

WORKERS OF THE
WORLD UNITE

THE TOLLER

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WHAT DOES THE REVOLUTION MEAN TO YOU?

Capitalism is at death grips with the forces making for Industrial Democracy. The masses are rising against the classes that hold them in bondage. They are asserting their power and threatening the rule of the masters. Russia alone, of all the nations of the earth has completely conquered the exploiters and has instituted the reign of the people. The conflagration is spreading from Russia; in every nation the social atmosphere is charged with potential explosive elements. In every country the touch of a match to these embers may spring the entire social structure into midair. Capitalism exists from day to day, insecure, uncertain, fearful of the future, as it may well be, for the mass of mankind are weary of its reign of blood and slavery.

These are the times that try men's souls even as the times of which Thomas Paine wrote in the dark days of the American Revolution. The White Terror of the capitalist class has been launched against the workers. They have been assaulted, terrorized, deported, jailed, murdered. They have been deprived of the rights conferred by the Constitution. They have been victimized, bludgeoned into silence when they dared stand up like men before injustice. Every method which can be devised by the exploiters has been and is now being used to intimidate them and to quell the natural desires of human life. And the end is not yet. Frenzy has seized the ruling class. It sees its rule over the workers passing away. It sees its millions of profits threatened by the rising tide of revolt. It sees itself no longer the rulers of the earth and the arbiter of the fate of the masses. It views in fear and trembling the oblivion that awaits it, for the rule of the workers is presaged in every social fact and condition of the times.

These are the times that call for steadfast purpose and unrelenting determination on the part of the workers. We must realize that no physical terror of which capitalism is capable can quench the revolt against its brutal rule. We must realize in the white light of truth that it is the historic mission of the working class to emancipate itself from the chains of wage-slavery. No other agency than the power of the workers themselves, can accomplish this task which is necessary before the earth and the fulness thereof can become the heritage of the oppressed. This is the historic mission of the workers, to rebuild upon the chaos and ruin which capitalism has wrought a new world in which the human family may reside undivided by class war and in unopposed economic interests.

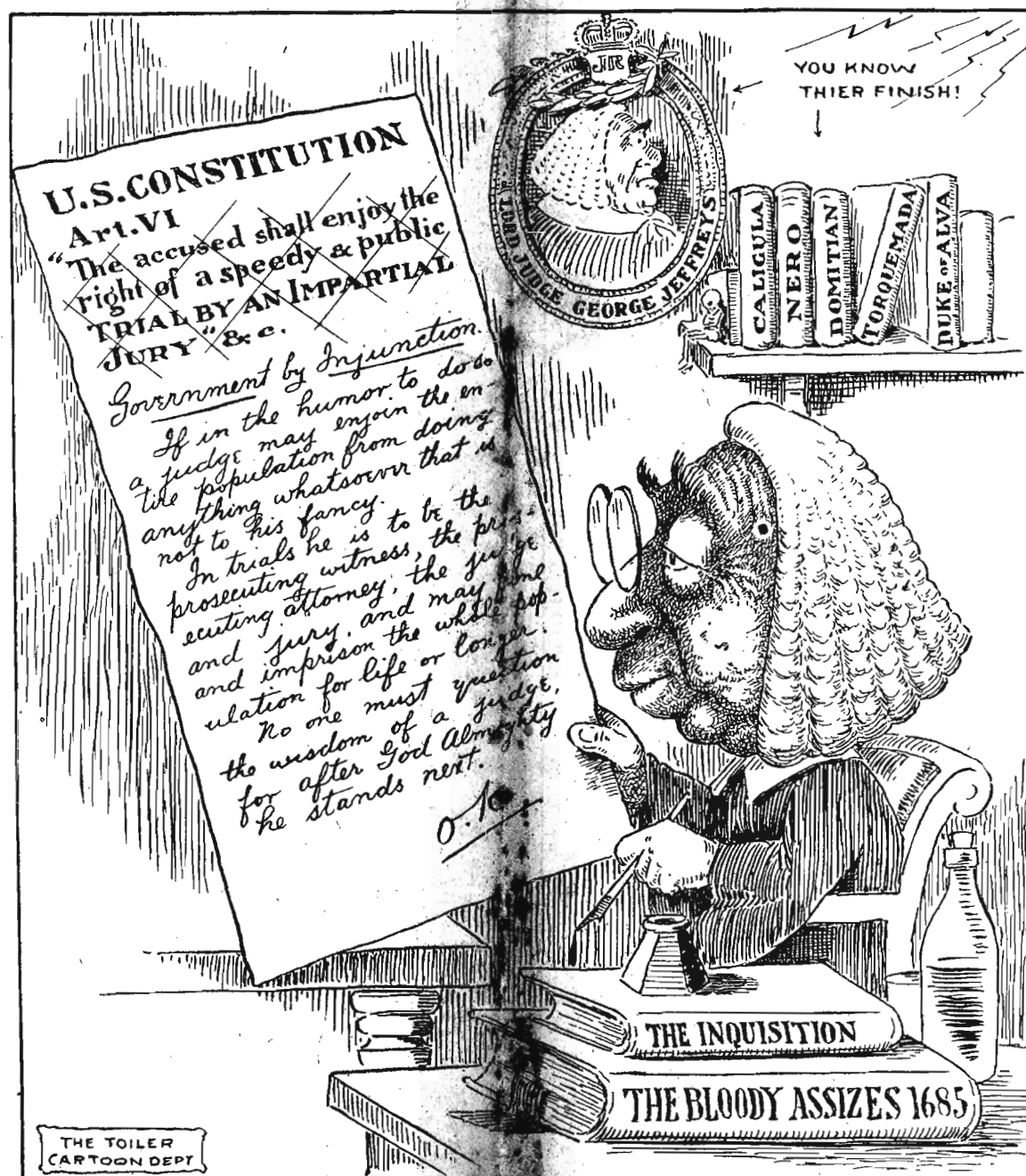
This is our mission and we must fulfill it. We cannot evade it if we would. The economic urge of conditions and events of capitalistic society compel us to accomplish this task and the very life of civilization depends upon us. The workers are being driven into closer affiliation in their battle for existence. Civilization and the circumstances of time, the identity of interests of all who toil, are the forces that are driving us on to the fulfillment of this great and momentous task.

These are the times that call to duty every class-conscious worker. To all who realize the terrible evils which afflict us under the misrule of capitalism, the Revolution calls you to stand guard upon the frontier. These are not the days, nor is ours the work which appeals to "sunshine" socialists nor the "milk and water" variety. The work demands courageous effort and unending activity. It demands free giving and sacrifice. But do you know of a greater satisfaction than that which comes with work well done in this Movement? We know that you have never experienced a greater pleasure than the work which the Revolution calls you to do.

The powers of capitalism are ever seeking to divide the workers. With consummate cunning, spies in its employ work within our ranks for the purpose of sowing discord. False issues are forced upon the attention of the workers for the purpose of misleading them. Capitalism dreads above all things, a solid organization of the workers, for it knows the unlimited power that we can then wield.

But the Revolution will grow, it is growing wider and deeper with each passing day. No power can stop it. Nothing can hinder it—but the lack of aggressiveness of the workers, not for a moment will its advance cease—unless the workers lie down like beaten dogs and attempt to whine themselves into the good graces of their economic masters. And nothing would please our exploiters more than for the workers to take this attitude—and nothing would more effectively rivet the hideous chains of slavery upon our limbs and upon our children than this—that we should seek to gain peace where there can be no peace.

The Movement demands the best effort you can give. Not a comrade but that can be active, for work is so varied and so



The Constitution Revised.

A Chapter in the History of Our Capitalist Courts.

That the permanent injunction recently granted by Judge Webster of the State Superior Court at Spokane, Washington, prohibiting further activities of the I. W. W. and making membership in that organization contempt of court, is a denial of the right of trial by jury, is frankly and cheerfully admitted by the Spokane Spokesman-Review. As The Nation has already pointed out, the legal way to deal with the I. W. W., in Washington as elsewhere, is to prosecute under the criminal law any individuals who violate the law. It is contrary to all established principles of jurisprudence to suppress an organization by injunction on the ground that otherwise some of its members might commit crimes. "Under the county prosecutor's plan," the Spokesman-Review explains, "made possible by the granting of a permanent injunction, no juries are required. A man is found to be a member of an I. W. W. local, or is distributing literature, or otherwise aiding the revolutionist propaganda. He is brought before the bench of the Superior Court and punished, if the charges against him are sustained, for contempt of court. He may be sent to jail for as much as a year. His rights are safeguarded to the extent that he may appeal to the State Supreme Court, but he does not have a jury trial." The Spokesman-Review adds that if the injunction is enforced "it will work much more swiftly and effectively than the State criminal syndicalism law." No doubt it will; autocracy has always been swifter and more effective than democracy. The jury system is admittedly slow and cumbersome, but a belief that it was a bulwark against executive and judicial tyranny led our forefathers to include it among the guarantees of the Federal Constitution. There probably are some people who still believe in it even if the Washington court, apparently, and the Spokesman-Review do not.

The Nation.

THE ANTICS OF JUDICIAL MONKEYS.

Perhaps the worst instance of ludicrous comedy in the annals of mock Justice so noticeable of late in the courts of the state of Washington, is the temporary injunction issued by Judge (???) Webster of Spokane. This injunction is issued against 65 persons of Spokane County restraining them from participation in the I. W. W. or any part thereof.

An injunction against people prohibiting them from belonging to an organization of their choice.

Think of it. Enough to bring a cackle from the lips of every dead tyrant. A huge satire on the Constitution and an insult to the intelligence of humanity. Here is proof positive that Justice is as dead as a smoked mackerel in the court over which this Webster presides. It is enough to jar one loose from his reason when he contemplates to what ends these characters will go. For if a Judge can restrain 65 from doing certain things why can't he restrain 65,000 of 65,000,000? He can and will, because this judicial imbecile is not restraining individuals so much as he is suppressing ideas, and the growth of the idea will determine with him how many people to enjoin.

However, as much cause as there is for gloomy pessimism in the contemplation of such a step by a so-called judge, yet we know that Labor will go on, amused not a little later on at the recollections of the ludicrous antics of the judicial monkeys of today. This article was published in last week's issue but we reprint it here to give emphasis to this instance of the "justice" of capitalist courts.

WORSE THAN UNDER THE CZAR
Russians Released at Seattle Say Oppression Exceeds That of Old Empire.

SEATTLE.—A number of Russians, who had been held by the Seattle police, in the wholesale round-up of

"The obscene and abusive language toward helpless and unresisting prisoners is also worse than our officers used."

"We would go back to Russia now, even if Nicholas were still Czar, for you in America are less free."

BUENOS AIRES.—Government

SOVIET GOLD-AMERICAN GOODS WAIT DECISION FOR OPENING OF TRADE

Martens tells trade plans of Soviet Russia. Lenin, victorious wants peace and reconstruction.

Thousands of American manufacturers ready to ship goods to Russia.

Soviet Russia has \$500,000,000 in gold to pay for goods from Europe and America Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, Soviet ambassador to the United States told the Senate Foreign Committee in Washington last week. "The idea is disappearing," he told the Committee, "among the Russian Socialists that revolution is necessary in all countries before the Russian revolution will be safe." Lenin believes Russia can now stand against the world and is ready, not for military aggression against neighboring nations, but for peace and reconstruction, he told the Committee.

Martens asserted that he had a list of 11,000 names of business men and manufacturers in America who were anxious to import and export goods to and from Russia as soon as the State Department gave consent. Contracts to the of \$7,000,000 were now tentatively made, he said.

Martens denied all connection with revolutionary movements in the United States, though admitting

some knowledge of them. He said they were "purely American, arising out of American conditions" and as Soviet agent here he had not helped or financed them or their followers. Recognition Object Sought.

He had instructions from his government, he said, to stay clear of interference with American internal affairs. All of his publicity efforts, very extensive as outlined in his testimony, were devoted to explaining the Soviet system to the end that Americans would allow its recognition as the established government in Russia, and were not to extend it in the United States.

When the committee demanded copies of the actual governmental instructions to that effect, former Senator Hardwick of Georgia, attorney for the Soviet bureau, argued that to give them might disclose the "code" in which the Soviet foreign office corresponded with Martens, which should be entitled to immunity, but promised, notwithstanding, to furnish them in the original or in sworn translations.

The witness said he was spending \$2,500 a week on the maintenance of an organization of some thirty-five employees. He gave the committee names and addresses of all of them including American clerks and stenographers, and press agents.

THE NEXT STEP

(by WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Secretary-Treasurer, National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers.)

The end of the steel strike does not mean the end of the steel campaign. On the contrary, it merely marks the beginning of a new phase of a struggle which must go on until the trade unions have overthrown capitalism in the steel industry.

Ordinarily when a big strike comes to an end without a negotiated settlement complete demobilization is the portion of the men. Immediately the strike is over the employers set afoot through their scabs, stool-pigeons and bosses a virulent propaganda to destroy the last vestiges of organization spirit among their employees. Every imaginable, slander and misrepresentation is pressed into service. The unions and their officials are accused of graft, cowardice, disloyalty, inefficiency. Just here is where the unions should be alive to protect their interests. But as a rule, beaten, they have already deserted the field. Consequently the dissipated and discouraged workers, finding no one at hand to combat it, fall easy victims to the employer's propaganda. The prestige of the unions fall lower and lower until finally it reaches zero. The workers are embogged in a slough of despair and pessimism. The employers are left absolute master of the situation. They proceed to enslave the industry. In such cases it takes years of effort to clear the name of the unions, to revive the workers' hope and to reorganize the industry.

The twenty-four unions in the steel industry are determined that no such condition will result from their strike. They will stand their ground and fight Judge Gary every foot of the road. They have elaborated a

WANTED AT ONCE
100 field workers to get
subscriptions for

SKYGAC'S COLUMN.

With all the organs for moulding public opinion fairly screaming at you to be contented, not to strike, and above all not to attempt to remedy conditions by any means other than by the use of the ballot once in every four years, it is an eye-opener to see the dominant class OPENLY REFUSE to seat candidates of the socialist party who have been legally elected to office in the approved master-controlled way.

In other words, you must not attempt to change conditions except by the use of the ballot and you cannot change conditions by the use of the ballot because the dominant class won't let you. How do you like it?

If I were an employer of labor and had a man working for me who always bungled the job, my patience would not last for more than thirty days until I fired him and tried either another man or another method. We have had bunglers on the job of allying the public unrest for a good many years now, and yet these same bunglers are still trying the same old methods and asking to be re-elected again to the job to continue trying the same old methods, with unrest always on the increase. What a nation of rut-runners are we!

They are trying to make out that in America it is crime to be class-conscious. But they will never make it stick.

Now that the back-bone of the revolutionary movement has been broken, isn't it strange that there should be two reds where there was only one before?

It may be that. Palmer, Grabitall and Co., are not good mediums, or else there is nothing in Spiritualism, else the shades of Czar Nicholas, Bismark, Napoleon and Co., would have slipped them the valuable information that the reds can not be crushed that way.

If the government can get any satisfaction in deporting a Russian who has tried for over a year to get a passport why of course it is entitled to all the satisfaction it can get!

You see, Henry, there was a big slush fund raised by the Capitalists with governmental aid to be used to rid the country of dangerous reds and those who got the job have to play to the galleries to make 'em think they are earning their money. Now they ask congress for a million and a half more! Well it they can get the money we can furnish the reds for "as fast as they can pinch us we can always get more." All it takes to make a red nowadays is a lesson in class-consciousness, some governmental interference in strikes and a raid.

I used to think I was some agitator, but shucks, at my best I was only a piker, compared to the way the capitalists and their government are making them nowadays.

Mr. Hearst in an open letter to all of his employees tells them that most of the anti-red news that is sent in is sent from some central office maintained for the dissemination of capitalist propaganda. We knew it all the time, but we never expected to have any of the bourgeoisie news-paper crowd admit it.

The attorney who persecuted the Wichita bunch of I. W. W. during the trial at Kansas City in a recent newspaper interview said he wished that all the American people could have heard the evidence given at that trial. So do we. We will go farther than that. We wish they might know HOW and WHERE that evidence was secured. We wish the American people might know that UNSIGNED and undated notes which were purported to have been minutes of meetings were allowed as evidence.

The "NATION" says, that a year ago the Italian peasants were burning candles before the picture of President Wilson; today some million of men and women the world over, starving, freezing and dying are grimly denouncing the statesmen who sacrificed honesty and kindness and simple humanity on the altar of outworn political ideas."

Why pick on Wilson and the Peace Commission? Isn't every little Rotary Club and commercial club by whatever its name just as bad? Do they not all sacrifice honesty and kindness and simple humanity on the altar of outworn political ideas?

Wouldn't the above make a good definition of our present day politicians, must we make our progress

only by sacrificing honesty, kindness and simple humanity?

They are not stamping out the I. W. W. They are stamping it IN. Into the A. F. of L. Now watch for them to begin to kick on the A. F. of L.

By the same token they are not running the reds out altho they have run a lot in, but they have run the most under. Under cover where they will be a thousand times more dangerous and more effective.

It is a recognized principle of capitalist industry that the proper thing to do is to get a job, stick to it and WORK UP. New when new machinery throws whole crowds of laborers upon the market by enabling the employers to dispense with their services they must seek new jobs, necessarily in a lower position and pay and again begin to WORK UP. This has more to do with industrial unrest than all the Russian agitators combined. Will Attorney General Palmer and his crew deport that?

Ruminations of a Rebel.

— By TOM CLIFFORD. —

To my surprise I find the following editorial in a late issue of the Miami Valley Socialist:

"If our Communist and Communist Labor comrades, whose propaganda is outlawed, whose shackled bodies lie prostrate under the iron heel of the capitalist state, whose wives and children face the bitter winter weather with husband and father gone to jail, or exiled to unknown ports, we most earnestly ask: 'Was it wise to discard the ballot for this?'"

The above is a tacit acknowledgment on the part of the writer that these victims of the capitalist State are actually guilty, as charged, of advocating a revolution of force. It would be carrying charity to the extreme to attribute this statement to gross ignorance. The writer knows that these men and women harbored no intention to use physical force, that they were rounded up for the specific purpose of capitalist propaganda, with a view to prejudicing the American worker against his foreign born brother and at the same time create distrust of all working class political parties, including the Socialist Party. The writer also states a positive untruth when he charges the Communist Labor Party with having discarded the use of the ballot, for he is certainly conversant with its platform declaration. The above is only additional evidence of the bourgeois character of what is left of the old Socialist Party. They are frantically trying to "play safe" in the midst of the prevailing campaign of terrorism by assuming a harmless attitude toward the master class. For sheer hypocrisy the bourgeoisie have nothing on them, but it will not secure to these comrades immunity from persecution. Nothing but the complete disavowal of the class struggle and the acceptance of the ethics of capitalism will avert the persecution they apparently dread. Are they ready to repudiate their erstwhile opposition to capitalism merely to keep out of jail? Some rebels, eh?

The capitalist press has suddenly discovered that the two bills now pending in Congress to legalize universal espionage threaten abridgment of all our Constitutional privileges—especially their own. Their opposition to these vicious bills is not prompted by a sincere desire to conserve the liberties of the mass, but rather by the fear that they, too, may be included among the sufferers. Given liberty of action themselves, they wouldn't care a damn if all the rest of the people were shorn of the right to express their opinions. Their ox is in danger of being gored. Hence their frantic cries of distress and vociferous demands for the preservation of "Constitutional rights. During the past three years, while despotism reigned supreme and the Constitution was laid away in cold storage; while the working class was being terrorized, browbeaten and imprisoned illegally, not a "peep" of remonstrance came from these gentlemen. Instead they aided and abetted the lawlessness practiced by the henchmen of the bourgeoisie, glorified the imprisonment and even lynching of American workmen for expressing their honest opinions, and even expressed contempt for the very Constitution they now invoke. Well, well! Chickens do have the habit of coming home to roost. Notwithstanding my opposition to the enactment of "gag laws," I would be almost willing to

suffer just to see these "kept ladies" get what is coming to them.

By the way, there doesn't seem to be any real necessity for any laws to further abridge the rights of the common people. The Secret Service bunch are arresting and imprisoning thousands of workmen in total disregard of their constitutional rights, and even Congress seems powerless to prevent them. Some power acting independently of the visible government appears to be the directive force. Well, we needn't despair. It will all come out in the wash.

The income tax reports show that we are harboring 20,000 millionaires in our midst. And don't forget that most of these fellows started as horny-handed sons of toil—so we are told—who by industry and thrift carved their way to the pinnacle of fortune and are shining examples of the possibilities in this home of untempered democracy. You don't believe it! Neither do I. Yet it ought to be a source of pride to the American workman that we have 20,000 of these gentlemen while Russia hasn't a damned one.

With the prospect of a dozen candidates for President and the in-

ARE CARTOONS WORTH WHILE?

AN OPEN LETTER BY THE EDITOR.

Dear Reader:—

What's your honest opinion of the work turned out by the Toiler Cartoon Department? Pretty good, is it not? We believe every reader will agree that it is the very best that appears. Many comrades have said so in recent letters to The Toiler. We believe that every Toiler reader reads the story each cartoon tells with a growing interest and pleasure.

And we are glad that this is so. For now that we are in agreement, we have something else to say. We do not publish cartoons just to fill space. Cartoons cost five times as much as type setting. We publish them for their educational value; because they give attractiveness to the paper; for their interest creating value and because the human makeup is such that "pictures" have an irresistible appeal. All good and sufficient reasons are they not? Again, we are in full agreement.

We think we are pretty lucky to have a Cartoon Department. Especially, considering the terms upon which it operates. Let us tell you about that. Recently a comrade wrote us asking permission to submit some cartoons and offering them to us free of charge. And we said, send them on. And he did; and when they arrived and we found them so good, we sent him back a letter of THANKS. And he came right back at us and said—I have some more and you can have them regularly—on the same terms.

Well, that knocked us out for a minute. But we recuperated and wrote him again and asked—who are you, that makes such generous and comradely offers, we don't find your name on our mailing list. And when his reply came, it said—I get a copy of The Toiler once in a while and I think it is a good paper, and if you will use my stuff I'll be GLAD because I want to help in the work you are doing toward building a real DEMOCRACY. And now he gets the PAPER each week and WE and YOU—get his CARTOONS. Can you beat that?

But while the drawings are free, the engraving company labors only for profit. Each three column cartoon costs us nearly \$8.00. But they are worth it we say, and we know you agree. And we want to have a cartoon in every issue of The Toiler during 1920—52 weeks. Eight times fifty—two are four hundred and sixteen dollars. Quite a lot of money is it not to spent in making a better propagandist of The Toiler? But it is worth it, we repeat.

Do you know that The Toiler is about the only paper in the country that has not raised its subscription price? Some have raised 100%. We don't want to do that. And one way to keep from doing so and at the same time keep up the high quality of the paper and keep the Cartoon Department turning out a real live picture for us each week is to establish a CARTOON ACCOUNT, to be filled with nickles and dimes from the thousands of CARTOON ADMIRERS. That's the best way we can think of to meet this cost.

We believe this is a fair shake, at least for the readers. If ONE comrade is willing to give \$400.00 worth of service to The Toiler, 20,000 readers and admirers of his work ought to be willing to give an equal amount—to help him establish a REAL DEMOCRACY in America. What do you say? We are going to give you a chance to express your admiration for the work of The Toiler Cartoon Department. Use the Blank below.

HERE'S MY ANSWER TO, ARE CARTOONS WORTH WHILE?

The Toiler,
Cartoon Department.
I believe that cartoons ARE worth while, and I wish to show my appreciation of this Department by contributing the enclosed \$.....

Name

Address

City and State

Cut out, fill in and mail to

TOILER CARTOON DEPARTMENT
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.
WHO WILL BE FIRST ON THE LIST?

jection into the campaign of every thinkable issue from prohibition to the League of Nations the American workers will have so much diversion that little matters like meeting rent and grocery bills will be merely inconsequential. He will be so occupied in considering the personal qualifications or demerits of the freaks of the capitalistic side show that he will lose sight entirely of his own economic interests. This is my guess. He has fallen so often for this fake stuff that it is almost a forlorn hope to expect anything else. Yet I may be agreeably disappointed. Let us comfort ourselves with the thought that the unexpected sometimes happens.

I do not have much confidence in the sincerity of the indignation expressed by some of the capitalist press anent the arbitrary action of the New York Assembly in expelling the Socialist members. They merely realize that Chairman Sweet and his fellow conspirators have in this instance overstepped the bounds of prudence and that there is danger of reaction. A hypocrite cannot be trusted.

I note that Dr. Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, is

seeking an endowment of \$30,000,000 for a "foundation for intelligent citizenship," and he presents an argument that should be irresistible to the plutocrats. The following appeal ought to open up the coffers of the bourgeoisie of the nation, who desire that our institutions of learning be kept free from radicalism: "The university teacher is usually very conservative, very solid minded and very difficult to bring to the support of a new idea or a new project." Since this attitude is in accord with the heart's desire of the exploiting class there should be no hesitancy in response. What more could they ask than that no "new ideas"—especially of an economic or political nature—will be permitted in this "educational institution?" Of course, some carping critics may be inclined to question the character of an institution where in "new ideas" are not permitted, but these persons, having more knowledge than money, are not worthy of serious consideration. Money talks.

The vacillating policy being pursued by the Allies relative to Soviet Russia is indicative of the clashing economic interests of the nations concerned, which, of course, cannot be harmonized. However, it appears to me that ordinary horse sense would prompt the adoption of a definite policy, inasmuch as their blockade and counter revolution program has resulted in inglorious failure. While the other members of the Supreme Council are wrangling over the question astute Lloyd George is quietly carrying out a policy that will secure for England trade advantages in Russia, and the American capitalists at Washington are making a beaten path between the Soviet embassy and the State Department in a frantic effort to forestall the wily Welchman. When they all join in the melee it will be interesting to note the cessation of denunciation of the Bolsheviks. The establishment of markets will lift the curse.

FREEDOM CURE FOR FREEDOM'S ILLS.

There is only one cure for evils which newly-acquired freedom produces, and that cure is freedom. When a prisoner first leaves his cell, he cannot bear the light of day; he is unable to discriminate colors or recognize faces. The remedy is to accustom him to the rays of the sun.

The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it. In a few years men learn to reason. The extreme violence of opinions subsides. Hostile theories correct each other. The scattered elements of truth cease to contend, and begin to coalesce. And at length a system of justice and order is educed out of the chaos.

Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery they may indeed wait forever.—Macaulay.

Just a little tip to Att'y Gen'l Palmer and the rest of the Governmental persecutors. They have started out to utterly crush the reds. They MAY succeed in driving them under cover, tho we doubt it, but if ever they do of this they may be assured; the revolutionary movement will proceed as before, with perhaps an additional acceleration of speed. As long as socialist and communist locals are allowed to exercise their constitutional privileges, the general public looked to them as a kind of sponsor for the revolutionary movement. They expected the radicals to start a revolution—and be responsible for it once it did start. Now with the reds dispersed the matter of revolution must perforce become a community and not a local affair, with the community, not the socialist local, responsible. How would that condition of affairs suit you, messers Sec'y of War, Navy, State and Att'y General? That is exactly what you will get if you are allowed to have your way, and when Mr. and Mrs. General Public get their mind set on THE revolution, the puny forces at your disposal will be puny indeed. No—you had better let sleeping dogs lie—and let well enough alone.

Albert Rhys Williams, who spent ten months in Petrograd and among the Peasant Families of Soviet Russia, says that many Russians cannot read or write, but he adds: that they can think and they do think.

A Debs picture will go well with the book too. It costs but a quarter more and is worth double that.

The Black Sheep

Chapt. XV.

Prison Visitors.

The door of the jail corridor opened and a little party of Christian Endeavor workers consisting of three women and two men entered. They took up their station at the end of the corridor where there was a soft light filtering in thru a little barred window. From this vantage point they could see the prisoners in both cells. They did not speak to them however, but opened their hymn books and one of the men a "sallow, sob sister, collar stiff" as Collins called him afterward, said: "we'll open the service by singing hymn number eighty four."

They sang solemnly while Rudolph lay on his bed and smiled, Collins lay with his back toward them in an attitude of unconcealed contempt. Jack stood facing them thru the bars with a sort of a Mona Liza smile upon his enigmatic face.

"Lead kindly light amidst the encircling gloom

Lead thou me on."—The church workers sang. Collins snored, Rudolph grinned but Jack's brow was knit and Rudolph swore after it was all over, that there had been a strange light in his eyes.

"The night is dark and I am far from home

Lead thou me on"—the visitors sang, all but one. The one exception was an auburn haired girl about eighteen years of age. She had closed the book and frankly stared at Jack. He was rather a unique picture in his present frame; he was large, he had a great mop of hair, and a roughish face. His expression changed continually running all the way from pensive thought to boyish mirth, but never to anger, cruelty, or scorn.

The hymn over, the white collared man said: "Let's pray."

"Just a moment, please," Jack interrupted, "why do you come here? This is no church."

"We are Christian Endeavors the oldest of the women explained, "It's our duty to come, now let's pray."

"Excuse me once more," Jack persisted, "kindly permit me a couple of questions. You say that you are Christian Endeavorers?"

"Yes," responded the aged and somewhat hatchet faced female.

"That means you are endeavoring to be Christians?" Jack queried.

"No, we are christians." This from the auburn haired goddess who had not participated in the last part of the hymn. The sound of her voice even awoke Collins who turned over to look at her.

"Why endeavor to be what you already are?" Jack asked in tones so grave as to sound almost solemn.

Before any one had a chance to reply the white collared man bowed his head and locked his fingers, saying: "Let's pray."—"Oh Lord!"

Jack again interrupted him, his powerful voice resounding thru the building. "Brother," said he, "do not weary him with any more prayers—, from thousands of churches, thru millions of throats and hearts he has been assailed today. Does not your Bible teach you to do something more than pray? Does it not say 'I am weary of your prayers'—the scent of your incense is a stench in my nostrils, and as he said this, his face was eloquent with thought.

The hatchet faced woman now lost all patience, "Young man" she fairly snapped, "we came here to hold services, not to argue."

"I once read in my Bible—I was in prison and you visited me! Holding service does not make a very good visit."

"But we have to do these things. It is our duty." The young woman explained.

"You have to?"

"Yes."

"I thot your religion was a religion of liberty. 'Stand ye in the freedom with which Christ made you free'" Jack quoted, then asked: "Do you come here because you love us, or because it is part of the routine work of your church?"

"It is our duty as christians to preach the gospel to those who are in prison," averred the antiquated dame.

"And what would be the result if you didn't?" asked the boy.

"We would be delinquent in our duties, as children of God." This from the hymn singing male member of the party.

"In which case you would expect to go to hell?"

"We would be sinning," said the woman.

"And the wages of sin is death."

"But the dying is unduly delayed," growled Collins.

"You must understand that we can only expect to go to heaven, if we do our duty as christians. We must do all the good we can and pray God

for forgiveness of our sins," explained the young girl.

"Do you mean that you have to pray to God for forgiveness for doing good?" Is that the essence of your religion, or are you merely trying to fulfill the technicalities of the law? Escaping damnation on a nice point as the lawyers say."

"We would like to talk to you," said the hatchet faced individual, but really we have no time. We must finish this service and get home."

"For dinner?"

"Yes," she agreed.

"Is that more important than our eternal welfare? Do you weigh our immortal souls against a hunk of meat?"

All but the auburn haired girl fidgeted. She took up the conversation in an endeavor to convince Jack that she really had his welfare at heart. "We came here because we hoped that our singing and prayer would make you better men," she said.

"For whom?" asked the boy. And there was something in the tone of his voice that seemed to strike a responsive chord in the girls soul.

"We want you to live in such a way that you will not have to go jail," she said almost plaintively.

"How can we help it?"

"By being gentlemen."

"On a dollar fifty to two fifty per day, with steady work only three months out of the year. With blind pigs running with the consent of the christian voters; run for the sole purpose of getting the weak ones amongst us drunk, thereby furnishing an excuse to rob all of us in the name of the law?"

"I do not understand your meaning."

"Then I shall try to explain my meaning to you. You come here to pray for us. I will admit that you are sincere. You would like to see us out of this jail; dressed in up to date clothes, then we would be gentlemen. The matter of acquiring the clothes you would not inquire into so long as we got them within the law. But you must remember my dear girl that law and justice are not always twin brothers. Some day we are going to be turned loose. Let us say that we have been influenced by your prayers and the sweetness of your song; we resolve to become gentlemen but we are broke; the judge has all that we have earned. Hunger comes to a man that is broke the same as it comes to you. Having no money, and at this time of the year there being no work, we must ask for bread and frequently get a stone. How can we who are homeless, penniless, and despised by your class, be what you call gentlemen?"

"I don't know. You talk in a way I never heard a man talk before. You seem to think that men are arrested by criminals instead of for being criminals," she said reflectively.

"Let me tell you plainly why we are arrested, and then ask your father or your preacher if it isn't so. You have no saloons in this state, therefore no saloon liscense to ease the tax burden. You people like sewers, sidewalks and water systems. They cost money. Money must come from taxpayers. Taxpayers do not like to part with the money. They employ us during the harvest time and we receive wages for our work."

Then suddenly changing the subject he asked, "Did you ever hear your father complain about high taxes?"

"Certainly."

"And about high wages?"

"Yes."

"Good—we get a little money for our work. The good people know that we have it. They run us in, and fine us indiscriminately. That helps out on the taxes, and enables them to donate more freely to the church. We are robbed by the officers of the law."

"Don't blame us for that, if it is true," said the sharp visaged lady. "Judge Duffy is not a christian."

"By that you mean, that he is not a good man."

"Yes."

"Then why do you place a bad man in so responsible a position?" the boy asked pointedly. "He is there by suffrage of the people and I hope that you are not so pessimistic as to call the majority of the people bad."

"O, well let's pr—go," said the man with the hymn book.

"There's no use arguing. No good can come of it."

The young woman manifested no inclination to go, but said to the boy, "I think you are wrong, and yet, I don't know. I know that I love justice and right."

"You're a variation from the normal type," Jack answered. "Your elder sister and the brother with the book, are more characteristically bourgeois." As he pronounced this

(Continued on page 4)

The Toiler

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CLEVELAND, O. FRIDAY, JANUARY 30th, 1920.

THE SCRAMBLE BEGINS

The scramble for profits in trade with Bolshevik Russia has begun. Notwithstanding conflicting rumors of uncertain attitudes of Britain and France toward the Soviet Republic, the outstanding feature of late events is the fact that commercial corporations in all countries including the U. S. are preparing to open trade relations with the erstwhile hated and despised Bolsheviks.

"Bolsheviks are serenading, since the allies quit blockading;
Down in Petrograd, the Reds are full of glee.
Since we need their flax and barley, we must call it quits
and parley and forget we had agreed to disagree."

Thus sings a jester in one of the capitalist dailies. To say the least, we have gone a long way from military aggression against a neighbor nation to admitting the truth of the above facetiously worded fact. We need their trade, need it badly, and so we will just conveniently forget the past and proceed to get while the getting is good such part of their trade as we can grab off. Such is the turn which the military successes of the Soviets have forced the allied military adventures to take.

The world is just learning to what extent the blunderers who have stood at the heads of the nations have gone in their juggling with the fates of nations and peoples. Their undeclared war upon the worker's republic of Russia has utterly failed. They have spent billions and sacrificed many lives in an attempt to re-establish capitalist institutions there. They have caused starvation and misery unspeakable by the unofficial blockade of Russian ports and merchant shipping. Not only have they starved Russians but the peoples of the allies have suffered indescribable hardships thru the lack of imports from Russia.

Having so utterly failed to crush the Bolsheviks, the allies are now face to face with the problem of what to do about Russia. Doubtless the militaristic measures against Russia would have assumed a far greater scale if it had not been for the opposition of the masses. For months the British workers have been clamoring for the withdrawal of English troops and for out and out recognition of the Soviet government. The blockade against Russia has reacted against all the allies. British mills are sorely pressed for flax which can come only from Russia. The exporters and importers of all nations are now wildly scrambling for first chance at the Russian kopeck. Faced with economic necessity, the allies are finding grounds upon which to conduct business with Russia. The American capitalist press is changing its tone in regard to the Russian question. Quick to record the interests of capitalist profits, it has changed front in the face of the inevitable and is for trade.

We may reasonably expect a cessation of the slanders against Russia. Trade covereth many sins and if Russian trade proves profitable, "moral" capitalist forces will find a way to accommodate themselves to the business at hand. The Bolsheviks have won.

BACKING DOWN

After all, we are not to have such drastic legislation against the constitutional guarantees as was at first supposed—or hoped, choose your own word. From town constables to Mitchell Palmer, the cry has gone up for more drastic laws against the "reds". Judging from the contents of the original bills, about every thing that any one could think out of line with espousal of things as they are was included in the prohibitive clauses.

Naturally enough, a great howl went up—not from the reds, but from what might be termed the innocent by-standers. That great element of liberal minded folks who constitute a very large portion of the American population, suddenly awoke to the fact that if the proposed laws went into effect, they stood a good chance of spending long terms in jail unless they immediately changed their ways—and thinking.

Jails are not to their liking, besides they are not yet ready to give up the old traditions of American liberty etc. So they got in touch with the proponents of the measures and explained that what was expected to be suppressed by these measures would only thrive the more if they became law. Apparently, they got a hearing and so some of the stings at least will be taken out of the measures or new ones substituted. Even Palmer himself, refuses to sponsor his own bill. It would appear that the authorities are learning a thing or two since the recent wholesale raids were made. A very substantial reaction is now evident against the use of such tactics against the workers. Many forces are at work which have a bearing upon the question. There is a large willingness on the part of many foreign-born to leave the country, which in itself creates a condition of the labor market favorable to the workers. Employers are waking up to the fact that labor is scarce in many localities. They know that thousands upon thousands of workers plan to leave for the homelands for at least a summer's visit, if not for good.

Another feature worth noting, is the lack of interest on the part of the worker in his work. The workers are asking "why hurry"? and are refusing to rush out the products. They feel

EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE.

SPARKS.

Comrade Louis Wohin of Weston, W. Va., writes us as follows: I am herewith sending you ten dollars for subscription cards. Send them at once because we must get The Toiler into the hands of the workers for it hits the bull's eye every week. As soon as I sell these cards, you will get the ten dollars back for more cards". And the moral is—have you got a few dollars that you want to keep working for socialism? If so, let's put them to work at once. Selling Toiler sub cards is the method. Order \$5.00 worth and get some literature free.

Comrade J. R. Waring, of Kent, dropped in to see us the other day and spent a few very agreeable moments—also several (also agreeable) dollars. Subscription cards of course and some literature. O yes, and he promised us a dollar on the "Cartoon Account". He says they are worth the price. What do you say?

Comrade Fred White remits for literature and states that he is on the firing line in Martins Ferry. And we know he is. And say, comrades of Martins Ferry, he needs a lift, why not give him a boost occasionally?

Local Akron held a splendid Meeting on the 18th. Comrade Tom Clifford was the speaker and from reports, Tom did himself proud on this occasion. A collection of over \$40.00 was taken and literature sales were good. A large number of the Bullitt report were sold.

Referring to the recent raids on adicals of more or less crimson hue, a comrade remarks:

"We can always get some more
We can always get some more;
And as fast as they can pinch us
We can always get some more".
And we wish to announce that since the raids we have considerable more than before. Pinch us some again!

Are your DUES PAID for January? Better step lively comrade, February is here now. Don't get behind. And while you are getting right with your dues card, stick in a couple of Toiler press stamps. Your secretary has them. But they are not his, they belong to you.

Have you taken advantage of our book premium offers for \$5.00 worth of subscription cards? Then you must be lonesome if you have not. So many comrades are taking advantage of these offers that we can hardly keep in books. Lenin, the Man and His Work seems to be the favorite choice.

Many comrades are renewing their subscriptions now and while doing so, add another quarter to the remittance or a gift to another worker. Good cheme. Use the yellow slips to their ull advantage comrades.

Nothing gives better evidence of ctivity than a cash order for Toiler subscription cards. When we receive communications containing amounts like those in a recent letter from

Dollars Needed FOR Baker's Defense!

Charles Baker, organizer for the Communist Labor Party, has been arrested, and is charged with violation of the Lever Act, by interfering with the operation of the coal mines in the state of Kansas.

Baker defended the miners in the recent coal strike. For this, he is now indicted and out on bonds approximating nearly \$70,000. He will be tried in the Kansas courts in February.

Money is needed NOW for his defense. Baker has always stood by the workers. Now the workers must stand by him. Let your dollars work for freedom for Chas. Baker. Send all remittances to

The Communist Labor Party of Ohio, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

a growing resentment against all which does not give positive assurance of benefit to themselves. To fail to give credit for much of this attitude to what they know to be infringements upon their political and civil liberties would be incorrect.

But the old-time liberties will not be restored. Liberals may sweat and fume and perhaps gain a point here and there, but the old traditions are gone forever, they have been tramped into the mire beneath the wheels of the capitalist oligarchy and shall never rise again until the workers become supreme. Capitalism cannot afford to take such chances with a rebellious and growing class-consciousness of the workers.

comrade E. Fick of Sandusky, we know that the comrades are making an aggressive campaign against capitalism. Comrade Fick's letter contained \$14 for National organization work, \$1.55 for literature, \$5.00 for sub cards. That's how business like they are in Sandusky.

The Bullitt Report and Lenin, continue to be the best sellers among books handled by the State Office. But we expect that the new book, Debs, His Authorized Life and Letters, by David Karsner, will be a close competitor. Notice the adv. in this issue.

Remember this at all times. We will give \$1.50 worth of any of our literature free with a cash order of \$5.00 for Toiler sub cards. You sell the cards and get your money back.

Remember this also. Send \$5.00 for literature and receive a year's subscription to The Toiler free of charge. You read both and get more than your money's worth.

A hurry order for \$14.00 worth of dues stamps was sent in this week by O. Ruchtaeschel of Cincinnati. Some one must want to pay up down there.

Comrade Paul Luhn, secretary of P. German Br. of Cincinnati states he is lining up a bunch of subs for us. We guess that there is some of he spirit of unity down that way.

Comrade Ed. Brendel of Hamilton is busy these days with organization work. A live C. L. P. Local is due there very shortly.

"In reference to the press stamps, I shall certainly sell all in my possession. We must own our own printing plant." This is what comrade Fred Wilson, writes from Girard.

Organization work is progressing at Marion, O., writes a comrade.

And we say again, that you will be glad to read a copy of Mr. Block and the Profiteers. Send a dime for it.

A Comrade from Fremont writes that the "respectables" are greatly excited over the appearance of I. W. W. stickers in the city. Well, well, Maybe they will get used to things of that nature.

Have you a dollar for defense? Remember Chas. Baker. His defense rests in our hands. Give your dollars.

Judging by the literature orders coming into the State Office, the comrades are reading more than ever, and at the same time are backing the Pamphlet and Book Department in good shape. Read what we advertise and you can't go wrong in your conclusions. Patronize our literature department.

If the fire fighters of Canton fail to learn a bit while at leisure, it won't be the fault of comrade Cook. Thru his efforts, the Toiler goes to each fire station in the city.

"Stick to the good work. You are getting more advertising from the plutes in one day than you could thru

our individual efforts in a year", writes a comrade, and he adds that The Toiler has the punch that hits their vitals. And he sends a sub which clinches the argument.

W. J. Rogers of Battle Creek, sends in a healthy list of 6 which we say emphasizes the fact that Toiler subs were never easier to get than JUST NOW.

A reader from Holland, Mich., sends us this with his refusal to re-new:

"The Toiler is the most worldly and most un-Godly paper any one can ever read". Pshaw, just pick up any capitalist daily. We don't stand no show a'tall with them guys.

When it comes to rounding up new subscribers, no one can get past comrade J. F. Wertz of Toledo. A dandy list came in from him last week. This is not his first offense and we are sure it will not be his last. He's got the habit.

Speaking of boosts, comrade Thos. Robinson of Louisville, Ky., knows how. He renews his sub and sends four more.

A campaign for new members is in progress at Fremont, we are informed. With regular meetings and ever comrade on the job, it should be easy to build up the Local.

Six dollars worth of subscriptions arrived last week from comrade P. R. Davis of Chesapeake, O. A copy of Lenin goes to him as a premium.

Comrade G. J. Braun of Memphis, Tenn., is on the job again. He requests a copy of Lenin for his \$5.00 order for sub cards.

Comrade Mrs. Slager is on the firing line at Kalamazoo. Three subs sent in by her indicates that the Kalamazoo list will grow.

Five yearly subs from comrade Fred Willoughby of Indianapolis shows how the revolutionary breezes blow there.

Comrade Metcalf landed a bunch of 8 last week. Beats all how easy it is when you just step out after them.

Surprising how the subscriptions run to bunches of five. Here's another list of five yearlies from comrade Glenn Dallos of Dover. Guess 5 is our lucky number.

Again, we ask, have you bought a Toiler press stamp for your red book?

Literature sales were never so good as last week. Besides numerous small ones, some big ones also arrived. Our book and pamphlet department is growing. Help it grow by ordering of us the literature you need.

But if five is a magic number, ten is a close second as comrade J. F. Fugitt of Portsmouth proves with a list of that many half yearlies.

But comrade Johnnie Nelson of Richmond, Mo., has them all beat.

Just an even 20 half yearlies he remits for.

Comrade Ralph Munding of Toledo orders the first copy of Debs, by Karsner. But he will not be the last to order this good book on the life of our greatest and best loved comrade.

Comrade J. J. Hoge of Bellaire remits \$5.00 for the defense of comrade Chas. Baker which is the contribution of another comrade who refuses to reveal his name with the exception that part of it is "Joe". He is the same comrade, who matched a \$25.00 donation for the press fund last summer, says comrade Hoge. We thank our modest comrade for his donation and regret that he finds it necessary to deprive us of knowing his name.

Recent contributions to the press fund are as follow: K. J. Dennison, Youngstown, 50c; Chas. Kistler, Forestoria, O., \$1.50; Fred Hesse, Muskegon, \$1.00; Jas W. Booker, Baileyown, Tenn., 25c; M. Knieser, Lima, O., \$1.00; S. M. Korte, Wadsworth, O.; from two friends, \$1.00; I. B. Hinman, Lima, O., \$5.00; Sarah A. Rohrer, Canton, \$1.05; comrades Long and Wm. Greter of Crestline, O., \$2.00; P. R. Davis, Chesapeake, O., \$1.50.

WAR ON IGNORANCE.

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

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

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

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

Crimes of the Bolsheviks 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Russian Socialist Constitution 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Soviet Russia10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Russia, Articles by Tchicherin, Eastman, Lenin, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Debs Goes To Prison, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
The Dream Of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Trial of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Mr. Block and The Profiteers, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Manifesto of the Communist International, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Class Struggle, Kautsky, 25c each, 10 or more 18c each.
Communist Manifesto, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Evolution and Revolution, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
How the Farmer can get His, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Scientific Socialism Study Course, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Industrial Autocracy, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Marxism and Darwinism, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Slander of the Toilers 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
Socialism Utopian and Scientific, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.
Shop Talks on Economics, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
Think or Surrender, 15c each, 10 or more 10c each.
Violence or Solidarity, 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.
Bullitt Mission to Russia, 50c each, 10 or more 40c each.
Communist Manifesto. (cloth), 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Evolution Social and Organic, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Law of Boigenesis, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Jack London's Works, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Debs Authorized Life and Letters—Karsner, \$1.50, 5 or more \$1.25.
Russia in 1919, Ransome, \$1.50, 5 or more, \$1.25.
Lenin, the Man and His Work, Williams, \$1.50, 5 or more \$1.25.
Pelle the Conqueror, \$4.00 (2 volumes).
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen, \$1.25, 5 or more \$1.00 each.
Savage Survivals, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.
Socialism for Students, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.
Socialism and Modern Science, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.
Stories of the Cave People, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.
Socialism and War, \$1.00 each.
Ten Days That Shook The World, \$2.00 each.
The World's Revolutions, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.
Universal Kinship, Moore, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.
Value Price and Profit, Marx, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.

TWO REAL WORTH-WHILE OFFERS

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

ANOTHER CHANCE.

Send us \$5.00 for subscription cards to The Toiler and receive free \$1.50 worth of any of the above literature. You sell the cards and get your money back. Toiler sub cards sell easily. Let's have your order.

PLACE YOUR ORDER TODAY—ADDRESS:

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO.

3207 Clark Ave.—Cleveland, Ohio.

No Revolution ever rises above the intellectual level of those who make it, and little is gained if one false notion supplants another. But we must some day, at last for ever, cross the line between Nonsense and Commonsense. And on that day we shall pass from Class Paternalism, originally derived from fetish fiction in times of universal ignorance, to Human Brotherhood in accordance with the nature of things and our growing knowledge of it; from Political Government to Industrial Administration; from Competition in Individualism to Individuality in Cooperation, from War and Despotism, in any form, to Peace and Liberty.

—CARLYLE.

DEBS: HIS AUTHORIZED Life & Letters

by

DAVID KARSNER

"I give to you as the author, and to Boni and Liveright as the publishers my word of approval and hearty endorsement of your book. You will write just the kind of a book that Time and History will require, and in every line, on every page, you will be speaking for me with my authority, given to you without reservations or qualifications."—Eugene W. Debs to David Karsner. Address: COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO, 3207 Clark Ave. — Cleveland, Ohio.



Remember!

DEFEND

those who have stood by you

Votaries of Violence - Who Are They? Socialist Party Going Strong! The Black Sheep.

— By LINN A. E. GALE —
“You are encouraging violence by the workers against the capitalists”, writes a critic.

I am doing nothing of the sort. I am opposed to violence at all times. It is a boomerang morally and economically and hurts the user far more than the victim. All clear-seeing Radicals are against it. The thousands of Radicals in prison in almost every land, prove this.

“Violence”? Why, violence is the very backbone, heart and soul of capitalism. The workers never want it. But the instant that the workers begin to show solidarity and to act in unity either in elections or in the mills, violence is the first weapon that the capitalists use. Violence is the chief instrument of the capitalists and the last resort of the workers.

Why is “Gene Debs, compassionate, kindly, forgiving soul who is loved by every man who really knows him and hundreds of thousands who never saw him in Atlanta Prison? Because he was an advocate or practitioner of violence? Of course, not. Debs has deprecated and opposed violence all his life. He not only denounced individual violence but mass violence which is customarily dignified by the title of war. And he is serving a 10-year prison term in the United States for it. Debs, the champion of the workers, incarcerated because he was a man of peace, by a government which, obedient to the capitalists, stood for violence!

Why is Mrs. Kate Richards O’Hare in prison for 10 years? Why were Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman jailed? Why has Congressman Victor L. Berger been sentenced to 20 years in prison and kicked out of the legislative seat to which his constituents clearly and decisively elected him? Why are William D. Haywood and hundreds of I. W. W.’s throut the United States under sentences of severity unparalleled even in the Germany of the kaiser or the Russia of the czar? Why was poor Praeger lynched in Illinois? Why were Pacifists ministers horse whipped, tarred and feathered and subjected to unnamable outrages during the recent war? Why were the far visioned Liebknecht and the motherly broad-minded Rosa Luxemburg murdered in Germany? Why did I and thousands of other “slackers” have to flee to Mexico?

The answer in every case is that the persons in question opposed the organized violence, the huge, horrible

exercise of force that has been named war. They were men and women who believed in Peace and a peaceful settlement of the differences of the government of the world. And they paid for their loyalty to Peace by being slaughtered or locked behind steel bars or compelled to flee to foreign lands!

Who started the war? Who conscripted men to fight when they didn’t want to? Who is responsible for the killing of 10,000,000, the wounding of millions more, the raping of thousands of helpless girls and women, and the starvation of thousands of babies and mothers? The capitalist governments of the world of course. Communists, Socialists and Labor organizations everywhere opposed war. Most of them yielded eventually and gave some kind of support but none of them did so willingly. They only acquiesced thru fear when they acquiesced at all.

Why has there been hurled at Soviet Russia all the virulent venom of foul falsehoods that prostituted minds could manufacture? Why were Lenin and Trotzky called “German agents?” because Russia waged war on anybody? No. Because Russia made Peace with Germany. The world has kept ignorant of the fact that she also tried to make Peace with the other countries, failing thru the treachery of the dulcet-toned dissembler in the White House.

Always and forever the proponents of violence are the capitalists and militarists and their agents. Read the articles of Guy Empey in his magazine, “Treat ‘em Rough” and see how he tells people to knock Bolshevik speakers off soap-boxes.

Read what Ole Hanson in Seattle tells the public to do to Radicals. Read the American Coal Journal which openly speaks of “the worthless lives” of the workers, says that Labor, as at present operating, must be suppressed and that this “cannot be accomplished with too fine a regard for existing laws.”

Read the brutal, murderous advertisements of Edwin Selwin in the Seattle Post Intelligencer, the Seattle Business Chronicle, and the Tacoma Ledger, in which he said of Radical agitators, “We must put to death the leaders of this gigantic conspiracy.”

Take the recent shooting affair in Centralia, Wash., U. S. A., when four American soldiers were shot and an I. W. W., also a veteran, was lynched and his maltreated corpse dragged thru the streets of the town.

The facts now show that the soldiers began the trouble by attacking the I. W. W. hall and that the I. W. W. members merely acted in self-defense. Edward Bassett, war veteran and commander of Bute Post of the American Legion, an intensely “patriotic” organization, says, “The I. W. W. in Centralia, Wash., who fired upon the men that were attempting to raid the I. W. W. headquarters were fully justified in their act. The evidence received at the coroners’ investigation showed the same thing. A blind man in Centralia selling Radical papers had his stand twice demolished and his stock burned up, besides being once kidnapped in an auto and taken out of the county. Mobs of “patriots” in all parts of the United States—and the same thing happens in all countries under capitalism—are raiding houses, offices and club rooms, assaulting and shooting people and destroying their property with cynical contempt for right and decency. International imperialism is trying its best to force the United States into war with Mexico so that it may exploit Mexico’s rich resources without interference.

“Violence” is the very essence, spirit, brain and body of capitalism with its by-products of militarism and patriotism. By violence do the owners of the earth’s wealth keep control over the masses, seize trade balances, dominate “backward” countries and strangle every outcry against their countless iniquities. By violence are men made to butcher their brothers in wars in which they have nothing to gain and everything to risk.

Sometimes, after patience has been exhausted, after the limits of endurance have been exceeded, after elections have been stolen, strikes have been broken, protests been sneered at, and pioneers of a Better Social Order have been jailed, tortured and slain without number, smootheners, then the workers themselves resort to violence.

Can we blame them much? Should it surprise us? True, it is foolish and futile. But what else can be expected? And how weak indeed is the heap of up whole of all the acts of violence ever committed by Organized Labor in all history compared with the monstrous mountain of crimes of the capitalists, kings, kaisers and priests who for thousands of years have filled the world with the woe and waste of their wicked and wanton wars!

What imbecile irony for defenders of capitalism to prate of the “violence” of Labor in the aftermath of an orgy of international “violence” that has left the earth a charnel house of ruins and a sepulcher of shapes that once were men!

“TREAT ‘EM ROUGH”
The miscalled Department of Justice which is really a department for doing the dirty work for the dominant class, has given the American people many reasons for believing them insincere. The Attorney General, a Mr. Palmer, who is rumored to have the presidential bee buzzing in his bonnet, is alleged to have given as his reasons for the persecution of the reds, the allegation that the reds advocated the use of violence. That there are people who DO advocate the use of violence, OPENLY and evidently with the thoro approval of the Department of Justice and Mr. Palmer, (we say ‘evidently’ advisedly, for the culprits have done so repeatedly and the department of justice AND Mr. Palmer and the whole army of sleuths, professional and otherwise have never attempted to bring the guilty parties to account.)

Here are two samples, taken verbatim from a magazine edited by Guy Empey, and called “Uncle Sam,” dated January 1920 and sold openly on all news-stands.

They are headed, “Treat ‘em Rough.”

“Dr. Mayo “sees science extending American life limit”. What we want to see is Patriotism reducing Bolshevik life limit. THE NECESSARY INSTRUMENTS MAY BE OBTAINED AT YOUR HARDWARE STORE.” The caps are ours but the wording is surely a direct bid for the fanatical to go to the nearest hardware store and there purchase fire-arms with which to shoot to kill any one whom the fanatic sees fit to call a red.

Here is another one, a plain and open incitation to murder. “Far be it from us to advocate violence, even against Bolsheviks. But when the only way to get an idea out of a man’s head is to remove the cranium and shake the idea down the neck, what are you going to do?”

The Department of Justice will please take notice. The American people will also take notice that the Department of Justice is blind to such open advocacy of violence because it is done in the name of 100 per cent. Americanism.

What Does the Revolution Mean to You?

(Continued from page 1.)

WE CALL UPON YOU TO NOT FAIL IN THESE CRITICAL MOMENTS. YOUR ACTIONS TO-DAY WILL DECIDE THE FUTURE OF THE MOVEMENT—WHETHER IT SHALL MOVE FORWARD WITH THE MAIN BODY OF FORWARD—MOVING LABOR OR IF IT SHALL LAG BEHIND TO BECOME THE PREY OF CAPITALISM. WE CALL UPON YOU TO LEND A WILLING HAND TO THE WORK WHICH WE MUST DO.

AND NOW, START RIGHT—USE THE BLANK BELOW TO FULFILL YOUR FIRST DUTY TO YOURSELF AND THE WORKING-CLASS. SEND A DOLLAR, GET OTHERS TO DO SO. BUILD UP THE ORGANIZATION FUND. LET US HAVE YOUR ANSWER NOW.

ORGANIZATION AND PROPAGANDA FUND,

Comrades whose names appear below have contributed toward the organization and propaganda work which they realize only the united effort of the workers can accomplish.

Name	.....	address	.....	amount	.....
Name	.....	address	.....	amount	.....
Name	.....	address	.....	amount	.....
Name	.....	address	.....	amount	.....
Name	.....	address	.....	amount	.....

Sent by

Address

Send all Remittances to

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

will be to prevent the demoralization of the steel workers, which would surely result if they were left to shift for themselves. The ultimate effect will be to reduce to a minimum the time necessary for them to recover from this effort and to get ready for the next. To carry the program through will require great exertion by the unions. But they are equal to the task. It would be a crime to abandon the steel workers

MILAN—Two hundred Austrian children between 4 and 12 have arrived here to be cared for during the winter. Vienna reports that 60,000 children there are starving to death and citizens of Milan are preparing to care for as many more as possible.

LONDON—The parliamentary Labor party has appointed a commission of six prominent members to go to Ireland and gather the facts of the situation there.

Special Correspondence.

New York, Jan. 20. 1920
New York after all is the barometer. New York gives the Socialist Party its national color. And it’s not red.

The Socialist Party has exposed itself. All that has been said about it by its critics of the left has been proven true by its actions since the expulsion of the five Socialist Party legislators from the New York state assembly.

Coming close upon the heels of the red raids the news reached the nation that five Socialist Party assemblymen had been expelled by the New York state assembly. It was a deathblow to the Socialist Party until—prominent capitalist politicians lawyers and masters of industry sensed that this action on the part of the New York assembly proved the contention of the Communists that simple political action would never emancipate the working class and that the capitalist class dictatorship would never permit a working class majority in any legislative assembly to function, even in a pseudo-revolutionary manner.

The “agents” of the master class wanted to do a good job of the clean-up they were making. And they went right ahead, denied representative government, constitutional guarantees, boasted liberties and democracy and everything, just exactly as they will again do at any time the dictatorship of capitalism is threatened. Wise heads among some of the capitalists and their retainers, saw the danger. They decided it was too early in the game to take extreme measures, especially against a party which was not dangerous, a party which is reform and moderate and a splendid safety valve to keep capitalism from exploding.

What underground wires were working between the Socialist Party leaders and leaders of republican and democratic parties only few know. However, as if they had been paid for it and handsomely, prominent lawyers and politicians of ruling class views began making public their opposition to the action of the New York state assembly.

Charles Hughes and the New York City Bar Association began by resolution and public interviews, to criticize the action of the assembly. Other “big” men lent a hand. Several capitalist papers of New York City decided to champion the cause of the expelled Socialists. All this was done to help preserve representative government — for a little while longer, we might add.

Had the Socialist Party and its officials acted independently of this support which was coming their way from an enemy source, some respect for that party might have been maintained. The direct contrary happened. The leaders of the Socialist Party began bending the knee to the big lawyers who smiled upon them, lawyers which have and will again spit upon them. Hillquit, the big man in the party, salamed his best when news reached him that Hughes was against expelling the Socialist assemblymen. And when the bar association elected a committee of five, Hughes among them, to go to Albany and help fight for representative government, Hillquit, in a letter in the Call, graciously bid for Hughes support as one of the counsel for the party. Note that it was not a case of hiring Hughes as counsel, but a sheer compromise with a capitalist class representative in a fight which should have been made independently if the Socialist Party had any honor.

Now comes the New York World, a daily capitalist sheet and starts a fund for the defense of the expelled Socialists. The money is to be used to defray the legal expenses. Does the Socialist Party refuse this enemy money? The World itself gives \$250.00. Ralph Pulitzer gives \$100.00. And low and behold, here is Barney Baruch with a hundred in blood money made out of the war. Forward steps Hillquit again and tells the readers of this capitalist sheet which is gathering these dollars from enemy sources, how the money so obtained will be spent. That means that the Socialist Party approves of these contributions from the capitalist class.

The Socialist Party is done for as a weapon for the working class. Only those will remain in its ranks who are dishonest or who do not understand the difference between reform with its compromising program and revolution with its deadly opposition to the master class.

The Socialist Party is now a lightening rod for the capitalist class. From it will be born a Noske and a Scheidemann. It is going strong down the wrong road, not in numbers, for the masses have left it, but in tactics. Its flag is pink and here in New York it is turning yellow.

And if the New York assembly decides to make the expulsion of the five Socialist assemblymen permanent? Then what?

Order a coffin!

(Continued from page 2.)

word Collins turned over and stared at him, and Rudolph in the other cell said as he looked up to the big man in the other cell “Some growth”, the kid’s already using the lingo. We are all right to them, when they need us in the harvest fields, but after we are no longer needed, we are bums. If they saw us burned at the stake they would feel neither pity nor sympathy, but would solemnly divide their coat tails and warm themselves.” At this Collins roared with laughter, while the visitors fidgeted uneasily.

“Young man,” said the male leader of the endeavor squad, addressing the boy “you are here because you fought.”

“And I fought because I was attacked, and I was attacked because I had money with which your taxpayers wanted to lighten their own burdens,” Jack persisted remorselessly. “And I will tell you something else that you might as well know, for the knowledge may do you good. You come here as a matter of routine and not from a sense of the love of service. It is as much of a burden to you as it is a bore to us! ‘Woe unto you scribes and pharisees,—who for a pretense make long prayers’. Don’t come to us with your dead formulas, resurrected from the tombs of Jerusalem. We are your victims, be men and women, and treat us as such.”

“Christ never fought,” snapped the older woman.

“Ever heard of the money changers in the temple,” Jack flung back, “ever heard of white washed graves and inward rottenness. I will tell you ladies and gentlemen you twist the words of your God to fit the needs of your purse.”

The girl watched him intently as he spoke. It was as if she were trying to read his very soul. “Is it necessary for you to be rough just because you have to work? Can you not be decent and mingle with good people?” she asked.

“Labor is the brand of Cain,” he answered. “We come from afar to harvest your crops—we struggle with you to get what we can for our work—you struggle with us to get what you can out of our work. It is the class struggle; the barrier that divides the House of Have from the House of Want. But some day it will be different. We shall throw you off our backs, and help you to stand upon your feet.”

The party nudged one another and moved on down the corridor—all but the girl; she lingered and looked at the boy thoughtfully. “I wish you were not so bitter”, she said as she offered him her hand thru the bar.

“Come Olive,” said the hatchet faced female, as she fairly dragged the girl thru the door.

(Continued next week)

*
Railwaymen, in an interview here. George Lansbury, labor editor, supplemented this declaration by asserting that the people of France and England must join to prevent the destruction of the two countries by financial interests.

*
“The English workers are not Bolsheviks,” he said, “but we are willing to have a general strike to enforce the policy of nationalization. And we are determined that Ireland be allowed to decide her own future.”

MEXICO CITY.—More than \$35,000,000 has been invested in the northern states of Mexico by Americans within the last few months. The bulk of the investments is for mining property.

MOSCOW—Courses in music are now required of students in Russian labor schools. The best musicians and teachers in the country have been mobilized as teachers.

Among recent contributors to the liberation fund is comrade Fred Meinche of Davenport, Iowa. Comrade Meinche is 70 years of age but he is still young in mind and heart as his donation of \$11.00 proves.

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Scott Nearing

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