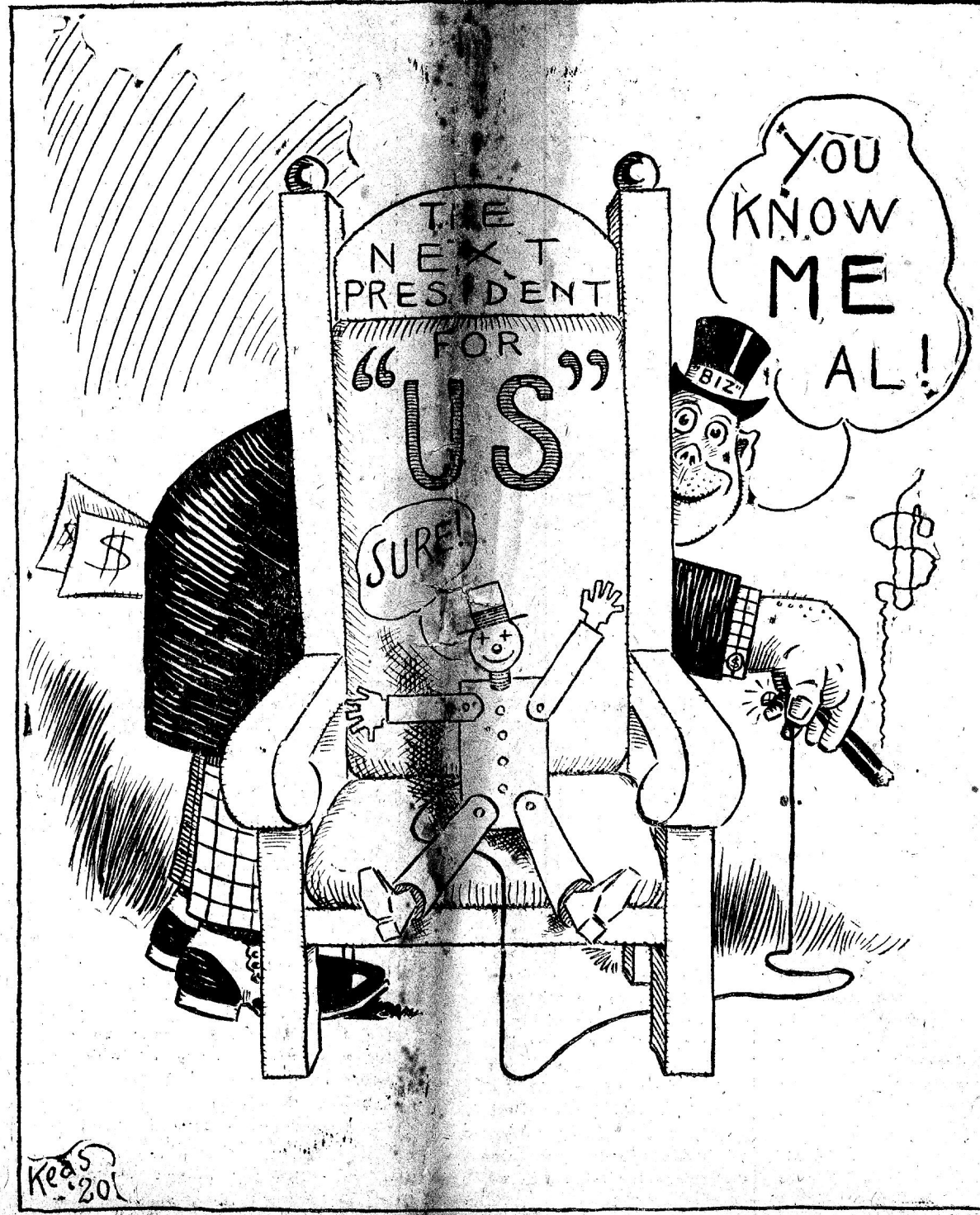
Dear Comrades:—

Raymond Robins, swarthy, even Indianesque of feature, protagonist of what he terms "Americanism," held aside for an hour last Saturday the veil which has long shrouded from Cleveland proletarian gaze the form and features of Misses Free Speech, and Free Assemblage, once famous American twins. That the audience which surrounded the exhibition was an appreciative one was evident throughout and especially when the speech was concluded and it was given chance at the speaker with questions.

That the fair ladies were in perfectly good, respectable company was assured by a banner over the speaker's stand which proclaimed that the meeting was under the auspices of the City Club, an organization of bourgeois liberals. Nevertheless, the "proles" who made up a good portion of the audience, in spite of an evident haunting feeling that they were committing a crime, cast many furtive glances upon the almost forgotten features of their Lost Loves and gave them more than one rousing welcome, and kidded the speaker as well.

Robins wants free speech re-established in the United States. He wants the old fashioned spirit of a fair show for all opinions to again permeate the government and public policy. "The Bismarkian policy of 'blood and iron' for false socialistic ideas made 4,000,000 socialists where there were only 300,000 twenty years before," said Robins. "The Czar had the Black Hundred and the Okhrans, the secret police, a ruthless crew which Palmer, Lusk and Sweet can never hope to equal, but they are gone and Bolshevism rules Russia." Was another of his statements in protest against the use of force against ideas. Since Robins has reiterated time and again that he is opposed to socialism, we hasten to give him credit for learning some politics from history.

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Introducing the "Peepul's Choice"

Entente's Support of War Against Soviets Strengthens Russia, says Krassin

Peasants, Bourgeois and Intellectuals won to Soviet rule by Polish Aggression.

Gregory Krassin, Soviet Envoy to London, who has established business offices in New Bond street and has been interviewing Lloyd George and other British government officials with the aim of establishing commercial relations between Britain and Russia, has just returned to Moscow. While the exact reason for his return to Moscow is not revealed, it is considered that mooted details of future commercial relations have called him home for conference with Lenin.

Before he left London, Krassin was interviewed by a reporter for the Paris paper, Liberte, which we publish herewith. The interview contains evidence of the strength of the Soviet Government at the present time.

"It was a great mistake on the part of the Entente to believe that we could be crushed by armed force. Each military blow struck against us permitted us to remedy the defects of our governmental machine," said Krassin.

Defeats Never Cause of Disorder.

"While it has been believed in Europe that uprisings would follow defeats of the Red armies, such is proved to be a profound error. There have been here and there moments of disorder, but our defeats were never the cause. I will explain that. At the beginning, after our revolution, our military situation was desperate. We were attacked and you remember we proposed amicable settlements by intermediary of the Scandinavian countries. That failing, we appealed to the working classes. Even among us there were many persons who doubted the success of this appeal. However, the workers of Moscow, of Petrograd and of other cities came flocking to us full of enthusiasm. They constitute the

body of our present day solidarity, of which I advise you not to doubt.

"Another example—certain peasants were discontented with us for various reasons. In the first place the peasant is not a Communist. One must be as utopian as the Social Revolutionaries to believe that. Even at this moment they do not like the Soviet regime. Remember that last Spring the troops of Denikin were marching ahead. They had taken from us all the rich wheat fields. There remained for us only several provinces, Tambov, Penza, Voroneje, Kurks, Saratov and Simbirsk from which we could get wheat and horses.

"The result was that the terrible effort we were forced to make bore heavily upon the peasants in certain districts. But we had no choice. We had to fight. The discontent of these peasants was such that in some quarters they offered armed resistance. But there again the Entente saved us. As Denikin advanced the peasant saw that his behavior towards him was a hundred times worse than ours. In our requisitioning we took from the rich peasants all the wheat they did not need. We took fifty per cent from peasants in modern circumstances. We took nothing from poor peasants. The officers of Denikin took everything, beating peasants and even their women. They submitted them to humiliations of a moral order when they did not burn their villages. Thus, for example, throughout the Urals the peasants flocked to us, in thousands, abandoning Denikin's ranks. When news of these methods spread among the peasants they changed their attitude entirely. They did not become Communists but came to the conclusion that among all possible governments ours was after all the best for them. We guaranteed them against the return

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WHAT THE COMMISSION SAW IN RUSSIA

By Ben Turner. (Chairman of the British Labor Delegation to Russia)

ANTI-BOLSHEVIKS INTERVIEWED.

Visits were paid to numbers of Russians holding anti-Soviet views. We went unaccompanied by any Soviet official or Bolshevik sympathizer. For interpreters we were very well placed. A number of our delegates could speak French and German, which many of those whom we interviewed spoke, whilst Mr. Roden Buxton both understood and spoke considerable Russian. Where other interpreters were necessary we were not limited to Bolsheviks. We frequently had Mensheviks to act in this capacity.

The reports that Russia is in a condition of savage anarchy are totally untrue. The suggestion that one cannot go about the streets without seeing indications of murder and rapine is simply ridiculous. We could walk about the streets of Petrograd or Moscow, day or night quite as freely as one can about the streets of London.

THE HUNGER DUE TO THE BLOCKADE.

The chief thing that hurt us was the evidence of the hunger in the cities, in Petrograd more so than in Moscow. The shops in Petrograd are mostly closed; many of them are boarded up and make the streets look ragged and forlorn in contrast to the glamor of our streets. The lack of food stuffs and the consequent hunger is due to the long years of war, internal eruptions, breakdown of transport, lack of materials, and worn out machinery. The Allies' policy of the blockade and military intervention is, of course, chiefly responsible for these things.

The hunger in the towns is in strange contrast with the seeming prosperity in the villages. Every landworker has his own plot and produces his own food. The surplus he is supposed to sell at controlled prices to the towns.

There are no land owners; the land is the property of the state, but no rent is charged. This land occupancy may easily drift into peasant proprietorship unless the spirit of Co-operation, Socialism, Communism—call it what you will—enters into the life of the people of the villages. It is possible that there may be a contest between the townspeople and the villagers

when external wars have concluded and the internal unity arising from the common dangers and difficulties is less operative. On the other hand, however, the education policy of the Soviet Republic is undoubtedly making communists of the young folks in the villages, and the future is theirs.

WONDERFUL HEALTH ORGANIZATION.

The health organization of the Soviet government is marvellous. Russia has suffered terribly from cholera, typhus, small-pox, influenza, and other diseases. War always brings pestilence and famine and Russia has had them to the full.

The Bolsheviks have met these difficulties by herculean measures, despite the lack of soap and medical requisites consequent upon the blockade. Notices emphasizing the importance of cleanliness and fresh air are posted everywhere; in public places, trade union offices; they are printed on the theatre programs. " Lice is the enemy of Socialism," one of the placards reads. Hot water is compulsorily supplied at every station, on the steamboats, and in the trains, with facilities for the bathing of contact cases. Consumptive sanatoria, rest houses, convalescent homes, and old age homes (with no workhouse restrictions) are other features of their health service. Two million school children are fed, clothed, and housed.

POWER OF THE TRADE UNIONS

We visited the headquarters of the substantial offices, with good equipment and large staffs. There are typewriters, telephones, and all the other requisites that go to make up efficient office work. They take great pains in the preparation of statistic, diagrams, and in recording what has been done and planning what should be done.

The trade unions have a bigger purpose to fulfill under the Soviet system than here. They take part in the actual government of Russia as well as in the government of their respective industries.

The trade unions, separately and collectively, fix the hours of labor, the amount of overtime, and, in consultation with other departments, the wage basis. A

part of the wage is the ration of bread and other food stuffs, which are distributed through the machinery of the trade unions. trade unions organize co-operative buying for such goods as are not rationed. Further, as food is difficult to get from trade unions organize co-operative buying for such goods as are not rationed. The trade unions also fix the physical productivity possible in the trades. They recognize that after five years of warfare and hunger, with worn-out machinery and lack of the best materials, on ductivity is possible.

ly one-half or one-third of the normal production in addition to all these things the trade unions are responsible for the organization of education and recreation. The great opera houses and theatres are now open to the people and the trade unions allocate the tickets to their members at reasonable rates. By this means the workers have an opportunity to enjoy art and music and drama to a degree not thought possible in the old days.

In co-operation with other departments, the trade unions are responsible for the housing of the workers. A very large number of the old wooden shacks in which the work people previously lived have been pulled down, and the large houses which formerly belonged to the well-to-do have been converted into workers' dwellings. Every worker now has a home. This housing scheme has been developed from the double point of view of health and home-sacredness.

The Russians have found that by rationing housing in this way there is ample room for all. In the large houses each family has separate rooms, but there is a communal dining-room. Some of the homes into which we went were exceedingly beautiful and well kept. Constantly on Soviet property, such as the commandeered houses, one found these words displayed: "This is your own property. Look after it well." The injunction seems to be obeyed.

THE "RED TERROR"

The Soviet government abolished capital punishment last February, but owing to fires and explosions due, they say, to Polish incendiaries, they reintroduced the death penalty during May. The bolsheviks

do not attempt to deny that they have used repressive measures. They say that, so long as a great part of the world is plotting against them, they must have exceptional powers to arrest counter-revolutionaries, monarchists, and officers of the old White Guard who act as agents and spies for the enemies of Russian. They say, "We are surrounded by war, and we are going to protect the revolution by all the means possible." The extraordinary commission is above ordinary law, but its members assured us that they always give the prisoners a trial and provide the indictment within 24 hours of arrest.

The members of the delegation were given every opportunity to see the British prisoners and the concentration camp. The Soviet representatives pointed out that they had done no more, so far as internment persons of "enemy" nationality was concerned, than was done by the British government during the war.

THE POLISH OFFENSIVE.

All the Russian people believe that the Allies and the British Government are supporting the Polish offensive. Petitions were frequently presented to us by the workers in the factories which we visited asking us to do all that we can to secure the end of the Allies, policy of the blockade and military intervention, and peace between Russia and the rest of the world. The Polish offensive is rallying the people in support of the Soviet government. The bulk of the people are not communists, although a great number of those who live in cities are. Even the opponents of the theory of Soviet government, however, say that they will do nothing to upset the present government so long as the Polish attack continues.

We saw the executive of the All-Russian Social Democratic Party, sections of the Mensheviks, and a number of professors and such-like people who were neutral. "Give us peace externally," they said, "and we will secure peace internally." I don't think that there is any danger of a renewal of civil war in Russia. I believe that, in a few years' time, perhaps with some modification of the Soviet form of government, or a broadening of its basis, Russia will become one of the first really great nations of the world.

Editorial note: The return of the British Labor Delegation from its mission of investigation to Russia was the signal for the capitalist press to launch an attack upon the Soviet system made up garbled and misleading reports. The Toller is glad to be able to give its readers the following official report by the Chairman of the Delegation.

The reception of the British delegation in Russia was most enthusiastically hearty. The Trade Union bodies were chiefly responsible for the welcome arrangements. The Russians were evidently delighted that a responsible group of people had arrived from another country to investigate the truth about things, and held out warm hands of friendship to us.

HAS THE DELEGATION BEEN MISLED?

All the stories of organized camouflaged to deceive us are nonsense. No greater preparations were made for us than would naturally be made to welcome a friendly delegation coming to a country which had been closed for so long to the outside world. The assertion that the streets were specially cleaned and hardships hidden in order that we might not learn what the actual conditions are, may be dismissed as so much moonshine.

The Soviet representatives were quite open and frank and wanted us to see the worst as well as the best. They made our work of investigation as easy as they could. We had absolute freedom to go where we desired, to see whom we desired. We were permitted freely to enter mills, workshops, factories, public institutions, and private homes.

Many of the delegates had letters of introduction to persons who were known to be opposed to the Soviet system—members of the Social Revolutionary Party, Mensheviks, intellectuals, and others. The Soviet representatives were quite hurt when they were asked if visits could be paid to these persons. "We place no restrictions upon you at all," they replied. "Visit whom you like. Ask what questions you like. There is nothing we want to hide."

