

# THE TOLLER

NO. 127.

Published weekly  
at Cleveland, Ohio.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, JULY 9th, 1920.

Address all mail to  
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

\$1.50 A YEAR

## QUAKERS TO SEND MEDICAL RELIEF TO RUSSIA

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

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

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

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

## Raymond Robins Unveils Forms of Long Lost Liberties

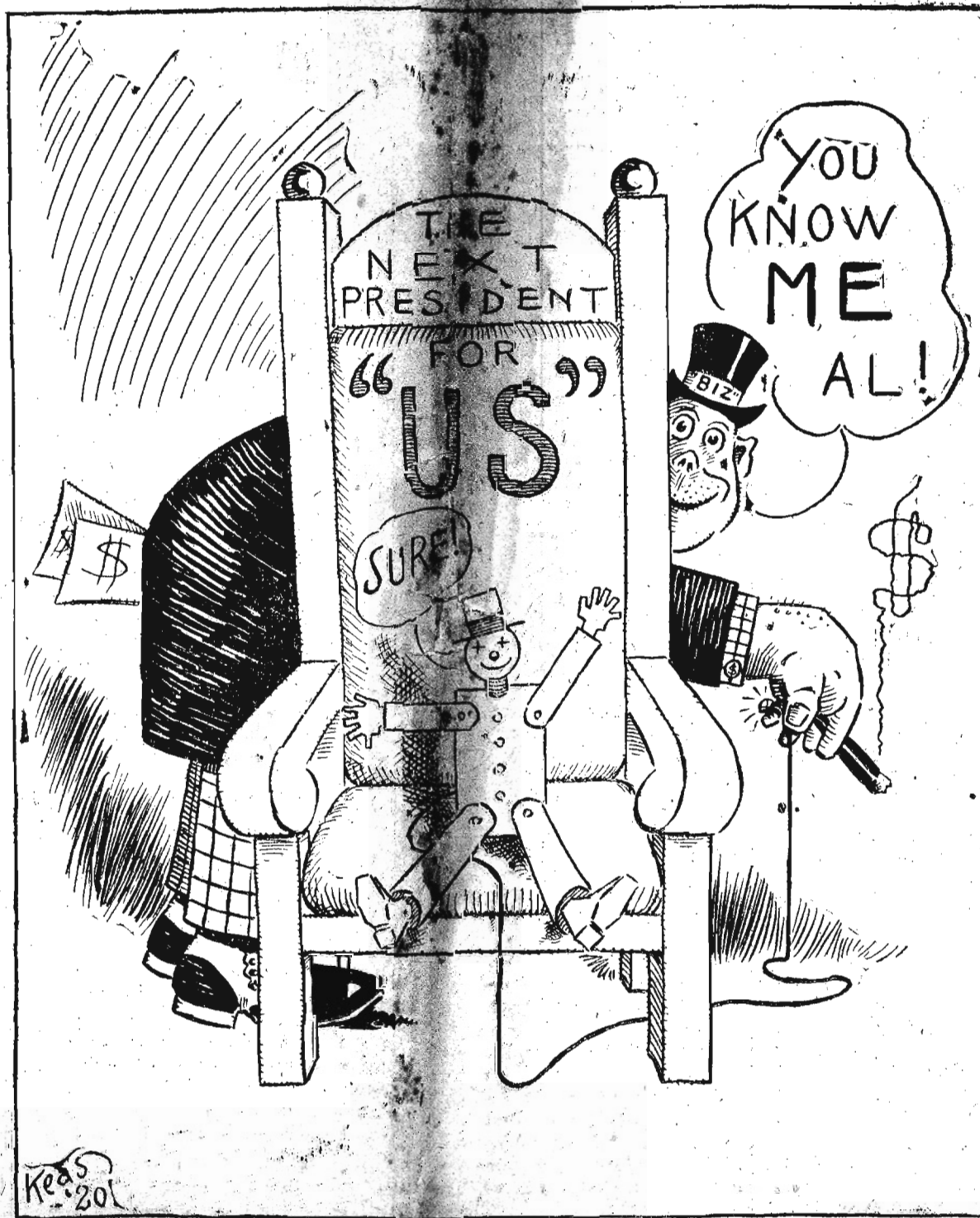
Cleveland Public gets glimpse of once fond favorites in meeting at Public Square.—A letter about it from the Editor.

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

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

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

(Continued on page 4.)



Introducing the "Peepul's Choice"

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

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

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

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

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

Defeats Never Cause of Disorder.

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

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

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

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

(Continued on page 4.)

# WHAT THE COMMISSION SAW IN RUSSIA

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

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

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

## HAS THE DELEGATION BEEN MISLED?

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

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

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

## ANTI-BOLSHEVIKS INTERVIEWED.

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

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

## THE HUNGER DUE TO THE BLOCKADE.

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

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

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

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

## WONDERFUL HEALTH ORGANIZATION.

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

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

## POWER OF THE TRADE UNIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## THE "RED TERROR"

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

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

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

## THE POLISH OFFENSIVE.

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

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



## Skygac's Column

In a full page advertisement Detroit employers tell an anxious public about what they are pleased to call the AMERICAN plan of employment. Full of curiosity, I perused the advertisement from beginning to home run and discovered what the American Plan really is—!

Do you really want the dope? Well the American Plan as conceived and wished and hoped for by Detroit Employers is nothing more nor less than a plan for the open shop. Some would call it a plan providing for organized scabbery.

An optimist is a proletarian's daughter who hopes to marry in such a manner that she may be supported in a style different (and better) than that to which she has been accustomed.

A pessimist is one whose knowledge of economics and the law of averages teaches that she will not accomplish her desire.

The gentlemen's Home Journal, the conservative Sat-Eve Post in its issue of June 26th, has some semi-editorial headed, "In Line or Two," that need fixing, so here goes.

A conservative is one who would try another dose of medicine before giving up hope and knocking the patient in the head. — Well, the S. E. P. is a true conservative and prescribed another dose of capitalism, via Hoover or some one else equally as good.

"Considering what whiskers have done to Russia," understands why it is called a safety razor. Very, very funny, but when one considers what capitalism and capitalism have done to Russia, and then contrasts that with what socialism is doing, hampered of course by the allied blockade and the allied capitalists of all the earth one wonders why the S. E. P. tries to lay the blame on whiskers.

Here is a real gem, "The communist" theory that one has a right to take what he has not earned has put many a poor burglar in jail. Very funny, but that is not the communist theory. The communist theory is that no one has a right to take that which he has not earned. Capitalism is supported on the theory that it is right to take that which it did not earn. All capitalist take profits. Profits come from surplus values. Surplus values are the difference between the value of laboring power and the value of labor's product. Very, very funny Mr. Post but we would really like to know whether you were just inexcusably ignorant?

Many a woman thinks she is a high brow when in reality she is only a low neck.

Many a man thinks he is a high brow when in reality he is only a roughneck.

With a her over here and a her over there, no wonder the Legion found the incentive to carry on!

An optimist—a man—with the courage to marry.

A pessimist,—one who has tried it.

The above definitions are from the viewpoint of the cynic. They do not hold good in all cases. But then—exceptions prove the rule!

A cynic is one who balances the books of life and lets them show a deficit in the happiness column while others will throw in enough hope of the future to make the books balance.

Had your vacation yet?

What is a vacation for?

What is one supposed to "vacate" on a vacation?

Vacations are for our best people. The poor can not afford them.

Much commotion in the ranks of the Democrats. They are suffering from hysteropsychosis.

After the shouting is all over and the votes are counted, the wages system will still be with us. We will still have the wage earner and the owner of the tools of production and the inevitable class-conflict. As long as we have capitalism we will have class-conflicts and the need for class conflicts. Neither of the political parties propose to abolish the wages-system, and until it is abolished we will have ignorance, misery, vice and poverty. It will eventually come to a question of reds or ruin. I'm for the reds—

An optimist,—one who would vote for Harding.

A pessimist,—one who has voted for Harding.

One cartoonist had a happy thought. He drew a fox and labeled it, "Oh, you fox-Trotsky!"

Too foxy to be caught with the lies of capitalist-class diplomacy. A game of all the cards on the table is a Jonah to the man skilled in keeping hold-outs.

"In the house of my kinkfolk, I am an alien," writes Miss Katherine Fisher. There are many such, and Palmer can't deport 'em!

It is a long step from the days of kite flying such as Ben Franklin accomplished and the latest altitude record of the aeroplane, yet capitalism has been with us all that time. Now is the time for a new departure in social economy and capitalism is doomed to give way to the new just as the kite had to give way for the aeroplane.

If it were not for the sound of the rattle-money you would never be able to hear even the echo of a political "boom".

McAdoo makes much about his financial troubles. He only got \$100,000 a year from the Chaplin-Pickford-Fairbanks crowd, or at least it was reported that that figure was his "earnings" per year. Gee! Ain't it hell to be poor?

How does it come that the national prohibition provision of the constitution does not apply to a Republican convention, asks our local blatter. That's an easy one. Prohi, is for producer. The delegates to the convention were non-producers so naturally the provisions made and provided were winked at. Some winters—some winters—the present bunch of law enforcers.

Debs is in jail, but Bergdall and Newberry are still at large.

All but 36 of the original one hundred wobbles sent to Leavenworth from Chicago are out on bail. The thirty six remaining there are denied their freedom simply because they do not have two friends apiece each of whom can put up ten thousand dollars in property or liberty bonds as security. Still they will keep on telling us that there are no classes in America!

Why do the Democrats travel all the way to Frisco to learn the popular will? If the administration will restore free speech to the country they can learn the popular will without traveling so far. Why go so far to fare so worse?

## Mr. Babson's Error

(From the Butte Bulletin.)

Mr. Roger Babson, statistician for big business, has broken out again. This time he announces the cheering fact that labor has been whipped. In one of his latest bulletins furnished to employers, Mr. Babson says:

"There is no doubt about it—labor is beaten. Mr. Gompers was at his zenith in 1918. Since then he has steadily lost power. He has lost power with his own people, because he is no longer able to deliver the goods. He can no longer deliver the goods for two reasons. For one thing, peace urgency has replaced war urgency, and we are not willing to bid for peace labor as we had to bid for war labor. For another thing, the employing class is immensely more powerful than it was in 1914.

"He has then, an organized labor force more numerous than ever before. Relatively twice as many workers are organized as in 1916. But this same labor force has lost its hold on the public. Furthermore, it is divided in its own camp. It fears capital. It also fears its own factions. It threatens, but it does not dare.

"We said that the employing class was immensely more powerful than in 1914. There is more money at its command. Eighteen thousand millionaires are the war's legacy. This money capacity is more thoroughly unified than ever. In 1914 we had 30,000 banks, functioning to a great degree in independence of each other. Then came the Federal Reserve Act and gave us the machinery for consolidation and the emergency 'of five years' was furnished the hammer blows to weld the structure into one.

"The war taught the employing class the secret and the power of widespread propaganda. Imperial Europe had been aware of this power. It was new to the United States. Now, when we have anything to sell to the American people, we know how to sell it. We have learned. WE HAVE THE SCHOOLS. WE HAVE THE PULPIT. THE EMPLOYING CLASS OWNS THE PRESS.

THERE IS PRACTICALLY NO IMPORTANT PAPER IN THE UNITED STATES BUT IS THEIRS!

"English labor has come out of the war with great gains. During the war the United States work-

ers fooled themselves and fooled some of us into thinking that labor here and in England stood neck and neck. We forgot England's long generation's start of us. There is no such labor force in the world. English labor was ready to wring advantage out of the war; United States labor wanted to do so, but it had not lived the life needful to that end.

"What, then, are we going to do to our opponents? When, in 1918, we gritted our teeth and said that we were going to show them where they got off, we had no very definite aim in view beyond just words. Now that we have indicated successfully the point of disembarkation, the question arises: What are we going to do about it?"

If it were not for one thing we could agree with Mr. Babson, but unfortunately for himself and his clients, Mr. Babson has confused Mr. Gompers and labor, apparently believing that they are one and the same thing. This is not to be wondered at in the case of an individual accustomed to attack of the labor movement in terms of its so-called leaders, but it makes his estimate of the real situation somewhat unreliable.

If it is any consolation to Mr. Babson, we are quite willing to inform him that, in the opinion of close observers of the labor situation, the trade-union movement is not liked, but has simply quit. Old age has crept upon it and it finds itself unable to stand the pace set by modern economic conditions. Mr. Gompers may be kicked; as to that we do not know, but we do know that he no longer represents the sentiments, views and wishes of what has been called the bona fide labor movement. If the whipping of Mr. Gompers is a victory, let the employers take all the comfort to themselves that they please.

Estimates of social progress, measured by the influence of certain leaders, are apt to be misleading. Social currents, move sluggishly and it is often true that changes in the view-point of the masses requires much time to be reflected in a change of officialdom. When it does manifest itself, it usually appears as the arbitrary action of individuals to those who do not understand the manner in which social progress comes.

This is true of the American labor movement. There are forces at work whose strength cannot be gauged by

merely a superficial view of it, and Babson, like many another adviser of royalty, seems not to know that the defeat of trade-unionism means the rise of industrial organization, that the "licking" of Gompers means the rise of a militant, intelligent leadership that will truly reflect the sentiments of the mass. It means a change from rule from above to rule from below.

Again, the one correct method of estimating the strength of any movement is to judge it by its average of intelligence. The workers have been acquiring knowledge in the last three or four years that is already of and will be of more value to them in the struggle, and much of the education has been forced upon them by the action of the groups to whom Mr. Babson caters. For instance, the old confusing and fallacious doctrine of identity of interests between employer and exploited has been almost completely shattered. The belief that modern government was an impartial agency, standing between labor and capital and representing some mythical entity called the public, has been replaced to a large degree by the knowledge that modern government is merely a creature of the financial and industrial interests and that its principal function is to assist these interests in their work of exploitation.

Trade unionism, as exemplified by Gompers, came into being as the result of certain needs. It can no longer supply human wants or induce the working class to believe that it is supplying its wants.

Mr. Babson may cheer his clients with the information that Mr. Gompers has lost his influence and call it a victory for the employers if he so chooses. Actually, he is announcing the beginning of a new and glorious era for labor.

### FOOD FOR RUSSIA WAITS, EN-TENTE CONSENT.

According to George Selges, staff correspondent for the Chicago Tribune and now stationed at Hamburg, "In the Scandinavian harbors there are today many thousands of tons of meats and fats destined for Russia, but little has gone to that country on account of continued disturbed conditions."

The "disturbed conditions" referred to by the correspondent are none other than the refusal of the Entente powers to recognize or trade with Soviet Russia.

## RUMINATIONS OF A REBEL

By Tom Clifford.

That a bunch of job seekers such as compose the Democratic (?) Convention at San Francisco is permitted to outline the policies of a nation of 120,000,000 people and select a candidate for President is the height of absurdity. There is not a single delegate at that gathering of politicians actuated by any other desire than to further his own interests politically, with never a thought for the welfare of the nation at large. They have successfully played the game so long they imagine it can go on forever. However, they are facing a condition at present that bodes ill for the continuance of their autocratic rule. For the first time in the history of the nation, notwithstanding the strenuous touting of the capitalist press, the public refuses to be enthused and evince not the slightest interest in either the platform or the candidate. Can it be that the truth has at last penetrated the thick skulls of the working class that the declarations of these politicians are mere pretense and they refuse to be longer bunkoed? Let us hope that the apathetic attitude of the masses indicates some serious thinking and that they are about ready to throw these hypocritical dissemblers into the discard. We shall know more about it in November.

To read the scathing denunciations of profiteering in the newspapers one would naturally presume that these "conservators of the public welfare" are themselves content with ordinary profits. Not so, my unsophisticated friend. While they are vociferously shouting, "stop thief!" to draw your attention away from their own rascality they are mercilessly gouging the public for all the traffic will bear. Advertising rates have been boosted 300 per cent and the retail price has been doubled. The Sunday papers, carrying practically nothing but advertisements, are foisted on the public at the "modest" price of 10c. It takes some nerve, not to say business finesse, to hold up the advertisers for the limit and then induce the ruble readers to come gladly availing across with three times the cost of production. Believe me, when it comes to profiteering the sugar profit monger in his wildest dreams never gets within hailing distance of ye virtuous daily newspaper.

A writer in the Saturday Evening Post deplors the vast differentiation in articles in common use, and urges standardization in the interest of economy. What peculiar mental slant some people have! Here is a fellow citing a wide spread evil in present day society, apparently ignorant of the fact that waste is a cardinal virtue of the profit system. He appears to labor under the delusion that articles are made for use instead of being produced for profit. It is the enormous waste in production through duplication of effort that forms the working basis of capitalism. It throws open the field to unlimited competition, with profit as the dominant incentive, and a "go-as-you-please," without regard for the welfare of society as a whole, is the disastrous result. I suggest that the literary gentleman take a course of reading in economics.

I note that a capitalist controlled college down east has conferred a degree upon Gen. Pershing. I presume the reason therefor is distinguished services rendered to the master class of this country in the World War. He did his part in saving their financial bacon; hence the acknowledgement. They believe, with Sammy Gompers, in "rewarding their friends and punishing their enemies." Pershing, my friend, is decorated and given a degree, and Debs, their enemy, is sent to prison. Some day when the working class garner some sense, the exponent of justice and humanity will receive the laurels.

Harding and Coolidge, Republican candidates for President and Vice President, are working overtime in attempting to convince the public that they stand for the "glorious institutions of our fathers," etc. They imagine that such meaningless catch-phrases have the same potency as in other years. What the people now demand is an institution that will "toot." These gentlemen are due for a rude awakening. Once a politician is always a politician.

## The Black Sheep.

Chapter XXXVIII.

Decision (Continued)

Collins arose and bustled himself with the stew pan over the fire. He pretended to burn his fingers, and swore viciously. The oath was only a disguised escape for his emotion of happiness, for it was now several months since he began his endeavor to convince Jack that he ought to throw his lot with the radical movement. This had not been an easy task. The best workers are not enlisted in a day. Brain processes of a profound nature cannot easily be swerved from one channel of pursuit into another. Jack's mind was drawn to natural phenomena, generally out side of the sphere of human activity, and Collins had come to realize that to bend such a mind into new paths of activity demanded more logic and argument than he possessed.

Realizing that the emotions are often more forceful stimuli to human action than the processes of reason, he had hit upon probably the only thing which was capable of working a change of attitude in the boy's mind. So it happened that Collins had brought from out of the bourgeois world, the spark which rendered the boys latent social energy, kinetic. It was Olive Anderson who as a purely emotional influence, caused the boy to decide in favor of an agitator's life.

This decision pleased Collins immensely. He felt, that if he could succeed in leading the boy in the midst of terrific industrial problems, he would then inevitably cast his lot with the industrial movement.

Rudolph, too, rejoiced in what he considered a mutual victory over Jack's natural tendencies, altho he was not so keenly aware of what had been the catalyzing element between Jack's brain and the class struggle.

He knew that Collins had sent Jack's notes to a girl in North Dakota, and he rather suspected that a reply had been received, but further than that he knew nothing. On account of his attitude toward woman-kind in general, both Collins and Jack had refrained from discussing such matters in his presence. He could therefore not realize that this had anything to do with the boy's change of attitude. For it must be said that from such a correspondence Rudolph would expect nothing, if not a negative result.

While he was greatly pleased with the boy's decision to enter the class struggle, he did not like the idea of him going to the mines. He wanted him to follow agricultural work. "I tell you Ed," said he, addressing Collins, "It is alright for the kid to go to the mines, but you must not forget that he is enthusiastic just now, when the whole mining world is seething with trouble. Be wait until the trouble is over and things quiet down a bit as far agitation is concerned, especially if Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone are acquitted, then he will put all his mind into the work of mining, and the first queer crystal he sees he will turn geologist instead of agitator. Please Kerouquin raised this work on Gold and he was a good wolf for five years but one day he strayed among the chickens and immediately became a wolf. I fear the same thing for Jack. It is true we have fed him up on the class struggle. I agree, we have it under his skin, but I don't believe it has soaked thru. We can't deny that his natural bent is toward the study of nature in general, more than it is toward the study of society. I would rather see him follow agricultural work. He grew up in it. It contains no novelty for him. He believes would rather study the slaves than the slavery, and the migratory workers are the place for him. I tell you I don't like to see him go into the mines."

Jack listened to all this, but made no direct comment. There were two forces at work in his brain. It was as if simultaneously he beheld two visions. In the one he was opening the stratified pages of the earth's rock-bound history and laboriously seeking out the secrets of the world's childhood, and in the other, he saw himself in the midst of a struggling crowd, that was toilsomely working its way hither and thither in the darkness. While among that crowd, there were a few men and women, who were forever straining toward the light. These few, were in the mass but not of the mass. The mass seemed to instinctively prefer the darkness. Perhaps they only moved as with the tide. And yet the minds of the mass might be a little clearer, a little happier, a little nobler. He half closed his eyes and leaned back in his chair while Rudolph was speaking. He hardly heard what was said, but sat silently watching the vision of the human masses bearing among them a few that were different. For all the world they looked like sheep on a mountain side. A great drab grey mass, with here and there a black speck. But in the human mass the black sheep reacted different from the others. Within them were the souls of eagles. They loved the light, altho the straining toward it seemed almost futile. How pitifully few they were! Now few they had been through out the ages, in comparison with the thoughtlessly drifting crowd.

He tried to call them by name, these Haywoods, these Pettibones, these Debses, these Manns, these Liebknechts, Marx, Lassalles, Breskovskies, Emmets, Browns, Lincoln, Garriisons, Voltaires, Savana-e-Rolas, Christs, Gracis, Cornelia, Ninas, Theoriss, Spartacs, Solons. What lights they were? What glories centered around the names of these black sheep of history. Of course they had been forced to do what they did by the pressure of their time. If that were true then why did not the pressure equally effect the mass? There was a difference. The black sheep of history were positively heliotropic to

truth, to progress it drew them onward like a magnet, while the masses were negatively heliotropic or rather inert. They were not different intrinsically from these variations, whose names have withstood the erosions of time. They only react slower, and therefore die, and are forgotten. The mass is timid, the mass is dull, they mistake the dawn for a conflagration and consequently fear the light. He smiled at his decision, but he knew that Olive was going into the Mass, and he decided that she should not go alone.

These, and kindred thoughts ran through his brain with lightning speed as he leaned back in his chair, camp, and mentally reviewed the long line of immortals. After all, he concluded, it is great to be a black sheep. They at least inherit immortality in the brains of those who hate them while they live. The mass had even worshipped some of them after they had killed them. Kersey Graves tells of sixteen crucified saviors. This, too, was wonderful. Perhaps more wonderful than the phenomena of birds and beasts. That nature should have given to mankind this long train of martyrs, and prophets of the coming day. He remembered an article he had read in the newspaper. It was the report of a speech made by Rabbi Wise of Philadelphia, Oregon, in which he said, "The race of God's prophets is not yet extinct." The phrase was placed to his ears. Unconsciously he placed Olive Anderson amongst them. He watched her slender form move far up the shining path of fame. He had no doubt but what she would be a Ninos, a Cornelia, or a Joan of Arc. Of course this was an exaggerated concept. The youthful brain is wont to distort and magnify when under the spell of feminine attraction. It was enough that he beheld her so far up the path of truth together.

It must be said however that romance not entirely formed his decision. He carefully counted the costs of being a black sheep and decided that it would be worth the price to suffer during one's own life if by so doing, more joy could be brought to succeeding generations. The agricultural field was not how a battle ground. The struggle was hottest in the mines, and there was where he would go, and stay until he had learned mining and the miner's needs.

When Rudolph had ceased speaking Jack simply said, "I am going to study the miners and their industry" and after that, labor and its problems I believe that after all man is the most interesting beast in the woods."

"You would have no influence with the miners until the fuzz is off your chin. You could not teach these old birds anything. You are at home among agricultural workers. You understand their psychology. Why not go there? insisted Rudolph.

"I go where the battle is thickest," Jack retorted. "I may not be able to lead but then there may be a chance to serve, any way there is where I go."

Collins, who had been busily planning a muligan over this camp stove, now turned to Rudolph and said, "Say Rudy would you mind going out to see if the boat is alright. I'm afraid that the storm last night may have blown it loose. Any-way, go and see about it, while I get the grub ready for dinner."

"Yeah, and I'll go and get some wood," announced Jack.

When Rudolph had gone down the hill, Collins said, "If it's any of my business Jack, would you mind telling me what it was that changed your mind? Was it her letter?"

"Yes, that was partly it," Jack agreed. She told me that she could not understand why we stayed in the woods, when men were dragged from their homes, and women and children were caused to suffer because they demanded what was their due. Then I've been thinking about the fact you brought out the other day. When you said that we are only a link in the chain of the human race. And what is more, if we really have a message for the world, and it does any good to tell it, then we should be on the job."

"I knew she would do it," the big man said almost reverently. "When do we start?"

"Just as soon as we get our clothes ready and the stuff disposed of," answered the boy, as he walked out of the cabin, and into the woods.

As soon as Collins was alone in the cabin, he hurriedly opened Jack's suitcase and abstracted the last letter he had received from Olive Anderson, putting it in his inside coat pocket. He then fixed his fire, and when Rudolph returned he told him to watch the pot while he took a walk out into the forest. He went over the cliff and far back (among the trees) where he sat down upon a log and read the letter.

"My Dear Boy," it read, "I surely enjoyed your letter. Especially of your descriptions of your camp and of your studies, but more than all did I appreciate your brief mention of the labor struggle now going on in the west. Shortly after you were here, I received a copy of a paper called 'The Appeal to Reason.' Perhaps you sent it to me. I do not know. But if you did not send it, or are perhaps unacquainted with it, by all means you should have it. It reads just like you talk. I cannot understand why they should take men from Colorado to Idaho for a crime they could not possibly have committed. I am following it all carefully and I am amazed at the wickedness going on in this world. I feel like saying that all one has to do is to scratch a human being no matter how civilized and you will find a savage under the skin. I cannot understand how you can be contented with a quiet woodland life when injustice cries to heaven. But then it may be that you are in the thick of it and do not tell me because I am a woman, who must be pickled in ignorance in order to keep sweet.

(Continued on page 4.)

## Soviet Children's Homes Appeal to Mothers

By John Clayton.

PARIS.—"The Russian soviet government is nationalizing the children of Russia. We are taking the children from their homes and placing them, thirty children in each group in special homes. However, we take the children only with the full consent of the parents, and the children are not deprived of the parental influence."

Mme. Kollontai—Comrade Kollontai she is called in Russia—the first woman commissar of Russia and head of the department of child welfare, was speaking to me in Moscow.

### More Than Half Children

"Today more than half of the children in the larger towns and cities in Russia are living in state institutions. At first parents were skeptical about our system, but our first homes were so successful that now there is a large waiting list of mothers in all the places where we have these homes. I believe in time every child will be raised in this manner. We have lifted the curse of household slavery from the mothers of the poor."

### All For the Children.

"All for the Children," has been the motto of the soviet Russia government during the economic difficulty. How far it has been carried into effect can be seen from the happy, healthy faces of the youngsters one meets everywhere in Moscow.

Many are wearing clothes which passed the beggar stage years ago but so is everyone in Moscow. But they

at least are warm and well fed. The soviet government has taken its role of parent seriously. It has found that by providing homes where the children can live in groups of perhaps thirty it not only is better able to feed them and make them warm and comfortable than if they were sent in individual homes, but it has been able to relieve mothers who work of much of the drudgery of home life and permit them to perform the industrial tasks with greater efficiency. The organization of the communist state is such that every adult, especially under the conditions of hunger and economic breakdown which prevail, is required to do his or her share of useful labor.

### At Age of 3.

"The woman who works," said Mme. Kollontai, "cannot do her duty as mother and at the same time accomplish efficient work unless she sacrifices all her time to these two objects, or is given aid in the routine work for her children. That is why we are urging mothers to bring their children into the state group homes when they have attained the age of three. No coercion is used, however, and indeed none is necessary, for the parents are in no way cut off from their little ones. They can see them at any time, and can take them home when and for as long a time as they wish.

"Those for the younger children— to the age of fourteen—are always

### A Fine Meal.

It was my privilege to have lunch with the children of one of the larger homes one day, and a happier little crew I have never seen anywhere. As for the food, it was the best I have had in Moscow. I got up from the table for the first time since I arrived there feeling that I had all I wanted to eat.

Mme. Kollontai is one of the veterans of the Russian revolutionary movement. About 35 years old, she was educated in the aristocratic Smolny institute in Petrograd—Smolny, around which so much of the history of the revolution has been written. She is well known in the United States, having made two lecture tours through America under the auspices of the left wing of the Socialist party in 1915 and 1916.

The social welfare work, which has for its aims the proper care and development of the children, begins with the mothers themselves before the advent of the babe and continues until the child has attained an age of 16 years.

At this stage the work divides itself into two divisions. The first is for children who remain at home with their parents, the second for those children who live in group homes at state expense.

### Care for Children.

The working mother whose child remains in her care is relieved of the responsibility of caring for it during working hours. Kindergartens are provided where the child is looked after, fed, and his education begun. When he has attained an age of 8 years he enters the public schools, and there

(Continued on page 4.)



# The Toiler

ONE YEAR \$1.50 BUNDLE RATES \$1.00 Per Hundred SIX MONTHS 75c  
Address all mail and make all checks payable to  
THE TOILER  
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Entered as Second Class Matter, under the name of The Ohio Socialist, February 21, 1917, at the Post Office at Cleveland, O., Under the Act of March 3, 1879.

EDITOR Elmer T. Allison

Published weekly by the  
Toiler Publishing Association  
Telephone: Harvard 3639

CLEVELAND, O., FRIDAY, JULY 9th, 1920

## Vagabonds and Bondage

The difference between a vagabond and "free" Americans of the proletarian type is that the latter is somewhat surer of a supper and bed, but has no real freedom, while the former is per chance, not so sure of these two requisites of a continued and happy existence but has freedom to burn. The vagabond is no one's slave—which we take to be one of the delights of vagabondage. When he becomes one he ceases to be a vagabond. The "free" wage-slave ceases to be a slave only when he becomes a vagabond. Of course one in a million or so climb out of the slave class into a "higher" one of exploiter of slaves but his class is so small as to be practically negligible.

If the American wage-slave should ever awaken to the facts of his true economic condition he would relieve himself of the greatest burden of false opinions that ever a slave class was imbued with. True to his political, school and church training, the average American wage-slave believes himself to be the incarnation of freedom. He does not know that the essence of liberty is economic in character. He has not learned that as long as he can earn his living only by the consent of an exploiter whose ownership of industry gives him the power of withholding a part of the product, he is virtually a slave, tho no chains bind his limbs. To be allowed to work, which means to live, only with the consent of another, who reaps a toll by giving that consent—can any one imagine a slavery more real than this?

... Ah, but the American worker can quit his master! Sure, he can quit, and then he can immediately hunt for another one—unless he has the courage to become a vagabond. And few have, all initiative having been bred out of us by our capitalist training.

The American worker is sadly lacking in his economic education. While he has been absorbing the teaching of the ruling class, filling his stunted brain with erroneous teachings, cunningly calculated to keep him mentally and physically enslaved, the development of industry has forced a condition wherein the masses of mankind are mercilessly exploited while their opportunities for emancipation by "rising" out of the slave class have become practically non-existent.

It is high time the American proletarian realized his true condition. It is time he quit kidding himself with the idea that he is a free man while every attribute of slavery is his. He must realize that between vagabondage and bondage there lies only the thin thread of PERMITTED employment — at a slave's wage, just enough to keep him more or less fit to work and reproduce a new generation of slaves to take his place in the shop, mill and mine.

Only in the learning of this lesson and the application of Communist knowledge and tactics to this problem can the American wage worker lift himself out of the serfdom of today and thereby abolish forever the system which creates out of humanity a mass of enslaved and exploited workers on the one hand, and a class of idle, vicious and parasitical shirkers on the other.

## Principles vs Personalities

The candidacy of Eugene V. Debs upon the Socialist Party platform will prove one test of the revolutionary character of the socialist and communist elements in the United States. No circumstance in the history of socialism in this country is comparable to it. Debs' spiritual leadership of the Movement heretofore is unquestioned. His standing in the Movement, due to his personality, is unique; no other individual has ever been held in such high esteem — and it may be said that no other party member has been called upon to make such sacrifices as he. The very circumstance of his being now in prison for advocating pro-labor causes, lends to him an added veneration freely tendered by all.

Debs' acceptance of the nomination by the Socialist Party was based upon the false belief that it would tend toward unity of the revolutionists and the moderate or reform socialists. Perhaps nothing else would have centered upon the platform and brought into such sharp relief before the minds of socialists the contrasting character of Revolutionary Socialism and reform socialism as his acceptance of the nomination tendered him by the Berger and Hillquit reformers at New York. Instead of uniting these opposing groups, his candidacy will on the other hand, prove a wedge which will drive them further apart as they logically should be.

Human mass endeavors are naturally bound up with individuals, who leave upon these movements the marks of their personality and character. Such strong characters become a part of the movement in the minds of multitudes. They become one as it were, and often the attachment which binds the mass to the movement also binds the mass to the individual. Such a one had Debs become.

There are times however, when a sharp distinction must be made between such leaders and the Socialist Movement; times when they become antagonistic and to follow the leader is to betray the principle. Such a circumstance has been

# EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

## LABOR

Out of chaos, out of work  
I arose and did my work;  
While the ages changed and sped  
I was toiling for my bread.  
Underneath my sturdy blows  
Forests fell and cities arose,  
And the hard, reluctant soil  
Blossomed richly from my toil.  
Palaces and temples grand  
Wrought I with my cunning hand.  
Rich indeed was my reward—  
Stunted soul, and body scarred  
With the marks of scourge and rod.  
I, the tiller of the sod,  
From the cradle to the grave  
Shambled through the world—a slave!  
Crushed and trampled, beaten cursed;  
Serving best, but served the worst;  
Starved and cheated, gouged and spoiled,  
Still I builded, still I toiled  
Undernourished, underpaid  
In the world myself had made.

Up from slavery I rise,  
Dreams and wonder in my eyes,  
After brutal ages past,  
Coming to my own at last.  
I was slave—but I am free!  
I was blind—but I can see!  
I, the builder—I, the maker,  
Slave and serf and clod no longer,  
Know my strength—and who is stronger?  
I am done with ancient frauds,  
Ancient lies and ancient gods —  
All the sham is overthrown,  
I shall take and keep my own,  
Unpassioned, unafraid,  
Master of the World I've made.

—Berton Braley.

## Non-deportable Aliens

The above title might well fit the following poem in which Miss Fischer expresses what is undoubtedly the viewpoint of thousands of socialists, in whose "Mayflower" blood still beats a rebel pulse. It is taken from The Freeman.

KINFOLK—1620 AND 1920.

By Katherine Fisher  
In the house of my kinfolk I am an alien,  
Our Mayflower blood, once heretical,  
rebel,  
Flows now in their veins, orthodox,  
Tory.  
Only in mine the old freedom  
Beats the new barriers.

My mother-tongue in the mouth of my kinfolk  
To me is foreign,  
Praising law perverted to tyranny,  
Condemning a juster order  
Because justice is strange, involves changes

But native to my heart is the speech  
Of the Italian weaver on strike,  
Exhorting his comrades,  
Tho I understand not his words,  
I understand him.

And closer to me than sisters  
Are Jewish girls, orient-eyed and voluble,  
Garment-workers, loyally standing together,  
Daughters, like me, of a pilgrim line,  
Of a people persecuted, exiled, pioneers of liberty.

With these I am at home;  
In the house of my kinfolk I am an alien.

es of the world is deserving of the condemnation of the masses and is fit only as a means to prove the utter inadequacy and unfitness of the church as at present organized to function in the interests of the disinherited.

As a matter of fact, the Church is not, nor can be neutral in the class struggle. "Ye who are not for me are against me," applies with truth to the Church in the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. There is no neutral ground. Between robbery and Right there is no compromise. The Church is either for the workers and against the exploiters or it is for the exploiters against the workers.

Up to the present time it has, as an institution, stood squarely for the exploiters, tho at times attempting to camouflage its position with a mantle of assumed neutrality. Neutrality in such instance is a lie which serves only to convince that growing strong already outside the influence of the church of its innate depravity and capitalistic leanings.

As the class struggle grows fiercer, assumes more well defined lines and takes on more and more the character of open physical conflict under the pressure of terrific economic conditions, then, will the Church be forced to throw off its cloak of neutrality and stand forth either as the apostle and spokesmen of Labor or as the filthy harlot of capitalism. It cannot evade being drawn into the vortex of the industrial whirlpool that is now engulfing the world and all social institutions.

Neutrality in the class struggle is even now a lie, let those who claim it be know for what they are.

brought about by Debs' acceptance of the nomination for the Presidency upon a platform of reactionary and reform socialism. The choice must now be made between supporting this traitorous brand of socialism thru voting for Debs and refusing such endorsement. Many socialists of more or less "red" variety have tendered their vote to Debs as a mark of respect for his high qualities and his long fought battle for labor fully as much as they have for socialism. Declare as we might that a vote for Debs is a vote for socialism, we know it was not always true. Even less now, can it be claimed that a vote for Debs in 1920 is a vote for socialism, unless the socialism of Schiedeman, Ebert and Noske is meant. The socialism of the revolutionists of the world is not represented in the platform upon which Debs has consented to stand even while repudiating it. We are confronted with a clear case of Principles vs Personality How many thousand times have we said "no socialist will sacrifice principle for personality?" The question now is, DO WE MEAN IT? Are we going to stand with those and for those who have betrayed our principles merely because a personality has consented to that betrayal? No, we will not. Instead will we work the harder for that socialism which means the emancipation of the workers rather than their betrayal by vicious reformist Socialism.

## Poland's Collapse

The forecast of Colonel Roustan Bek, that Poland would soon collapse before the supriority of the Red advance to be followed by a political and economic revolution, seems about to be realized.

Such news dispatches as have appeared, and they have been very few (in line with the policy of the capitalist press to publish nothing favorable to Russia) have all borne tidings of the retreat of the Poles on the whole of the 600 mile front. "Only the establishment of a Soviet in Warsaw can stop the Russian advance", is Colonel Bek's statement. That he spoke with knowledge and authority is seen in the activities of Polish representatives at London, who, with alarm, have petitioned the League of Nations, thru its secretary, Sir Eric Drummond, to seek means to end the war. The development of grave internal dangers coupled with the crumbling of her battle front have filled her leaders with the gravest apprehensions.

That the defeat of Poland will be followed by revolution and the establishment of Sovietism, seems, in the light of recent European history the logical outcome. The miseries of the people, headed high by the imperialistic war of her land hungry bourgeoisie may foment such economic and political turmoil as only the soviet system can rectify.

While the drive on the Polish front has become one for "safety first", the Polish government Liberty bond loan in the U. S. A. proceeds at a snail's pace. If the situation in Cleveland is a criterion of the national drive, then indeed is it beset with difficulties. Sentiment for and against the loan among Cleveland Poles is about evenly divided. There are as many cheers for a "Soviet Poland" as for a Polish Bourgeois Democracy. The committee in charge of the local drive, altho strongly supported by a widely read Polish daily has had extremely hard sledding. This is partly due to the fact that the priests of the Polish churches have refused to bless the loan with their benediction, altho repeatedly urged by the committee to appeal to the congregations to invest in loans. It appears that the priests have failed to hear the voice of God in the cry of the Polish bourgeoisie for munitions to carry on an imperialistic war.

The investment of \$59,000,000, the amount of Liberty bond sales in the U. S., in French munitions and war supplies has raised a storm of protest. Many purchasers of these bonds claim that they invested with the understanding that their money was to help in the reconstruction of Poland in supplying machinery and aiding the suffering people. Now to learn that it was used to buy munitions to carry on an imperialistic war, has justly incensed them.

The Red's advance is reflected in the slowing up of the loan drive here among the Polish business interests. They apparently know a failure when they see it. Last week the committee sent out urgent invitations to 700 business men to attend a meeting for the purpose of putting the loan over the top. A mere handful were in attendance. When asked to sign up for bonds, they replied, "oh, we are not Polish, we are Ukrainians". Since Ukraina is now an ally of Poland in the war against Russia, this may be considered a sample of the patriotism that animates the bourgeoisie.

A statement by the secretary of the Cleveland committee in charge carries a significant bit of information. Commenting upon the slowness of the loan drive, secretary Dangel is quoted as saying, "Checking up our more than half a million dollars of sales shows that the greatest amount of Polish patriotism has come from the ranks of the wage earners."

Sure. The Polish bourgeoisie are the same kind of cattle as those of other nationalities. They regard the workers as merely the means by which to enrich themselves without any risk, financial or otherwise. It is not enough that the Polish workers should pay the blood cost—the financial burden also must rest upon those who are so fortunate as to escape slaughter. It's the same old capitalist game of "you fight and pay—I'll profit" which the ruling class has always played upon their dupes.

## Church and Neutrality

"The priest must take no active part in industrial strife but must preach peace always", wrote the Pope.

Preaching peace in the midst of fierce industrial, class war is about the most useless function a human being can perform. To ignore the struggles of the masses for bread and liberty against the inheritors of the earth and the power therein, is to betray the masses and to strengthen the power of tyranny. The church which refuses to partake of the struggles and problems of the great suffering and exploited masses

## Books that Help You Understand Socialism

READ — THINK — LEARN

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

### Socialist Classics - Cloth Bound

Economic Determinism, Lida Parco, \$1.00, 5 or more 85c each.  
Economic Causes of War, Loria, \$1.00, 5 or more 85c each.  
Critique of Political Economy, Marx, \$1.25, 5 or more \$1.00 each.  
Ancient Society, Lewis H. Morgan, \$1.50, 5 or more \$1.25 each.  
Ancient Lowly, Ward, 2 vol. \$2.00 each.  
Anarchism and Socialism, Flechanoff, 60c, 5 or more 40c each.  
Origin of the Family, Engels, 60c, 5 or more 40c.  
Value, Price & Profit, Marx, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.  
Feuerbach: Roots of Socialist Philosophy, Engels, 60c, 5 or more 40c.  
Ethics & Materialistic Conception of History, 60c, 5 or more 40c each.  
Essays on Materialistic Conception of History, Labrioli, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.  
Positive Outcome of Philosophy, Dietzgen, \$1.25, 5 or more \$1.00 each.  
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen, \$1.25, 5 or more \$1.00.  
Positive School of Criminology, Ferri, 60c, 5 or more 40c.  
Value Price and Profit, Marx, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.  
Principles of Scientific Socialism, Vail \$1.25, 5 or more \$1.00.  
The World's Revolutions, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.  
Universal Kinship, Moore, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.  
Socialism and War, \$1.00 each.  
Savage Survivals, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.  
Socialism and Modern Science, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.  
Socialism for Students, 50c each, 5 or more 40c each.  
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen, \$1.25, 5 or more \$1.00 each.

### Books About Russian Revolution

Raymond Robins' Own Story \$1.50; 5 or more \$1.25 each.  
Bolshevism at Work, Wm. T. Groode, \$1.00; ten or more 85c each.  
Bullitt Mission to Russia, 50c each, 10 or more 40c each.  
Ten Days That Shook The World, \$2.00 each.  
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.

### Educational Pamphlets

The structure of Soviet Russia, Wilfrid E. Humphries, 10c; 10 or more 6c each.  
No Compromise, Liebknecht, 15c, 10 or more 11c each.  
The Soviet of Deer Island 15c, 10 or more 13c each.  
The Truth about the Lusk Committee 25c; 10 or more 20c each.  
The Red Ruby 10c; 10 or more 6c each.  
Industrial Socialism, Wm. D. Haywood, 10c, 10 or more 6c each.  
Wage, Labor & Capital Karl Marx, 15c, 10 or more 11c each.  
Crimes of the Bolsheviks 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Russian Socialist Constitution 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Soviet Russia, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Debs Goes To Prison, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.  
The Dream Of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
The Trial of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Mr. Block and The Profiteers, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Manifesto of the Communist International, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
The Class Struggle, Kautsky, 25c each, 10 or more 18c each.  
Communist Manifesto, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Evolution and Revolution, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
How the Farmer can get His, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Scientific Socialism Study Course, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Industrial Autocracy, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Marxism and Darwinism, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Socialism Utopian and Scientific, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.  
Shop Talks on Economics, 10c each, 10 or more 6c 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.

### Miscellaneous

War of the Classes, J. London, 85c, 5 or more 70c each.  
The Iron Heel, J. London, 85c, 5 or more 70c each.  
Stories of the Cave People, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.  
Debs Authorized Life and Letters—Karsner, \$1.50, 5 or more \$1.25.  
Man or the State, Essays famous writers, \$1.00.  
Pelle, the Conqueror, 2-vol \$4.00 the set.  
Address The Toiler.

BETTER CONDITIONS MAKE FOR their output, MORE PRODUCTION. These facts are taken from the FARGO, N. D.— Contrary to pre-ports of an investigation by John Had-ditions of mine operators that the well, mine inspector. new mining code enacted by the farm- Mr. Hanwell declares the mining ers' legislature in 1919 would cut pro- force of the state is shrinking, but duction and drive many mines out of says the men are so well satisfied with business, through the eight-hour pro- the better working conditions brought vision, the actual production of the about by the enforcement of the new largest mines in the state has doubled law that they take greater interest in and the small mines have all increased their work.

## FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE USE THIS BLANK

For Renewals or New Subscriptions

We request that each Toiler reader who has received a notice of the expiration of his subscription renew at once. It costs money to publish a newspaper. Your renewal NOW will aid materially in meeting the expenses of printing.

If You have Renewed  
Get Another Subscription  
Use This Blank

Enclosed finds \$..... for which send The Toiler to:

Name .....  
Street .....  
City ..... State .....  
Renewal New Which?



# THE WHITE TERROR IN HUNGARY

By Ernest Lorry. European Staff Correspondent THE FEDERATED PRESS.

I. VIENNA, May 31—(By Mail)—The downfall of proletarian dictatorship in Hungary, caused by the fact that the Red Troops had been defeated in open battle by the Rumanians whom counter revolution had called in to help, was followed, after a short democratic intermezzo, by the first period of White Terror. It lasted until the Rumanians evacuated Budapest on November 16th, 1919, and was characterized by the strange feature that the Rumanian troops were able to give the disarmed Hungarian workers some protection against the raging vengeance of the Bourgeoisie and especially of the Hungarian officers.

The second period of White Terror in Hungary is stamped by the personality of the Supreme Council's representative in Budapest, Sir George Clark, who, with unrivalled hypocrisy, played into the hands of the oppressing classes every constitutional and diplomatic advantage for enabling them to go on with the White Terror on a larger scale. This period lasts until the first meeting of the National Assembly and the election of Horthy as Governor on March 1, 1920, and differs from the previous period by a considerable increase, and above all, the systematization of White Terror. All political acts of this time, elections for the National Assembly, and the election of the governor by the National Assembly—may all be considered as functions of this Terror.

The third period lasts from March 1 until the signing of the treaty of Neuilly, expected shortly. This period is marked by serious attempts to deny and conceal the facts of the White Terror. Instead of decreasing, the terror shows a tendency to grow.

Yet the appeals of the tortured Hungarian workers have reached their comrades in western countries and the latter have, after all, been strong enough to extract from their respective governments the semblance of a protest against the terrible methods of Budapest. It was at the end of March that the Hungarian premier, Dr. Simonyi—Semadam, read to the National Assembly, a letter from the president of the Hungarian peace delegation, Count Albert Apponyi calls upon the country to reestablish legal conditions, warning it that the deeds of terror committed had changed the mood of Paris, not unfriendly towards Hungary in the beginning, to its reverse. He said the continuation of terror would but definitely estrange from Hungary those occupied territories for which the Hungarian peace delegation had demanded a plebiscite.

This letter, which seems to have been sent by wish of the Supreme Council, brought no results whatsoever. The White Terror went on as before, and even seemed to increase daily. Meanwhile the endeavors to throw sand in the foreign peoples' eyes were intensified. Impudent invitations followed for those workers' organizations who had tried to plead the cause of the victims with the present rulers of Hungary, to come and see that there was no such thing as a White Terror. These in-

itations were accepted—a fact which rather disconcerted the lords of Hungary. First came the delegates of the Socialist party of Italy, Alceste Della Seta and Arturo Vella, both of them members of the Italian parliament, who reached Hungary in the last week of April. Then there came, led by Colonel Wedgwood, member of parliament and leader in the Independent Labor Party, four delegates of the British Trade Unions: William Harris, Fred W. Jowett, G. H. Stuart Bunning, and Joseph B. Williams. They have just returned from Budapest. (To be continued)

The Toiler has received copies of "The Hungarian News", an information paper published by the Hungarian Socialist Information Bureau at Stockholm for the socialist press of the world.

Concerning conditions now extant in Hungary under the rule of the bourgeoisie after their victory over the communists, depicting the awfulness of the White Terror we reprint a few excerpts.

## TO THE WORKING CLASS OF ENGLAND.

COMRADES:—

You know how the Hungarian socialists are being treated by the White Guard government of the Hungarian bourgeoisie. During the last two months 127 legal murders were executed, other than numbers of socialists illegal and secretly killed.

Twelve thousand working men are interned, without sufficient food, cover, clothes, horribly treated, tortured, flogged, their eyes struck out.

In several cases prisoners have been maimed, buried alive, and stabbed to death with bayonets.

In spite of those horrors an English bourgeois is vile enough to tell his superiors that there is no terror in Hungary. In these days corpses are fished up from the Danube every day, Hohler sends the "high commissioner" a report which unmistakably proves that there exists a strong solidarity between the English bourgeoisie and that of Hungary.

The English delegation of workers which has already left will soon be able to ascertain if terror exists or not.

## GRIEVOUS DOCUMENTS.

Budapest, May 15th, 1920.

A Hungarian paper edited by social-democrats in Vienna publishes the following documents:

In November the police got a report that three socialists had been killed in the military prison. — At the barracks of Kelenfold two corpses were found which were killed by the officers and then hidden. — The paper also is in possession of a document which undoubtedly proves that the manufacturer, Menalt, was buried alive by the Danube detachment. By some bandits also six comrades—all of them honest and brave combatants—were murdered.

All those occurrences were reported to the police. However, without any result whatever. No inquiry was started, and Captain Pronay is still an officer of the national army and Horthy's best friend.

## 120 COMMUNISTS PROSECUTED.

Budapest, May 14th, 1920.

The furiousness of the Hungarian executioners does not diminish. On 12th inst. a communist process was opened against some comrades charged with complicity in the execution of some counter-revolutionaries at Szolnok. More than 120 persons were prosecuted, and possibly the scandalous Hungarian "justice" now will sentence several of them to death.

## A POWERFUL PROTEST AGAINST THE WHITE TERROR IN HUNGARY.

Budapest, May 15th, 1920.

The social-democratic post official, Oskar Levai is in Budapest, charged with murder.

Levai belonged previously to the Red Army, and then he had to bring into execution all death warrants against soldiers of his detachment. Because of those "crimes" he is now treated as a murderer. It is proved that he acted on compulsion, but this fact is not at all mentioned by the prosecutor at court.

The post officials of Germany, Italy, France, and Belgium have by wire informed the Hungarian government that the telegraphic and telephone communications with Hungary will be broken, in case Levai will be executed.

## THE TREATING OF THE HUNGARIAN CHILDREN.

Budapest, May 16th, 1920.

Eighteen persons in Budapest were recently dragged out of their homes, and then quite disappeared.

A paper states that nearly all proletarian children in Hungary are shut out from the charity institutions and even from the places for feeding arranged by the foreign missions. The Hungarian workers' society for the protection of children, which had nothing to do with politics at all, was dissolved without any reason being given.

## EXECUTIONS WILL BE DONE IN THE COUNTRY.

Budapest, May 16th, 1920.

The police court of Budapest got a secret order from the government in which it is charged to bring some of the communists now imprisoned — those who surely are to be sentenced to death—into the country, so that the execution may not be easily known among the public.

## THE LEARNED ARE PERSECUTED.

Budapest, May 16th, 1920.

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences has at its last meeting expelled the following members, well known in all Europe:

Oscar Asboth (Slavic philology), Bernhard Alexander (philosophy aesthetics), Emanuel Beke (mathematics), Ladislaus Eber (art history), and Adolph Lendl (zoology), because they did not leave their posts when communists were in power. Further, the faculty of philosophy at the university of Budapest refused the former popular deputies Joseph Pogony, George Lukacs the former section leader of the educational commissariat, Bela Forgarasi their doctor's degree, although Hungarian Law does not authorize denial of doctor's certificates as a punishment for common crimes.

## British Labor Demands Self-determination for Ireland

SCARBOROUGH, England—Full self-determination for Egypt and India and a just settlement of the Irish question were demanded June 25 by the British Labor party conference in session here. The Irish plank called for the establishment of a constituent assembly to determine the form of government to be adopted by Ireland, without any condition or limitation imposed by Great Britain, and the complete withdrawal of the army of occupation.

At the sessions thus far held, there unanimously passed resolutions calling for revision of the peace treaties, for recognition of the soviet government of Russia, abstention from direct or indirect attacks upon Russia, full freedom of trade with her. The abolition of secret treaties and control of food and raw materials by an international body were demanded.

The conference decided to send a joint deputation composed of members of the Labor party executive committee and the parliamentary committee of the Trades Union Congress to call upon Premier Lloyd George and insist upon the necessity of immediate peace with Russia and the lifting of the blockade. The committee was also instructed to lay before him the report of the Labor party delegates who have been investigating the White Terror in Hungary.

The British Socialist party delegation urged the calling of a national conference for the purpose of organizing a general strike; and Robert Smillie, who received a tremendous ovation, swept the whole meeting by his declaration that something more than a deputation to the Premier would be necessary to carry out the demands of the conference. Should the deputation be rebuffed, he said, a special conference should at once consider plans for a nationwide withdrawal of labor.

## RED ARMY RELEASES MINERS.

MOSCOW—(via Helsingfors)—The Labor Council has decided to mobilize all miners between the ages of 18 and 50. All miners will be released from the army and transferred to the mines.

The Soviet government has recognized the newly formed republic of Eastern Caucasus and its provisional government. Diplomatic and commercial relations are soon to be opened.

The "work week" in Belashow resulted in a triumph. During the week 22 river boats were repaired. The metal workers have voluntarily prolonged their working day to ten hours.

## FIND TAYLOR "GUILTY"

SAN FRANCISCO—John C. Taylor, fourth Communist to be tried in Oakland, has been found guilty. After eight hours deliberation, the jury finally agreed that he advocated force and violence. This, in spite of the fact that Secretary of Labor Wilson has ruled that the platform of the Communist Labor Party does not advocate force and violence, and that membership in that organization is not sufficient cause to deport an alien. Taylor was sentenced Monday, June 21 and will appeal.

Eleven "Criminal Syndicalists" are serving sentence in San Quentin, two are out on bail and one is awaiting the transfer. Of these, not one has actually committed any act of violence. John Craig of Sacramento was sentenced to five years after pleading guilty. J. E. Dolson's retrial has been postponed to some time in September. J. E. Snyder was to come up July 1 in Oakland.

All the deportation cases have been dismissed, due to the efforts of Frederick Dubovsky, attorney.

## PALMER'S CASES STILL FALLING

NEW YORK—Many of the raided 100% perfect cases of the Department of Justice are dwindling to zero. The Department of Labor has notified Harry Weinberger, Max Gendlin, David Orlick, Lona Chenovsky, Jonnie Lapidus, that their warrants of arrest have been cancelled and their bonds released. Many of those had originally been arrested without warrants, and warrants obtained later; some had been beaten up in the raids.

In the case of Voto Mariani, long held on the state charge of criminal anarchy, arrangements have been made whereby he was discharged without bail on that charge, and ordered deported to Italy as an anarchist. This is just what Mariani desired. He will be deported shortly.

Carl Voss and Emile Foltman who had long asked to be deported to Germany, and who had been kept a long time in jail, have finally been deported to Germany while Thomas Martinez who fought deportation to Mexico on the ground that his life would be in danger, has been released on bail.

## Old King Canute

— By Anise. —

I.  
Old King Canute  
Lived ages ago  
He had so many courtiers  
Who praised him so much  
That he thought at last  
He could do  
ANYTHING!  
So he set up his throne  
On the shore of the sea  
When the tide was low  
And said: "Go BACK, sea!"  
"For I am KING!"  
Then the tide turned  
And the little waves  
Were coming NEARER,  
But old King Canute  
Kept waving his scepter  
Over them.  
Saying, "I command you, waves,  
NOT to ADVANCE!"  
Then one little wave first  
Sneaked up one side,  
And another little wave  
Sneaked up on the other,  
Paying no attention to the words  
Of the King.  
For they were drawn  
By a POWER  
Greater than Old King Canute!  
High and invisible  
The call of the MOON  
Kept pulling them up the sand,  
And before very long  
The king had to run  
For his LIFE  
And it isn't on record

Whether his throne was saved,  
Or engulfed in the flood.  
It all depended, I guess,  
On whether he MOVED  
In TIME!  
II.  
Somehow or other  
I can't help thinking  
Of old King Canute.  
When I see our rulers  
Waving the bills and injunctions  
Over the railroads,  
Saying complacently:  
"Go back STRIKERS!  
Don't any of you workers  
DARE TO ADVANCE!  
For WE are government!"  
And first one little strike  
Sneaks up on one side  
And another little strike  
Comes on the other side,  
But still the senate waves  
Its mighty scepter  
Over the switchmen.  
Saying: "Go back! Go back!"  
But THEY are drawn by a power  
Higher than government,  
Planted ages ago  
In the spirit of MAN  
And it isn't on record yet  
If even the mighty throne  
Of CONGRESS  
Is to be saved  
Or engulfed in the flood,  
It all depends, I guess,  
On whether they MOVE  
In TIME!

## Entente's Support Strengthens Russia

(Continued from page 1-st.)

of the old land proprietors. I assure you that at the present time the peasants not only accept us, but they love us, and that is a source of great power. They feel that they amount to something in our state. For instance, our president, Kalenine is a peasant of the Province of Tverska, who continues to own his own piece of land and returns to it frequently. It is the peasants who now enable us to resist Poland, and who will enable us to resist Poland as long as necessary.

## Bourgeois Rally to New Regime.

"That brings me to the third great service that the Entente has rendered us. It is bringing to our aid a great part of the former Bourgeois and Intellectuals. In permitting Poland to start against us an entirely useless war, the Entente persuaded a great number of our former adversaries to rally to us. This factory manager, this General, that engineer, began to see that we were actually the only force in Russia able to resist the foreign assailants. If Poland fights long enough you will see every one in Russia united with us."

"But how about your reverses on the Ukrainian front?" Krassin was asked.

"Fine business," he answered. "Who ever saw Russia ready at a given moment? We always begin by getting beaten. Then, as soon as we have learned our lesson, we come back in marvelous style. Poland has not been sincere with us. We have proposed peace on several occasions. Her Nationalist Government pretended it wished to negotiate, but all the while was preparing the offensive ordained by the Entente."

"But the Poles maintain it is the Russians who lack sincerity," the interviewer remarked.

"That is untrue," affirmed Krassin. "What do you think we ask of Poland? We are delighted at her independence, for which the Polish people fought so long and so heroically. Even if we are fighting her we do not wish at all to destroy Poland. However, Poland under one pretext or another wishes to continue the war. At present it is a question of the Ukraine. However, from December of last year up to March of this year we were proposing peace to Poland, and we would have accepted a proposition for the withdrawal of both armies from the Ukraine and for a plebiscite."

"Then there was the story of Boris, which shows in tangible manner the bad faith of the Polish Government. It demanded that the peace negotiations take place at Boris. It did not wish any armistice except at the spot where peace was to be discussed. Boris was the most vulnerable spot on the Polish front and at this time the Poles were preparing their offensive against Kiev. We proposed all sorts of places for meeting, but they refused. They would go only to Boris. We refused."

"Above all we continue to wish for peace, for continuation of war hinders our economic recovery. We can with our present resources keep up the war for years without being beaten, but that will increase the burden of privations which we have so long borne. That is all the Entente accomplishes in throwing the Poles against us. For that country were it not for the aid of the manufacturers of munitions and arms would not think of fighting us on its own resources. But despite our privations the Entente obtains a result which is only negative—it reconciles with us a great part of our former adversaries in Russia."

"On the other hand the people of other nations, and especially France, deceive themselves in believing that we wish to carry on propaganda in other countries. There are men among us who believed that Soviet Russia could endure only through a world revolution. The events of the last few years have clearly proved that the Soviet regime can endure in the midst of a world of capitalist Governments. We now accept this state of things and our engagements with foreign states are sacred."

"The Black Sheep" (Continued from page 2.)  
I for one am going to Colorado this summer and learn the truth about all this, if I have to go barefoot, ha, ha."  
The rest of the letter dealt with personal matter relating to her school work, and other common places which need not be recorded here.

When he returned to the cabin Collins wrote the following note.  
"My Dear Miss Anderson:—  
I am glad to notice that you have entered into a correspondence with our friend, Jack Thurston. I feel that your words have inspired him to greater and nobler efforts in behalf of humanity.  
The boy has a wonderful mind, and will grow up to be a power in the world, especially if he has some one to spur him on. Already they have brought a wonderful effect. He has dedicated himself to the cause of human good. Greatly and sincerely,  
E. C.  
That afternoon it was decided that the time for getting busy was at hand and accordingly they began preparations for the storing of their accumulated effects and incidentally to quarrel about the best places to look for the necessary job.

## The Black Sheep

(Continued from page 2.)  
I for one am going to Colorado this summer and learn the truth about all this, if I have to go barefoot, ha, ha."  
The rest of the letter dealt with personal matter relating to her school work, and other common places which need not be recorded here.

When he returned to the cabin Collins wrote the following note.  
"My Dear Miss Anderson:—  
I am glad to notice that you have entered into a correspondence with our friend, Jack Thurston. I feel that your words have inspired him to greater and nobler efforts in behalf of humanity.  
The boy has a wonderful mind, and will grow up to be a power in the world, especially if he has some one to spur him on. Already they have brought a wonderful effect. He has dedicated himself to the cause of human good. Greatly and sincerely,  
E. C.  
That afternoon it was decided that the time for getting busy was at hand and accordingly they began preparations for the storing of their accumulated effects and incidentally to quarrel about the best places to look for the necessary job.

## Robins Unveils Free Speech

(Continued from page 1.)

Basis of Free Government.  
Robins said three fundamental principles underlaid free government—

"Americanism," as he persisted in calling it. He named them as:  
Religious freedom, political freedom and the right of private property and economic freedom in industry. The audience appeared to believe that the "we" would smell just as sweet under another name as "Americanism." Perhaps that was because they were mostly Internationalists. Just what he meant by economic freedom was rather cloudy but in answer to a question, he stated that "some American workers receive less than they produce and some receive more, but if a majority believe they are not getting justice and refuse to change the system, they have only themselves to blame."

Robins favors the exploitation of the workers as long as the workers don't object. But if they do object we would their objections to take a perfectly legal course, not at variance to the rules of the capitalist political game.

Robins favored the ballot and its freely permitted use as the proper method to institute all changes in government. He is violently against the use of force, but when the point was raised by a questioner as to what steps should be taken when legal means were overruled by governmental use of violence, he admitted that under such conditions, the use of force is necessary.

That Robins' audience was composed largely of socialists and communists was evident the minute questions were allowed. Here are some of the questions and answers.

How should the war debt be paid? By the profiteers.

Would you release Eugene V. Debs if you had the power? Yes, Debs was guilty according to the law but for political expediency I would not have sent him to prison. He is more powerful for wrong in jail than out. That the audience frankly disagreed with Robins statement, that Debs was guilty was evident by the applause that greeted his name.

What do you think of the action of the New York Legislature in ousting the five socialists? It was the most un-American action in the political history of the country.

Why should not the American workers do what the Russians have done to re-establish free speech in this country? The conditions are different. The will of the majority has not been trusted as it was in Russia. This answer brought forth a round of protests. How about our two socialist councilmen? How about our socialist school director? The audience shouted, referring to the action of the local Chamber of Commerce in directing the ousting of socialist officials in Cleveland during the war. How about Albany and Berger, they answered back.

Do you think our soldiers should have been sent into Siberia and do you favor the blockade of medicines and hospital supplies from America? I was always against the sending of American troops into Siberia. It was an act in violation of our historical American policy. I favor the sending of medicines to Russia.

## A Butting of Heads Against Stone.

To one who has read "Raymond Robins' own Story" of the Russian Revolution, listening to his speech is like reading for the second time the concluding chapter of that cleverly written and intensely interesting book. Robins is one among the army of intellectual liberals who has enlisted in the futile effort to turn back the tide of financial and industrial evolution. His philosophy is one in which the underlying economic forces which rule human society do not exist. He is battling for that which has forever vanished from the face of a capitalistically ruled world. He is seeking a renaissance of an age that is past, utterly unknowing of the principles of economic evolution. Robins does not know that the principles of "Americanism" have been cast aside by the ruling class, not because it is "wicked" and soulless, but because the raging class struggle which has developed with the intensification of the industrial processes, creating two utterly opposed classes, necessitates the extinguishing of popular liberties if the present ruling class is to survive.

It is no mere coincidence that liberals such as Robins are allowed the freedom which would be denied any class which really threatened the power of the ruling class. Their pitiful pleas for the return of a dead age may well be listened to and tolerated by the ruling class. The Gargys, the Morgans, the Guggenheims know that the processes of industry and the social system will not be turned backward—and a little freedom is fine bait for some fish which might be hard to land without a little playing.

No, we take it that Misses Free Speech and Free Assemblage will not be allowed in company of the rude proletarians and communists on Cleveland's Public Square—unhappened by the City Club by permission of the Chamber of Commerce.

Hie ye, fair Damsels, to your Nunery behind the portals of the Chamber of Commerce! But if you are coming out on parade each Saturday noon as the City Club promises, we shall be present and shall see if there dwells not a sly twinkle in the corners of your eyes.

We suggest that our readers may learn a great deal about Russia from Robins' book which can be had for \$1.50 by addressing The Toiler.

Adieu

THE EDITOR.

## SOVIET HOMES APPEAL

(Continued from page 2.)  
again his food is provided by the state. After school hours he goes to one of the neighborhood children's clubs, where he has games, books, and school books and is watched over until his mother has finished her work and is ready to have him at home.

When he has attained the age of 16 he either enters the university on state pay or becomes a worker in the industrial life of the community.