

"The community which does not protect its worst and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves"--- Wendell Phillips.

WORKERS OF THE
WORLD UNITE

THE TOLLER

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Secret Couriers Cross Boundaries.

Spartan and Bolshevik agents carry messages from leaders giving details for carrying on propaganda.

While a few arrests have been made of secret agents passing between Berlin and Soviet Russia, it is believed that many get thru the frontiers safely with messages for the Communist groups in these and other countries.

London reports state. — Bolshevik agents entrusted with messages regarding sensational widespread Red plans have been for a considerable time traveling between Berlin and Soviet Russia on false credentials, it is stated in official quarters. The credentials they carried are said to have described them as delegates of the American Red Cross mission in Berlin to conduct investigations regarding the exchange of German prisoners from Russia.

These couriers, it appears, were carrying dispatches between Moscow and Bolshevik organizations in other countries, including the German Spartacists and the Swiss Communists. Lithuanian authorities discovered the illicit traveling after Lithuania's borders had been crossed many times and a number of arrests followed. Not all the couriers were provided with American papers, but such forged credentials were found on several of the prisoners.

Two men who carried Red Cross

passes admitted they had nothing to do with the American mission, but in reality were working for the Communists. One woman, similarly equipped, who worked from Dvinsk, said she had been instructed to deliver documents to persons she did not know personally.

Most interesting of the captures were two men en route to Moscow by way of Berlin. They carried letters concealed in their neckties. One of them was a German, and a member of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, and the other was a Swiss belonging to an extremist organization called the Socialist-Democratic Organization of Young People in Switzerland.

The German carried a letter from the head of a Spartacist organization in Germany to M. Tschicherin, Russian Bolshevik Minister of Foreign Affairs. The letter indignantly denied the report that German Spartacists were counter-revolutionary to the Russian Bolsheviks. It declared that Karl Radek (the Bolshevik propagandist who recently left Berlin) could testify to the writer's communist sympathies. It was said further by the writer that he was arranging with the Russian Bolshevik Zinovieff with regard to spreading communist propaganda in all parts of the world by special courier service from Berlin.

VANDERLIP PREDICTS EUROPEAN CRISIS.

Food Situation Certain to be
Extreme Before Harvest.

Believes United States Should Aid
Foreign Nations—Conceives
Revolt in Germany.

Basing his predictions on economic factors which he said were clearly observable, Frank A. Vanderlip, former President of the National City Bank, claims that dire times were near for Europe. With countries on the other side of the Atlantic facing an inflated currency and an unwillingness on the part of other nations to extend credit to them, he said, there was reason to believe the present crisis would be more acute. Mr. Vanderlip believed the United States, as the only solvent country in the world, should have the ability to assume world leadership. What the world needed was moral leadership, he maintained, and it was practically up to us to aid in the rehabilitation of the other countries.

Mr. Vanderlip said, that when he assumed the role of a prophet last year on his return from Europe he was termed a pessimist. The march of events since then substantiated his predictions as to what was going to happen on the other side, he said.

"APPALLING SITUATION."

"The same conditions are present now, except they point to a worse condition," he said. "The food situation in Central Europe is certain to become extreme between now and the next harvest. There is an appalling situation just ahead in Poland, Austria and Armenia. There political outlook is portentous. Look at Germany, with her indefinite indemnities, disorganized politically. Then there is Poland, hungering, without the means of obtaining credit to alleviate this want, presenting the possibilities of a political revolution.

"It is conceivable that there will be a political revolution in Germany, Bolshevik in character, which will hold out a friendly hand to Soviet Russia. What we should have done years ago to remedy all this trouble was to make loans, but not through the Government. I say this because our Government has loaned \$10,000,000 to nations which think they ought to pay it back. And there is something to be said on their side, too, as many of them can't pay it back."

Mr. Vanderlip went into detail to explain how inflation was brought about through the printing of paper

money not backed by reserve. He traced the credit system from its earliest beginning to the present time and showed how credits had been extended to the limit. In America the expansion had not quite reached the limit allowed, he said, but the effect of the increases was the basis of the high cost of living. He declared that this country should take note of the results of over-expansion and not bring about a similar crisis here.

GITLOW FOUND GUILTY.

Summing up in his own behalf, Benjamin Gitlow, former Socialist Assemblyman on trial before Justice Bartov S. Weeks on a charge of criminal anarchy, last week asserted that the revolutionary principles of the Left Wing Socialist Party are the principles he believes in.

"I will fight for those principles," Gitlow added. "My life is devoted to them. I ask no clemency. Regardless of your verdict I claim that these principles are correct."

The defendant was permitted by Justice Weeks to make the summing up address, despite the fact that Gitlow did not take the witness stand during the trial, and therefore had not been subjected to any cross-examination.

"It is an unusual request," said Justice Weeks, "but is not to be denied this time."

The Justice cautioned Gitlow not to make any statements not based on evidence submitted at the trial. Gitlow disregarded the warning, however, with the result that he had several clashes with the Court, after the last of which the defendant ended his address.

"I'M A REVOLUTIONIST."

"I admit that in the eyes of present day society I am a revolutionist," Gitlow asserted.

Judge Weeks banged on the bench with his gavel.

"Mr. Gitlow, you are not permitted to give your views and beliefs," said the court.

"I'll try to make my remarks impersonal," said Gitlow. "Now in the United States all of our banks, factories and mines are maintained for private advantage. Suppose John D. Rockefeller with all his bonds, stocks and gold, went to the Sahara desert. Do you think he could get for him self the comforts of life? He could look at his mountains of gold, but he could not buy himself a drink."

Gitlow then launched into a statement (Continued on page 4)



No Use Calling This Cop.

The 'Cost of Living' and The Workers.

A news dispatch states that the Department of Labor has sent a detachment of secret agents into 30 industrial centers of the country on an investigation of the costs of about every thing ordinary humans use in their daily lives—with the exception of food. Why food is excepted, we do not know, unless it is that the Department considers food among the luxuries, too high in price for the average individual to aspire to.

There seem to be unlimited occasions for "investigation" these times. About every department of the national government is making from one to 57 varieties every day. Some six months ago, the government heads, with Woodrow in the lead and every little aping politician following, essayed to engage in mortal combat with the Giant, familiarly known as H. C. of L.: It was a great fight. Perhaps no other governmental effort was ever accompanied with as much noise, bluster and general hullabaloo as was Wilson's war upon the high cost of living. The government unloaded all its surplus war stocks of food upon the market in order to re-establish the law of supply and demand in the markets. Governmental price fixing in the markets. Governmental price fixing was again put in practice, and it looked on the surface the Goliath would surely receive a fatal blow from the hand of Woodrow, the valiant and virtuous.

But have you noticed any slump in the price of any thing you use to keep your self above ground? We doubt if you can name three articles which are a penny cheaper now than when Wilson and Goliath locked horns. Just consider the following inspiring figures for a moment and ask yourself if Wilson and his kind, by their methods are likely to create any change favorable to you?

The price of clothing is still making enormous advances, but the American Wo-

olen Co. made a cleaning of 56 per cent in 1917 and 1918. There can hardly be said to be a shortage of cotton with 11,000,000 bales plus 3,000,000 left over from 1918, but this does not stop the speculators from boosting the cotton crop values 50,000,000 or more in a day. In one week, while the war was on, they boosted it one half a billion dollars. No reason here to wonder why cotton costs more now than silk used to.

A 50 per cent increase in the price of shoes by next summer is predicted by one of the largest shoe manufacturers. At the same time, leather companies and shoe manufacturers are declaring "extra" dividends. As a matter of fact, with each "shortage" in any line of commodities which is said to occur, the stock of all companies dealing in that line at once goes up in price.

From July of 1914, to November 1919, food prices advanced 92 per cent, clothing 135 per cent, fuel 48 per cent and rent 38 per cent.

Just now there is said to be a "sugar shortage". The increase in price will add a billion or so to the previous robberies of the gentlemen whose private control of the necessities of life enable them to extort almost at will such huge sums from their victims.

Turnig to the cases which the government has started against the profiteers who have been caught in the wide meshes of the anti-profiteering laws, we find that there have been 179 alleged profiteers nabbed. In but three cases fines and sentences were imposed.

The government was exceedingly harsh in its treatment of these thieves as is seen in the punishments meted out. One was fined \$100.00 and spent a few days in jail. Another paid a fine of \$250.00 and spent three months behind the bars. The other drew a \$500.00 fine and six months (Continued on page 4th).

LEND A HAND!

We've a few questions which we want to ask every reader of The Toller—every Party member, every radical who reads these paragraphs, every thinking worker who lifts his eyes from his work long enough to catch a glimpse of a better day for Labor.

We realize that there is a peculiar state of mind among America's workers just now. Labor is in a state of revolt, but it has not found the methods by which to cope with the decaying institutions of the capitalist system and the old forms of labor organization. It is earnestly searching for the way out, searching for the proper method by which to break forever with the slavery of the past and present. It is groping, often in the dark, with eyes blinded by ancient superstitions and fraudulent teachings for the sword with which to cut the chains that bind it.

Labor will find the sword to cut its chains. It will lose many battles with capital, but each lost strike will prove to be a lesson that will teach the true meaning of the Labor struggle. It will lose many skirmishes—but it will win the war, it will win in the end. The future belongs to Labor and no matter what bitter defeats are ours, we must rise again ready to serve the Cause of Emancipation.

The master class realizes that Labor is in revolt. It is seeking by various means to curb and control this revolutionary tide. But its methods will be in vain. Whether it attempts a policy of repression, as some advocate, or whether it establishes a system of paternalism toward Labor, the result will be the same. Capitalism's hordes of parasites will be forced to dismount from the back of Labor and to take their places in the ranks of useful producers. This must be the final result. Labor will not be beaten, it will prove the victor.

We call upon every worker who reads these lines to engage in this struggle against the exploiting class. We call upon you to LEND A HAND in the work of the Revolutionary Movement. We ask you to not delay for one moment the help which your activity will give in this battle of Labor for a better life.

Whether you are a "red" or just a "radical", or whether or not you have classified yourself as either, we say to you—if you find anything good in The Toller to give it your support. If you don't find it good, we know you won't support it, but if you do, we know that you will find your place in the ranks of those who stand behind us with their support. Don't fail to give your little, for it, multiplied by the same from many others, spells continuance and in the end success. We are fighting your fight. We want you to back us up with that which makes it possible to keep up our present high standard. We want the subscriptions which you can get, the dollars which you can give.

Nothing could give a longer lease of life to the parasites who fatten upon the profits wrung from your sweat and toil than the destruction of the worker's press—The Toller among them. From more than one source the word has reached us that certain semi-official government agents were "going to get" the editor. Devious and dark methods have been used by those in governmental authority in more than one attempt to destroy this paper. Intimidation has been practiced, open threats of business losses have been made against those with whom we publish.

We are not afraid of their damned jails, nor of anything else which they can hand us. We are afraid of but one thing, the inactivity and lethargy of the workers. This is the only thing which can injure us, it is the only thing to fear. And yet, such a fear SHOULD be groundless. There need be no reason for it in fact. For we know that there are hundreds, yes, thousands of wide awake workers whose hearts and souls are in the Revolutionary Movement. We know that they are ready and willing to give time, energy and money for the Cause. And we want every one of you who read this, and every other reader who finds any good in The Toller to begin AT ONCE a campaign of support and subscription getting for this paper. There is not a locality anywhere in this country where the fires of revolt are not seething. There is not a locality where readers for it cannot be obtained. And there is not a locality where it will not prove a means of inspiration and development to the Revolutionary Cause.

We call upon our readers to begin-to-day, each one in his own way, a campaign for subscriptions and support of The Toller. If we are doing the work you want done—support us, help us to do it better. Lend a hand! Give us your support. Join the ranks of those who are doing things. Back up the Movement for working-class emancipation.

If you believe we are a worthy factor in the worker's struggle for emancipation, you should lend a helping hand in the work.

Skygac's Column.

The Allies are all decided upon—
Something must be done about the
Bolsheviks. But what?

Crush 'em!
Boycott 'em!
Ignore 'em!
Trade with 'em!
Refuse to trade with 'em!
Trade with the people but don't
trade with the Soviets!

Make a decision and reverse it and
make another reversible decision.

Send a "strong armed force" into
the Czarus because the Bolsheviks
are menacing India.

The whole tragic farce reminds one
of the celebrated rat and mouse con-
vention. A certain cat noted for its
prowess as a mouser and rat-catcher
created such a wholesale depletion of
the rodent ranks that the rats and
mice called a convention to discuss
ways and means whereby the depreda-
tions caused by the cat might be
avoided. After much discussion of
many plans and schemes it was finally
decided that the best thing to do under
the circumstances would be to put a
bell upon the cat so all would know
of its approach in time to make their
escape.

It was a lovely scheme but when
volunteers were called for to place
the bell upon the cat, lo and behold
the rats and mice were scattered and
none could be found.

Moral. Wanted,—Somebody to put
a bell on the Bolsheviks.

If the Bolsheviks menace India, are
they menacing the Indian PEOPLE or
are they menacing the RULE of the
Indian People by England? And if
England feels that her divine right
to rob and rule the people of India
is endangered, why doesn't England
protect her own interests? 'Twas al-
ways a hobby of England to get
somebody else to pull chestnuts out of
the fire for her.

Judicious stirring of the soil makes
for a better crop. Judicial stirring of
the soil of Industrial unrest increases
the red crop. Two reds now grow where
before the Palmer raids one pale pink
flourished.

Author there ARE classes in America
or there are no classes. If there ARE
classes here, all the word barrages the
capitalists can throw in the name of
hundred percents, will not change the
facts. And if there ARE classes, the
producing class will be the domina-
nt class in the new society. We have
had enough of rule by the parasites.

Every little C. C. Club in America
sings the Star Spangled Banner and
America, at every meeting, but they
usually sing 'em to the tune of Market,
Market. Who has the market?

The Capitalist press editorializes to
the effect that there are no American
reds. Mebbe so. Mebbe so. But they
will find the woods full of RED Amer-
icans.

A man can be a good American and
still fail to worship at the shrine of
the dollar mark \$.

Wages, the sugar coating which
makes a capitalist job endurable are

paid to the majority of the workers
in America.

Wages are determined by the aver-
age cost of production of labor power.
This not only includes the day-by-day
production of labor power but also
the cost of rearing a family of children
to REPLACE those worn out and
thrown upon the scrap heap of in-
dustry. In the past it has been a clever
scheme of the employing capitalists
to import their laborers already grown,
with the cost of their up-bringing
paid upon a foreign soil. All that they
had to pay those 'ignorant foreigners'
was enough to reproduce their day-
by-day labor power.

Now, when the foreigner is no longer
ignorant but insists upon a wage
sufficient to enable him to support a
family in decency,—Ah! That is a
different story. He is branded a red
and his deportation "back to where
he came from" is asked. Back to
where he was BROUGHT from, would
be a term more nearly correct.

Wanted, by the employing capita-
lists of America. — A bunch of labor-
ers clever enough and shrewd enough
to look out for their employers
interest and too ignorant to look out
for their own interests. Such a man
or set of men may be assured of a
steady job at the going wages in
most any industrial center in the
land.

Japan says she can not understand
why the United States are withdraw-
ing from Siberia. Japan probably
could not understand why a man drops
a hot brick.

Never try to hold a man up with
'em. It gets you a jail sentence. Hold
'em up with a smile — that gets you
a bank-roll, a respectable name and
a listing in the "Who is Who" column.

During the late unpleasantness we
heard much lauding of the shipyard
workers as the men behind the guns.
Now judging by the way the Legion
men are jumping on Dempsey, nobody
helped win the war unless he was in
O. D.

Too many Nations are made great
at the expense of the common people.

J. W. W. testifies that the Industri-
al Relations report is the Wobly Bible.
And if there ARE classes, the
producing class will be the domina-
nt class in the new society. We have
had enough of rule by the parasites.

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Wages, the sugar coating which
makes a capitalist job endurable are

Russian Trade Regulations.

Reports are current that \$100,000-
400 worth of business has been placed
by Russian representatives with Amer-
ican firms and that the purchasers,
are willing to deposit cash in Amer-
ican banks to cover their orders for
the manufactured articles which the
Russian people are said to be so sorely
in need of. But the policy pursued
by our State Department of refusing
trade licenses has hampered our man-
ufacturers from exporting their prod-
ucts. If the reports are true that the
allied countries and even Germany
have resumed trade relations with Rus-
sia, then our Government should adopt
a similar policy.

American manufacturers are willing
to supply the Russian people with the
products they need, at what promises
to be attractive prices. American im-
porters, too, are desirous of importing
those materials which Russia has in
abundance and which we need. Prior
to the war, Russia produced 79 per
cent of the world's supply of flax, 51
per cent of the hemp and 97 per cent
of the platinum. She is rich in ferro
manganese, in antimony and other
metals. We need these products.

If other nations have taken active
steps to capture the Russian markets
then our manufacturers should be pro-
tected, for when we finally determine
to take an active hand in Russian
trade we may find little opportunity
left for us to do so. —

WHO WANTS TO TRADE WITH RUSSIA?

Ludwig C. A. K. Martins, Ambas-
sador of Soviet Russia, has furnished
the Committee on Foreign Relations
with a list of American corporations
whom he testifies have made contracts

with him for supplying millions of dollars
worth of supplies to his government.
This list contains the names of some
of the country's greatest exporters.
Among them are the following who
are ready to open trade relations with
the Soviet government as soon as the
state department permits ships to clear
from American ports.

This list included:
Morris & Co., Chicago, meat packers,
50,000,000 pounds of food products at
prevailing market prices when ship-
ments are made possible.

Elia Berlow, 110 Duane Street, New
York, a \$3,000,000 contract for boots
and shoes.

Fischman & Co., 395 Broadway, New
York, \$3,000,000 worth of underwear.
Weinberg & Posffer, 120 Broadway,
New York, \$5,000,000 worth of machin-
ery and tools.

Lehigh Machine Company of Penn-
sylvania, \$4,500,000 worth of printing
presses.

National Storage Company, New
York, miscellaneous merchandise to be
delivered in Petrograd, valued at \$10-
600,000. This contract, Mr. Martins
said, was made on Sept. 16, 1919.

He stated, that in addition to the
contracts listed, "the negotiations of
the commercial department of the So-
viet Government Bureau have covered
a schedule of articles required in Rus-
sia to a total of approximately \$300,
000,000, consisting of railway materi-
al and equipment, farm implements
and machinery, tractors, trucks, and
automobiles, foodstuffs and canned
milk, mining, printing, and road-mak-
ing machinery, hardware and tools,
woolens, textiles knit goods, shoes,
leather, chemicals, medical and surgical
supplies."

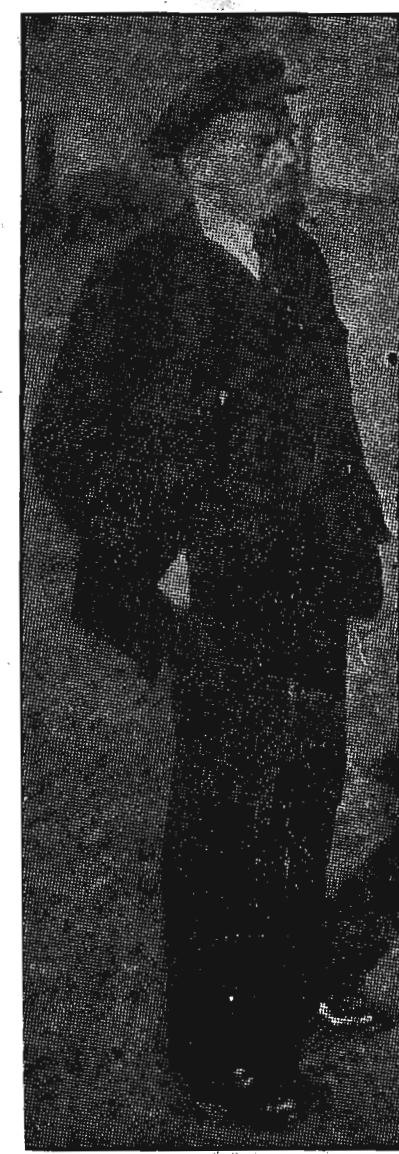
HERE'S THE "LITTLE BALD- HEADED MAN OF EUROPE."

LENIN! Is there a name which
can be pronounced before any re-
presentative group of citizens any-
where in the world that will imme-
diately agitate it as much as this
name of five letters? Is there one
which will stir up as divergent a
series of expressions from any au-
dience as this? We think not.

No name in history ever had pro-
nounced upon it the anathemas which
have poured upon this name. None
ever wielded as great an influence
upon the affairs of mankind as this
simple Russian word. It has been cur-
sed in America alone, numberless mil-
lions of times by the hired dimes who
scribble the made-to-order editorials
of the prostitute press.

But while capitalist hirelings may
rend their hair in agony for a new
adjective to apply to Lenin and the
principles upon which his Social De-
mocracy is based, the world's workers
are learning to pronounce it with pride
and hope and longing. Russia stands
for all that is hopeful to Labor and
Labor's millions are turning their
faces toward the land of Lenin as the
sower turneth his face to the morning
sun.

There are many names which but a
year ago were resounding thru the
world as great and good. To-day, they
are but as sounding brass. Abhorred
by the masses whom they betrayed,
they grow fainter and fainter as they
pass down the corridors of time. The
world is learning to pronounce new



names and leading them all is—LENIN
This picture of Lenin, standing in
the courtyard of the Kremlin at
Moscow, was recently brought to
America by Isaac McBride.

"Sedition"

By Edmund Vance Cooke

You cannot salt the eagle's tail,
Nor limit thought's dominion.
You cannot put ideas in jail;
You can't deport opinion.

If any cause be dross and lies,
Then drag it to the light;
Out in the sunshine evil dies,
But fattens on the Night.

You cannot make a truth untrue
By dint of legal fiction.
You cannot prison human view,
You can't convict conviction.

For tho by thumbscrew and by rack,
By exile and by prison,
Truth has been crushed and palled in black,
Yet truth has always risen.

You cannot quell a vicious thought
Except that thought be free:
Gag it, and you will find it taught
On every land and sea.

Truth asks no favor for her blade
Upon the field with Error,
Nor are her converts ever made
By threat of force and terror.

You cannot salt the eagle's tail
Nor limit thought's dominion.
You cannot put ideas in jail,
You can't deport opinion.

POLAND IS KEY TO PEACE WITH REDS

Harmony of Europe Depends on War-
saw's Negotiations With Bolsheviks.

LONDON. — The peace discussions
between the Poles and the Bolsheviks
are being watched in diplomatic quar-
ters here with the deepest interest, since
the general feeling is that the
peace of Europe depends upon whether
the treaty is signed.

In other words, Poland is regarded
as the keystone of the present situa-
tion and it is felt that as long as
hostilities continue between Poland
and soviet Russia tranquility cannot
be re-established in the rest of Europe.

If Poland should accept the Bol-
shevik proposals, diplomatic circles
believe that she would be placed in
the uncomfortable position of being
asked by the reds to agree to a
plebiscite for the Bolshevik territory
she now occupies. While Poland has
a large number of nationals in this
territory, she admittedly is in the mi-
nority and the Bolsheviks undoubt-
edly would make strong propaganda
among the population.

Since the recent visit of Stanislas
Patek, Polish minister of foreign af-
fairs, to France and England for con-
ferences, various reports have been
published regarding the allied atti-
tude toward the situation with regard
to Poland and the bolsheviks. Highly
placed diplomatists, say these reports

have, in general, been erroneous and
that the word the Polish foreign min-
ister really carried back to Warsaw
was substantially this:

The allies do not propose to use
Poland as an arrowhead to pierce
Bolshevik Russia. The allies cannot
place themselves in the position of
advising Poland to attack the Bol-
sheviki nor can the allies promise as-
sistance to Poland in such event.

Should the Bolsheviks make an un-
provoked assault that would alter the
situation. Poland's attention has
been called to the fact that the allies
are establishing certain trade rela-
tions with Russia. Whether Poland
shall make peace with the Bolsheviks
is a matter for her alone to decide.

"AMERICAN LIBERTY"

Lecture By
JACOB MARGOLIS

Attorney for U. S. Steel Workers. A man with a message
for every liberty loving American.

— Under Auspices —
THE WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
G. A. R. HALL, 50 SOUTH HOWARD STREET

Sunday February 22nd 2:00 P. M.

ADMISSION 25 CENTS
Tickets on Sale at the Tailor Shop, 108 East Market Street.

Speaking of Revolutions

By SCOTT NEARING.

Saff, writer.

The Federated Press.

Speaking of revolutions, there was
one in Hawaii, back in 1893, the in-
cidents of which are thus described by
a man who was then in the United
States senate — R. F. Pettigrew.

"During Harrison's administration,
Mr. Stevens was minister to Hawaii,
and he asked that some naval vessels
be sent there to protect American lives
and property. In reality he had
entered into an understanding with a
small group of missionaries and their
descendants to bring about a revolu-
tion, overthrow the existing govern-
ment and annex the islands to the
United States so that their sugar and
their products could come into our
market free from duty. A naval vessel
was ordered to Hawaii, and, after it
arrived, 13 conspirators met in a room
and decided to overthrow the govern-
ment.

"At night, 150 of the marines from
the American battleship were landed
and marched to a point 75 yards from
and in front of the government build-
ing in Honolulu. The 13 men, having
arrived at the front of the govern-
ment building, read their proclamation
and were immediately recognized as
the government of the Hawaiian is-
lands by the American minister."

Who were these "conspirators", who
were so promptly accepted by the
United States authorities as the new
government?

That question is answered by one
of the most charmingly frank docu-
ments that ever was penned by an apol-
ogist for things as they are. Hawaii
was not annexed to the United States
until 1898. In the meantime, every
form of pressure was brought to bear
upon the senate to force through the
treaty of annexation. Among the docu-
ments written with this end in view
was An Address by the Hawaiian
Branches of the Sons of the American
Revolution, the Sons of Veterans, and
the Grand Army of the Republic to
their Compatriots in American Concern-
ing the Annexation of Hawaii.

The "Address", published in 1897,
gives this version of the revolution:

"The revolution (of 1893) was not
the work of filibusters and adventur-
ers, but of the most conservative
and law-abiding citizens, of the prin-
cipal taxpayers, of the leaders of in-
dustrial enterprises." The address notes
further, that, "of the capital in-
vested in the islands, two-thirds is
owned by Americans."

There may have been "Bolsheviks"
and "reds" in Hawaii in 1893, but
they got not the slightest credit for
overthrowing the government. On the
contrary, the work was done by con-
servative, law-abiding citizens, by the
leading tax-payers and the leaders
of industrial enterprise. True to form,
the ruling class of Hawaii disposed of
the existing form of government when
it had no further use for it.

Shakespeare's m e l a n c h o l y
Jacques found his lessons in stones.
State legislatures and national offi-
cials are evidently taking theirs from
our island possessions.

WHAT OF IT?

Scott Nearing

At last, after months of prattle, comes
a word of sense from Washington
on the H. C. of L. "I see no pros-
pect of any considerable fall in prices
for several years to come", says Roy-
al Meeker, commissioner of labor sta-
tistics. Then he explains why — be-
cause "it will be impossible for the
governments of the world to pay off
their debts very rapidly."

But that is not the real reason why
prices will stay high. Prices will stay
high first because the efficiency of
the capitalist system has fallen so low
that goods cannot be turned out fast
enough to meet the demand. Second,
because the payments in the form of
rent, interest, dividends and profits
are so great a fixed charge on in-
dustry that even though efficiency
were maintained, the cost of production
plus this cost of parasitism would
keep prices high.

High prices today mean that the
worker cannot buy back, with his wages,
what he has produced with his
energies. This is the very essence of
the present ludicrous system of eco-
nomic life.

The Black Sheep.

Chapt. XVII.

The Other Side (continued)

A little chat with the principal of
her school that morning on the right
and wrong of Jack's incarceration
proved to her that that individual
was not in favor of the fining system.
He told her that he had heard of
Jack's prowess before the judge and
gave it as his opinion that the boy
was right. But when Olive asked
him to do something for the boy,
he immediately changed his mind. He
told her that Smallhead's wife's
cousin's niece's brother-in-law was a
member of the school board and it
was therefore not policy for him
to say or do anything which might
reflect on the integrity of Mr. Small-
head. He averred that he could not
mingle in politics and keep his prestige
as a teacher. He advised her not
to speak of these matters as they
were entirely out of the sphere of
young ladies and were liable to be
misinterpreted.

This homily however did not do
her any good from the principal's
view point. It only irritated her and
made her more determined than ever
to go ahead. Ahead to what? She
could not unlock the jail door so she
decided to do the next best thing.

To awaken the interest of the in-
fluential people of town to a realiza-
tion of what was going on she never
fully realized her position in this
matter. There were three men in jail.
Hundreds had been fined, and yet,
only one stirred her to action.

She told the principal that it was
just because she was a woman that
she had to let the putrescent system
of injustice thrive. She insisted that
she knew the boy was innocent of
any crime and yet he had to lie in
a filthy jail simply because good
people were cowards and bad people
were greedy.

She went to her classes leaving the
principal amazed not only at her tem-
per but at her reasoning as well.
"What is she, a Carrie Nation or
an Amelia Pankhurst?" he asked of
Miss Kramer who happened to be in
his office at the time. "That young
fellow must have a remarkable per-
sonality. It seems to me they ought
not to have put him in jail."

Miss Kramer whose individuality
had been dwarfed by thirty years
continuous association with children,
simply said that she was surprised at
Miss Anderson. She assured the prin-
cipal that she would do her best to
remove that fantastic notion from
the child's mind. "A young lady
of her standing, to come to the de-
fence of nameless hoboes—the very
idea."

That evening on her way home from
school Olive stopped at the livery
stable to see Judge Duffy. She found
that worthy sitting in his office read-
ing the latest copy of the "Police
Gazette". It was his official magazine
and the only literature that interested
him.

When Olive entered, he greeted her
jovially, saying: "Hello there Olive,
how's your Pop?"

"Quite well, thank you," Olive
answered, then coming directly to the
point she said: "I visited the jail
Sunday with the Endeavor people."
"Yes, so I hear. How do you like
our boarders? We've got a bright kid
in there Olive, but he needs coolin'."

"Why is he in jail?" she asked
almost defiantly.
"Oh, he was drunk and fighting,"
said the judge as he rolled a cigar
from one corner of his mouth to an-
other. "Sorry to pinch him; he's
so young, but we must have order,
you know. If we didn't look up char-
acters like that, why then you and
Tillie and your Mum wouldn't be safe
on the street."

"But, Mr. Duffy, I do not believe
that boy was that kind of a charac-
ter. If he fought at all, it was in self-
defence; then there is another thing
I wish to ask, why did you fine all
these men when they were not all
drunk? Is it because the town needs
the money?"

"No, no child, that would not be
right. The town don't need the money
any worse than I do. We fine these
men so that they will not have the
money to loiter around the pool halls
and disturb the peace and dignity of
our municipality." Then after laughing
at his own witticism, he added, "Now
run along little girl, and don't ask
so many questions. Run up to the
house and see Tillie's new coat. I'm
busy just now." He arose tickled Olive
under the chin and then walked out
into the stable.

Olive did not go to see Tillie as
the Judge had suggested. She made
her way to the office of the "Ana-
moose Record" where she interviewed
Mr. Ralph Cranston, the editor.

"Cranston's sense of humor was
aroused by her earnestness and lack
of worldly wisdom. He decided to
have a little fun at the child's ex-
pense. He would just let her take a
glimpse of life as it really was. He
admitted freely that what Judge Duffy
had done and was doing was morally
wrong and to be condemned if it

were done at a distance. "We would
go to war if such things were done
in China," said he. "But at home,
when our morals conflict with business
expedience then we chuck morals
overboard and do what is expedient."
Then he continued as he whirled around
in his swivel chair and rested his
elbow on his editorial desk. "Do
you know Miss Anderson that this is
legally a dry state, and that it is
a crime under the laws of this com-
monwealth to own and operate a
place in which intoxicating liquors
are sold. Yet we have them here, in
the very shadow of your churches
I ask you why?"

Olive was silent. She wanted to hear
what he had to say. She wondered if
he too would find a way to justify
this self evident crime.

"I will tell you," the editor went
on, "this is a wheat country. A few
men come in the spring to sow and to
plough, but thousands come to the
harvest. They come not because the
crops need cutting, in fact they do
not care if they are ever cut. They
come because we are forced to pay
wages if we want to see our harvest
gathered. Wages are paid with good
hard money, which these men take
out of the state when they leave.
So much for one side of the question.
These men make their money by work
as I make my money by printing and
your Dad makes his money from rent.
The difference is, that we have land
and business; that we are located here.
But these men who come here to
work have no land and no business,
except to work. For their work we pay
them money which they would take
out of the country unless we find
some way to stop them."

"But why stop them?" Olive asked
wide eyed. "Isn't the money theirs?
Haven't they worked for it?"

"Tut, tut 'child don't get excited!
We stop them because the money will
do us more good than it will them.
We business people do not produce;
we exist on margins. Never forget
that. There are too many of us to
grow rich from the farmers alone;
we must get a part of what goes
out in the shape of wages. The town
is in the fining business just exactly
as your father is in real estate—Mr.
Marvin is in groceries, Duffy in horses.
They are all after the margin. The
town is only a collective citizen. What
it does, is for the benefit of its
people. If we do not get our margin
as officers and business men we be-
come either farmers or bums. Your
Dad buys a cheap farm and rents it
at a high rental. The margin so achieved
buys your clothes. He persuades an
ignorant man that his good land is
poor and that he can do better on an
alkali flat. He gets the good farm
cheap and sells it dear—the margin
sends you to school. The fact that
the renter and his wife sweat blood
to pay the rent and that the ignorant
man starves on alkali flat does not
bother you. It is business and business
must have victims. What is true of
your Dad and you is true of all of
us; we live upon that which we have
not earned."

"We do not like the 'blind pig',
but the men who come to harvest our
crops are homeless wanderers; they
must have a place where they can
meet socially, where they can mingle
and talk the things they know and
understand. They want a place where
they can forget their trouble and re-
member their misery no more as the
Bible says. In other words it brings
them to town where they buy clothes,
hats, shoes, tobacco, and snuff; where
they eat at the restaurant, buy papers
at the book stand, all of which means
money in our pockets. That is why
we tolerate the 'blind pig'. If Ana-
moose has no 'pig' and Harvey has
two then the merchants there will
make just twice as much, as the mer-
chants here from the hobo trade."

"But why fine them when they
are caught in the trap you yourself
have set for them?" the girl asked.

"Again that is to our advantage.
Taxes are high and the town needs
improvements. To hold down the tax
bill and at the same time improve the
town, that is the test of official ef-
ficiency. You know, Miss Anderson,
that it takes money to run a town
—it has to come from somewhere—the
taxpayers do not always figure the
cost of these things — they only know
that they want them, but they do not
want the bills that follow. When bills
go too high they change officers; the
officers need their job: they, too,
must eat so they try to hold down
the bills. People are naturally more
interested in cheapness than in the
method by which cheapness is brot
about, so the officers take a chance
to get easy money whenever it pre-
sents itself."

"It is not a christian way of do-
ing," the girl protested.

"Oh, well, Christians don't like
high taxes any better than Jews. In
the world of business we recognize
neither saints nor sinners. The very
land we live on we stole from the
Indians and not even you would re-
turn your father's farm to the Red
(Continued on page 4.)

The Toiler

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CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 13th, 1920.

Declines --- With Thanks.

No better indication of the recognized power of the Soviet government can be asked for than the situation in regard to Poland. Poland has been carrying on war against the Soviets. In this laudable work, she has been aided by the allies. When the Soviets became victorious over the Dennekin-Koltchak crowd and quelled once and for all the rebellion of the reactionaries, they at once offered peace to Poland on the principle of no annexations and no indemnities. Soviet Russia desires none of Poland's territory. She has made this explicit in her representations to Poland in regard to settling the differences between them.

Poland in the meanwhile sends out an S. O. S. to the allies, especially, to the British and French, for arms, food and other necessities for carrying on more war against the Soviets. Poland desires to become a buffer state against the spread of bolshevism. She is also credited with being a bit over ambitious and showing a tendency toward dissatisfaction with the rewards which the peace conference gave her.

The blessed diplomats at Paris are considerably divided upon the policy to pursue toward Poland. One group made up principally of French and led by Marshall Foch, demand that the allies give such aid to Poland as she requests, not for the preservation of Poland, but for the purpose of putting down the power of Soviets. Another group, headed by Lloyd George and Italy, take a totally opposed view. Lloyd advises Poland to make peace, pointing out that the Poles should immediately get back inside their national boundaries. Lloyd George has formed a very healthy estimate of the power of Trotsky's Red Army. He is convinced that peace and trade with Russia are better than revolution at home and annihilation in Siberia. Besides, he sees far enough into the future to know that unless British industry is set to work and at once, there is trouble ahead with British labor. George, shrewd Welshman, that he is, may be counted upon to be in the market early when trade with Russia is possible in the next few weeks. He declines any further aggressions against Russia.

WHY?

No better indication of the unsettled state of the public mind is evident, than the great increase in crime within the past year. Especially is this evident in the number of mob uprisings, showing a radical and dangerous tendency of the individual to assume jurisdiction and authority and function of the established law.

The year 1919, gave us more lynchings than were ever recorded in one year before. Not only were they greater in number but attended with a greater result in criminal acts. The mob never rises to establish the rule of right, but its acts are attended by death and destruction.

As an instance of the extent to which the mob spirit prevails we quote from the following press dispatch:

MONROE, LA., Jan. 29. — Because a jurymen failed to agree to a verdict of guilty in the case of Alvin Calhoun, alleged confessed slayer of N. E. Arnold, a young farmer, a mob publicly whipped the recalcitrant juror and then dipped him in a mud hole, said reports reaching here tonight from Tallulah, where the trial was held.

After his chastisement, the report said the mud-covered juror returned to the jury room and agreed to a verdict of murder in the first degree. He then was ordered to leave town by a delegation of citizens.

It would be too much to expect that the human mind, after four years of coaching in the school of violence and death, should be able to at once throw off the fumes of this poison. We are but reaping the harvest we have sown. We sowed the seeds of violence, we are now garnering its fruits. The effects of the war upon our social mind are being written now in crime, and mob rule, and what the end will be us man can say.

"Wear A Diamond"

Consider this gem plucked from an advertisement of a Cleveland jewelry firm: "Wear a Diamond as an evidence of prosperity". To such an extent has the credit system reached that diamonds and practically every thing else can now be bought on the installment plan — as an evidence of prosperity. The wording of the advertisement appeals to that human faculty of imitiveness — and this class, attempt the role. They readily become victims of such jems of the mind and heart, tho they may not shine outwardly and attract the plaudits of the aping multitude, but do give color and weakness — a desire to appear what one is not. The rich wear jewelry as evidence of the fact that they are possessed of more of this world's goods than they need for the immediate present. Less fortunate humans, wishing to appear in the same category and to receive even a small ray of the glory which is showered upon this class, attempt the role. They readily become victim. of such advertisements as the above.

By keeping one's eyes open, the shams and pretense of our artificial social life can be readily seen thru the fog and clouds of all this makebelieve. Cover it up as we will, gloss it over with specious words and clever phrases, the mockery still shows thru the thin veneer.

It is a far cry from sturdy character and self reliance to donning such false appearance. It seems to us to be a grasping of the last straw in a whirlpool of false ideals. Far better to wear jems of the mind and heart, tho they may not shine color and life and reality to ones innermost soul; than to put on pretentious unreality and debase one's self by assuming a false position — as an evidence of prosperity.

EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE.

SPARKS.

When all is said, it's the comrade who keeps busy in the Movement who finds no time to become "sour" and despondent. A wonderful elixir is activity.

Renewal subscriptions last week exceeded by 100 per cent those of the week before. A 100 per cent gain is the best indication we know of that The Toiler is liked by its readers. And just now we must remind those who have not renewed their subscriptions that the days of grace are few. Renew at once.

Active? What, Local Tiffin? We should say so. Here's a letter from comrade Steel containing a remittance of \$23.00. Some for dues, some for subscriptions and some for Chas Baker's defense. Which came proves there is real a live group of comrades in Tiffin Local.

Comrade J. Manoylovich of Lorain shows how to get the subs. Five half yearlies he remits for.

Ten subscriptions a week is the job comrade J. Rhem, of Springfield, has set for himself. This good news comes to us in a letter from another Springfield booster, comrade R. A. Huebner, who is no slouch himself as a subscription getter.

Of course we feel joyful when a comrade sends along a little boost in the way of another sub for a friend with his renewal, but when he makes it a dollar boost, we simply dance with delight. And you know, we have had to do considerable dancing of late for there have been many such boosts. Well, we like to dance.

Ah, here they are, We know they would come back — those sub cards comrade Wahn ordered for sale to workers at Huntington, W. Va.

"Subscriber" at Ashtabula sends in 5 subscriptions. Thanks, comrade.

Comrade J. Doering now has himself a job. He wrote in for the Rock Island list to get renewals. He got it and we trust he will get them. Some of our boosters there have suffered considerably in the recent raids, but we are glad to report they are now out of jail.

A picture of Debs 13 X 18 for 25c. Order one. You will be glad.

Local Dayton remits \$2.00 for Toiler press stamps. This is but their first installment.

Ordering a second lot of Toiler sub cards, comrade F. H. Payton, of Huntington, W. Va., says, "I didn't sell the Toiler cards, they sold themselves. I am going to wear this five dollars so thin buying sub cards that you can see thru it". We don't know a better use to which a little old five spot can be put than this.

Get one of these good premiums with a \$5.00 order for sub cards — Lenin, The man and His Work; Russia in 1919; Ten days that Shook the World, also you may pick out \$1.00 worth of pamphlets instead of books if you prefer. Get on the sub getting job.

Comrade Marguerite Prevey spoke at Cincinnati Feb. 1st. A good meeting is the report.

A recent literature order from Local Toledo calls for 20 Bullitt reports and 100 copies of Fisher's Evolution and Revolution. This order also calls for 150 copies of The Toiler each week.

Local Akron ordered 100 copies Bullitt Report for the Scott Nearing meeting on the 6th.

Comrade Nellie Leshor of Tiffin is busy in the disposal of literature. The Bullitt Report seems a ready seller and she writes that she finds a ready sale for numerous books to others than socialists.

State Executive Committeeman, J. J. Hoge of Bellaire, remits five dollars for sub cards.

The Christopher III. list gets a substantial boost this week, thru the efforts of comrade Arley Stapler. Five yearlies they are too.

T. E. Pendergrass of Comanche Tex. sends us a hurry call for a bundle of pamphlets. We take it that some folks in Texas are due for a mental shaking up.

As usual — here is Frank Renko of

A RECORD WORTH BEATING.

We cordially invite you to beat the record of comrade Evans of Girard, Kansas. Comrade Evans is a Kansas coal miner. Within the past two weeks he has secured and sent us Toiler subscriptions to the amount of \$48.50. Can you beat it, we repeat, CAN YOU BEAT IT?

There have been some high records established by boosters for our paper but this record of comrade Evans has them all beaten to date.

But we do want to ask — if one comrade can get 50 subscriptions in two weeks among a crowd of Kansas coal diggers, cannot the same be accomplished in a score or a hundred of other coal camps in Kansas, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Missouri and other states? There is every reason to believe that the miners of other states like The Toiler equally as well as those of Kansas and we would like to see it verified. Just suppose some of you husky Ohio miners took a chance on exceeding this Kansas record. Are you game? We believe there is more than one who answers, yes. Who is he who challenges the champion from Kansas? Let's have your name, comrade.

Yes, we are in mourning. It's for the many comrades who forgot to pay dues in January. If you want us to discard the black — just pay up and see us smile — and smile yourself!

LOCATE YOUR LOCAL SECRETARY AND PAY UP.

Livingston Ill., with more subs. Two yearlies this trip.

A man's sized list of subscriptions came in this week from comrade J. E. Payton of Huntington, W. Va., seventeen in all \$9.00 worth. Again we repeat, if it can be done in Huntington, it can be done where you live.

Fred Walchli of Bellaire, remits \$4. for various funds. His letter states that Local Bellaire is due for a considerable growth in the near future. The raids left no feeling of intimidation in that vicinity.

"Since I was discharged from the Marine Corp I have been reading The Toiler and I find it very interesting and educative". R. Brinfuster, Holland, Mich. He orders a package of pamphlets.

James W. Foley of Sutton, W. Va., sends a dollar for that little agitator, Mr. Block and the Profiteers. Some one down there is going to get a jarring up, we bet.

Comrade Mrs. S. M. Calkins of Deming, N. M. remits \$2.50 for literature and subscriptions.

Among the literature orders we find one from comrade J. H. Kline of Columbus. The good thing about books and pamphlets is that if kept moving they are bound to accomplish what we desire — the education of the workers along economic lines. Buy them and keep them moving.

Comrade Knecht reports that dues stamp sales in Guernsey County have been lively of late. The comrades there show a determined opposition to inactivity. They want to see things go and they know how to do it too.

THE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE.

Dear Comrade:—

"Just a few lines to let you know that I have returned from my long journey to Europe (Sweden), visiting Norway and Denmark, of which I have seen, heard and learned much. "Can say that the trip was of great interest and experience to me, after having been away thirteen years. At the same time it was both a health bringing and educational trip, it also became an adventurous one, especially on our way back—because of storms. Over there I learned that Communism, Syndicalism, I. W. W.-ism, Bolshevism and with one word Socialism, were and are at work everywhere, more or less politically divided, but at the same time economically united, and Soviet Russia their teacher, pattern and torch—and standard—bearer. I there secured many good pieces of literature which were being cir-

SOMETHING NEW -- WATCH.

In the next issue of the Toiler we will show our readers something they have never seen — a picture of a BOLSHEVIK POSTAGE STAMP.

Watch for it — it is distinctly revolutionary.

AKRON DEFENSE LEAGUE ACTIVITIES.

Comrade D. Konashko, arrested here on November 7th in the raid conducted by the Dept. of Justice, against the Russian workers of Akron, was released on Monday January 26th on \$1,000 bond through the efforts of the Workers Defense League of this City. Comrade N. Yourkevitch, also a Russian, is being held in Jail pending the raising of \$1,000 bond.

The Workers Defense League has been reorganized and plans to increase its activities in behalf of the workers. Attorney Jacob Margolis of Pittsburgh, Pa. who represented the Russian workers on behalf of the League will lecture in Akron, Sunday afternoon February 22nd. Dances will be given for the benefit of the League on Saturday March 6th and 20th at Zeigler Hall.

A lecture by Comrade George R. Kirkpatrick will be given under the auspices of the League in the near future.

J. B. O'Brien
Secretary-Treasurer.

culated—all teaching the proletariat the revolutionary spirit and the complete overthrow of the present system and our common enemy.

So much for that this time.

When I came back here, I first learned of the great change that had taken place in our party; a change which I expected so as to conform ourselves with the new conditions but, not with the result that we now have. But the way we now are, and by the time we (the revolutionists of the country) again get together perhaps we will have accomplished much more than if another course had been pursued.

"Everything is in making for the best. We cannot lose.

"They are of course still maintaining war time activities by prosecuting persecuting and even deporting and excommunicating radical "teachers", but as long as the agitator "raise in prices" — one cent today, two tomorrow and five the next day, is not deported, I am not afraid that our work is in vain. Far all of those who have, brains in their heads are now being educated, but those who have their brains in their stomachs are now going to school and learning the first principles, in spite of all the deportation of the working class teachers."

Edwin Peterson, Niles, O.

He was Afraid!

A reader wrote to us the other day and said — "I think you had better put my paper in a single wrapper, or stop it altogether. I am afraid to have it known that I read it — it might make trouble for me."

Some foreigner I think I hear you say. Not at all. He signed a good old Anglo-Saxon name as common as Smith or Jones, he is an American all right, and we wondered what under the sun he was afraid of. For you know, we have been kicking about this land of the free ever since we could walk — and before, and we have never met up with any thing to be afraid of, so we must conclude that what's wrong with this reader is that he is afflicted with a very large imagination which is working overtime and that it has got him on the run.

Just to show how groundless are his fears, we will state that the same week in which this letter came, we received twice the number of new subscriptions of any one week for many weeks. If all the workers acted upon the silly theory that this comrade did, what sort of a country do you think this would be in a few years? I'll tell you, it would be a country inhabited with the most spineless population of slaves that ever wore chains.

And after all what is there to fear? Absolutely nothing. We have heard a lot about fear and intimidation lately, and we have racked our brains in an effort to find something to be afraid of, but it has been fruitless. Of course, if some one will show us something that looks scary we'll investigate it — we're open to conviction on this scare stuff, it might be that there really is something somewhere or other that can put the kibosh on us, but until we meet it face to face, we'll just plod along in blissful ignorance of that sensation — fear. Maybe we have missed a lot lately in feeling this way, and we like a new thrill as well as any one, but we think that the matter is being worked overtime a bit. Take our advice comrades, and forget all this fear and intimidation stuff — there "aint no such animal" — unless you create it your self. Don't play those kind of jokes on yourself. Come out of it!

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 Biogenesis, 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.

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

Statement by the Russian Soviet Government Bureau.

January, 23d, 1920.

In view of the more or less fantastic speculations as to the possibility of the re-establishment of trade relations with Russia by dealing with "Co-operative Societies" but in other respects "not changing the policy of the Allies toward Soviet Russia", it seems necessary to call the attention of American manufacturers and exporters to certain obvious facts, namely:

FIRST: The resumption of trade relations entails problems such as the re-establishment of Russia's foreign credit, the matter of transportation, of harbor facilities, of representatives abroad, to take care of the clearance of ships and other matters of consular nature, the issuance of passports for commercial travelers back and forth, the mutual protection of foreign visitors in Russia and Russian visitors abroad, — which cannot be solved without formal contact with the authorities in Russia.

SECOND: There exist in Russia no such cooperative societies as are being announced in the plans of some people who apparently desire to find in Russia somebody whom they might utilize in bringing about friction between the Russian people and its Government. Under present conditions in Russia, the formerly separate and independent co-operative societies have changed their nature, their position and their function. They are today distributing agencies of the Russian economic system and they work in complete harmony with the Soviet Government. So-called "representatives of Russian Co-operative Societies" in London, Paris and New York do not represent the Russian Co-operatives and have no authority whatsoever to speak in their name or to enter into any obligations on behalf of any number of people in Russia. Such foreign representatives as are now announced as negotiating with the Allies were representatives of the old Russian cooperative movement. They have been deposed by the Russian cooperative organizations and other representatives have been elected in their places, but have been prevented by the Allies from taking change of the offices of cooperatives in foreign countries. The status of these alleged representatives who now purport to negotiate in the name of the Russian cooperative movement with the Allies in Paris is about the same as the status of former Czar and Kerensky "Embassies". They do not represent anybody except themselves. Such representatives have no supplies in Soviet Russia to exchange for foreign products and have no right to negotiate obligations in anybody's name except their own.

The foreign trade of Russia is nationalized and the Russian Soviet Government is in full control of all supplies in Russia, of the means of transportation, and of such other resources as can be made, and which the Russian Soviet Government is ready to make the solid basis of Russia's foreign credit. The Russian Soviet Government is perfectly capable and ready to satisfy all requirements for the re-establishment of trade with Russia. According to information received by us from Mr. Litvinoff in Copenhagen, the Soviet Government of Russia is ready at any time, when the blockade

is really lifted, to prove in practice Russia's ability to re-enter the field of foreign trade and to begin purchasing on a very large scale, on conditions quite acceptable to all parties concerned.

Soviet Russia is eager to open her markets for American products, and is prepared to buy hundreds of millions of dollars worth of materials. In order to facilitate the development of this trade, the sooner all restrictions of mail and telegraphic communications between Russia and foreign countries, are abolished, the better. It is in the interest of this trade, and we feel confident that manufacturers and export merchants will understand that any restrictions of this character will harm them just as much as they will harm Russia.

Statement by Mr. L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, Before the Sub-committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States, Jan. 19, 1920

MR. MARTENS, A CITIZEN OF RUSSIA

I am a Russian citizen. I submit herewith, and ask to have inserted in the record, a photographic copy of my credentials as Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. This certificate describes me as a "Russian citizen". The original of this document I sent to the Department of State of the United States Government on March 19, 1919. Translated into English, it reads as follows:

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC

People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs Office of the People's Commissar January 2, 1919

No. 9-k
Moscow, corner of Spiridonovka and Patriarch's Lane, House number 50-1 Telephone No. 4-22-96

It is hereby announced that Russian Citizen Ludwik Christian Alexander Karlowitch Martens, who resides in the United States of America, is appointed the representative of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs in the United States of America.

(Signed) People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, G. Chicherin, Acting Secretary of the Office, F. Shenkin. (Official Seal of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs)

(True translation) I submit herewith also, and ask to have inserted in the record, a copy of another document authorizing me to represent the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in various legal capacities in the United States. This document also describes me as a citizen of that Republic. It reads as follows:

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC
People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs May 25, 1919
No. 534-k
Moscow

To Whom It May Concern
The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic hereby de-

clares that citizen LUDWIG MARTENS is authorized to take in charge and administer, in the name of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic, all movable and real estates of the former Embassy and Consulates and all property on the territory of the United States of America, belonging to the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic. Citizen L. Martens is also entrusted with the right to solicit and answer claims within the limits of the United States of America, in all cases where material interests of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic are engaged, to prosecute all civil and criminal cases on behalf of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic, in tribunals, courts and other institutions of the United States of America.

Citizen L. Martens, is entrusted to defray all expenses incurred on behalf of the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic and to receive all moneys claimed by the Russian Federative Socialist Soviet Republic in the United States of America, and issue receipts. People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs

G. CHICHERIN, Secretary, I. LEWIN.

(SEAL)

Since each government must be deemed the sole judge in determining the status of its citizenship, I take it that these documents establish beyond all doubt the fact that I am a citizen of the Russian Republic. Nevertheless, I wish this Committee to be in possession of all the facts so that no further misapprehension may arise in this matter.

I was born in Russia of German parents, who had emigrated to Russia in the first half of the last century. At the time of my birth my parents were permanent residents of Russia. I was born in Rakhmut, Province of Ekaterinobsk, Russia, on December 20th, 1874. I was brought up in the City of Kursk and in Petrograd, and educated at the Kursk High School and the Petrograd Technological Institute.

Under the laws of the United States of America, I am a German immigrant, but under the laws of the United States, I am a citizen of the United States. But under the laws of the old Russian and German military governments, I was considered technically a German subject, although born and raised in Russia. At the age of seventeen I applied for Russian citizenship, but the Russian authorities insisted that I should first serve in the German army, which I refused to do. I continued to reside in Russia, and in 1896, by reason of my affiliation with the revolutionary movement against the Russian Czar, I was imprisoned by the Czar's government. At the conclusion of my sentence in 1898, the Russian authorities delivered me forcibly to the German military authorities, who impressed me into the German army and compelled me to serve two years as a common soldier. I continued my affiliation with the Russian revolutionary movement up to the revolution, which began with the abdication of the Czar, to the establishment of the Provisional Government on March 16, 1917. The Provisional Government proclaimed amnesty for all political offenders and invited all

political refugees to return to Russia. I was in America at that time, representing the Demidoff Count San Donato Company of Perm, one of the largest steel and mining concerns in Russia. Because of my technical German citizenship, I could not avail myself of the amnesty and invitation to return, since Russia and Germany were then at war. Desirous of facilitating my return to Russia, my relatives applied to the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov for naturalization papers for me. Such naturalization papers were granted in May or June, 1917, by special decree of the Provisional Government. This Provisional Government was officially recognized by the Government of the United States. These naturalization papers were dispatched to me by registered letter. I was informed of this by letter from my sister, Mrs. Popoff, who resides in Petrograd. I did not receive the letter containing my naturalization papers. I assume that it was intercepted in the mails by the British or other censor. At that time many important letters and cables relating to my business transactions in this country, regarding the purchase of American materials for my company, etc., were being intercepted by the censor and never reached me.

I entered the United States on January 24, 1916. The United States was then at peace with the world. I registered my technical status as a German subject with the port authorities, explaining to them at the same time that I was born and resided in Russia and that my German citizenship was only a technical of German law. I have in my possession documents issued to me by the English Government exempting me and my family from internment or deportation as enemy aliens, in order that I might go about my business in England. It was by the virtue of these documents that I was permitted freely to leave England, irrespective of my status, and I submit these documents to the Committee and ask they be incorporated in the record.

The general Rules and Regulations prescribed by the Attorney General of the United States for the registration of German enemy aliens were issued December 31st, 1917, pursuant to the proclamation of the President of the United States, dated November 16th, 1917. At that time I was already a Russian citizen by virtue of a decree of the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov, a government officially recognized by the Government of the United States, and I was therefore not subject to registration under those rules and regulations.

This should suffice to clear up all misunderstanding about my citizenship. The fact that the present government of Russia has certified that I am a Russian citizen and has made me its official representative in the United States disposes of this question without doubt. In addition, there are the facts which I have just stated; that I was born and raised in Russia and was given legal Russian citizenship by a former Russian Government which was recognized by the Government of the United States.

Not Citizen Enough Ruminations of a Rebel.

By Anise.

He was only a young fellow
When he fought
In the Spanish war.
And came down with malaria
In Cuba, and when he got out
Of HOSPITAL
And wandered home.
His father was dead,
The last of his relations.
So he went WEST,
PIONEERING
In many sorts of places,
Till the Great War came.
He ENLISTED
At the very first
And went to France,
He fought in most
Of the BATTLES
OUR BOYS were in,
Yet somehow or other
He still came home alive,
Not even WOUNDED
To speak of.
But somewhat worn and thin
From a touch of the gas
And maybe a bit
Of SHELL SHOCK,
He went over to Bremerton
Hunting a job
On the government works,
But his application
Came back to him.
And the reason they gave
For REFUSING
Was that he couldn't PROVE
His CITIZENSHIP
Sufficiently to suit them:
His father was an alien
And he couldn't show
Whether or not
He had been naturalized.
So the soldier boy
Is still hunting work
In Seattle
He was enough
Of a CITIZEN
For DANGEROUS jobs,
But NOT enough
For the SAFE ones!

SQUIBS.

Perishing, verily PERISHING
— is the state of American Liberty.
AN IDEA.

The most powerful thing in the world is an IDEA. If an idea is wrong it will stop itself. But if it is right nothing can or will stop it. We may arrest, jail, kill or even deport men—but cannot arrest, jail, kill or deport ideas. In fact ideas feed, fatten and multiply on suppression and tortures visited on their possessors. History if it teaches us anything, proves this to us. The ideas that govern mankind today were shot at, hung and crucified in hygienic days. Their tortments and persecutions are dead and forgotten, but the ideas which they tried vainly to suppress and annihilate rule and govern today. Still other ideas

Here is a sample of the ultra conservatism of the American worker, which appeared in a late issue of the Cleveland Press, and which, of course the editor commended:

I am not a Red, but I am a wee bit radical. The man in overalls is my blood brother and his cause is my cause, yet I love him too well to cheer him when he is wrong.

Note that this workman is expressing himself in terms of right and wrong, which is the dominant weakness of the American working mule. He doesn't know that the ruling class has always defined what is right in terms of their economic interests and he has just naturally imbibed the thought that anything inimical to his master's welfare must necessarily be wrong. His beclouded brain never entertains a suspicion of the wrongs he suffers through exploitation. Not understanding his position industrially, not realizing his wage slavery, he is a stranger to the fact that a slave cannot possibly be wrong in any effort he may make to emancipate himself. However, his admission that he is a "wee bit radical" indicates that a few scales have fallen from his eyes, which is hopeful for subsequent thorough enlightenment. His economic vision will then be clearer and he will no longer be deceived by the precepts of the bourgeoisie. He will then see the class struggle in all its intensity and become an active participant in the world-wide movement for labor's emancipation. Then he will have learned that conceptions of right have their root in economic conditions.

After an understanding had been arrived at with Holland respecting the disposition of Kaiser Bill, the Allied governments launched a hue and cry for his deportation and trial. Holland demurs, as per arrangement, and the capitalist press, after emitting a yelp or two of indignation, allow the matter to quietly drift into oblivion. We are now informed that a demand has been made of Germany for some two hundred of Kaiser Bill's loyal henchmen, who are charged with abetting Bill in the precipitation of the World War, for the ostensible purpose of placing them on trial. All camouflage, brother. You may safely wager your last iron dollar that there will be nothing doing along that line. Trust the bourgeoisie to deal kindly with their own ilk. Now, if they were workmen, it would be just as safe to gamble that they would be summarily dealt with.

John Spargo, erstwhile member of the Socialist Party, visited Cleveland, shot his wad of dope against the Russian situation as per contract with August Belmont, the American high priest of world imperialism, and departed off other fields of conquest. He and his Belmont pay-roll partner, Charles Edward Russel, experienced a cool reception in Cleveland. The well informed respecting the Soviet form of government in Russia merely smile at the efforts of these mental prostitutes to put across their diatribes against the Bolsheviks, and the rest of the American public doesn't care a damn. I would advise these gentlemen to confine themselves to bourgeois audiences where they are sure to meet with an enthusiastic reception.

are today seeking entrance on the stage and those in power today refuse as stubbornly to give way to the New as the old refused to give way to those in vogue today. However the way or progression is eternal and the old must ever make and give way to the New, the old demonstrated. Error to the newly accepted Truth.

Wirth.

WHAT HAPPENED TO EUROPE.

Frank Vanderlip, American financier, recently returned from a trip to Europe. He has written a book about conditions of industry there which is called "What Happened to Europe". Among many other pointed things which Mr. Vanderlip tells the readers is the following:
"There is today nothing short of chaos in European industry. A failure to restart industry in any European nation, resulting in continued idleness, want and hardship, is certain to lead to social upheavals that will be communicated to other nations

Talking It Over With The Miners.

Mulberry, Kansas 1-21-1920

Editor Toiler Dear Comrade
There are thousands of good conscious workers that still believe that we can yet save our selves through the trade union and the ballot and it is hard to convince them other wise and about all we can do is to keep the facts continually before them. The part the toiler is playing is helping things along, there is not a single man or woman who can take the events of the last 4 years and show where the trade union has made one bit of progress, where ever there has been a clash between the trade union and capitalism the union has come out defeated.

We unionists have built up an autocracy among our selves I have reference to the official class among the trade unions. We have separated the officials from the workers and they have become a separate class by them selves to such an extent that if a corporation wants to start a strike-proof shop all they have to do is to organize under the trade union system and they have it. If it so happens that there is a strike the official class faction of the union will defeat the strike or so cripple the proposition that the settlement that is made is worse than defeat; just look the field over and see if I am not right in my deductions. Look at the move the railroad men made and see what the settlement did to them, then take the great coal strike and see what the official autocracy did. I call them autocrats because they acted without authority from the rank and file they settled our strike on their own self appointed authority.

Then there is the great steel strike from coast to coast and after months of suffering and hardship they were sent back in defeat just as the miners were and I think the answer is plain — they were organized under the trade union system.

How, I want to go on record right here as saying that all of you that want to get any place besides the poor house and serfdom worse than you have. Better get off that old system and get your union reorganized and revolutionized and get organized under industrial unionism. Then and then only can you expect to win. For instance, had we been organized industrially when we miners came out of our prisons and demanded justice at the hands of our despoilers we would have won in a walk.

We could have tied up every industry in the U. S.

Suppose we had one big union instead of the old rotten, moth eaten prehistoric American Federation of Labor when the steel men came out, what do you think would have happened? I can tell you, we would have pulled the string and tied the entire country up and it would not have taken 4 or 5 months either, we miners had the situation at our mercy and could have won in a walk if we had had men with nerve at our head but we did not, so we lost merely because we were not on the right track. I tell you brothers we must get down to brass tacks and organize industrially and depend on our economic power to win and don't let any bone head convince you that you can better your condition by merely voting for it. It is simply idiotic to think so. Just look the situation over and be convinced. Wisconsin elected a congress man, did they get him seated? I think not. New York elected 5 assembly men, did they get their seats? Look it up and see if they did, and so it goes, forget the ballot game and play a game you can win at.

You can win through your economic power and industrial organization and the Communist Labor party is ready to coach you how to start any time you are ready to act, that is our mission in this world so awake and let us organize for victory, otherwise you go to slavery, take your choice.

Yours truly
J. L. CREVISTON

GITLOW SAYS HE IS REVOLUTIONIST
Continued from page 1.

ment regarding the world war, which he said, was caused by capital and in which, he said, the masses were led to believe that they were fighting for principles and ideals.

Judge Weeks interrupted the speaker again.

"I don't like to interrupt you," said the Court, "but you are now speaking of something not contained in the manifesto."

Gitlow insisted that the Left Wing principles are directly connected with the European war which, he added, "showed plainly the failure of capitalism."

After several hours of deliberation, Gitlow was found guilty by the jury. An appeal was immediately taken by attorney Darrow.

THE BLACK SHEEP

Continued from page 2.

men if you could. Still you know that the land had been theirs for ages when we came and took it."
"But the Indians never used the land," Olive urged.
"Neither does your Dad; he rents it," came back the Editor. "Furthermore, just because you never looked at your watch, does that justify me in stealing it?"

Olive looked demure for a moment, she said, "Honestly Mr. Cranston I am bewildered. I want to see justice done in the case of this boy, and that's pure selfishness, for I clearly see that universal justice cannot be done without creating ruin and if possible still greater injustice."

"It is a dog eat dog world and you can make nothing else of it," said the scribe, as Olive left the office. She stopped for a moment in the door and looking back at the editor she said, "There is no doubt but what you say is true but it will not always be true, I know that for I will not permit it."

"Some Molly McGuire," laughed the scribe, "or is it Joan of Arc? Remember little girl that business and sentiments don't mix and this is a business world."

She disappeared down the street on her way to the preacher's house.

Continued next week.

Cost Of Living and Workers.

Continued from page 1.
in prison. If they had been workers and had stolen a pair of shoes for a barefooted kid, they would probably have spent as many years at hard labor in one of our penal institution.

In order to secure the welfare of the workers, we must cease relying upon any schemes proposed by the advocates of the capitalistic system. To believe that profit-taking should become less than profiteering at every opportunity, is to expect the impossible. The profiteer and the profit-taker are twin brothers, fathered by the same sire. Profiteers can develop only under a profit system. It is useless for the workers to cry out against the profiteers and then by their ballots and their activities as union men, support the system which creates these leeches. In order to put down profiteering, we must put down the economic and industrial system upon which it thrives and fattens.

The law making power, even if it were sincere in its attempts to deal a death blow to profiteering, would be helpless to do so. Do not be deceived about the powers of laws. The law making power —

the political power under capitalism, is part and parcel of the capitalist system

The political government is shackled to the capitalist system with chains of gold. It is the implement of the system in conserving the interests of the ruling class.

We will witness the continued bludgeoning of the workers by the profiteers. Their ability to keep it up is accentuated by the tremendous concentration of wealth which is taking place. The old laws of supply and demand have practically ceased to exist in the world's markets. The era of capitalistic world imperialism is passed forever. Politicians and notoriety here. The old order of free competition is hunters may try to make meal for their mills in attempts to create the conditions of by-gone industry, but they will fail.

The profiteer is King and the only way to stop his rule is to take his kingdom away from him, and place the working-class in control. This is the historic mission of the workers. This is what the communist movement of the world means — A WORLD CONTROLLED BY THE WORKERS.