

# THE TOILER

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## Communist Trial Gets Under Way at Chicago

CHICAGO.—Characterizing the meeting of the left-wing bolters from the regular convention of the Socialist Party last September as "an agreement or conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States and all states of the Union by force and violence," Lloyd Heth, assistant state's attorney, opened the long-delayed trial of twenty-four members of the Communist Labor Party on July 12th for the prosecution in Judge Oscar Hebel's court.

After the monotony of nine weeks of grilling of prospective jurors, in the course of which some fifteen hundred veniremen were summoned, the actual trial comes as a relief to all the parties concerned. Of the twenty-four members of the Communist Labor Party originally indicted, 20 are in attendance.

"We are going to show that the left wing manifesto nineteen times advocates throughout its course a violent overthrow by the laboring men of this government and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat in its stead," said Prosecutor Heth.

"We are going to show," he added, "that in the first paragraph of the platform of the Communist-Labor Party, the defendants state that they stand by and declare themselves in full accord and harmony with the manifesto adopted in Moscow, Russia."

"We are going to show," he added, "that the congress was composed of revolutionary socialists from Europe, Asia, and America! that it was held for the purpose of forming a manifesto or program that would outline the means by which constituted governments might be overthrown and dictatorships of the proletariat established, and all nations be governed from Moscow."

Other evidence which the prosecution offers to submit to establish the guilt of the defendants includes the following:

That they adopted the red flag instead of the Stars and Stripes;

That they adopted the seal of the bolsheviks as the seal of their party;

That they opened and closed their daily sessions by singing the "Red Flag" and "giving the yell of the bolsheviks";

That they urged the workmen to abandon and repudiate forever the hope of conquering the state by legislative means—"they urge him to use unlawful means of any kind and nature whatsoever that may be effective in the annihilation of this government."

It is evident from the opening statement that the prosecution will bring all the way from Seattle, Washington and Winnipeg, Manitoba, witnesses to picture the awful things that are alleged to have happened because the workers in these cities went on general strike.

JULY, 14.—To-day was "flag day" in court. The 131st anniversary of the taking of the Bastille was the occasion selected by Assistant State's Attorney Lloyd Heth to attempt to carry the jury by dramatically unfolding a red flag which his agents seized at the home of defendant Edgar Owens, Moline, Ill., last January. Heth sought to show that Owens had carefully preserved the red flag, which was found at his home in a search, while "the American flag was crumpled up in a corner of a closet along with a lot of rubbish."

Heth is a tall young man with the traditional prizefighter jaw. He apparently takes himself very seriously and constantly comes over to the

press table to see that the reporters take down what he says. During the morning recess he had himself photographed holding the red flag.

Owens' membership card in the I. W. W. and the Communist Labor party and a charter of the Communist Labor party were admitted as evidence, Judge Hebel overruled the objection of counsel Forrest that "These do not tend to prove the conspiracy charges of the indictment," when Heth reported that "they prove the man is in favor of the revolution."

The prosecution then took up the case against William Gross Lloyd and introduced Francis Irving, a Chicago policeman who testified that on November 19, 1918, he stopped the defendant on a Chicago street because his automobile carried a red flag as well as an American flag and that he took him to the police station. Forrest objected that this testimony was irrelevant inasmuch as the law violation of which Lloyd is charged with, was not passed until July, 1919 but the court overruled him. George C. Washburn, stenographer in the office of the Chicago police department, read the remarks of Lloyd at a meeting in the Chicago Coliseum November 17, 1918. Objection to this as inapplicable because it occurred before the passage of the law was also overruled.

William A. Sadler, reporter on the Chicago Herald Examiner, recalled almost word for word an interview which he had with Lloyd in the Lloyd home last January though he did not have notes with him.

Chicago, July 15.—The manifesto of the Moscow International figured prominently in the trial of members of the Communist Labor Party today. Its full text was read to the jury but the document was admitted as evidence in the case of two defendants only. Max Badacht and L. E. Katterfeld who are alleged to have signed it. In the case of all other defendants, it was ruled out on vigorous objection of Counsel for defense Forrest, who insisted it could not be used to show criminal intent.

Additional testimony on the story of William Gross Lloyd's "sedition" speech in Milwaukee was given by Agnes Dunn of the Milwaukee Journal who having lost her stenographic notes recited the speech from memory. Robert H. Howe, secretary to Lloyd testified he had been instructed to send check for \$650 to Louis Fraina for helping defray expenses of the New York Left Wing conference of June, 1919.

Detective Sergeant Charles E. Egan testified concerning the display of copies of the Moscow manifesto and the Revolutionary Age in the Radical Book shop owned by Arthur Proctor, one of the defendants. In this trial which is of members of both the Communist and the Communist Labor Party, the Communist Labor Party is being tried first.

PRAGUE.—The return to this city of the delegation of Czech Social Democrats, after spending six weeks investigating conditions in Soviet Russia, has been made the occasion for several large demonstrations in favor of immediate peace and the resumption of trade with the Moscow government.

### Will Forfeit Trade if Deportation Threat is Carried Out

Cancellation of contracts for \$6,000,000 worth merchandise is the penalty which Boyer, Sloan & Co., of Montreal

## TIBOR SZAMUELY A Hero of the Revolution

By N. Buharin.

Every proletarian must and will familiarize himself with this name.

After the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, it was found on the frontier that one of its prominent leaders had met his end. We do not know precisely under what conditions such a valuable life for the working class ceased to exist. The official news was sounded that comrade Szamuely, being arrested by the gendarmes of Renner and the "Second Internationale," who just yesterday were gendarmes of Karl of Hapsburg, had ended his life by committing suicide—shooting himself. Possibly it happened so.



TIBOR SZAMUELY.

Comrade Szamuely was a proud character of iron will; the probability of falling alive in the hands of his enemies, may have drawn him into this despair. He probably could not conceive the surrender of his revolutionary sword to his foes, but preferred death to imprisonment. Another thing is possible. Are the gendarmes of Renner better than the gendarmes of Noske? Are Seitz and Bauer better than Schmidemann and Ebert? And if the German hangmen, who, motivated by an "attempt to escape"—murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the same could be accomplished by the Austrian hangmen against comrade Szamuely.

The Hungarian proletariat can be proud of this individual. We understand the madness and the anger that the Hungarian bourgeoisie had against our comrade. An unbending will, a rare coolheadedness, a brilliant and sharp pen and unbreakable energy, those were the outstanding characteristics of comrade Szamuely.

He acquired his revolutionary lesson, as did Bela Kuhn, with us in Russia, and here it was that the writer of these lines made his acquaintance. Before that Szamuely was the editor of the central organ of the Hungarian socialists—"Nepszava". During the war in which he experienced much, as an officer, he was captured. Here he lived under the most unbearable conditions in Manchuria and Siberia. Frequently he was forced to work in the mines in mud and water knee deep. Hard sickness he suffered. He once attempted to escape, but on the Swedish frontier was rearrested by the Czar's gendarmes. At last the revolution set him free.

Since then Szamuely, like a young eagle exercised his wings. There are very few who so selfdenyingly devote themselves to the cause that put the

historical strata in motion; like a real revolutionist he was imbued with the art of a revolutionist. He was ready for every deed, even the unpleasant and unattractive in character—the greatest and the smallest alike. With similar enthusiasm actively engaged in study class work; being the editor of the newspaper he, with that weapon combated the outbreak of the counter-revolution, he wrote pamphlets, he worked in extraordinary committees, spoke at meetings or drew the order of the day for other comrades. At any moment he was ready to let his "Mausers" talk from which he never parted. A man of unusual courage, Szamuely always was on the lookout. Generally neologues are not free from exaggerations. That does not pertain to Szamuely, in relation to him it cannot be exaggerated. I am writing these lines, and imagine before me lovingly and wise eyes of my comrade, from these eyes a tired glimpse with sarcastic smile flowing steadily—tired, nervous, but energetic face. Comrade Szamuely rarely slept more than from four to five hours, the rest of his life was devoted to the revolution.

Many people have I seen—revolutionists of all countries. But rarely have I found so confidential and devoted comrades as Szamuely. All his life was a beautiful example of revolutionary chivalry. Szamuely died in his youth. There is no doubt that his virtues would develop more broadly. But even what he gave the proletariat in his early years, is unforgettable. Among the other martyrs his figure will be an outstanding one between the two historical epochs—as a symbol in the struggle and Communism.

## "Five Years War", Premier Answers Railway Men's Demand

By the Federated Press.

LONDON.—"Five years' war and a million casualties" rather than recognition of the independence of Ireland, was Lloyd George's answer to a deputation of British railway men who called upon him to urge the withdrawal of the army of occupation from Ireland and the cessation of the transportation of munitions. The Premier threatened to close down the Irish railway unless the men agreed to help him in operation against Ireland.

J. H. Thomas who acted as spokesman of the railway-men said that if the troops were not withdrawn at least a truce should be called. Lloyd George refused to consider withdrawal of the troops.

"If it is a question of setting up an independent Irish Republic in this small group of islands, that is a thing we could accept if we were absolutely beaten to ground," he said. "In the United States Lincoln faced a five

years' war and a million casualties rather than acknowledge the independence of the southern states. We should do the same thing."

Bloodshed would follow the government's threatened policy of locking out railway workers who refused to carry munitions in Ireland, Thomas declared. "There is bound to be the most terrible starvation," he asserted. "Of course your troops can wipe out the Irish people, but you will not even then have contributed toward the solution of the problem."

"We really have got to remain absolutely adamant," was the Premier's reply.

(Didn't I read signs like: "Help us win the war for the sake of human liberty, freedom and self-determination of all small countries!—Maybe I was dreaming.—Compositor.)

MOSCOW.—A resolution, approving a foreign policy based on an attempt to make peace with other nations and the desire to let every nation decide its fate for itself was passed by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets at a meeting June 18. The policy was outlined by Tchitcherin, Commissar of Foreign Affairs to an audience composed not only of Soviet officials but of delegates from all parts of the world who had come to the Third International.

The burden of Tchitcherin's speech was an outline of the negotiations of the Soviet government with various nations for the purpose of re-establishing peace. In this convention he referred to the ambiguous policy of the Entente nations, which while negotiations were going forward with Krassin, at the same time supported the Poles and fitted out Wrangel. He insisted that the sole aim of the Soviet government had been to make peace with all the world and resume normal commercial relations.

## Three Buckets of Blood

Or the astonishing adventures of one, Duckworth by name, erstwhile reporter for the Cleveland "Press" in the land of the Bol-shev-iks.

If the Cleveland Press ever gets away from its timeworn habit of placing the word bolshevist in the same sentence with blood shed and human gore, it will be a happy day for its readers. The monotony is becoming oppressive. In this particular, the Press is following an established policy however of never giving its readers anything new. It is doubtful if it will live to break the rule.

For weeks there have appeared special articles ostensibly written by one, J. H. Duckworth, a representative of the Press who was sent to Russia to see what he could see of bolshevism. These articles have the ear marks of being written by the youngest reporter in a contest to prove his lack of veracity as a qualification for his job as Press reporter. However that may be, we have followed them with a watchful eye for any accidental elements of truth or probability that may have crept in. But the quest is hopeless. We give it up and we want to tell you why.

Take the issue of the Press for July 15th and let your eye rest upon the illustrated title head of columns one and two. Notice the drawings—right out of an illustrated "Buccaneers of the Spanish Main"; the blood dripping dagger in the mouth of the villain; three buckets slopping over with blood, the aggressive figures of the two-gun man. All calculated to be both funny and to leave the impression of bloodshed and murder in connection with bolshevism, sovietism and the Russian people.

The first line will lead you to believe that the story arrived via wireless on the date of publication. This pleasant little deceit of newspaperdom should not worry you as it is common practice to place the date of publication and the name of a foreign city at the beginning of news articles which were cooked up in the reporters' room.

Russia, anyway, this Duckworth got into Russia, past the vigilant Red Guards, who would have murdered him before breakfast, we are led to believe had they caught him. He wanders about Russia at times dodging the terrible Reds and at others consorting freely with them. There are tense moments when we are led to believe that should the Reds discover the identity of our hero the jig would be up and then again he comes out in the open braving the daggers and all and jokingly conversing with commissars and the multitude alike without apparent fear or danger to his precious civilized neck.

But this particular two columns of ten point is especially interesting in that it contains an unusual number of improbabilities. Hero Duckworth meets a bolshevik from New York in the office of the "Rosta" in Pskov. The New Yorker bolshevik, Medell by name, who is of course, dirty, badly in need of a shave and wearing trousers apparently pulled off a Zaratist trooper much larger than himself.

Right here we object to the trend of the story. We would like to know something about that newspaper "Rosta". Is it a bolshevik paper? How is it run? How is the help hired and paid, all alike or some more than others? What is the particular character of the "Rosta" and what in general is its policy? It is up against a paper scarcity as we are in America? A dozen questions arise in our mind, but no, there is nothing about that. Mr. Duckworth merely sat in the office of the "Rosta" apparently safe, and there met Medell and there the matter of the "Rosta" ends. We think Duckworth is a damned poor newspaper man to lose a chance to tell us all about how bolshevik newspapers are run, and allow himself to be led astray by an accidental meeting with a dirty bolshevik from N. Y. It seems that Medell was at one time on the Commission for the Suppression of Counter Revolution, but having a weak heart he found it impossible to order the shooting of prisoners. However, he backs up in the next sentence and says he is ready to shoot a bourgeoisie anytime—"just like a dog". But Duckworth doubts his statement. He "thinks he returned to Russia for 'pickings' and was disappointed". Can you imagine a bolshevik returning to Russia in the midst of revolution with the hope of other than suffering and perhaps dying? But leave that to Duckworth.

## Those Polish Bonds — and Recognition

— By Laurence Todd —  
Staff Correspondent—The Federated Press.

WASHINGTON. They're sweating blood, at the State Department because the armies of Soviet Russia are encircling Warsaw with a gigantic military pincers that presently may crush that pasteboard republic of junkers like an eggshell.

Seventy-five million dollars of the bonds of this Polish government are lying in the Treasury of the United States, received in payment for locomotives, freight cars—4,600 of them—vast supplies of food, clothing, hospital equipment, motor cars steam cranes, shoes, guns and all sorts of war munitions sold by the War Department Sales Division and the Army Liquidation Commission to the Warsaw adventurers.

These bonds are printed on good paper and in clear ink, and they declare on their face that at the expiration of six years the Polish Republic will pay the \$75,000,000 in gold; meantime it will pay 5 per cent interest on them. Curiously enough, the deal was not made in Washington or in Warsaw, but in Paris, and it was made with a private commercial firm, which gave the Polish bonds as payment Delivery of the goods has been made on requisition by the Polish authorities.

This \$75,000,000 is divided into two lots. The Liquidation Commission sold American food and other supplies that were already in France for \$59,000,000. The Sales Division of the War Department then sold to the same empty-pocketed customer \$16,000,000 worth of goods that were in the United States. The shipping board and the Army used Government vessels to carry the goods to Danzig, and received more bonds of the Polish Republic instead of cash for the job. And the Navy sold some goods, also. The returns from this shipping contract and from the Navy are not yet confessed at the Treasury.

Polish military adventures are the only ones to exchange printed paper for real food and clothing and machinery. Estonia and Lithuania and Latvia have each had the same sort of good luck, engineered in the same way—through sale to a private

corporation. Even the will-o-wisp Ukraine "government" secured a contract, but this was finally cancelled because the "security" was considered doubtful.

State Department officials admit that recognition has not been given all of these little governments set up by the Allies on the borders of Russia, but they claim that the United States has a "normal obligation" to the non-Bolshevist people of Europe that makes it perfectly all right to gamble on any of them. Moreover, the sales were made last year, when the chance of overthrowing Soviet Russia by the aid of Yudenitch, Denikine and Kolchak was considered especially good. Now that Soviet Russia has destroyed all of these invading forces of Zaratism and is driving off the Polish invasion with a rude thoroughness that promises to leave little left of the Pilsudski adventure, there is anxiety in the War and Navy and Treasury Departments, and more than anxiety in the State Departments. For, what will the voters say, when they realize that 4,600 railroad cars, even though of European gauge, and millions of pounds of corned beef and oleomargarine and other essential food-stuffs, have been traded for Polish bonds?

Since the day that Ambassador Francis Cabell from Petrograd that the new Bolshevist government was a pack of Jews that would not last more than two weeks, and since Secretary Lansing showed that message to Ambassador Bakhmeteff, with the suggestion that he refuse to act for the Soviet regime, American policy toward Russia has followed the obvious course of pride trapped by its own deceit. Desperately the Department disbelieves that Soviet Russia can last "more than a few months", and steadily the armies of Soviet Russia, fired by the faith of universal brotherhood and social democracy, surge westward against the crumbling wall of allied bayonets. Now the war against trade with Russia has been lifted, even by the State Department of the United States. Ask to-morrow—!

Recognition!  
There is that stack of bonds—fresh from the hands of Pilsudski.

But Medell is still interested in New York. "Is it really dry?", he inquires anxiously. Considering that Russia is and has been partly so since the decree of the Czar and entirely so since the Bolshevist emptied the wine cellars of the bourgeoisie in the streets, we do not see the implication. If Medell so loved his American, steamed beer why did he leave it for pickings in revolutionary torn Russia?

The scene shifts to the Hotel Palermo. Then there are really hotels in Russia. Having been led to believe that utter disorganization and ruin permeated Russia, it is refreshing to know that hotels are still open to the public and doing legitimate business. Still more refreshing is it to learn that a dinner of "boiled pike" was set before our faithful reporter. Then there is, still something to be had to eat in Russia! We are glad to hear it. Medell walks in. As the story continues, Medell has not profited by his brush with Western civilization. He spies Duckworth's boiled pike and immediately snatches it from his plate and devours it on the spot. This in spite of the fact that he at the same time enters into negotiations for trading bolshevist money for

Czar money, or any kind money which Duckworth may have in his possession, and seems to have plenty with which to purchase his own boiled pike. At the best this story sounds fishy.

Then the story bids good by to Medell, the boiled pike, the three buckets of blood and ends in a statement that all bolshevik commissars are eagerly gathering up all the Czar, Duma and Kerensky money they can get hold of, which indicates that a counter revolution is expected, implying that the bolsheviks can't last much longer at most.

Ofttimes disillusionments are severe shocks but we trust the Press will recover when it learns that all prostitution is not of the flesh.

### BILL'S OPINION.

TACOMA, Wash.—"The hammered-down, sawed-off, knock-kneed, bow-legged, wall-eyed, lantern-jawed I. W. W. or Socialist agitator is too rotten for hell," "Rev." Billy Sunday, sensational evangelist, told a crowd of 15,000 in the Stadium here as he waved his arms while standing on the speakers' table.

## ATTEND THE WORKERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE

### PICNIC

AT FRANK'S FARM, SHERBODY HILL WOOSTER AVE., EXTENSION AKRON, OHIO.

Sunday, July 25th

Speaker

Geo R. Kirpatrick

Prepare to bring your family and enjoy the day. Music, dancing and refreshments.

## We Want You To Help Us Spread the Light.

Here's how. Send us the names and addresses of news stands in your town. Better still, take a copy of The Toiler and interview the newsdealers. Ask them to order a small bundle of Toilers at 2c per copy for a try out.

News dealers are selling The Toiler in other cities. Why not in your town? We want you to help us secure at least one news dealer who will agree to give The Toiler a try out.

If you are one of the live ones, this little job is yours.

Will you do it? The time is NOW.

Send us the names of newsdealers in your town—NOW.

will pay if Santeri Nuorteva has been or will be deported by the British government.

This is the notification which the Russian Soviet government bureau at Washington forwarded the above named firm last week when news from England reached there declaring that Nuorteva, private secretary to Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, had been arrested in London and was scheduled for deportation.

Nuorteva sailed from a Canadian port a few weeks ago for London for the purpose of arranging for the financing of huge Canadian purchases of merchandise made by the Soviet representatives at New York for shipment to Russia. The cancellation of the orders would follow his deportation soviet bureau officials declared.

## Another Renegade

By H. R. Keas

One more labor magazine has heard the golden call. "Western Railway Journal," published monthly in Los Angeles by The Railway Men's Publishing Company, Inc., once a journal of much promise in the labor world, has gone definitely reactionary. This magazine, of excellent typographical appearance, enjoys a general circulation among railroad men of the western states. Class-conscious railroad workers in the western territory and elsewhere who are acquainted with the past record of this magazine, especially during the year 1918 and 1919, will be bitterly disappointed when they contrast its present policy with that of a short time ago.

Altho the magazine, was not, strictly speaking, a radical labor journal, it formerly gave space to articles treating of the different phases of the growing labor movement both here and abroad, without fear or favor. Its policy was that of an "open forum" for the railroad union membership and the only restrictions as to articles appearing in its pages were that "all contributions must be signed by the writer to insure publication. Individual contributors are responsible for their own articles." Under this arrangement the magazine became, in fact, an open forum. Many first-rate articles and letters were given space, most of them permeated with the new militant spirit of class-conscious labor. Many sincere and honest railroad workers contributed articles, letters and cartoons for its pages without thought of remuneration. Here is "our journal," they said. Here we may have a hearing, and become acquainted with the views of our fellow workers in turn." As contrasted with the repressive policy of the official union journals, the magazine rapidly gained a large following. Both sides of every question were given opportunity to express their views. Never "hidbound," it was an open medium of expression. What more could the railroad workers ask?

But all this has been changed. No longer will the progressive and class-conscious spirits among the railroad men turn to its pages with hopes running high. The golden call has been the deciding factor. Of this, the writer first became conclusively aware in the fall of 1919. In the latter part of August of that year, the American working people were horrified with the news of the dastardly crime committed by Steel Trust gannies, in the brutal murder of Mrs. Fannie Sellins, an A. F. of L. organizer, at Brackenridge, Pennsylvania. Filled with the terrible injustice of such actions against the working class by the hirelings of capital, the writer, up to this time a frequent contributor to its pages, forwarded to "Western Railway Journal," a short article, fully authenticated, covering the commission of the crime, together with a small cut of poor Mrs. Sellins' crushed head, made from a photo taken after her body had been removed to the morgue. At the same time, the writer also forwarded to them a marked copy of another article and photo appearing in a contemporary labor journal

published in the east, fully covering the horrible crime, with the suggestion that could they not print the article contributed by the writer, they at least publish the cut and give the facts, using as much of either article as was necessary to do this. The cut and the article contributed by the writer were returned to him, the editor giving the excuse that he "could not publish account too aggressive." Too aggressive! When the entire American labor movement was smarting with the hideousness of this cold-blooded crime against one of its beloved leaders. Undaunted by the rebuff, the writer, in a letter to one of the associate editors of the journal, took the chief editor to task. The associate editor immediately placed the matter before his chief. Here is his account of the affair. I quote his letter in part:

".....You said something! It was bully and hit the spot. I took it up to our big chief and sat down and told him to read and digest it. I thought it would ruffle him, but it did not; he acknowledged without hesitation that you were right and said that you expressed his real feelings, but he had been warned several times to go a little easy for the time being and as he was under obligations to those who were behind the paper, he did not want to take a chance just now of getting us in bad with an element that would be pleased to make it interesting for our cause." What a spineless policy for a professional labor paper. Labor paper indeed!

Now, increasing number of the railroad workers of the western states and elsewhere will wonder as to just who are "those.....behind the paper." But they will not have to wonder long. We find the answer in the July, 1920, number of this once promising magazine. No longer is this journal the open forum of the disinherited and toiling wage-slave, but, topping its editorial columns, we find a statement that the "Western Railway Journal" has "no patience with violence and disorder." The violence and disorder of the master class? We wonder. That "we do not believe in and do not approve of the direct action as advocated by the I. W. W.'s or Reds, and will not publish anything encouraging it." And following this a short endorsement of the middle-of-the-fence policy that has kept American labor hopelessly muddled for the past forty years.

Then we come to the leading editorial, "I. W. W.-ism." Here we find a short mention of the Centrality trial, the alleged interference by radicals with the war plans of the government, the destroying of thousands of dollars worth of produce; allegations many of which have been definitely proven untrue. The editor then treats of the recent and still-continuing deportations of alien radicals, censures the I. W. W. and "radicals of every kind," in a venomous effusion which would do credit to the best capitalist examples of this kind. No getting at the facts. No apparent desire to ascertain the truth about these matters and to

present them impartially to the reader for him to judge. Only bitter denunciation of everything radical in general. And right at the time when all thinking elements of the American labor movement are rapidly going radical-ward. Right at the time when the Attorney-General and the Department of Justice are undergoing the most severe condemnation by the liberal element of the country for the recent brutal raids and deportations. Condemnation and allegations supported by indisputable evidence which all fair-minded persons can not logically question. But then, we go on a bit further and here we find the reason for the change of policy, for the effusions of venom, for the throttling of labor's cause. Fat advertising contracts do not reconcile themselves with fearless advocacy of labor's real interests. As a naive acknowledgement of their obligations to "those..... behind the paper," why this support is so freely given and why we may expect to find many more editorials of a reactionary character in the pages of this "labor" journal in its future issues, the article is a gem. We quote it in its entirety, typographical errors and all:

### "PATRONAGE APPRECIATED."

"The patronage given the Western Railway Journal this month by the merchants and business men of Portland, Centralia and Chehalis is greatly appreciated by the railroadmen who own and control the Journal. By this support we are able to circulate the Journal more freely among the railroad men, and do what we can to advance the cause of good unionism. The Journal ADVOCATES AMERICANISM and not Bolshevism, and I. W. W.-ism, and does not in any way encourage the red or radical extremists. It hankers not to follow the rainbow of extreme radicalism into unpioneered paths or across uncharted seas. Unionism is plenty good enough for American labor, and we hope to soon see peace and harmony between the employers and the employees."

There we have it. Do not take the writer's word for it. All that is necessary is for one to go over the files of the magazine during the time from 1918 to the present. Note that as the matters of vital interests to labor were "soft-pedaled" or not mentioned at all, the fat advertising contracts increased inversely. Especially note the July, 1920, number, from which the writer has quoted. Note the "patronage given..... by the merchants and business men of..... Centralia"—Centralia! Where the policy of labor hatred and repression pursued by the business element of this western town was primarily responsible for the attack on the I. W. W. hall by men of the American Legion, and the resultant tragedy. What support for a labor journal to accept? Support dripping with blood. And the "good" unionism, forsooth! That "good unionism" so much in favor with the capitalist masters of America, which idea has been given such admirable expression by Finley Peter Dunne, in the quaint old Irish wit of "Mr. Dooley." "But," says Mr. Hennessy, "these open shop mia ye menshan say they are fr' th' unions iv properly conducted. An' there we are. An' how would they have them conducted? No strikes, no rules, no contracts, no scales, hardly any wages, an' damn few members."

## The Collapse of Interchurch World Movement

By Mary Senior

Written for the Federated Press  
New York.—(N. Y. Bureau) Putting God on a sound financial basis, the task undertaken by the Interchurch World Movement, has proved a wild-cat scheme.

The movement has collapsed, in spite of the vote just taken by the General Committee to continue. "Though on a greatly modified scale," it has collapsed largely because "holly-minded capital, when it found the Interchurch Movement entering its own precincts by making investigations of large industrial centers, decided that the concern of the church was with the other world and not with this, and withdrew its financial support."

So long as the interchurch leaders planned schools and missions to encircle the earth with piety, and so long as they issued advertisements of the kind that pictured a large cross at the top but a photograph of Roger Babson at the bottom, so long as they spoke of their ministers as the stewards and business agents of the Lord, chosen to put over his business on this globe, capital handed over large sums. But when the Industrial Relations Department of the Interchurch World Movement laid down the principle last October that labor has the right to bargain collectively and began its investigation of the steel industry at the time of the big strike, the Interchurch ran into a snag. Reactions began.

The first break which indicated trouble below the surface came in the last week in May when General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church withdrew from the Movement. The reasons given out for the severance were that the Movement was spending too much money and using wasteful methods.

In reality, Banquo's ghost, the steel investigation, was present at the feast. Maitland Alexander, a minister in the fashionable section of Pittsburgh trying to hide the embarrassing specter behind the extravagance charges, led the opposition. He is a member by marriage of the Laughlin family of the Jones and Laughlin Steel Company, next to the Bethlehem, the most powerful independent steel company in the country. The company is unalterably opposed to the labor and practically owns the steel town of Woodlawn, Pa., where constitutional rights of free speech, press and assembly have been crushed. In Alexander's congregation which is composed largely of steel manufacturers or those interested in the industry, feeling ran high over the steel report.

Dr. Alexander, in denying the charges made by liberal members of the Movement that he was influenced by "duets," said Mr. Dooley, "I properly conducted. An' there we are. An' how would they have them conducted? No strikes, no rules, no contracts, no scales, hardly any wages, an' damn few members."

"steel" in urging the withdrawal of the Presbyterians, said: "Personally I could not see how a body could accomplish anything by dabbling in industrial affairs when their work was supposed to be along spiritual lines."

The next group to leave the Movement were the Northern Baptists, who withdrew late in June. The move was urged by the Rev. J. Y. Aitchison of the Allegheny County committee, who with other Pittsburgh members ruled that none of the subscriptions made for their county should be used for such "side issues" as the steel investigation. Allegheny County is in the heart of the steel district.

In the meantime, the bone of contention, the 90,000 word steel report was effectually "side-tracked." No interim report was issued during the crisis of the steel strike when it would have been effective. Now that unionism in the steel industry has been almost completely crushed, the Committee promises to flood the country with free copies of the full report.

The history of the vicissitudes through which the report has gone makes a story in itself. From the moment the investigators struck the steel districts the steel masters got busy. Investigators carrying letters from prominent men and women, called upon officials in the steel works, asking that all facts and statistics be made available to them for a careful, impartial study. They were advised to return to New York City and go no further. If they wanted information the New York steel offices could give it to them, they were informed. Spies of the steel company seemed to spring from the earth to watch, to listen, and to follow the investigators. Conversations were started by strange men, leading questions were asked. The investigators found that their telephone calls and mail were being received by men registered at hotels in their names.

A report from one of these "under informers" to Judge Gary in New York, came into the hands of one of the investigators. The opening paragraphs are given here:

"November 12th, 1919.  
Special report in re Interchurch World Movement of America of 111 Fifth Avenue, New York City:  
After an investigation of this movement I find that there are a large number of radicals in it.  
First, the man in charge of the publicity is Robert Bruere, who is the same party that wrote a book called "On the Trail of I. W. W." This book was a sob story about the way that the I. W. W. had been treated in the past. He was also a member of the I. W. W. belonging to one of the New York Locals.  
A Mr. Soules, who is now in Pittsburgh, having an office in the Smithfield Street Methodist Episcopal Church building, corner Smithfield Street and Seventh Avenue, is another radical, and was a member of the National Liberties League of New York and also a member of the I. W. W. He is now here for this organization investigating the steel strike and carrying a small kodak, making pictures around the steel districts. These photographs are to be used in the coming investigating work which will be conducted in Pittsburgh in the near future.  
Another one of the party here is Miss Avage, and also Mary O'Brien, or Mrs. Van Vort; both of them are radicals."  
Members of the investigating committee have pointed out in this extract, which composes only a fourth of the full report, no less than six errors. Robert Bruere was never in any way connected with the steel survey nor with the I. W. W. The Mr. Soules referred to is meant to be Mr. Soule, who has never been a member of the I. W. W. There is no organization of the name of the National Liberties League. No kodaks were used by the investigators until long after the filing of this report. Mary Heaton Vorse is meant by Mrs. Van Vort.

Soon after this the Interchurch Movement began to show "cold feet" about the rash step of investigating the business of its chief members and contributors.

When the spy's libelous report was published in their journal by the Ohio Merchants' Association, which opposed the Interchurch, the Interchurch did not rise to defend its own investigators. Only upon the insistence of one of the libeled men did the Interchurch finally threaten to sue the merchants association, but it absolutely balked when asked by this same investigator to determine the sources of the false report. It even suggested that the libeled workers furnish affidavits of their personal records.

The report would have been entirely suppressed, it is said, except for the persistence of the strike commission. They appeared in a body at the Cleveland meeting of the Interchurch May 10, to insist upon action. Certain

## The Black Sheep.

Commencement.

CHAPT. XL.

While Jack and Collins were attending the now historic trial at Boise, Olive Anderson graduated from High School at Anamosa, after which, she was persuaded by her mother to take a trip to Colorado, for her summer vacation. Needless to say, the idea was entirely agreeable to her, nor was the reason for her willingness obscure. Colorado at this time was the storm center of the class war. And it was the class war in which she was supremely interested. Had her mother known the real cause of her willingness she would have opposed her going with all her power. But Mrs. Anderson, like most bourgeois mothers, knew nothing of the class struggle neither did she know anything of the power with which it grips the human soul. She thought that her daughter was in love with her, an unknown boy. As a matter of fact Olive was infected with Socialism, and was going through what may be termed the acute stage. Jack was a factor in her life; the ideals of Socialism were her life itself.

She had an uncle who lived at Boulder, Colorado. He was her mother's brother. Mrs. Anderson felt sure that if she could get her child from under the influence of her husband and under the brother's care, she would be far less likely to meet the boy again, and if she did the mother knew that her brother would be a formidable opponent to the boy. Mrs. Anderson expected Jack to return at harvest time to the wheat fields of North Dakota with intention of harvesting more than wheat. With a mind that seldom raised itself above the ritualism of religion or the gossip of the neighborhood she could see in her daughter's interest in the boy, nothing higher than a mere sex attraction. It must be said however, that Olive's conversation, and the occasional letters she happened to find in her room greatly tended to strengthen her suspicions. She firmly resolved, to leave no stone unturned in her endeavor to keep these two apart.

The fact that if Olive corresponded with him from North Dakota, she would correspond with him from Colorado, and that if the boy would come back to her in North Dakota, she would also go to her in Colorado, was not lost to the mind of mother Anderson. It also figured prominently in the calculations of her husband. True, Anderson pointed out these facts to his spouse and urged not without logic that if what Mrs. Anderson feared were true, it would be better to have the girl at home, where they could watch the progress of the affair, and if need be use drastic measures to stop it. While, if she met him in Colorado, she would be practically left to her own devices.

Sound as Anderson's logic undoubtedly was, it had little or no weight with his wife. Nothing he ever did or said had any weight, with her except his pocket book. Between him and his wife, love had died years ago. She surrendering her love to Jesus, and he devoting himself to business and cultivating a misguided zeal trying to keep his daughter ignorant of the ways of the world. To his wife, he was little more than a source of income. With customary bourgeois intelligence, she took the money he gathered, and spent it on her beloved parson, and the conventional church charities, thanking God, instead of him.

But, if Anderson's logic was good, his wife could not see it. She feared that her husband with his apparent admiration for the boy, would probably encourage, rather than oppose, Olive's association with him. In this, however, she was entirely mistaken. Anderson loved his daughter above everything else on earth. Mrs. Anderson could not see that, but her daughter knew it. With Olive, his mistakes had been those of the heart rather than the brain, that is as far as his relations with her were concerned. He had only love, and no ambition for his child, except to see the flower of her genius bloom forth unhampered, to its richest color and fragrance. While her mother, contrary to the conventional conception of what mothers ought to be, wanted to use Olive as a link with which to tie herself to her favorite social clique.

Thus it was, that Mrs. Anderson calculated that her brother in Colorado, whose religious and social proclivities, were very much like her own, would be a more formidable enemy to Jack, than her husband.

Of one thing she felt certain, that her brother would consult her, on all matters pertaining to the girl's welfare, and do his utmost to enforce her mother's will upon the child. While her husband would, as a general rule, consult either his own mind, or yield to his daughter's. For these reasons she decided to let Olive go to Boulder for the summer, where she would be in a community of her church brethren, and where later she could enter the university.

She felt certain that her brother would co-operate with her to the fullest extent. In fact she had written him what she considered to be the facts in the case, and he had agreed to buy Jack off as soon as he appeared on the scene, falling in which, he would send Olive home immediately. These plans she had kept care-

Cleveland newspapers, grasping the situation, made clear to Interchurch officials what unsavory publicity would follow the killing of the report.

By September, nearly a year after the steel strike, the conditions which caused it are to be revealed in a report published at the expense of those who are guilty. In trying to reconcile religion with modern industry, the steel makers, faced with the choice of God or Gary, have chosen Gary.

fully guarded from her husband. Altho it must be said to his credit that he suspected something of this order, and frankly told Olive what he considered the mother's plan to be.

One evening while working in his office, with Olive helping him file some letters, he stopped suddenly, and said, as he found one of Jack's letters in the unopened mail, "You must understand me Olive, that I do not approve of your correspondence with that young fellow, for the very good reason, that I know nothing about him. But that is not saying that I know all the decent and desirable people in the world. He may be as good as any man on earth. I know he has more brains than the average. If you love him I'll give you both a start. And if he is not, and you are convinced that he can make you happy, don't rush things, but bring him home, and I will help you make him what he ought to be. Your mother thinks that I am afraid to let you go to your uncle, that is not the case you meet him there. If he is the right sort, he will treat you as you ought to be treated, and I have confidence enough in your natural ability, that I believe no man on earth could get the best of you. You know that your Dad will help you in any thing you want and he'll let you be the judge of whether it is good or bad. I have tried to make your life for you, and failed. Now I am going to try to help you make your own life, so that you will win, and after all that is what counts with me. Play fair with your Dad, Olive and he will play fair with you."

"So I think you had better go to Colorado, and spend the summer running around the hills. This fall you can enter the University there, and I will come up and have a look as to how you are making it." Then after filling a pipe and causing it to describe its customary circle before his face from the corner of his mouth he added, "and when you get back into school, dig into your books, and forget those rotten papers you have been reading. They are enough to drive an average man crazy, let alone a silly romantic girl."

At all of this, Olive smiled a casual-god natured but not unappreciative smile. "It is no use for us to argue these questions, Daddy. We have argued them often enough. In fact we have done little else for the past eight months. The trouble with us is, that we look at life from different angles. To me the purpose of life is to serve my fellow men, to help them to improve their lot, and you live to see your fellow men, to improve your lot. You may be right and I wrong, but if you are right, it is no use that I educate myself, I would rather that death overtake me, before I actually take part in this world's affairs, than to live with the consciousness that I fattened and prospered on the injustice done to my fellow beings."

Anderson waved his hand in a deprecatory gesture. "Utopia Olive! bug-house utopia," he said emphatically. "I bet you fifty dollars that even your sweetheart would take what he can get, wherever he can get it. Such ideas as you have are born of empty pockets in men, and of empty heads in women. You take yourself too seriously. That is all. You are bent on making a lot of crazy sacrifices for which the mob won't thank you. The popular guy is the guy who gets it." Then after a pause, during which he eyed the girl admiringly, he continued: "Any way, after all is said and done, parasite as I am, I am the best friend you have on earth, Olive, and dura your little hide you know it."

"Why of course I know it," said his daughter, as she walked over to him and ran her fingers thru his hair. "I don't blame you, but the system."

"Now cut that out. You talk like Case Bateman, that crazy socialist down on Lake Anthony. He is always hollering about the system. I'd give a dollar to break up what little system he has." Then in a softer vein, "Now Olive be reasonable. What could I have done for you, if I didn't get it off the other fellow?"

"That's where the system is wrong. There is enough for all, and we should so conduct society, that all could have enough, as a reward for service rendered." Olive persisted.

"Oh, those rotten papers. I wish I knew who sent them to you. Still don't misunderstand me. I don't say there is no truth in them."

Ever since Olive had met Jack and the consequent change in her mental attitude towards things as they were in her class in society, Anderson had tried with his customary thoroughness to rehabilitate his daughter's shaken trust in him. He had succeeded most admirably, for instead of an alienation a closer and very practicable comradeship had grown up between him and his daughter. He realized that she knew the game, and discussed it frankly with her, and she understood, and loved him because of his fearlessness in telling her the truth. Truth, the reality of which she despised. What was true of his attitude toward her in business relations, and social conduct was even more true in his attitude toward the boy with whom his daughter corresponded. He at all times took a nonchalant attitude, simply discussing probable fact, and drawing impersonal conclusions from to look upon the whole affair in a them. In this way, he taught the girl healthy manner, and she freely gave him all the facts in which he was so deeply interested. He read all the boy's letters, and much of her replies.

(Continued next week)

## The White Terror in Hungary

III.

The delegates of the British Trade Unions lost no time in protesting, in Budapest as well as in London, against the active assistance of their government to the worst deeds of the White Terror.

They had been sufficiently warned by the experience of the Italian Delegates, so that they did not expect any marvelous results from their journey. They would be content, they intimated, if the impressive indictment collected within three days in Vienna among the refugees from Hungary, among people, part of whom still bear marks of tortures visibly on their bodies might be shown by them but once to the autor of the White Terror, Admiral Horthy, and to his protector, the British Plenipotentiary Minister at Budapest, Mr. Hohler. This man is to high degree personally responsible for all these atrocities, chiefly perhaps by the report to his government about "the alleged White Terror", which was submitted to the British Parliament and which should be read by every worker in order to see by it how the diplomacy of haughty capitalists may mock the sufferings of the working-class. Today the delegates of the British Trade Unions know enough to give, in a counter-report, a due answer to this master-hypocrite. This answer too may claim the attention of the workers of the world.

The delegation of British Labor left Vienna yesterday for England. They have seen most horrible things. Colonel Wedgwood is soon to speak in Parliament, and all of them will report to the Labor Party and submit their executive a resolution, which is going to be dealt with at the national meeting of the Labor party at Scarborough on the 21st of June. To this day the tortured Hungarian proletariat is looking forth with yearning hopes.

On May 28th the London conference confirmed the resolution of the Amsterdam office of the Trade Unions' Federation, namely: to boycott Horthy-Land as a protest against White Terror and as a means of fighting against this governmental method. As far as the practical executive is concerned, the attitude of the trade union of British Transport Workers

will of decisive importance. The transport workers of the countries represented in the Interallied Federation—England, France, Austria, Holland, Germany and Denmark.—All, there is no doubt about it, know their duty.

On the very same day the Norwegian Labor Party protested most vehemently against the toleration of this disgraceful regime and called on the workers of the world to fight against it.

Thus from four sides at least an appeal has been made or will be made to the working classes of the world, to do whatever they can for their Hungarian brothers, who are thrown helplessly at the mercy of the common enemy. The White Terror is raging in Hungary; it is as cynical and as insatiable as that of Thiers and Gallifet in 1871 at Paris, as cruel and insatiable as that of General Mannerheim in Finland in 1918. It is obviously growing, and new orgies of blood are being prepared. Some 6,000 persons have already been murdered, more than 60,000 are pining in camps and prisons and every one of them may be killed by any officer, whenever it pleases the latter. So far not one these uniformed murderers has been made to answer for his crimes.

A feeling of deadly anxiety oppresses the industrial workers and the agricultural laborers of the whole country. These are conditions which touch upon the lot of every worker in every country of the world. They are possible only because of the lack of solidarity among the workers. Working class solidarity is the only thing that can alter them.

But for the moment solidarity means: to be as strong as possible in the struggle against one's own capitalism, against one's own capitalistic government. A working class incapable of this may expect to see the Hungarian horrors one day in its own country. They may not believe it today; even yesterday it was not believed in Hungary. It has become an experience today. The workers of every country have good reasons to keep their eyes, that have been sharpened by watching the Hungarian example, well open at home.

The Hungary of today is the laboratory for all great reactionary experiment.

(The End)

# The Toiler

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CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, JULY 23, 1920.

## A British Labor Threat

Again has the militancy of British labor come to the front. With a vote of nearly two to one, 800 delegates attending the trades union congress and representing nearly 5,000,000 organized British workers have passed a resolution recommending a general strike to compel the government to withdraw its troops from Ireland and to stop the manufacture of munitions of war for use against Russia and Ireland. A ballot upon the resolution is now being taken by the rank and file and it is expected to carry.

That British labor is well aware of its power to enforce its demands thru direct action when it considers it has a matter of sufficient importance to act upon cannot be doubted. And that revolutionary leaders will welcome the opportunity for a test of strength with the government must be surmised. Delegates Hodges, one of Britain's most fearless labor men, said in introducing the resolution, that British domination of Ireland should be demanded and characterized it as "a big enough question on which to take direct action".

The government's reply to the resolution made thru the Irish secretary's office is evasive in character. The reply states that the resolution is probably based upon a misconception of the purpose of the British troops in Ireland, which is not that of occupation but merely to assist the civil power to maintain order.

We cannot conclude that British labor will accept such a weak statement. Its faith in the sincerity of the government is in no condition to withstand even a slight strain. The Irish question seems likely to become the factor that will sever such confidence as remains. As matters now stand, it is evident that British labor intends to force British imperialism into a semblance of humane treatment of its subject peoples and to a sharing of government with labor. Direct action, the general strike, the terrors which haunt capitalism, may soon assume their due respect in the arsenal of labor's weapons. All power to the workers, including the British!

## The (Fifty) Seven Varieties

Seven varieties of radicals met in convention last week in Chicago and came out as one. This in itself is rather an astonishing feat. According to natural law when a thing becomes perfect it disintegrates. But in the case of the Seven Varieties, each was so imperfect of itself that it had to combine to save itself from disintegration. Whether the remedy will be worse than the disease remains to be seen and whether it has now reached that perfect stage which precedes disintegration the future will reveal.

The Farmer-Labor Party is grounded upon two fallacies. First being that reforms actually affect the operation of the capitalist system. The second is that by the ballot they can be accomplished. These two fallacies are enough it would seem to rot the fabric of any political party. The F. L. P. is a protest against capital's monopoly of rule, but it is a protest without any means of backing up its kick. According to the statement of one delegate, it is a classless party. Of course he meant economically classless. Doubtless that is true, for we find in its ranks individuals from all classes, workers, petty bourgeoisie and some large ones. But to the best of our knowledge it is a party of a class of a certain kind. It is composed of that class of discontented, liberal minded elements which comprise a large proportion of our citizens who have broken away from the ranks of the stand-patters, but, not having the knowledge and understanding of the structure of capitalist society, seek to iron out its wrinkles with the half warm flattery of reformism.

We are constrained to state that the days of reformism are past. The demands of the present time call for revolutionary measures if progress is to be made. Such workers as are inveigled into the ranks of the F. L. P. stand a chance to learn thru its failure the difference between beating the air and revolutionary class-conscious action. The F. L. P. is not an organization thru which the wage slaves of American can function in the creation of the Industrial Commonwealth which is to succeed capitalism. And that is sufficient reason why wagemakers may cheerfully throw it a highball.

## "Fair and Sympathetic"

While the possibility of swinging the labor vote is of the remotest, there is plenty of evidence that Samuel Gompers is still led by democratic strings and will use his influence with the A. F. of L. to boost for Cox.

After chasing across the continent from one of the old party conventions to the other, begging for crumbs for labor, Gompers is now back where he started from playing the monkey for the democratic organ grinder.

Gompers takes a great deal of comfort in the assurances of the democratic machine bosses. He finds that the democratic platform is nearest to the demands of labor and reposes his confidence therein. From his statements regarding these matters as revealed in the public press, we quote this gem: "His (Cox) nomination was a happy selection. Gov. Cox has been fair and sympathetic". Now if labor can be happy on Cox sympathy then all will be well along the Potomac. Prob-

# EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

ilities are that workers will be handed plenty of "sympathy" before very long. Whether they find that sympathy satisfying to their empty stomachs or not remains to be seen. But with Sammy on the job there is no reason why they should not be content.

## The Cost of Capitalism

While the cost of maintaining the capitalist profit system is incalculable as regards the miseries and sufferings of the exploited millions, its cost in finances is ascertainable.

Of the government appropriations for 1920, 93 cents of every dollar goes to pay for wars, past, present and future. Public works and governmental functions receive the balance of the dollar.

The frightful comparison of the expenditures for war and those for educational, research and development work are seen when the actual figures are placed side by side. When we realize that only 1.01 per cent of the total of appropriations is used for the advancement, education, and improvement of the people's life, then the terrific waste of economic means which the maintenance of the capitalist system and its wars entail, becomes plain.

And then there are individuals who will maintain that the apex of human development has been reached in the present system which requires that 93 per cent of the expenses of its maintenance must be used in the ghastly work of murder and preparation for murder. Meanwhile the people's life continues upon its low plane amid sufferings, fear of misfortune and wasted energies.

## That Vacation Ghost

In these vacation days we observe that that Ghost which haunts almost every household in the land is not to be evaded. We refer to the ghost of Artificial Living. This statement is provoked by an advertisement of "vacation necessities" consisting of a list of 21 articles purporting to be of prime necessity to women vacationists. With the exception of three articles the whole list is one of face powders, creams and such slops as modern woman is supposed to besmear her face and figure for the sake of beauty as convention declares it to be.

The curse of living today is the artificiality which most of us endure for one reason or another, possibly because we have not the courage to live more naturally. It would seem that eleven months of the year would be sufficient in which to burden ourselves with all the googaws, frills, manners, customs etc., of a debased existence without perverting a few weeks vacation in the woods or at the lake side by dragging the Ghost along. But habit becomes in time a fixed principle and when it is encouraged by a profit making system, poor gullible humans soon find themselves intangled in an inextricable web.

We recall to mind the words of that stern but perfectly sane and original thinker, Henry David Thoreau upon the occasion of a journey he wished to take. Upon inquiry at the railroad station, he found that the fare was a dollar. He decided to walk, for as he said, in order to ride, he would have to first hire him self out for a day whereas if he walked the day would be his, and a far better view of the scenery along the way to boot. Precious few of us have the courage or incentive of Thoreau. Most of us give over to the customs of the age, with little opposition or thought, even forgetting that Nature's Sun and Wind are the best healers of a sickened body—and soul.

But of course the cosmetic peddlers would never let us learn that if they could help it.

## The Opinion of "J. S."

Akron Ohio July 5th, 1920.

THE TOILER.

"I am a Socialist for many years and has lost many a job on account of being a Socialist and would lose my present job if my name would appear in your paper therefore I am with holding my name but I will look for you reply to my opinion as J. S."

"Well in the Toiler of July 2nd, 1920 entitled The Pope is damned. Now you are harming the Cause of our Comrades by such hee-haw talk the Pope is not what you have said he is and you know it. You also know that the law of the State wont put you were poor old Debs is by talking about the Pope you dont say much about Palmer, Wilson, Lloyd George, King George and a lot more but you want to play a save game by getting after some body who you know wont give you any trouble you are some fighter for our poor fellows just Cause. Their is highly payed agents by the rich tyrants of our Country to harm our Cause and you ought to be one of the Agents if you are not one already for you are not fit for what you are doing for his poor Slaves or what you are suppose to be doing. Poor old honorable Debs is a pitty to have him behind the dirty jail walls he would tell us what is going on jail or no jail."

Comrade J. S.

J. S., we are overwhelmed by your generosity. You will not risk losing one more job by having your name appear in The Toiler, but you are very solicitous that we "say something" that will land us in jail. The trouble with J. S. is that he is blinded by the light (or the darkness) from the Papal throne. So much so that we are sure that if even Debs spoke the truth about the Pope, J. S. would be among the first to dub him an "agent of the rich".

So far as we are aware, no one is taking any chances on a jail sentence by telling the facts about Palmer and Wilson and other political tools of the predatory interests, either native or foreign. At the same time it is well to recognize dead whales when you meet them, i. e. Wilson and Palmer. There is little left of them but the stinking carcasses but if J. S. wants to attack them he is welcome to the joy of the battle. As for us, we like to choose a live subject for our trenchant Oliver.

## Has It Come Again?

That which seemed too far away to be noticed by the casual observer four months ago now surely appears threateningly nearer. In fact the confession is frankly made in banking and trade circles that a curtailment of production on a vast scale is already underway. Overtime work, which a few months ago was the rule has been dispensed with, thousands of employees are being laid off in a score of industries, unemployment is growing and, with the high prices still maintaining a steady advance, that "prosperity" in which the workers were supposed to be wallowing just recently has vanished and a real economic hardship is being felt.

In the New England states the unemployed situation is most acute in the textile trades. The shutting down of the American Woolen Company's plants have turned out an army of 40,000 unemployed.

The closing of the mills, it is claimed, is due to the curtailment and the cancellation of orders, including a heavy buying from over seas. The low exchange rates have doubtless played a part in forcing this reduction of orders. At the same time there are indications that the Woolen Companies themselves are forcing an artificial condition in the hopes of lowering wages, maintaining high prices and discouraging labor union organization among their employes. The following statement from the pages of the Daily News Record, organ of the textile trade is significant of a determination to force the workers thru a period of unemployment to return at decreased wages, which of course includes lack of union organization.

"It seems more than likely that when conditions do improve, an effort may be made to get operatives back in the mills at lower wages and longer hours. Labor leaders say they believe this is planned. It will not be successful, they maintain. But they will not say what is to prevent operatives long out of work and without funds, from returning to work at almost any rate of wages and any schedule of hours."

Should the present wave of unemployment fail to recede, the mill owners will have their wish of thousands of hungry workers besieging their gates when the mills open.

The textile trade is not alone in this curtailment of production. The Akron rubber industries are fast reducing their shifts to mere skeleton crews, thousands having been laid off for indefinite periods with reduction of working time and number of employes still taking place. Unemployment in Cleveland and surrounding territory in the building trades and in industrial establishments is growing and the same is being recorded in other industrial centers. A recent survey made by the United States Bureau of Labor disclosed that of fourteen representative industries, ten showed reduced pay-rolls compared with the previous month while four showed increases. R. G. Dunn and Co. report the greatest number of insolencies in 18 months, 674 having been recorded in June.

The workingclass generally have come to regard the appearance of periodical industrial crises as merely incidental features of social phenomena without inquiry as to the necessity for them nor the purpose they fulfill in the scheme of capitalist production. Likewise do they accept the consequent suffering to themselves in a like thoughtless and indifferent manner, much as would a religious fanatic accept a physical ailment as a visitation from God with out an inquiry into personal hygiene. Having been taught in both Sunday school and secular to trust the management and control of his life to an invisibility and the "great" men of the period, it has become an adept at accepting the miseries of capitalism in an unquestioning and unanalytical manner.

It is only when we inquire into the reasons and purposes for the establishment and operation of industries that the WHY of industrial panics can be answered. When we recognize that all industry is operated for the profit which can be made out of the business, that is out of the labor employed therein, then we have made a start toward finding a solution for the panic puzzle. And when we further learn that for every dollar's worth of goods labor produces only a part of it goes to labor then we may draw a straight line from this point to the inevitability of industrial crises. For, if labor receives only a part of the value of its product, then a surplus remains which must somehow be sold or else it piles up in the warehouses. Foreign markets must be established, the earth must be scoured for places where this surplus can be sold. Savage races must be subdued and turned into civilized creatures so, as to provide a market for the product which "superior" civilization has exploited its workers of. As long as foreign markets are to be had this game of profit grabbing may continue more or less satisfactorily. But as these foreign countries establish themselves as productive centers and set up an industrial system upon the same exploitative basis, then the market begins to shrink, the surplus which labor has produced, but cannot buy back on account of its wages being less than the value of the goods produced, begins to pile higher and higher and the warehouses are filled and industry must close. Then the workers are thrown out—because they have filled the world with plenty, every warehouse is full, every market is loaded with its products, but labor suffers in the midst of abundance.

The remedy for such an outrageous and unscientific "system" of industry should suggest itself. The ownership of industry must be taken out of the hands of private hands and placed in that of the workers, not individual workers, nor groups of workers but in a society and government of the workers composed of all actually engaged in production. The value of the product of labor must be retained by the laborer for his own use and comfort. No parasite must be permitted to exist thru patriotism. Industry and the needs of human life must cease to be merely a means for the enrichment of a few, but must become the means and impulse for a higher degree of life for those who fulfill all useful purpose.

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# THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

From "Soviet Russia".

The economic policy of the Soviet Government was established in the midst of incessant fighting, when the entire country was a vast military camp, and the problems of the war were paramount. To put this policy into practice demanded an intense application of forces to overcome internal as well as external resistance. The carrying out of this policy was hindered as much by the attacks of the counter-revolutionists as by the open and secret sabotage of the superior technical personnel; inertia and prejudice were the enemies to be fought in a difficult struggle.

The Soviet organs which direct the economic life are based upon trade union organizations. From top to bottom the system of direction is constructed upon trade union organizations. From top to bottom the system of direction is constructed upon this basis.

At the head of the entire administration is the Supreme Council of National Economy; in the provinces the local Councils of National Economy.

All the activities of the Supreme Council of National Economy are supervised by a Bureau composed of eleven persons. Corresponding to the various branches of industry: metallurgical, chemical, textile, electro-technical, etc., the Supreme Council of National Economy is divided into fifty sections of production, at the head of which are the Committees, each composed of from three to seven persons.

The appointment of the president of the Supreme Council of National Economy are approved by the statute, are ratified by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of all Russia; that of the members of the Bureau by the Council of People's Commissaries. But the candidatures are usually submitted before ratification to the general Council of Russian labor unions.

All the sectional committees of the Supreme Council of National Economy are approved by the Bureau, but never until after a preliminary understanding with the corresponding syndicate. The workers as well as the specialists (engineers, technicians), have members in all the committees and in the Bureau.

The local Councils of National Economy are the executive organs of the Supreme Council of National Economy, and are organized on the same basis as the latter, though being more restricted.

The management of the factories and administration for the various state enterprises and trusts is composed in each case of from five to seven members (workers and specialists), but they are sanctioned by the corresponding section of the Supreme Council of National Economy or of the local Council of National Economy only after a preliminary understanding with the corresponding syndicate.

A great number of specialists are on the Committees and in the management of factories: as many as sixty per cent are specialists and forty per cent are workers.

Thus the Soviet power replaced the system of capitalist direction by the Soviet system, which planted deep roots in the farthest corners of our economic life. Despite the difficult external and internal conditions this system is accomplishing its task perfectly.

To sum up these two years of struggle, the

means of production passed almost entirely from the hands of the capitalists and proprietors into those of society personified in the Soviet organs.

Nationalization of the factories, shops, mines, etc., was brought about first in the principal branches of industry and in the most important enterprises.

False information has often been circulated in Western Europe with regard to this nationalization, which, it was said, followed no fixed plan. This is a falsehood without foundation.

Nationalization, especially beginning with the second half of the year 1918, was brought about in accordance with a fixed plan embracing the industrial branches and enterprises most important and indispensable for the organization of the national economy.

As to the "small trades" and the cooperatives, not only were they not nationalized, but they were protected by special decrees and dispositions.

The following tables give the idea of the proportionate figures for nationalization in the course of the last two years:

## Nationalization During the Years 1918-1919.

1. Enterprises ..... 4,000
2. Merchant marine construction ..... 16,000
3. Private property ..... 600,000,000 hectares
4. All the banks of all cities.

These figures are a little short in the case of the enterprises, 4,000 enterprises are under the Supreme Council of National Economy, but in the provinces many nationalized enterprises, being under the direction of local organs, do not figure in the statistics drawn up by the central organs.

It may be said with certainty that ninety per cent of industry is nationalized.

The Soviet power inherited from Capitalism enterprises isolated and deprived of connecting bonds. Its task, as indicated above, was to construct an organization of national economy based upon socialist principles.

It was indispensable that there be organized and created in the domain of industry and that of rural economy associations of isolated enterprises, that they be provided with fuel and basic materials, and their financial system constructed upon new principles.

In resume of all the innovations introduced in the domain of national economy in the course of these two years (1918-1919) we have the following table:

There were organized:

### I. In Industry.

1. State trusts ..... 90
2. Factory administrations ..... 4,000
3. State systems for the provision of wood, wool, hemp, etc.

### II. In Rural Economy.

1. Soviet exploitations ..... 2,399
2. Rural communes and associations ..... 5,961

In this manner industry and rural economy during these two years were not only placed under the direction of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, but also reorganized internally with reference to production. A concentration of production was brought about. Trusts like that of the electro-technical industry, uniting without exception all the enterprises which fought one another in pitiless rivalry before the October Revolution, or like the

State trust for machine construction, comprising sixteen of the most important enterprises, represent a result unprecedented in the economic world.

The situation is similar in the nationalized enterprises of the textile industry, to the number of more than 500, divided into forty different associations each embracing several enterprises and all directed by a "principal management."

From the point of view of finance, provisions, registration, the reception of products, etc., the organization of industry into trusts was of enormous advantage. The regulation of accounts between the nationalized enterprises and their associations takes place only in the books and without the payment of cash.

Owing to this system the distribution of fuel and basic materials becomes more equal and rational. If one considers the extremely difficult situation in which Soviet Russia was placed, during these last two years, in the matter of fuel, having at her disposal only ten per cent of indispensable coal and only ninety-three million poods of naphta in lieu of the 400 millions necessary each year, one can see that only the centralization of distribution and a certain economy have aided us to evade a terrible fuel crisis. As for the distribution of raw materials, that was organized in a satisfactory manner.

In the sphere of rural economy the organization of Soviet exploitations direct by Soviet organs made it possible not only to protect agriculture, the great land properties, but also permitted the industrial proletariat to take part for the first time in agricultural labor, and created also for the first time solid ties between industry and agricultural exploitation, between the city and the country.

At present nearly three million hectares are already in the hands of Soviet exploitations and agricultural communes.

Returning to the economic situation and the results of the economic activities, we should indicate first that this situation, as a result of our activity, depended upon changes brought about by the civil war.

The Don Basin, the Urals, the Caucasus, the principal sources of fuel and raw material — of coal, naphta, iron, cast-iron, steel—passed from hand to hand. For a certain length of time they fell again to the Soviet power, but new assaults by the White Guards deprived us of them, ruining organized production and taking from us accumulated reserves.

As a result the center of Soviet Russia became our principal base.

The loss of the Don Basin meant for us the loss of eighty per cent of all our coal; the occupation of Baku by the English deprived us of naphta: the occupation of the South and the Urals—of metals.

It is easy thus to realize the difficult conditions under which our economic life developed.

But in addition to territorial conditions, our economic situation was influenced by the fact that we had again to mobilize our industry and employ it for the needs of war.

Such are the conditions under which our economic activity was developed and our progress brought to realization.

The following figures characterize the principal branches of our economic activity where it was pursued without interruption during these two years:

## PREPARATION OF FUEL AND RAW MATERIAL

(Quantity in Poods)

Products	1918	1919
<b>A. Fuel</b>		
1. Coal (regions of Moscow and Borovichi) .....	almost 30 million	almost 30 million
2. Wood (in stock and reserve) .....	4 mill. cu. sazshins	5 mill. cu. sazshins
3. Peat .....	.58 million	60 million
4. Naphta .....	.93 million	Baku occupied by English
<b>B. Raw Materials (in the stores of the S. C. of N. E.)</b>		
1. Flax .....	5 1/2 million	
2. Cotton .....	2,784 million (?)	6 1/2 million (with Turkestan reserves)
3. Wools .....	2 million	
4. Hemp .....	2 million	
5. Hides .....	5,461,000 pieces	2,365,800 pieces (for six months)
6. Metals (reserves) .....	.30 million	40 million

The above figures are only for fuel and raw material accumulated and utilized by the Supreme Council of National Economy.

We can see that the situation has become worse in the matter of fuel because of the loss of the naphta. In 1918 we could transport the naphta from Baku, but in 1919 we did not receive any at all.

Owing to this circumstance we were obliged to use wood fuel for the railroads and other enterprises, and this was the cause of the famine in fuel for dwellings. Before the war no more wood was prepared than now: from four to five million cubic sazshins, but then there was coal, and naphta which served industry, and the wood was used principally to heat dwellings; now wood is the principal fuel. As regards peat, the situation has improved, and in 1919 it was prepared in greater quantities (1918 — fifty-eight million poods; in 1919—sixty million poods). The preparation of raw material for our textile industry was sufficient, and the industry is fully provided for. Flax and furs have accumulated in such great quantities that it would be easy to export them abroad.

With regard to metals the situation has become difficult, we have utilized our old reserves all this time. With the retaking of the Urals and the defeat of Kolchak, the situation has improved and we are receiving metals from the Urals.

In short, the system of provisioning under Soviet rule functions perfectly and is solidly constructed.

The latest statistics indicate that more than a million workers (excluding those employed on railroads, commerce, etc.), are at the present moment working in the industries of Soviet Russia. (The figures are incomplete.) In certain branches of industry (in the miners of the region of Moscow, in the electro-technical industry) all the enterprises are operating without exception; in others, — in the textile industry for example—almost fifty per cent of the enterprises are at a standstill, but it is impossible to name a single branch of industry which has ceased completely. The facts do not show it. In short, the total number of salaried workers (workers and employees) reaches the minimum number of three million men. In certain spheres progress even may be claimed. During these two years our economic organs undertook the organization of fifteen important enterprises several of which are already completed and operating. At Podolsk (province of Moscow) a great factory for the repair of locomotives has been constructed and is already operating; as is a cartridge factory at Simbirsk. Two great electrical stations, one at Kachira, the other in the marsh of Chatour, are being completed. The construction of a factory of agricultural machinery and implements has commenced at Saratov.

But the most important enterprise is the exploitation of schist deposits in the provinces of Samara

and Kazan, an enterprise begun in 1919. Several mines are already being exploited.

Let us cite here the figures relative to the principal branches of industry serving military as well as civil needs.

### Production and Reserves in 1919

**Fabrics**  
Average monthly production—14 million arzhins  
Reserves—nearly a milliard arzhins.

**Sugar**  
Production during the campaign 1918-1919:  
In Soviet Russia—4 million poods.  
In Soviet Ukraine—10 million poods.

**Matches**  
Production in 1918—1,032,23 boxes.  
During six months in 1919—412,809,000 boxes.

**Soap**  
Monthly production—20 to 25 thousand poods.

**Salt**  
More than 10 million poods have been extracted. These products are distributed in accordance with a definite plan. First the Red Army is provided, then the workers, and finally, the rest of the population.

Let us consider now the question of food. During these two years the most difficult problem was that of food. The regions most rich in wheat, such as the territory of the Don, South Russia, the territories beyond the Volga, and Siberia, were either in the hands of the enemy or were passing from hand to hand.

When after the October Revolution, we took over the power there were almost no reserves of bread. The harvest of 1918 had a yield above the average (in twenty-five provinces of Soviet Russia it reached 1,235 million poods). The system of rationing which was organized about this time could store 100 million poods. This permitted us in the second half of 1918 and in 1919 to improve the bread ration for the population compared to the first half of 1918. The harvest of 1919 was also above the average, and besides, the whole region beyond the Volga and a part of Siberia passed into our hands. This year we hope the grain reserves will surpass those of last year. Difficulties are encountered principally in transportation for the war. But thanks to the consolidation of the distributing system an improvement may be expected, not very great it is true, but an improvement nevertheless.

We have cited figures relating only to the principal branches of industry, taking for a basis the average monthly production. We have described only the general economic situation in Soviet Russia, and we have summarized the results of our activity in the economic sphere during the last two years. But it is needless to say that we could not here include all that has been accomplished by the working masses in the titanic creative work of the new life which is in the making under our eyes.

## RUMINATIONS OF A REBEL

By Tom Clifford.

The Supreme Lodge of The Bel-ligerent Bellyachers of America met in Chicago and put their complaints into concrete form. They not only did that, by heck, but they nominated a candidate for President to see that their complaints are listened to by the capitalists who control the government and will still control it even though their candidate were elected. The Farmer — Labor Party will shoot its wad in November and then quietly die of sleeping sickness. None of these malcontents express dissatisfaction with the capitalist system of production, in the absence of which it may be assumed that they are merely out of harmony with the political administration of the capitalist state. The quasi — radical voter will find it somewhat perplexing to choose between the platform of the Farmer-Labor Party and the Socialist Party. The Communist however, is immune to this reformist rubbish. His attention is unalterably fixed on the one economic demand — the earth and the fullness thereof for the working class. Still, the coming election will be a magnificent political scrap, out of which will be born thousands of class conscious rebels. Watch us grow.

Credit is due the Single Taxers for the judgement displayed in refusing to co-operate with the other insurgent elements. They realized that their reform would receive but little consideration if associated with the others, and accordingly they decided to go it alone. Thus was another political

party born. The Single Taxers have for many years threatened to take this step, and it remains to be seen whether this new departure will be productive of better propaganda for their hobby than playing ball with the Democratic Party. Whatever the Communists may think of the Single Tax Theory, it must be admitted that its adherents at least condemn the first of the capitalist trinity — rent, interest and profit. Henry George held that rent derived from land was income that the owner did not earn. He contended that rent was wholly a social product, and therefore should go to its creator — the community. George was not a Communist, because he did not apply this theory of rent to interest and profit. These he would leave as private possessions. The Communist insists (and both logic and common sense harmonize with the deduction) that not only rent, but likewise interest and profits on goods made for the market, are social products. In common with rent they represent unearned increment. They, too, are social rather than individual products, and should therefore pass to their owner—society. The Single Taxer is afflicted with mental strabismus. He needs a new pair of goggles.

Now that the Soviet armies have driven the invading Poles from Russia and threaten to carry the war into the front yard of the Allies' protege, the bourgeois governments of Europe are clamoring for an armistice. So long as the Poles were successful not a "peep"

## Country Daily Would Murder Communist Editor

The following, referring to Linn A. E. Gale, publisher of "Gale's", a Communist monthly originally published in New York for a year, and published in Mexico City for the last two years, is taken from the June 19 issue of the Sun, a country daily published at Norwich, New York. It is interesting to note that Gale had his first experience as a cub reporter on the paper in question, graduating to large cities and settling first in Albany and later in New York City. The Norwich Sun published many complimentary things about him until he left the Democratic Party and became a Communist — then its policy changed. Before he was a Radical, Gale was, in the estimation of the Sun, a "brilliant writer", a "capable editor", etc., and his word was "as good as his bond." After he became a revolutionist, all this changed. It is evident that Gale's pen is sufficiently vigorous to hurt the tools of capitalism, else such a nasty yelp would not have been heard.

Here follows the editorial in part: "That such a vile, contemptible specimen of humanity as Linn A. E. Gale, publisher in Mexico City of 'Gale's Magazine', is permitted to live, move and have his being, is a thing that passeth all human understanding. 'Copies of his riot-breeding publication made their appearance in this country yesterday and, sorry to say, one found its way to the desk of the editor-in-chief of the Norwich Sun.

"Its pages are filled with the usual scandalous assaults upon all decent and liberty loving inhabitants of these glorious United States.

"Gale and his seditious sheet should be silenced forever and if he were given his just deserts, HE WOULD BE BLINDFOLDED WHILE STANDING BACKED TO A MEXICAN WALL, FACING A FIRING SQUAD THAT HAS BEEN ORDERED TO DELIVER SWIFT AND EVERLASTING RETRIBUTION. Or he should be brought back to this country and have his skull which encloses a perverted brain, capped with the iron hood attached to the end of an electric wire.

"At least he should be confined to a solitary cell upon bread and water in order that his diseased gray matter which guides his vitriolic pen may not cause further trouble here or elsewhere....

"The devil is a cunning fighter and it is no easy matter for mere man to stand up before him and say 'be gone.' BUT IN THIS MAN GALE HIS SATANIC MAJESTY HAS A DANGEROUS EARTHLY RIVAL WHO WILL SOONER OR LATER USURP THE POWERS OF THE ONE BELOW.

## REFORMER OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

But for fear that this invitation to murder Gale would not be sufficiently explicit, the same paper under date of July 2, said:

"A man of Gale's type is a cancer.... THERE IS BUT ONE WAY TO DISPOSE OF THE BENDICIT ARNOLDS THAT INFEST THIS COUNTRY—AND WHO SOMETIMES SNEAK AWAY TO OTHER LANDS TO SAVE THEIR SKINS—I KNOW THAT WAY—SO DO YOU! NOW WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?—Sit idly by and let him continue his nefarious work or mete out to him the justice he so richly deserves! This matter is squarely up to every true American citizen.

"The writer of this article is right here in Norwich ready to 'do time' for its publication if needs be — ready to settle the affair with Gale upon the field of honor."

If Gale had suggested giving such treatment to a capitalist, it is probable that he would have been charged with inciting to "force" and "violence" and "trying to overthrow the government."

But when the prostitute press of the capitalists wants to resort to "force", "violence" or the disregard of the government and its laws, in order to get revenge on an influential editor, nobody thinks of proposing punishment.

These excerpts are interesting as affording additional proof that the constitution and the law are but "scraps of paper" between plutocrats.

## No Prosecution of Detroit Communists

Detroit, Mich.—But few of the many hundred alien radicals arrested in the sensational raids conducted under the supervision of Attorney General Palmer are still in custody at Fort Wayne. The majority have been released on bail, pending the decision of the Washington Department, and many more were released because there wasn't a scintilla of evidence to prove they engaged in or intended to engage in illegal activity.

Detroit has been heralded far and wide as one of the big "Red" centers in the country. Local and outside newspapers carried hair thrillers of the discoveries made by the department of justice agents, which have now been proven to be a fiasco. The predicted "revolt" did not only fail to materialize, but the majority of the revolutionists were found to be of the mildest sort, totally ignorant of the vast plots that they were supposed to have engaged in.

The great store of arms glaringly reported to have been found cached in the hiding places of the local communists, upon roll call were found to be a few jack knives, a bayonet purchased in an U. S. Army surplus goods sale for domestic purposes, and a few antiquated, rusty revolvers, without cartridges.

The "mysterious" "beautiful" red haired woman communist, reported to have attempted to smuggle in a lot of razors to the raid victims held herded for six days in the Federal building, was a department of justice agent, intent on playing her part in the melodrama.