

WORKERS OF THE  
WORLD UNITE

# THE TOLLER

FORMERLY THE  
OHIO SOCIALIST

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## RECOGNIZE SOVIET REGIME OR WORKERS' TROOPS MAY ENTER BERLIN, SAYS MINOR

"Recognize the Russian Soviet government, and thereby end bloodshed in the numerous private wars directed against Russia. The ultimate triumph of the Red army seems certain. It is the only organized army in Europe today, and unless the Russian workers' government gets recognition the Red army is going to march right through to the North Sea."

Thus Robert Minor, cartoonist and writer, who was in Soviet Russia for nine months during the formative stage of the present government, and who in his travels saw the White Terror as it swept over Finland, Russia and Germany, yesterday summed up the situation in Europe for The Call.

Minor arrived in New York yesterday, having crossed the continent of North America twice since his adventures in Europe, addressing workers of America. He asserted that an awakening of labor was taking place in this country and that the minds of the workers were being clarified as the Iron Heel of the bourgeoisie was stamped down upon them.

He said the development of the Soviet idea alone could prevent a world cataclysm since only the socialization of industry, which is the foundation of the Russian system of government, can meet the unrest of the workers throughout the world.

### Soviet Troops May Enter Berlin.

Any army that the Allies or the newly formed buffer states can place before the Soviet legions will vanish, Minor declared. He said the Soviet troops might soon occupy Berlin with the acclaim of the masses.

Russia is about to settle 12 wars and make peace on the Baltic fronts, he said. These border states will be scrupulously avoided by the Russians in their onward march, but they will go through Poland like a mouse through Camembert cheese, Minors asserted.

Once in Germany, the masses who are horrified at the brutal Noske regime will rise to welcome the liberating troops of Soviet Russia, Minor

believes.

Minor was emphatic in saying that he had no connection with the Soviet representatives in this country, but that he had his own sources of information. The British have already entertained the peace offer of the Soviet government, as have many other European nations, he said. He felt certain that the artificial barrier around Russia would soon fall to pieces.

### Idea to Continue Working.

Should a peace be arranged and the Russian republic recognized, the dynamic idea of socializing industry will continue to work in the minds of the intelligent workers in every country, but it will then be allowed to work peacefully without any more killings, he declared.

"Every time I think of violence, I get nausea at the stomach, for I remember slipping on the blood of dead men of Berlin," Minor said.

Minor continued as follows:

"The Soviets will not make any aggressive war, they will succeed through the workers of each country. If it is necessary to continue fighting, I think one big battle will settle it for all Europe. The Red army is equipped to do it, having supplies that were intended for an army of 15,000,000 men. They have but 1,500,000, but they are the only disciplined and trustworthy troops in Europe today."

### Soviet Forces Gain Wheat.

"They are now in Omsk, the heart of the wheat country, and this opens for all of Russia a wheat supply that has been garnered and hidden for the last six years."

Minor said that the world needed the Soviet idea, which was the only hope for the present disrupted state of society. Its acceptance he termed the only thing that could avert a smash of the present social structure—a cataclysm accompanied by more bloodshed and misery.

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## WHY THE ARREST OF MINERS AT CADIZ

### One Editor's Version and Our Answer

Cadiz, O., Dec. 4 1919.  
The Ohio Socialist,  
Cleveland, Ohio.  
3207 Clark Ave.

Gentlemen:—

I am enclosing a clipping from this week's issue of the Cadiz Republican showing that Mr. Sharts omitted some very important facts from his write-up concerning the arrest of nine men at the coal mines near Cadiz. I have talked with miners and miners' officials regarding the matter of weighing the coal, and find that it had nothing to do with the arrest of those men, but the Prosecutor here showed me a great deal of incendiary literature taken in connection with the arrest of those men, and that literature and practically advocating the overthrow of the government was the real cause of their arrest. You do not realize the number of real Americans who resent foreigners trying to upset a government they did not help to organize in any way.

Sincerely,

H. B. M. CONNELL

(Clipping from Cadiz Republican.)  
Real Cause of Arrests—  
Spreading Red Literature

Several weeks ago we received a copy of "The Ohio Socialist," with a two column article marked referring to the arrest of the seven men at Duncan, who are now out on bond. The names of these men are Wm. Makarus, Joe Vegh, Jr., Ottone Alterio, Julius Simon, Joe Haborka, George Kaari, Joe Toth, Jim Domasley, and Steve Bogo. They were indicted for criminal syndicalism, but the Ohio So-

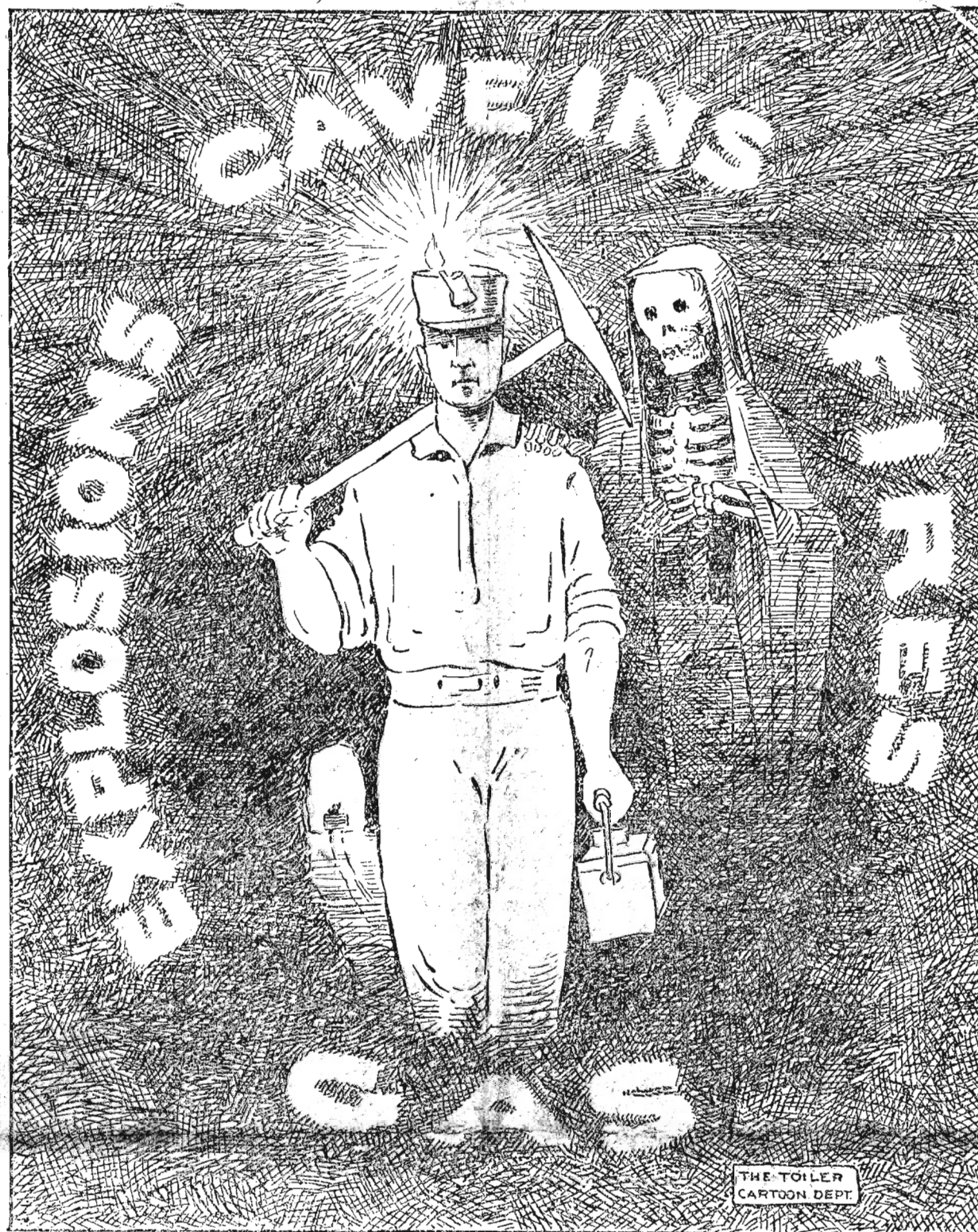
cialist tries to show that their arrest was a sort of conspiracy on the part of the coal operators to have them arrested for complaining about the way the coal was weighed. The party who sent us the copy of the Socialist carefully erased the name on the label, evidently not wanting to have it known that he took such a paper, and underneath the marked article the words, "How much of this is true?" were written.

Another paper, "The Cleveland Citizen," a labor publication, has been sent to this office, containing a paragraph about the arrest of the men in question. It speaks of these men as having been arrested for violating an "infamous measure that was sneaked through the Ohio Legislature last spring for stamping out sedition, anarchy, etc." We will quote a little from the Socialist, the date being October 15.

The Army of Liberators has again come to the rescue. It has sent attorney Jos. W. Sharts to the coal fields of eastern Ohio, to rescue seven miners from the clutches of capitalism. Not content with the BIG steal, that is exploiting the workers as wage slaves, the coal operators have been caught stealing from the miners by not giving them full weight for the coal they mine.

The miners, as soon as they found out that they were being robbed, quit work. And that, was treason. Immediately a charge of violating the Freeman act was placed against the committee which attempted to secure action from other miners for a strike

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His ever present Companion.

## The Miners Go Back -- But as Rebels.

The coal strike is settled—for the present. The miners have shouldered their picks, swallowed the bitter pill of partial defeat at the hands of their officials and the government, they have again resumed their labors of furnishing the coal that makes industry and civilization possible. But they have done it in a spirit of rebellion that will not be quieted by after-explanations and conferences of their officials and the government.

The smallness of the gain made by the strikers is due to the spineless actions of their officials at Indianapolis, when they have faced with governmental bluff and swagger in the form of a court injunction ordering them to call off the strike. Never in the history of labor unionism did a group of labor officials crumble with more ridiculous and shameful alacrity before a groundless bluff than did these labor "leaders."

If the miners' officials at Indianapolis had stood their ground like men and called the government's bluff—gone to jail for contempt if necessary, there would have been a different tale to tell to-day. Their hypocritical pretense of patriotism in the face of the court injunction is the most shameful instance of backing down on record. "We are Americans, we cannot go against our government," they are credited with saying in extenuation of their spineless conduct. What they should have told the miners, and what they probably did say to themselves was—we are afraid to go to jail, it's uncomfortable, besides, it will give us a "bad name", and then of course it isn't really necessary that the miners win—also, if we show the government that we are "patriotic" we may get something by a "compromise"—and stay out of jail.

Just how strong their supine knuckling down was resented by the rank and file of the miners was immediately seen in their unanimous refusal to go back to work at the orders of the government and their officials. But the door having been opened to compromise and the miners now being placed on the defensive instead of in an aggressive position, the fight could only be carried on to its logical conclusion—a partial gain with a governmental "promise" from Wilson that the demands of the miners would be "considered" later.

The miners came out of the mines as strikers—they go back as rebels—rebels against an unfriendly government and treacherous union officials who had not the courage to carry thru the job they were morally committed to. The miners have received an object lesson in the capitalist class character of the government which from the first moment of the strike assembled its legal machinery to force the miners back to their underground dungeons and keep them on the job of producing coal for the profit of the operators. How well the coal barons' profits were guarded is seen in the fact that the whole efforts of the government would insure a profit to the mine owners. Their profits are guaran-

teed, they stand no chance of losing. The attitude of the government proves this to the miners—that when it is a question as to who shall win, the workers or the owners of the industry, the strength of the government is thrown to the support of the owners without equivocation or as much as the batting of an eye. The government has lent its support to the operators and by its attitude toward the miners in this struggle shown its true capitalist character and proven true the assertion of Marx, when he said, the capitalist state is but a committee for conducting the affairs of the bourgeoisie. The truth of this statement has been branded into the minds of the coal diggers, the class lines have been drawn taunt and the true character of the government is seen for what it is.

The miners go back to the mines disillusioned of the paternalism of the government. Its frankly outspoken unfriendliness has turned to bitterness the faith of the miners in the impartiality of the government and has shaken their faith in the labor-protecting qualities.

They go back, but they go back groping for a weapon that shall enable them to "come back". The strike is not settled, only a truce has been established. The miner will find the weapon to win with in greater solidarity of labor, in the breaking down of craft lines and the amalgamation of all labor in industrial unions and the close affiliation of these in One Big Union and the class-conscious use of his political power.

The weapon is here, and the miner will find it even in his under ground channels. He goes back to the mines a rebel but he may come out again—a revolutionist.

## Trades Congress Demands Britain Treat with Soviet

LONDON.—The Trades Union Congress adopted a resolution today calling upon the Government to consider immediately the peace overtures of the Soviet Government and raise the blockade between Russia and the outside world. They also demand the right for an independent inquiry into political, industrial and economic conditions in Russia.

ROME.—The Socialist deputies moved in the Chamber today a resolution for recognition of the Russian Soviet government. Restoration of trade with Russia also is demanded.

## SOVIET OFFERS PEACE TO ALLIES

The Toller is enabled to publish this week the most important public document since the terms of the armistice with Germany were signed a year ago.

It is the full draft of the terms on which the Soviet Government of Russia is ready to make peace with the allies, as brought back by Colonel Malone, M. P., from Russia and first furnished by him to "The Herald" the London Socialist Daily.

"This document I have brought back," Colonel Malone informed the Daily Herald, "is a provisional agreement as a basis for discussion."

"America has not been lacking in signs that she is willing to enter into negotiations with the Soviet Government. The French Government must decide soon."

"Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland have two alternatives: (a) complete independence and co-operation with the Soviet Government, or (b) reabsorption as a vassal State to an autocratic Empire. There is little doubt which they will choose. They have, in fact, already made up their minds."

"What course will England take? Will she base her policy on financial ventures or the cause of humanity? I believe that the majority of the British people are in favor of peace."

Colonel Malone has already made a strong appeal in the House of Commons for immediate peace with Russia. In the Russian debate he declared he had discussed the question of the peace with the leaders of the Soviet Government and he believed it was possible to arrange peace on substantially the same terms as those published by Mr. Bullitt. He had in his possession a draft on which such a discussion could take place.

He believed it would be possible to call a Peace Conference of the war factions in Russia, and by meeting round a table bring this orgy of death and bloodshed to an end.

Read full text of the terms of Lenin's peace offer on page 4.

## WHAT NEXT?

(High Spots in a Lecture delivered by Prof. Scott Nearing at Akron, (Nov. 11th 1919.)

By A. C. Blanchard.

"The times are out of joint." All periods of revolutionary changes are characterized by this feeling.

### WHAT WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE NEXT.

Natural resources should be utilized for the whole human race. Nature's gifts are the heritage of all the peoples of the U. S. The total income of the United States per annum is approximately seventy-four thousand million dollars or between thirty-six or seventy-seven hundred dollars per family.

Steinmetz, the wizard of electricity has estimated that if our working population worked two hundred days and five hours per day the production of the U. S. would be as much as it is now. This would mean that we could have a month for Holidays, a week off for Washington's Birthday, Decoration Day, the Fourth of July, Labor Day, and work five days a week the rest of the time.

### WHAT WE HAVE GOT

It is estimated that there are thirty millions of people in poverty in the U. S. In the New York Schools 21.6 percent of the children are seriously undernourished, with a bank deposit of \$5,800,000,000.00. It is true that there are 16,100 people in the U. S. receiving a salary of \$10,000.00 and over.

Liberate people from ignorance. The Russian Government is the new basis of organization. The U. S. Oil interest in Mexico are protected by the Press of this country. The advertising agent is paid \$20,000.00 to take care of the oil interests in that country. Carranza will take action against foreign invasion to get control of Mexican capital, by forbidding foreigners to come into that country.

It is for us to eliminate fear and hate. Capitalist interests deliberately foster fear and hate and make poverty a necessity. During the war they made us feel that we must buy liberty bonds, war stamps, and contribute to the Red Cross, or lose our jobs. It was this fear made many do what they would otherwise not have done. They controlled the Press and told of the atrocities of the Germans, and the Bolsheviks, many of them lies, and many of the same things that were told of the Allies were written with pride in big lines. These lies were a war necessity.

This false method of organizing society puts all Europe under suspicion—fear, hate, famine, disease, undernourishment, no coal, and no work.

Brotherhood is our ideal. As the result of fear and hate, 8,000,000 boys died on the field of battle or of wounds—20,000,000 died of famine, with \$2,000,000,000,000.00 spent in money. This because the basis upon which they tried to build society was wrong.

EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH is the new basis upon which Russia is organizing, and which will eventually come to pass. The New York Times and Chicago Tribune also the Cleveland Leader denounce us as dangerous to society.

### WHAT WE ARE GOING TO GET.

Unless unforeseen events hasten a change it will be thirty years before this new basis of organization will overtake the U. S.

This country will be last because the employing class are so well organized to forestall any progress. For thirty years in the U. S. the free lands have been gone. As long as there was free land we still had a right to work; but without it we lost that right.

In 1890 Rockefeller, in the Colorado coal mines began to dictate when, where, and the conditions under which we were to work. If you don't believe this just try going to work at ten in the morning and work till five and see what will happen. J. D. R. Jr. owns today 250,000 jobs and also con-

(Continued on page 4)



## MOB TERRORISM IN OAKLAND

One would think to read the capitalist papers that "The Reds" of Oakland California are being hunted down with machine guns or else tared and feathered and burned at the stake.

Such is not the case. There is however a coercion going on by mob threat and police raids that make it very difficult for the freedom of speech, press or assembly to prevail.

On Armistice Day the American Legion was holding a parade and ball at the Civic Auditorium, Oakland. On that day and the proceeding day, warnings were sent to Loring Hall. The Headquarters of the Communist Labor Party and The World that a raid would take place that night at ten P. M. At 8:30 P. M. a committee of two went to police station and warned the police of the threatened raid and at ten thirty a committee of the Metal Tradesmen went and reported that a threat had come to raid both the Loring Hall and the Labor Temple. A number of party members were at the hall until eleven P. M. mailing World Bazaar tickets and the Metal Trades strike committee was in session until eleven and a large number of the members stayed around until half past eleven. There are several of them who say they saw no policemen in that neighborhood during the whole evening.

At twelve fifteen a mob of about twenty came, broke in the glass doors, smashed furniture, an expensive show case, burned and damaged about eight hundred dollars worth of books and magazines and tore down the charters of The Ladies Auxillary of the Herman Sons, a very respectable German Lodge that had been meeting in the hall for many years and who were 100 percent American when it came to buying Liberty bonds and functioning in other patriotic ways during the war. If we were writing headlines for a sensational newspaper we would tell a few things that they did in this way. "The mob of midnight marauders that wrecked Loring Hall broke the American Flag pole, trampled the bible under foot and burned the constitution and the Declaration of Independence", all of which really took place among the other depredations that night.

The police came in time to view the bon fire but could find no trace of any of the mob. Police do not find it so difficult to arrest "Reds".

After the raid a warning came that something would happen if we attempted to hold any meetings or issue The World. We refrained from holding meetings but as The World has second class mailing privileges we went ahead and got it out as usual.

Threats began to come thick and fast and both the printer and the World force demanded that police guards be put on duty at the print shop and Loring Hall. Then came the warning of tar and feathers for any one caught at Loring Hall on Tuesday night following the first mob raid. On that night Editor J. E. Snyder, State Secretary James H. Dolson and Ex state Secretary John C. Taylor were arrested and charged with organizing a party that advocated. On Wednesday when C. A. Tobey a business man of Oakland, who had acted as chairman of the convention of the Communist Labor Party on Sunday November 9th at Loring Hall, came to bail Snyder out he was arrested and that evening Edric B. Smith a former member of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and active in organizing the Communist Labor Party was also arrested when he went up to see Taylor.

While these arrests were going on in Oakland the home of Max Bedacht a member of the national executive committee of the Communist Labor Party was invaded. His books and papers seized and himself taken to the city jail and the next morning transferred to Oakland where he was released along with the rest on two thousand bond. We should have mentioned that the home of Edric B. Smith was also raided by the police while no one was at home but his little children.

When "The World" came out Friday of that week it contained the National platform, labor program. National and state Constitutions of the Communist Labor Party. For this Snyder was again arrested and held on \$4,000 bond. Saturday P. B. Cowdery received a decoy phone call that Snyder wanted to see him and walked right into jail. Cowdery is circulation manager of "The World."

The printer, Franz Roepcke, who publishes The World, was warned that a warrant would be served on him and his place wrecked if he published the paper again and so he served notice that under the circumstance he would have to obey the order for already his insurance had been cancelled and the employing printers had threatened to expell him from the organization if he printed any more radical literature.

The case of holding up "The World" was taken to Commissioner Morse, the head of the Public Health and Saffy department of the City Council and he referred it to the Chief of Police who forbade the publication of the paper, giving as his reason "The unsettled state of the public mind." In other words Oakland police force stands helpless to protect a regular newspaper that is not out-lawed by the government because a mob of irresponsible people threaten to raid the premisses of a print shop and a hall both within four blocks of the police station. We took our case before the city council and the matter was turned over to the police department once more where it is still pending. The council refused to hear our case at all.

A committee, presumably from the American legion, is waiting upon our advertisers and ordering them to take their ads from the paper. The back numbers are being seized from the news stands and not a single act of the Czar's police but what is being duplicated in Oakland.

And now comes the arrest of Anita Whitney on the charge of Criminal Syndicalism and Sabotage. She has been the storm center at the Civic Center Society for the past three weeks. She was billed to speak before that organization on The Negro Lynchings in The United States. But her membership in the Communist Labor Party and the fact that she is treasurer of The Labor Defense League that is organized to defend anyone arrested under the Criminal Syndicalist law brought a storm of protest from the conservative elements of the society, as well as from the American Legion and the police force of the city. The more liberal minded members of the Center won out however and Miss Whitney spoke to a packed house at Hotel Oakland after the Center folks had devoted two hours to discussing the question. The vote in her favor was 94 to 49. The police inspector took the floor and warned the ladies that Miss Whitney is a dangerous radical and helped to organize a party that stands for the Third International and subject to arrest under the criminal syndicalist law. But the warning was not heeded. Miss Whitney has been very active in club and social welfare work for years and is highly respected.

After the meeting Miss Whitney was arrested, taken to prison and bailed out the same evening by a number of the Center women.

All the cases come up in police court for a hearing on December 17th. The test will come then whether a political party can be arrested or not and whether it is criminal syndicalism to stand for the working class and its right to size political power and run this country for the men and women who toil.

On the night that Editor Snyder was arrested the second time a raid was made by the police on "The World" Office and a couple of auto loads of books and other belongings were carted to police station. All the stuff they took was material purchased by Local Oakland while still a part of the Socialist Party and was transferred when the local voted itself into the Communist Labor Party.

During the past two months The World has devoted much of its space to the strikes and has fearlessly published the names of the struck firms and the people scabbing in their places of business. The tailors sold The World in front of the struck store. We have made a special drive for food for the striking tailors and done what we could to help them along by furnishing a dining hall and a meeting place at Loring Hall. We have also backed the Metal Trades Strike. We are not far from right when we claim that much of the persecution is due to this support of the strikers. We have however drawn the spleen of the reactionary central Labor Council as well as the big business interests and it is hard to tell which hates us the most.

Whether The World lives or not the good cause will go on and the Comrades will unite in stronger bonds to fight the capitalist system. Whether the party and World force go to jail or not the cause will not be asleep and others will step in to carry on the good work. We can freely say with Whitman, "Liberty let others despair of you, we never despair of you."

Pay em today—Dues we mean.

Comrade H. Miller of Lronton takes \$5.00 worth of sub cards gets a free copy of Lenin—. You can do the same. Send the five, please yourself and your family.

And here is four dollars more from comrade F. W. Hoffmeyer of Akron.

## Why the Arrest

(Continued from page 1)  
against this robbery. These miners, seven of them, all members of the party except one, are now lodged in the Harrison county jail.

It will be remembered that we mentioned that Attorney Sharts was one of the lawyers who tried to keep Debs out of prison for his work in trying to thwart the government while engaged in the war. Sharts made a lengthy report to the "Socialist" about the men whose names appear above, but his report dealt with the matter of weighing the coal, and he made no mention of their activities as charged by the indictment in their case.

The Ohio Socialist speaks of "labor taking over all industry, both manual and mental, to be managed and operated by themselves," and informs us that the "spirit of liberty is being crushed and the people deprived of the last vestige of freedom," and "Woe to the country with no Debses and Emma Goldman's," so "Join the Communist Propaganda League."

Why did Mr. Sharts, in his lengthy article, fail to quote the language of the indictments which he handled. The indictments charge the men with "circulating and selling literature teaching the doctrine that political and industrial reform should be brought about by crime, sabotage, violence, or unlawful methods of terrorism," and they are also charged with "organizing or helping to organize a society to teach such things," and also that they "did assemble with others to advocate such doctrines."

Prosecuting Attorney Barclay Moore has huge bundles of literature which was to have been distributed among the miners, packages of it being addressed to some of the men, spoken of by Mr. Sharts as "fine, clean, intelligent men, who speak English intelligibly and have taken out their first papers." The literature seized was partly printed in English, and is regular I. W. W. propaganda. A sample paragraph is enough, and it tells that by strikes for shorter hours and more pay, labor is to constantly weaken capital, so that finally capital will surrender to labor, which is really entitled to everything, being in the first place unjustly deprived of land, factories, mines, etc. And if that method does not succeed labor is going to take over everything, and does not intend to pay for it either.

There are miners who have been misled into believing that their Union is greater than the Government. Imagine their union, or any union, being able to muster 4,000,000 men for overseas service, and 4,000,000 more if necessary, and they ought to realize that they are up against it if they come into conflict with their Uncle Sam.

We have not the space to give all the details about the matter of weighing the coal, but the miners have a check weighman to watch the weighing, and there are times when the coal comes from the mines in a wet condition and some of it sticks to the sides and corners of the cars. At the Shortcreek mine the coal is dumped into a metal weighing pan and it is tilted so that even the dust slides onto the scales. Weighing conditions were a little different at the Three Forks mine, where the complaint was made, but there the company after the complaint was made offered to have a man to look after scraping the coal along the chute, so that the miners would get the full benefit of all that was mined. When a person wants to find something wrong and wants to believe something is wrong, it is not a difficult matter to find some cause for complaint. The average American citizen, made up of 80 or more per cent of our population who are engaged in agricultural pursuits, or who are in no way interested in labor unions, or socialism, (and this class is the real bulwark of this country), the average American citizen, we say, will have some doubts about "robbing the miners," when they have been making as high as \$80.00 a week, which is better than most business and professional men have been able to make, with thousands of dollars invested in their business and education, while the miner has nothing invested but his labor. Mighty few farmers are making miners wages, taking account of the upkeep of the farm and interest on the investment, and they are not asking for a six hour day, with 60 per cent increase for their produce.

Do you want foreigners, agitators and the I W Ws to take over the product of your labors?

OUR ANSWER.  
Cleveland, Ohio, Dec 12—1919.  
The Candiz Republican  
H. B. McConnell

Dear Sir:—  
I wish to acknowledge receipt of your communication of Dec. 4th and the clipping from the Cadiz Republican and herewith is my answer and I trust that since you have given your version of the arrests of the miners near Cadiz, so much attention, you

## The Death Ship Returns

The Chicago Herald and Examiner recently took up the fight for the withdrawal of American troops from Sibiria and northern Russia (Archangel) in the following language:

"The 111 bodies of American soldiers brought from Archangel by the funeral ship Lake Daraga are not all the bodies of American Soldiers who gave their lives in that bleak district in northern Russia. More than as many more lie buried in nameless, snowtopped graves, which had to be abandoned when the allied column was beaten back by a superior force of natives."

"Not one of these 256 sacrificed Americans knew why he was sent out to suffer and die in far-off Russia, in a war not authorized by the American congress, against a people who never were at war with us. Nor does any of the surviving relatives of these sacrificed Americans to this day know why it was."

"It was a private war determined upon by a few men in secret conclave for purposes they did not care or perhaps dare to make public."

"And it has failed. The American army sent there is out. The big British Army, with its elaborate supplies, equipment and sheduled plan for the capture of Petrograd, is out, together with the force of armed Chinese coolies which it took along to do the rougher work."

"All these lost lives have been wasted and much of the \$500,000,000 of appropriated allied treasury."

"Nor is there an accounting. For it was a private war, and nobody, it seems, is responsible."

will also extend the courtesy of printing my reply to the same.

As an American citizen I resent your attitude toward the foreign element in America and marvel how a man by the name of McConnell could pen such a fulmination against those of foreign birth.

I am not at all surprised at the version of the arrests given you by the miners' officials. If there is one thing worrying the officials of all of the A. F. of L. Unions more than another, it is the growth of the One Big Union among their membership. The officials together with their employers are in perfect agreement on this point. Both realize that once the idea gets a hold upon the rank and file, the officials' control and the employers' graft are gone forever.

It may be correct that the distribution of literature by these men led to their arrest, but did not the fact that they opposed the robbery of the miners in the weighing of coal set them apart as persons worthy of being spied upon by the gum shoe artists of that locality and thus their arrest was sought?

It resents your whole attitude towards these men, as indicated in your article. One of the principles of American law is that the accused are to be considered innocent of charges against them, until found guilty by regular process of law. And the public is also supposed to extend the same leniency in forming its judgement of their acts. Yet your whole article is an implied accusation of guilt. You attempt by innuendo to make these citizens-in-the-making violators of the law simply because they have had in their possession literature of an organization not yet popular and which has as its one purpose the organization of the workers into sufficiently strong unions as to break the power of capital to exploit the workers.

By quoting the words of the indictment against the men, you seek to further prejudice the case of the accused. An indictment is an indictment, nothing else. A charge of murder could as well have been placed in the indictment, but it would not have proved them to be murderers. The criminal syndicalism law is a very handy weapon for the capitalist class in its warfare against the revolt of the workers. It is being used, or rather misused by this class to trench itself in economic power over the mass of the people of America, both the foreign and native born.

You express a profound ignorance of economic conditions and the philosophy of Revolutionary Socialism and the aims of the I. W. W. when you ask your readers if they "want I. W. W.'s, Radicals and foreigners to take the fruits of their labors." "The fruits of their labor" indeed! Who gets the fruits of labor in this country or any country where capitalism and the profit system rule? Your government statistics will show you that labor receives a very small portion of the fruits of its labor. The rest is taken in rent, interest and profit by the leeches that fatten upon the toil of the masses. Socialism will take nothing from the masses except their chains. The I. W. W. will take nothing from the masses excepting their ignorance of their economic slavery. It will give them class consciousness in place of nationalism and race hatred.

You offer your readers a "sample paragraph" from some of the literature found. Are you so ignorant of the provisions of the criminal syndicalism law as to believe that propaganda for

the purpose of urging shorter hours and more pay for the workers as means of acquiring an advantage over capital to be a violation of the same? Since when were strikes for shorter hours and more pay declared illegal? Since when were American workers deprived of the right to stop work when their working conditions were objectionable? Since when were the workers so reduced to slavery that they cannot exercise the first right of free men? If the criminal syndicalism law means this, means the abrogation of the workers right to cease work when their wages and working conditions become intolerable, then it is high time they took such action as to wipe that law out of existence, else we are slaves indeed.

You express a doubt as to the exploitation of the miners and state that they make as much as \$80.00 per week. Living in a mining district you must know that this is a false statement which you cannot verify. How many weeks in a year do the miners make \$80.00. Ask the miners, they will tell you that their weekly wages for the past year were nearer \$8 than \$80. You are perfectly well aware that for months after the armistice was signed and when the mines should have been running full blast, and would have been had not the mine owners sabotaged upon the people by refusing the workers the right to work, that the mines produced but two or three days per week. You know that the miners cashed their liberty bonds and thrift stamps in order to keep their families. You are perfectly aware of this, but you attempt to throw odium upon the men who have produced the fuel that keeps you from freezing, by making false statements.

Of course, it is expected that you would value dollars above men. Dollars invested in business must bring returns in form of interest, but a life invested need bring nothing. The "miner invests nothing but his labor." How about the thousands of deaths that occur in the mines? Let me tell you that they invested more than the coal operators have the courage to do. They invested their lives—and lost. They invested the happiness of their wives, the rights of their children to a parent's protection,—they invested their own right to a better guarded working life, and they lost, and will continue to lose, while sycophantic editors pen lying fulminations against society's most valuable asset—the laborers who make civilization possible.

One would think to read your letter that Americans had renounced the right to revolution. I am not aware that such is the case, nor do I admit they should do so. Americans have been taught from babyhood up and for all the generations of the nation's life that the right to revolt is ours, sanctified by the revolution which gave us birth and also by the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence. I, as an American, am not ready to disclaim that right. And I may add that a people which does renounce it is lost to the purposes of human existence.

As to "real Americans resenting the efforts of foreigners upsetting a government they have had no part in organizing"—that is simply a phrase coined by reactionary capitalistic influences and mouthed by practically every aping lickspittle who hears his master's voice. Capitalistic influences are seeking to divide the workers by the cry of "foreigner" at the same time robbing both foreigner and native born with strict impartiality.

## The Black Sheep

CHAP. IX.

The Stage of Life.

There was in the crowd a young Jewish radical, who upon hearing the conversation between Jack and Collins, made himself part of the company without the formality of an introduction. These men were natural democrats and prison has the effect of intensifying this spirit. It is one of the contradictions of life, that jails, penitentiaries, gallows and fagots have ever been the cradle of Liberty.—The Jew's name was Rudolph Rozen, a small swarthy type of a man, with black hair and large soulful brown eyes. He was an enthusiast on the subject of the "social revolution," an idealist who was ready to die for his convictions even before he had calculated the market value of his life. This proved him to be of rather an atavistic type harking back to the time when his race was selfsustaining and free.

We might have been described as an incarnation of one of the ancient prophets. His radicalism might be called religious rather than scientific. No Mohammedan ever sought Allah's holy hill with more fervor, never did Christian pray with more earnestness, then this youth preached the doctrine of revolt.

He was unmindful of the fact that he was often hopelessly inconsistent; that he advocated the redemption of the world thru the destruction of the strong and the multiplication of the weak. It was his own consciousness of weakness that made him plead for the weak and the erring.

He was almost a complete opposite of Collins. He was short and dark while Collins was tall and fair. He was emotional and excitable, while Collins was cold and analytical, yet in their ultimate aims and hopes these were one. They disagreed not on the facts of their problem, but rather on its solution. They were perhaps best described by calling them the positive and negative pole of the radical movement.

Addressing Collins he said, "well they have us in their net."

"Yes and whose fault is it," retorted the Big Man.

"I knew you were going to say that," Rudolph remarked. You will tell me that it is their own fault, and in the next breath that we are not free moral agents. You know that they cannot help it. It is their chemistry that makes them drink, then why blame them?"

"I don't blame them for their damned depravity, I only blame myself for the sentimentality that makes me stick to the vermin. And I will say more, than that: You and I should be kicked all the way from Frisco to New York and back again for having the soft-heartedness to stick with them. They are a bunch of human swine, whose highest ideal it is to get their belly full of rot-gut and then to make fools of themselves. They know what it leads to. Have't you and I told them all thru the season why the damned rubes tolerate the "Blind Pigs." Have't we told 'em of the

\* I regard your letter and the article sent as splendid propaganda for Socialism and am publishing same in this week's issue of The Toiler, copy of which I am sending you.

Sincerely yours

E. T. ALLISON.

game as it is being played? Have't most of them had experience with the damned Dicks before? Now we are in it, simply because we lacked the good sense to protect ourselves by ditching then as soon as they began to guzzle the stuff."

"There you go. Did't you say that you did not blame them. Now listen to yourself. There is no consistency in you."

"I am not blaming the weasels," Collins flung back at him, "I am describing them."

"But Ed. They are members of our class. We can not have solidarity in our ranks and throw out workers, simply because they have a weakness due to this accursed system.—It is the system, not them that we must attack."

"I do attack the system. No one realizes more than I, the influence of environment on character. They have made a crude Omareque adaptation to the Capitalist requirements of this age. I know that it is not voluntary on their part. I do not blame them. Neither do I blame the rattle-snake, the gila-monster, the centipede, or the tarantula for their poisonous habits. I realize that they have developed in harmony with the requirements of their life in their respective environments, but I don't go to bed with them on that account. Their environment has made them vermin to me as I am vermin to them. It is of no immediate biologic importance to me that in the course of philogenetic development my ancestors have been worms, lizzards, marz, supials, and seminoids—they are at best, my poor relations. They mean nothing to me as far as getting a living is concerned. I must make my living as I am, in co-operation with my kind. Those who will not, or as you say, "cannot" co-operate must die—and the sooner the better. We have no reason for any other conclusion, than that they are detrimental to our existence, and there fore we should leave them alone."

Jack was greatly pleased by Collins forceful application of Darwinism to the social problem under discussion. The merely human feature appealed no more to him than it did to Collins; both of them were blonde beasts. Both of them saw not a human soul in pain, when they beheld the weaklings in phenomena. The difference was that their class; they only saw biologic. Jack was not conscious of the effect of these phenomena upon himself, while Collins had had a good deal of experience and was embittered thereby. What pleased him above every thing else was that there was at least one in that crowd who was able to see beyond the veil of appearances and into the world of reality.

But Rudolph, nothing daunted returned to the fray. "You are to cold bloodedly Darwinian to be just," he protested. "You know that Kropotkin proves that the species that practice mutual aid are the strongest. The needs of life refute your logic."

"The facts of life refute your statements," the Big Man retorted. "I will grant that mutual aid makes for survival, but if I know anything about language, then the word 'mutal' means 'in common'. It means help one another. "But," and his eyes blazed as he pointed to the two drunken members of the crowd had fallen upon the floor in a drunken stupor, "how

(Continued on page 4.)

## Shall Debs Remain in Prison?

Mass Meeting  
Sunday Dec. 21st  
2:30 P. M. 50 So. Howard St.  
AKRON, O.

HEAR  
Spurgeon Odell  
of Minnesota.



## The Toiler

ONE YEAR \$1.00 BUNDLE RATES \$1.00 Per Hundred 50c SIX MONTHS

Address all mail and make all checks payable to

THE TOILER

3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

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EDITOR ..... Elmer T. Allison

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, DECEMBER 17th, 1919

## THE RISE OF THE COMMON MAN

Contemporary history records the rise of the Common Man. Instead of a follower, he is becoming the leader—not individually but by collective and mass action. The common man thru his labor organization is writing the labor history of the present epoch. He has discarded the reverence for leaders, thrown aside their advice, broken down the barriers of ring rule and machine control that heretofore have hedged and restrained him.

Recent great labor strikes bear out this assertion. The movement of the rank and file was stirring even before the last National Convention of the A F of L. In Illinois it broke out in a strike of the Miners who over rode the authority of their district officers and literally told them to "go to hell". The steel strike, if we are correctly informed, was called against the judgement of the officials for the reason that the rank and file were growing insubordinate. The officials felt the power slipping from their hands. They ordered the strike in the fear of the consequences within the organization of the steel workers unless the strike was called.

The coal strike was a strike of the rank and file. When the government secured the mandate ordering the miners' officials to withdraw the strike order, it committed the stupendous blunder (from the point of view of succeeding in breaking the strike) of placing all responsibility for the strike world cries in vain to the workers to lift it out of the bog into which the evmandate can touch the individual miner and force him into the mines.

The mass is rising to a control of its own destiny. And the first rule of its rising must be the casting off of reverence for leaders as such. Leaders we must have perhaps, but they must be leaders who interpret labor's needs and respond every moment to its desires. They must be its servants, not attempt to be its masters.

The mass is learning by doing. It is resolving upon its salvation by its own individuality, by its own strength and courage. Let the world rejoice that it is so. Mankind has been led long enough—usually into deeper slavery. The rise of the mass means the beginning of a new democracy, in fact the beginning of a new world.

All power to the workers!

## WHY PRODUCE?

The whole cry of the capitalist world to the workers is—PRODUCE! After five years of unequalled destruction of life and property, the world finds the structure of civilization threatened by a scarcity of food, clothing, shelter and machinery. Europe lies in ruins, nations are starving, millions of people stand gazing at the destructive past or turn their bewildered gaze into a doubtful future, while hunger and nakedness encompass them. Money has lost its value. Only those things which sustain and keep life are of value any where.

But the worker is slow to respond to the masters' call. The capitalist world cries in vain to the workers to lift out of the bog into which the evolution of human society has thrown it. The worker has lost the incentive to produce, knowing that all his efforts in the realm of production but enriches the few at the expense of the many. He knows the treadmill in which he plods his weary life away not for ideals, not for more abundant life, but to fatten parasites and feed the gluttony of imperialistic exploitation.

"Why produce?" the worker may well ask himself. Why produce for a society which robs him at the very fountain head of production, and before his scanty wage has been paid him is exploited of many times its value. The goods he produces he is not allowed to retain, nor the value thereof. The worker is learning that robbery and production go hand in hand under this present industrial system. He feels a lessening interest in production, much less is he thrilled at the idea of it. He knows that before the millions of starving are benefitted a vast army of go-between parasites munch their mouthful. He knows that production means riches for a few and poverty and still more poverty for the many. The cry of more production as a means of saving society from an impending crash is a false one. Production will only lengthen out the term of bondage of the peoples to their imperialistic masters.

What is needed is not more production but production for use instead of for profit. When the worker receives the value of his toil instead of a portion, then he will produce in abundance. Then will the incentive to labor reach its highest point. Then will he feel the thrill that accompanies a consciousness of social effort. Let the workers throw off the yoke of slavery that degrades them and their toil. Let them strike from society the talons of all parasites. Let them by class action on the industrial and political fields seize the reigns of power and then shape the world for service to its inhabitants instead of enslaving the inhabitants for the benefit of parasites.

Let the workers begin the march toward industrial democracy, not toward slavery under the modern task-master, world capitalistic imperialism!

### Baker has Big Meetings in Illinois.

A letter just received from comrade Chas. Baker states he has had a very successful series of meetings in a number of Illinois cities. Joliet, Moline, E. Moline, Silvis, Davenport, Rock Island, Rockford, have given him fine meetings. Comrade Baker addressed the striking steel workers at Joliet Thanksgiving day.

Altho temporarily out of the state, Charlie keeps in touch with the Ohio movement and expresses much interest in the progress of the C. L. P. here. He is busily getting subs for the Toiler while enroute.

Local Dayton orders more supplies this week. Ordering dues stamps is a regular weekly occurrence with this new C. L. P. Local.

### More Locals Chartered

Local Martins Ferry, thru secretary Fred White, remits \$13.50 for charter and dues stamps for the new Local just organized. Thus they come in one by one. The next two weeks will see many names on our C. L. P. list of up and doing Locals.

We are just now informed that Local Girard affiliates by unanimous vote. Comrade Knecht remits for dues stamps and promises a good live local.

Field-worker J. H. Loucks has just finished a week of activity in Warren, Niles and vicinity. He has spoken before the miners and other organizations and done good personal work in that section.

# EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE.

## SPARKS.

Local Niles, formerly one of the most active Locals in the state, has sent us notice of unanimous affiliation. Welcome, Local Niles. We know your record and look for you to equal your past if not to exceed it.

Comrade Francesco Gusmeratti leaves for Italy and in order to keep posted on working class activities here, he is having The Toiler forwarded to his new address. We wish you well comrade and may the revolution in Italy be speeded the faster by your presence.

Comrade Nick Weltlich of Massillon is at it again. This week it is four half yearlies he sends us.

Pictures of comrade Debs are still on sale at the State Office. They are 25c each, and no better ornament for any worker's home can be obtained. Order one.

Comrade D. B. Dale of Wise, Va., is busy wising up his fellow workers. Five new subs from him proves his earnestness.

Five dollar remittances for subscription cards are coming in almost daily and each order calls for a free copy of Lenin, The Man and His Work. Your free copy is waiting your order.

A list of eight subs from comrade R. T. Haworth of Toledo, shows who is busy up there.

Comrade Fred White of Martins Ferry, O., rounds up seven new subs this week. One day is not a bad record, eh?

Subs are raining in from Guernsey County these days. Reason one of our field workers is on the job there.

I have made a lot of socialists and am going to make a lot more." Thus writes comrade G. H. Beaver of Lisbon, O. And to prove it, he sends in three subs. Can you beat that proof?

Our Sistersville, W. Va., list gets two additions this week. Comrade C. W. Kirkendall is the live wire there.

Dont put a C. L. P. dues stamp in a Socialist Party dues book. Get a new dues book.

Another Russian Branch Joins C. L. P. And now another Russian Branch of Philadelphia has severed relationship with the Communist Party and affiliated with the Communist Labor Party. This is Branch No. 2. Branch No. 1, left the C. P. some time ago and is now on the rolls of the C. L. P.

Literature orders are reaching the State Office every day which shows that the comrades are adding to their fund of knowledge these long evenings. Comrade J. M. Rasnick of Dante, Va., orders two books and a number of pamphlets.

An order for \$41,000 for dues stamps and supplies from Organizer Tooley of Toledo is a sign of activity that cannot be refuted.

Here are three chances to get a dandy present for yourself, your wife or a friend. Send five dollars for sub cards for The Toiler and get in return either of these: Six Red Months in Russia; Ten Days that Shook the World; or Lenin, the Man and his Work. Now is your chance, take advantage of it.

How do you like the product of The Toiler Cartoon Department? Petty good, eh? There will be more of the same, just watch us grow.

Local Lima orders dues stamps and supplies to the extent of \$10.90 this week. The Local held a Reunion meeting last Sunday. Of course reunion means dues payments now and in future.

Another field worker began organization work for the C. L. P. in Ohio last week. Columbiana County is his present scene of activity and judging by latest reports, everything is all to the C. L. P. there.

And that makes four organizers in the field. And there will be more after Jan. 1st. And YOU can help make it possible to put more field workers out by—paying dues—renewing your subscription to The Toiler—distributing literature—doing ALL that you can do toward building up the movement. Do your share, the organizers are doing theirs.

## State Secretary's Report.

Nov. 30, 1919.

Comrades:—

While the matter contained in this report has been placed before the Conference, discussed, we feel that a reiteration of the most important matters can properly be had.

Since your last meeting conditions thruout the state have shown a decided improvement that is very encouraging to the Communist Labor Party. Locals are showing a desire to settle their internal difficulties and get down to the business of active participation in the work of advancing the Cause of Revolutionary Socialism. Five more Locals have affiliated by unanimous vote generally. One Local has been chartered where the old local remained with the Socialist Party. Dues stamp sales are very encouraging and many new members are joining us. Supplies and literature sales are very good which is proof that comrades are anxious to carry on the propaganda of revolutionary socialism after the period of inactivity thru which we have recently passed.

The State Office has followed the instructions of the S. E. C. and up to this time has placed three competent organizers in the field. They are conscientiously at work building up the movement and urging a greater activity on the part of the local comrades. Altho the prevalent strikes in the coal and steel industries have an effect upon this work, very satisfactory results are being obtained.

We hope to place another comrade in the field next week for there is much work to be done and from the results thus far obtained, we are convinced that there is a ripe field in Ohio for the C. L. P. At least four to six comrades should be kept constantly in the field in this state for several months at least. We may rest assured that a general revival of activities has already begun and we are certain that by the methods now under way, our state movement will build up wonderfully in the next few months. Literature sales are very good, subscriptions are coming in faster than for some time past and all signs point to greater growth and development.

One of the encouraging signs is in the fact that comrades are writing in to the State Office for organizers to assist their local movements. We should try to satisfy this need as early a date as possible. It is our opinion that the inactivity which has recently been prevalent is passing away and our work will form now on grow in volume and soon reach its former size and aggressive-ness.

The State Secretary has placed before the Conference the situation in Ohio at this time and we feel that the recommendations of the Conference should be the subject matter of this meeting.

E. T. ALLISON, State Secretary.

### STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING MINUTES OF NOV. 30, 1919.

The Committee met directly after the conclusion of the Conference. Meeting called to order by the State Secretary and comrade Clifford elected to the Chair.

Minutes of the previous meeting read and approved.

The report of the State Secretary was read and accepted.

A copy of a letter to comrade Geo. Bundy, Jos. W. Sharts, M. J. Beery and Edwin Blank relative to their election to the State Executive Committee was read and endorsed. The subject matter of this letter was the seating of comrade Blank on the Committee instead of comrade Bundy because of non-affiliation with the C. L. P. The decision of the State Secretary in favor of comrade Blank was upheld by the Committee.

Moved and carried that the State Secretary be instructed to write comrade Frank B. Hamilton of Piqua regarding his affiliation with the C. L. P. and if his attitude is adverse to then write comrade Frank P. Baker in regard to his affiliation and seat upon the S. E. C.

A discussion relative to the preparation of a leaflet upon the question of mob rule and the necessity of workers defending themselves was discussed and favorable action taken.

Moved and carried that the State Office pay comrade J. J. Hoge's expenses to the S. E. C. meeting.

The Party situation was discussed generally and present work undertaken was approved. Upon motion the last Sunday in March was set as the date for the next meeting of S. E. C. and the State Office as the place. Motion to adjourn carried.

Field worker J. H. Loucks remits \$16.55 for literature, subscriptions and dues stamps. That's the way our organizers put the C. L. P. on the map. And then we opened another envelope and there was \$17.95 from fieldworker Herbert Knecht for more duesstamps, subscriptions and literature. All of which proves that there is something doing in Ohio and that the C. L. P. is doing it. Wake up you laggards. Get in the swim, it's getting better every day.

Local Guernsey County affiliates with the C. L. P. is the goods news sent in by one of our field workers. Cheering news that for Local Guernsey has about 400 live rebels on its membership rolls. Besides, we are informed that there are possibilities of increasing the number at least 100 per cent. Let's do it Guernsey Comrades!

## Norwegian Revolutionists Greet Communist Labor Party

Christiania, Norway, Nov 5th, 1919.

Communist Labor Party,  
3207 Clark Ave.  
Cleveland, O. U. S. A.

The Norwegian Labor Party that is representing the political organized workers in Norway and is affiliated with the Third International, wish the new Communist Labor Party in America success in its fight for industrial and political freedom.

We hope that the Norwegian Labor element in U. S. will find its place in the ranks of a revolutionary organization.

Would your Party exchange reports and material with us?

With Revolutionary Greetings

Det norske arbeiderparti Centralstyret.

Signed: MARTIN TRAMMAL,  
Secretary.

## Our Offer to You

Every comrade can sell "Toiler" subscription cards. Every comrade should sell them. So why not you?

### Here is a special inducement

Send us five dollars for subscription cards and receive in return a FREE copy of either of these books.

Six Red Months in Russia, retail value.....\$2.00

Lenin the Man and His Work, retail value .....\$1.50

Ten Days that Shook the World, retail value .....\$2.00

### ANOTHER OFFER

PELLE the CONQUEROR is a new labor story translated from the Danish. It is in two large volumes and is without question one of the finest stories ever written of the Labor Struggle. It retails at \$4.00 but we will send you the first volume free for a cash order for \$5.00 worth of Toiler subscription cards. Later you may have the second volume for a second order of \$5.00 for sub-cards. Send \$10.00 for sub-cards and receive both volumes free by return mail.

### Get Pelle the Conqueror for X-mas.

ORDER NOW

Address: — Communist Labor Party  
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

## AGITATED

By Ivor Brown

The Illustrated News Service is showing pictures of the "Democratic Heir" to the British throne, when he recently visited the United States. We are at loss to explain a "DEMOCRATIC HEIR" in the same manner that we would be at loss to explain Palm Beach suits among the Esquimos, Wm. Jennings Bryan with a cellar full of whisky, Teddy Roosevelt a Private in Trotsky's army, or Wm. Howard Taft Premier of the Soviet Republic of Russia. There is absolutely no relation in these terms one negates the other. A democratic way is, the best man wins, in a monarchy one is born to the job, the job stays in the family.

C. W. MANTELL DIES.  
Comrade C. W. Mantell, of Akron died last week. He was the candidate for Mayor on the Socialist Party ticket two years ago and was also financial secretary of the Machinists Union. It was to this office that he was re-elected on the day he received a paralytic stroke.

"These agitators!" said the Colonel, laying down his paper. His wife agreed. It was the only policy at breakfast-time.

"The agitators! They're at the bottom of it all."

"At the bottom of what?"

"Everything. No houses. High prices. Income-tax. Strikes, Ireland, India, Egypt. Trouble here, trouble there. I'd shoot the fellows."

"But you never were in a combatant regiment, were you, dear?"

"Well, I'd have them shot, if that suits you better. One of those mad politicians has been talking about a land fit for heroes to live in. It isn't. Anyhow, I'm not going to stay here. Now that they're done with me at the depot, damme, I'm going to leave the country."

"And where shall we go?"  
(Continued on page 4)

## In the Liberator for December

Two remarkable photographs of Robert Smillie, the great British Labor Leader, and his message of greeting to the workers of America.



"The Cossack in America" by Art Young

"Pittsburg or Petrograd" by Floyd Dell.  
("Will the A. F. of L. fight or surrender?")

An amazing personal narrative by Robert Minor of his recent mysterious arrest in Paris, revealing the existence of an International Police.

On the news stands 20c.

\$2 a year. \$1 for 6 months

Use this card.

Liberator, 34 Union Square, New York  
Enclosed find \$..... Send the Liberator,  
beginning with the ..... number.

Name .....  
Address .....



# Full Draft of Proposed Russian Soviet Peace Terms.

The Allied and Associated Governments to propose that all hostilities shall cease on all fronts in the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, on a date to be set, to allow sufficient time for notification to be received by all parties, and that no new hostilities shall begin after this date pending a conference to be held in a neutral country, provided that either a radio or direct telegraph wire to Moscow should be put at the disposal of the Soviet Government.

The duration of the Armistice to be for two weeks unless extended by mutual consent, and all parties to the Armistice to undertake not to employ the period of the Armistice to transfer troops and war materials to the territory of the former Russian Empire. The conference to discuss peace on the basis of the following principles, which shall not be subject to revision by the conference.

1. All existing de facto governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, to remain in full control of territories which they occupy at the moment when the armistice becomes effective, except in so far as the conference may agree upon the transfer of territories; until the peoples inhabiting the territories controlled by these de facto governments shall themselves determine to change their governments.

The Russian Soviet Government and all other Governments which have been set up on the territory of former Russian Empire, the Allied and Associated Governments, and other governments which are operating against the Soviet Government, to agree

not to attempt to upset by force the existing de facto governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire and the other Governments signatory to this agreement.

## TO RESTORE TRADE.

2. The economic blockade to be raised and trade relations between Soviet Russia and the Allied and Associated countries to be re-established under conditions which will insure that supplies from the Allied and Associated countries are made available on equal terms to all classes of the Russian people.

3. The Soviet Governments of Russia to have the right of unhindered transit on all railways and the use of all ports which belong to the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland, and are necessary for the disembarkation and transportation of passengers and goods between their territories and the sea; detailed arrangements for the carrying out of this provision to be agreed upon at the conference.

4. The citizens of the Soviet Republic of Russia to have the right of free entry into the Allied and Associated countries, as well as into all countries which have been formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland. Also the right of sojourn and circulation and full security provided they do not interfere in the domestic politics of those countries.

Nationals of the Allied and Associated countries and of the other countries above-named to have the right of free entry into the Soviet Republics of Russia, also the right of sojourn, and of circulation and

full security, provided they do not interfere in the domestic politics of the Soviet Republics. The Allied and Associated Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, to have the right to send official representatives enjoying full liberty and immunity into the various Russian Soviet Republics.

The Soviet Governments of Russia to have the right to send official representatives enjoying full liberty and immunity into all Allied and Associated countries and into the non-Soviet countries which have been formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire in Finland.

## A general Amnesty.

5. The Soviet Governments, the other Governments, which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire to give a general amnesty to all Russian political opponents, offenders and prisoners, and to give their own nationals who have been or may be prosecuted for giving help to Soviet Russia.

All Russians who have fought in or otherwise aided the armies opposed to the Soviet Governments, and those opposed to the other Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland, to be included in this amnesty.

All prisoners of war of non-Russian Powers detained in Russia, likewise all nationals of those Powers now in Russia, to be given all facilities, of repatriation. The Russian prisoners of war, in whatever country they may be, likewise all Russian na-

tionals including the Russian soldiers and officers abroad, and those serving in all foreign armies to be given full facilities for repatriation.

6. Immediately after the signing of this agreement all troops of the Allied and Associated Governments to be withdrawn from Russia, and military assistance to cease to be given to any of the Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire.

The Soviet Government and the anti-Soviet Governments, which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland, to begin to reduce their armies simultaneously and at the same rate to a peace footing immediately after the signing of this agreement.

## Foreign Debts Recognized.

The conference to determine the most effective and just method of inspecting and controlling this simultaneous demobilization, and also the withdrawal of the troops and the cessation of military assistance to the anti-Soviet Governments.

7. The Allied and Associated Governments, taking cognizance of the statement of the Soviet Government of Russia in its Note of February 4 in regard to its foreign debts, propose as integral part of this agreement that the Soviet Governments and the other Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland, shall recognize their responsibilities for the financial obligations of the former Russian Empire to foreign

States, parties to this agreement, and to the INDIVIDUAL NATIONALS of such States. Detailed arrangements for the payment of those debts to be agreed upon at the conference, regard being had to the present financial position of Russia.

Note.—The statement of the Soviet Government of February 4, 1919, referred to above is as follows:

1. The Russian Soviet Government does not refuse to recognize its financial obligations to all its creditors, either States or individuals, belonging to the Entente Powers, whereas details of the realization of this point must become the object of special agreement as the result of the proposed negotiations.

2. In view of the difficult financial situation the Russian Soviet Government proposes an exchange with raw materials which will be enunciated in the suggested agreement.

3. In view of the great interest which has always been shown by foreign Capital for the exploitation of Russian natural riches, the Russian Soviet Government is disposed to grant concessions upon mines, forests, and so on to citizens of the Entente Powers under conditions which must be carefully determined, so that the economic and social order of Soviet Russia shall not suffer from the internal rule of these concessions.

4. The Russian Soviet Government will negotiate with the Entente Powers on the question of territorial concessions.

The Soviet Government hopes that it will not be necessary to transfer this offer (with the necessary modifications) to the Central Powers.

## Recognize Soviet

(Continued from page 1)  
"We need the data from Russia to build up the world after its breakdown. For God's sake, let us have no more violence. There has been enough blood spilled," he declared.

He was asked how it was possible to reconcile the declaration that the soldiers of the Russian Soviet government were ready and able to defeat all armed opposition with the assertions frequently made that the Russian people were dying by thousands for want of food and supplies.

## More Food for Cities.

This was explained by the fact that there always was plenty of food in Russia, food enough to supply all of Europe with wheat under normal conditions, and that with these wheat stores now available even the cities would soon be better provisioned. The desperate situation of the industrial centers in the past was due to the cutting off of the granary of Russia from the interior, Minor asserted. The successes of the Soviet troops have changed all this.

With some necessary railroad machinery, threshers and other agricultural machinery and such implements as saws and other tools, Russia can begin to export food, hides, metal and furs within a short time, Minor believes.

On his trips across this country, Minor experienced the oppressive tactics of the rulers of America. He said: "Everywhere in the country you find the brutal hand of Czarism crushing out the liberties of the people in a frantic attempt to kill the thought of the socialization of industry which seems, during the past year, to have become the sole philosophy of the working class. The propaganda of a century could not have done what the events of the past year have accomplished."

## Looking to Moscow.

"The working masses are looking to Moscow as the Arabians looked to Mecca."

"I have been able to announce the victories of the Soviet troops two weeks ahead of the news that finally came through the censored cables and everywhere the crowds simply rose in a religious fervor as the facts were developed."

Taking note of the temper of the crowds he addressed, Minor felt certain that the working class was united in spirit today it is never was before in the history of this country. They are not organized sufficiently as yet, but they are crudely conscious that the only way to solve the inequality between the present classes is the socialization of every enterprise, whether large or small, he said.

## Meetings Jammed.

He declared it was true that the workers who respond most to the story of Soviet Russia are the immigrant workers. Answering a question for this reason Minor said:

"The workers of America are largely the recent immigrants. But the native born American who is a worker rises with his comrades. There is no real distinction between working-men."

He said that the meetings arranged by central bodies of the American Federation of Labor as well as by local unions were frequently jammed to the doors with workers who had no racial ties with the triumphant Rus-

sian and Slavic workers, but only the bond of class. In San Francisco 4,000 machinists, mostly Irish-American, packed the hall, and in Minneapolis hundreds were turned away.

He found the same spirit of unrest in the Northwest as in Frisco and as prevalent in the Middle West as in the East. Everywhere labor is awakening, Minor insisted.

## U. S. Operatives Shadow Minor.

Secret service men dogged Minor at every step. The fact that Postmaster General Burleson had placed his official ukase on the denial of second-class mailing rights to The Call was no surprise to Minor, who knows that official's record in his home state, Texas, where the Minors cut no small figure.

"The Postoffice Department has ceased to be a mail carrying machine, but has become a police spy system. The denial of second-class mailing privileges to The Call is to be expected. It is just in the routine of the establishment of the Iron Heel. It all comes down to nothing more than an effort to keep the masses from understanding."

He hopes that the people will take this bureaucratic right out of the hands of the Postmaster General.

## Denounces Deporting Mania.

Minor expressed himself very vigorously against the deportation mania of the present rulers. He said the destruction of the tradition of America as a haven for political exiles struck at the faith of those Americans who so far have held to the better ideals of this country. He said further:

"They are trying to amputate the thinking part of the country by sending the 'Red' out. They will soon find native Americans who will give them as much trouble and then we'll hear of exiles."

"The Wilson administration, with the help of Burleson, may not go down as the most contemptible and hypocritical in the history of this country for it will soon be against the law to say so."

## May Distract Attention.

One of the hurtful reactions of the deportations will be to distract the attention of the public from the thousands of men and women that have been rotting in American prisons for two years, some of whom are dying there without having had a trial.

"We may live to see the voice of protest stifled everywhere," he remarked.

With the principles of political refuge destroyed as also the rights of free press and free assembly by the direct action of the public authorities, the awakened labor movement receives new incentive to bring about a change, Minor asserted.

Minor closed with the remark that the assaults upon the workers and upon free opinion by the supposed guardians of liberty were destroying the No Man's Land between Capital and Labor and that the antagonists would soon be confronting each other with all camouflage removed. Labor will win, Minor believes.

—New York Call.

The day will surely come when the only man who is not respectable will be the man who consumes, and does not produce. Disgrace will consist in living a life of conspicuous waste, and the greatest man among us will be the one who confers most benefits.

Elbert Hubbard.

## What Next

(Continued from page 1)

trols them. Do you ask who controls society. What's happening in the Pennsylvania steel strike? Who's dictator there—the strikers, or Judge Gary and the State Constabulary?

What happened in the Miners strike? Are the miners dictating or the operators? Did the miners cause an injunction to be issued against themselves. Its plain that the people are not controlling society, but on the other hand it is equally plain that the barons are dictators.

Our liberty died when our jobs became the property of others, and we are but serfs now. An employe of Henry Ford said, "I go to prison eight hours every day."

The barons put things over during war, time when people were burning with patriotism — the Draft. The Espionage Act, for German spies? but which really was intended for radicals, such as I. W. W., Socialists, Non-partisan League, radical labor agitators with men and women whose message was contrary to the interests of the system. The Atty. Gen. in his report for 1918 mentions no German spies, but men such as Waldron of Vermont who was guilty of preaching the Brotherhood of Man was given fifteen years. In New York state Randolph, an I. W. W. whose grandfather was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence was given five years. Col House said, "President Wilson will restore liberties when the war is over." But we have since learned that neither the President nor Col. House have any liberties to restore.

Debs said: "While there is a lower class I am in it. While there is a criminal class I am in it. While there is a soul in prison I am not free."

The controlling machinery of public opinion passed the necessary legislation—New York Criminal Syndicalist Law, passed also by Ohio, Cal, Penna., which reads something like this: "Any man who engages in any form of agitation can be sent to jail."

Already the U. S. is cleaning out the Russians, including the nonresisting Tolstojan anarchist. A Bill has been introduced into the Senate to provide for a penal institution on the Philippine Islands. This Bill will probably not pass the coming session but will be fruit for picking in another year.

Gompers has been a strong political adherent of the Wilson machinery. In fact he has been known as the "kitchen cabinet" and has been indispensable up to the present time. But in the mean time he was building up a big organization until it totaled our million.

Gompers machine has become too powerful and he has been challenged. At the recent Industrial Convention in New York the President chose Morrison, Rockefeller Jr., Gary, Wilson, hoping that the barons would take a middle position. But they were uncompromising and Gompers could not effect a conciliation between Capital and Labor. The last morning the Labor representatives did not appear and the Gary group waited for them; then they could say that the Labor representatives broke up the Convention. Gompers was used as their tool till they found he was becoming too powerful and then they cast him aside as they would anything else that had served its purpose. His organization was growing too powerful; radicalism was growing in the Machinist's and Carpenters' Union. Frank Vanderlip,

President of the National City Bank, the largest private banking institution in the country, in his return from Europe made a speech before the American financiers in which he declared that the chaos in Europe would come to the U. S. He did not hold his position long but was succeeded by Judge Gary, cold, calculating, careful, determined, speaks for the organized employers of the U. S. and his policies prevail.

In the recent coal strike the Government issued an injunction compelling leaders of the Mine Workers to call the strike off. The A. F. L. issued a charter to the police of Boston and later, deserted them even failing to give the police their moral support. Public sentiment was worked up in that vicinity till Labor backed Coolidge against the police.

The A. F. L. organized in 1881 gave the people the right of collective bargaining. In the recent steel strike Judge Gary refused to recognize the closed shop but on the other hand was firm in his stand for the open shop and even refused to recognize the organized employees.

The employing interests are determined to break up labor organizations in the U. S. They are also refusing the Railway Brotherhood demands. They are beginning the dismemberment process in the A. F. L. today with Judge Gary the leading opponent.

In 1920 is the Presidential election. Already the Republicans are considering major General Wood as their candidate, which will mean military dictatorship by the capitalist class. Then there will be a reign of blood and iron as Bismarck tried. A big issue in the coming campaign will be "law and order". The employing class is considering Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood and his machine to keep law and order,

knowing that repressive government is the only way to prevent the overthrow of the present system of exploitation.

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## AGITATED

(Continued from page 3)

"Anywhere," snapped the Colonel. "America?" suggested the Colonel's wife, helpfully.

"Rubbish! Place that Fellow Eye-wash Wilson comes from? He's an agitator, if ever there was one. A regular Bolshevik. League of Nations, indeed. League of piffle; and with all my little faults, Clara, I never was a piffler! A little brusque at times, I admit, but never a fooler."

"Well, then, shall it be France?"

"Stuffed with agitators. Desperate fellows; they're always trying to kill someone. I can't think why that chap Clemenceau doesn't shoot the lot."

"Ah, he's not a Christian, you see, dear."

"Isn't he, by God? Atheist and republican, I suppose. Then we couldn't manage France. I could never live in a republic."

"That rules out a lot of places. We can't go to Russia, or to Germany, or to Austria, or to Portugal, or to Switzerland, or to any of those funny new places with long names invented by the Peace Conference. But there's still Spain left. I'm sure the climate must be lovely!"

"Don't be irrelevant. No, Clara, I shall not go to Spain. The Spaniards are Roman Catholics, and, with all my faults, I never was a Papist."

"That rules out Italy, too. And that does seem a shame."

"Italy," roared the Colonel. "Don't mention Italy. Its a positive nest of agitators. You remember Caporetto?"

"But it's full of charming poets and artists."

"Worst of all. I distrust the pack of them. Dangerous. Subversive. That's the word, subversive."

"Then I give it up," said the Colonel's wife.

"Just like you. No resource, no imagination. Now what about dear little Holland?"

"What! Along with the Kaiser!"

"Well, dash it, the Kaiser, with all his faults, was a gen— I mean to say he never was an agitator."

—(London Herald.)

## The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

does that spawn of Competition help me, that I should be duty bound to help them? I will tell you right now, that you, like all idealists argue from your emotional desires rather than from the facts of life. I wish that you would be able to see that it is impossible for us to build any kind of an organization if we do not make sobriety and decency toward one another an essential of membership. We must learn to shun all these booze-befuddled sots as they were a creeping pestilence."

"If we don't organize them then they will scab on us," Rudolph protested.

"And if you do organize them they get you into trouble," Collins replied. "There is no arguing; your own logic is against you. You believe in the doctrine of 'Mutual Aid,' and that scum is too damned degenerate to aid themselves."

"But, organization and education will reform them," the other insisted.

"If that were possible then the church would have filled the world with sobriety. You can't talk energy into a stone. I tell you, they are not men in the real sense of the word. They are the end products of the capitalist-slave-making machinery. We must organize the Slave Men, and let Nature take care of that humane

waste. The new order of society will require a higher order of responsibility; a keener sense of social interdependence and how are you going to get it, if that vermin gets a chance to survive and fill the world with their spawn.—Out of the organization they scab on us, in the organization they scab on us. They are a nuisance wherever they are."

"My dad would give a farm to be possessed of your vocabulary when he discusses the labor problem before the Grange," Jack remarked.

"He has an idea that all harvest workers are pretty much as you describe these men. I used to think so myself, but this fall has shown me that there is a vast difference between the mental resources and ideals of different workers. I used to think that men were poor because they drank, now I'm almost inclined to agree with Rudolph that they drink because they are poor. If we will do away with exploitation I think that then we go away with the cause of drunkenness. Our job is not to jump on the victim but to overthrow the system of which the victim is a product."

"How are you going to overthrow the system?" Collins snapped.

"By education and organization." Jack replied, while Rudolph nodded approval.

"How are you going to educate and organize animals like that, whose highest ideal it is to find a bottle of rot-gut and guzzle until they mop the road with their whiskers. You have seen them in meetings. What constructive thought ever enters their brain? What good results ever come from their presence? What good are they in strikes? Can you ever trust them in an important position? They will sell their soul for a bottle of booze and throw their fellow workers in for good measure. No, you might as well try to teach a snake the fiddlers art as to try to educate and organize a lepers' brood whose trinity is vulgarity, drink and irresponsibility."

"It seems to me that you believe in prohibition?" Jack said naively.

"I do" was the laconic reply.

"You know that prohibition doesn't get anywhere, Rudolph put in. "It is a reform measure. I thought you were a revolutionist. You're the most inconsistent man I've ever seen. You belong in the Populist party or in the Baptist church. You have no place in a radical organization."

"Neither have you; You are chuck full of that man the child of God idea, which leads you to the conclusion that all men are good and useful only the system is bad. You want to change the system with the very products of the system. Reform a degenerate young. Talk of consistency. generate mother thru her equally degenerate young. Talk of consistency. You are nothing but an anarchist preaching the fallacious idea that all men are good at heart in the face of the biological fact that life produces variations upward and downward. You seem to think that men are bad as a result of government just because you forget the fact that before they had government they were cannibals. Don't talk about consistency. Get yourself before a looking glass. You will never build up a union until you resolutely kick out every element that has a tendency to drag you down and carefully preserve and build up the elements that will work and stick together."

"It seems as if Collins is right at that," Jack suggested.

"He is sore," Rudolph explained.

(Continued next week)