Statement in report of Dr. Moley in investigation of radicalism among foreign born of Cleveland. Now perhaps we understand the WHY of the Interchurch World Movement.

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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 continously refused to grant celarance papers to American vessels carrying medical and other relief to Russia, was made at a massmeeting 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 and features of Misses Free Speech April the American Red Cross was ready to extend its activites 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 assured by a banner over the speaker's ought to be given the opportunity to stand which proclaimed that the meetbegin relief work in Russia."

Resolutions, submitted by Professor Robert M. Lovett of the University of Chicago, called upon the United States audience, in spite of an evident haunt Russia to be conducted, to grant clearance papers for American vessels 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 for false socialistic ideas made 4,000.

Francisco in favor of the blockade on 300,000 twenty years before," said

Miss Jane Adams, as chairman, announced that the committee already Lusk and Sweet can never hope to 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 east- has reiterated time and again that he ern countries is started in September. an attempt will be made to include give him credit for learning some politics from history.

OUAKERS TO SEND MEDICAL Raymond Robins Unveils Forms of Long Lost Liberties

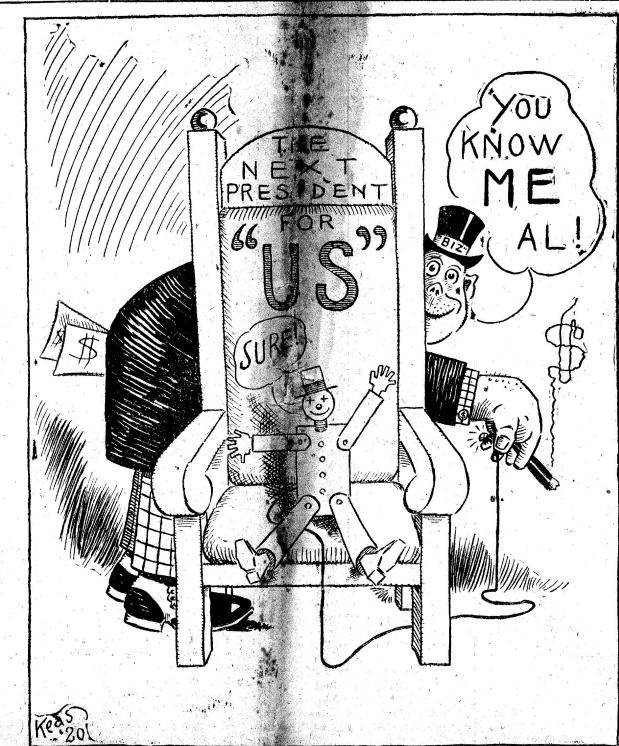
Cleveland Public gets glimps of once fond favorites in meeting at Public Square.—A letter about it from the Editor.

Dear Comrades:-

Raymond Robins, swarthy, even In lianesque of feature, protagonist o what he terms "Americanism," held aside for an hour last Saturady the veil which has long shrouded from Cleveland proletarian gaze the form and Free Assemblage, once, famous American twins. That the audience which surrounded the exibition was an out and especially when the speech was concluded and it was given chance at the speaker with question's

That the fair ladies were in per feetly good, respectable company was ing was under the auspices of the City Club, an organization of bourgeo liberals. Nevertheless, the "proles" who made up a good portion of the government to permit relief work in ing feeling that they were committing a crime, cast many furtive glances upon the almost forgotten features of their Lost Loves and gave them more bound to Russia for felief work and to 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. Hundred and the Okhrana, the secre police, a ruthless crew which Palmer vism rules Russia," was another of his statements in protest against the use of force against ideas. Since Robins



Introducing the "Peepul's Choice"

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

Peasants, Bourgeois and Intellectuals, body of our present day solidarity, of won to Soviet rule by Polish Aggression.

Gregory Krassin, Soviet Envoy to London, who has established business been interviewing Lloyd George and other British government officials with to believe that. Even at this moment the aim of establishing commercial relations between Britain and Russia, has just returned to Moscow, While of Denikin were marching ahead. They 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 nterviewed by a reporter for the Paris paper, Liberate, which we pub-Government at the present time.

Defeats Never Cause of Disorder. defeats of the Red armies, such is took nothing from poor peasants. The workers of Moscow, of Petrograd and ours was after all the best for them. of other cities came flocking to us We guaranteed them against the return full of enthusiasm. They constitute the

which I advise you not to doubt.

"Another example-certain peasants were discontented with us for various reasons. In the first place the peasant offices in New Bond street and has is not a Communist. One must be as utopian as the Social Revolutionaries they do not like the Soviet regime. Remember that last Spring the troops had taken from us all the rich wheat fields. There remained for us only several provinces, Tamboy Penza, Voroneje, Kurks, Saratov and Simbyrisk from which we could get wheat and horses.

"The result was that the terrible effort we were forted to make bore lish herewith. The interview contains heavily upon the peasants in certain evidence of the strength of the Soviet districts. But we had no choice. We had to fight. The discontent of these "It was a great mistake on the part peasants was such that in some of the Entente to believe that we quarters they offered armed resistance. could be crushed by armed force. But there again the Entente saved us. Each military blow struck against us As Denikin advanced the peasant saw permitted us to remedy the defects of that his behavior towards him was a our governmental machine," said Kras. | hundred times worse then ours. In our requisitioning we took from the rich peasants all the wheat they did "While it has been believed in not need. We took fifty per cent from Europe that uprisings would follow peasants in modern circumstances. We proved to be a profound error. There officers of Denikin took everything, have been here and there moments of beating peasants and even their wodisorder, but our defeats were never men. They submitted them to humilthe cause. I will explain that. At the liations of a moral order when they beginning, after our revolution, our did not burn their villages. Thus, for military situation was desperate. We exampel, throughout the Urals the were attacked and you remember we peasants flocked to us in thousands, proposed amicable settlements by in- abandoning Denikin's ranks. When termediary of the Scandinavian count- news of these methods spread among ries. That failing, we appealed to the the peasants they changed their atworking classes. Even among us there titude entirely. They did not become were many persons who doubted the Communists but came to the conclusion success of this appeal. However, the that among all possible governments

AWIN RUSSIA

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

Editorial note: The return of the Brittish 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 garbled and misleading reports. The Toiler 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 is the property of the state, but no rent is Soviet representatives were quite hurt when they were asked if visits could be paid to these persons. "We place no re- the spirit of Co-operation, Socialism, Comstrictions upon you at all", they replied. munism-call it what you will-enters in-"Visit whom you like. Ask what questions to the life of the people of the villages. It you like. There is nothing we want to is possible that there may be a contest

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 Russia. 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 boarbed 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. what has been done and planning what prices to the towns.

There are no land owners; the land charged. This land occupancy may easily drift into peasant proprietorship unless between the townspeople and the villagers with other departmens, the wage basis. A

folks in the villages, and the future is

WONDERFUL HEALTH ORGANIZ-ATION.

The health organization of the Soviet government is marvellous. Russia has suferred terribly from cholera, typhus, smallpox, influenza, and other diseases. War ductivity is possible. always brings pestilence and famine and ly one-half or one-third of the normal pro-Russia has had them to the full.

"Lice is the enemy of Socialism", one of thought possible in the old days. the placards reads. Hot water is compulsteamboats, 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 hous-

POWER OF THE TRADE UNIONS

We visited the headquarters of the substantial offices, with good equipment substential 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 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

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

In addition to all these things the The Bolsheviks have met these dif- trade unions are responsible for the orficulties by herculean measures, despite ganization of education and recreation. the lack of soap and madical requisites con- The great opera houses and theatres are sequent upon the blockade. Notices em- now open to the people and the trade phasizing the importance of cleanliness unions allocate the tickets to their memand fresh air are posted everywhere; in bers at reasonable rates. By this means the public places, trade union offices; they workers have an opportunity to enjoy art are printed on the theatre programs, and music and drama to a degree not

In co-operation with other departsorily supplied at every station, on the ments, the trade unions are responsible for the housing of the workers. A ve y 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

when external wars have concluded and part of the wage is the ration of bread and do not attempt to deny that they have the internal unity arising from the com- other food stuffs, which are distributed used repressive measures. They say that, mon dangers and difficulties is less operat- through the machinery of the trade unions. so long as a great part of the world is ive. On the other hand, however, the edu- trade unions organize co-operative buy- plotting against them, they must have excation policy of the Soviet Republic is uning for such goods as are not rationed. ceptional powers to arrest counter-revoludoubtedly making communists of the young Further, as food is difficult to get from tionaries, monarchists, and officers of the old White Guard who act as agents and spice 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 interning 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 Soical 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 of 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 What is one supposed to "vacate" employers tell an anxious public about what they are pleased to call the AMER. ICAN plan of employment. Full of couriousity, I perused the advertise ment from beginning to home run and discovered what the American Plan

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 or ganized 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 ac-

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-editorials headed, "In a 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 or some-one-else-equally-as-

done to Russia, one understands why it is called a safety razor." Very, very funny, but when one considers what ezarism and capitalism have done to Russia, and then contrasts that with what sovietism 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's theory that one has a right to take what he has not earned has put many a poor burglar in jail." Very funnybut 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 capitalists take profits. Profits come from surplus values. Surplus values are the difference between the value of labor ing 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

Many a woman thinks she is a highbrow when in reality she is only a

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

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 deficit in the happines 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? 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 wages-system, and until it IS abolished we will have ignorance, misery vice and poverty. It will eventjually 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 picture and labeled it, Oh, 'you fox-Trotsky''!

Too foxy to be caught with the lies 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 kinfolk, I am Considering what whiskers have 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 reond 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

McAdoo makes much about his fin incial troubles. He only got \$100,000.00 vear from the Chaplin-Pickford-Fairbanks crowd, or at least it was reported that that figure was '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 pro lucer. The delegates to the conven ion were non-producers so naturally the provisions made and provided were winked at. Some winkers some winkers—the present bunch of law en

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

property or liberty bonds as security. there are no classes in America!

Why do the Democrats travel all learn the popular will without traveling so far. Why go so far to fare so

Soviet Children's Homes Appeal to Mothers By John Clayton.

PARIS,-"The Russian soviet go at least are warm and well fed. The vernment is nationalizing the children soviet government' has taken its role of Russia. We are taking the children of parent seriously. It has found that from their hows and placing them, by providing homes where the kidthirty children in each group in special dies can live in groups of perhaps homes. However, we take the children thirty it not only is better able to only with the full consent of the feed them and make them warm and Mme. Kollontai is one of the veterparents, and the children are not de-

prived 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, dustrial tasks with greater efficiency. was speaking to me in Moscow.

More Than Half Children

children in the larger towns and cities required to do his or her share of use- 1916. in Russia are living in state institut- ful labor. ions. At first parents were skeptical about our system, but our first homes were so successful that now there is 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, and indeed none is necessary, for the How far it has been carried into ef- parents are in no way cut off from healthy faces of the youngsters one any time, and can take them home meets everywhere in Moscow.

Many are wearing clothes which pas- wish. sed the beggar stage years ago but so is everyone in Moscow. But they to the age of fourteen-are always

At Age of 3.

comfortable than if they were seat-

tered in individual homes, but it has

when they have attained the age of three. No coercion is used, however,

when and for as long a time as they "Those for the younger childrenMr. Babson's Error

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

"There is no doubt about itlabor 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 longed 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

"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 new millionaires are the war's legacy. This money capacity is more throughly 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' war 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-

mixed homes, boys and girls alike. For

the older children we have not yet adopted a rule. No Individual Toys.

"The children grow up in an atmos-All but 36 of the original one hund-phere which develops good citizens for ed wobblies sent to Leavenworth from a socialist state. There is no attitude doll,' using instead 'our toys.'"

will? If the administration will restore ents. No religious training is included free speech to the country they can in their work, but in its place they are and the fundamentals of natural his-

A Fine Meal.

ans of the Russian revolutionary movement. About 35 years old, she was edubeen able to relieve mothers who work cated in the aristocratic Smolny instiof much of the drugery of home life tute in Petrograd-Smolny, around and permit them to perform the in which so much of the history of the revolution has been written. She is The organization of the communist well known in the United States, havstate is such that every adult, especial ing made two lecture tours through ly under the conditions of hunger and America under the auspices of the left.

The social welfare work, which has

vears.

state expense.

Care for Children. The working mother whose child re mains in her care is relieved of the responsibility of caring for it during 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.)

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

"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, 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 think of the labor movement in terms of its estimate of the real situation somewhat unreliable.

servers of the labor situation, the trade-union movement is not licked, but has simply quit. Old age has crept supplying its wants. ipon it and it finds itself unable to stand the pace set by modern economic conditions. Mr. Gompers may be licked; 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 whipping of Mr. Gompers is a victory let the employers take all the comfor-

to themselves that they please. Estimates of social progress, measared by the influence of certain leaders, are apt to be misleading. Social currents, move sluggishly and it is often true that changes in the viewpoint 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

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

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 a militant, intelligent leadership

rule from above to rule from below.

Again, the one correct method of

or four years that is already of and tion of the groups to whom Mr. Bab- than he possessed. son caters. For instance, the old con-Mr. Babson has confused Mr. Gompers standing between labor and capital and from out of the bourgeois world, the and prophets of the coming day. He modern government is merely a crea- favor of an agitator's life. ture of the financial and industrial inwork of exploitation,

If it is any consolation to Mr. Bab. Trade unionism, as exemplified by a the industrial movement. son, we are quite willing to pint compers, came into being as the rehim that, in the opinion of close ob- sult of certain needs. It can no longer supply human wants or induce the working class to believe that it is

Mr. Babson may cheer his clients with the information that Mr. Gompers has lost his influence and call it a victory for the exploiters if he so he knew nothing. On account of his chooses. Actually, he is announcing attitude toward woman-kind in genthe beginning of a new and glorious era for labor.

FOOD FOR RUSSIA WAITS EN-TENTE CONSENT.

According to George Seldes, staff correspondent for the Chicago Tribune the Scandinavian harbors there are

red to by the correspondent are none other than the refusal of the Entente powers to recognize or trade with

RUMINATIONS OF A REBEE

By Tom Clifford.

Chicago are out on bail. The thirty of master and child but a comradeship tion at San Francisco is permitted to paper. compose the Democratic (?) Conven- ing distance of ye virtuous daily newsfreedom simply because they do not which does the heart good to see. There outline the policies of a nation of 120,have two friends apiece each of whom are no individual toys or property. All 000,000 people and select a candidate for President is the height of absurdthe way to Frisco to learn the popular tirely to the discretion of their par- a thought for the welfare of the naplayed the game so long they imagine taught the essentials of social morals it can go on forever. However, they are facing a condition at present that It was my privilege to have lunch the history of the natin, notwithstandwith the children of one of the larger ing the strenuous touting of the caphomes one day, and a happier little italist press, the public refuses to be crew I have never seen anywhere. As enthused and evince not the slightest for the food, it was the best I have interest in either the platform or the table for the first time since I arrived has at last penetrated the thick skulls 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 Nov-

To read the scathing denunciations "Today more than half of the economic breakdown which prevail, is wing of the Socialist party in 1915 and of profiteering in the newspapers one would naturally presume that these "conservators of the public welfare" opment of the children, begins with profits. Not so, my unsophisticated a large waiting list of mothers in all Mmc. Kollontai, "cannot do her duty the child has attained an age of 16 attention away from their own rascal-At this stage the work divides itself public for all the traffic will bear. sacrifices all her time to these two into two divisions. The first is for Advertising rates have been boosted objects, or is given aid in the routine children who remain at home with 300 per cent and the retail price, has work for her children. That is why their parents, the second for those been doubled. The Sunday papers, carwe are urging mothers to bring their children who live in group homes at rying practically nothing but advertisements, are foisted on the public at the "modest" price of 10c. It takes they stand for the "glorious institusome nerve, not to sav business finesse, to hold up the advertisers for the limit ine that such meaningless catchfect can be seen from the happy, their little ones. They can see them at working hours. Kindergartens are pro- and then induce the rube readers to phrases have the same potency as in yided where the child is looked after, come gayly cavorting across with

That a bunch of job seekers such as wildest dreams never gets within hail-

Still they will keep on telling us that and the children soon drop out of the ity. There is not a single delegate at Post deplores the vast differentiantion habit of speaking of 'my book' or 'my that gathering of politicians actuated in articles in common use, and urges workers are the place for him. I tell by any other desire than to further standardization in the interest of you I don't like to see him go into In religion the children are left en his own interests politically, with never economy. What peculiar mental slant the mines." some people have! Here is a fellow no direct comment. There were two tion at large. They have successfully citing a wide spread evil in present forces at work in his brain. It was as day society, apparently ignorant of the if simultaneously he beheld two visions. fact that waste is a cardinal virtue In the one he was opening the stratiof the profit system. He appears to fied pages of the earth's rock bound bodes ill for the continuance of their labor under the delusion that articles the secrets of the world's childhood, autocratic rule. For the first time in are made for use instead of being and in the other, he saw himself in produced for profit. It is the enorm the midst of a struggling crowd, that ous waste in production through duplication of effort that forms the working basis of capitalism. It throws open the field to unlimited competition, straining toward the light. These few, had in Moscow. I got up from the candidate. Can it be that the truth with profit as the dominant incentive, and a "go-as-you-pleas," without rethere feeling that I had all I wanted of the working class that the declara gard for the welfare of society as a moved as with the tide. And vet the tions of these politicians are mere whole, is the disastrous result. I sug- few that strained toward the light. gest that the literary gentleman take sought to climb the heights seemed to a course of reading in economics.

I note that a capitalist controlled mass moved might become a little college down east has conferred a degree upon Gen. Pershing. I presume the reason therefor is distinguished nobler, He half closed his eyes and services rendered to the master class of leaned back in his chair while Rudolph this country in the World War. He was speaking. He hardly heard what did his part in saving their financial was said but sat silently watching the vision of the human masses bearbacon: hence the acknowledgement. They believe, with Sammy Gompers, in ferent. For all the world they looked 'rewarding their friends and punish- like sheep on a mountain side. A great for its aims the proper care and devel- are themselves content with ordinary ing their enemies." Pershing, their drab grey mass, with here and there friend, is decorated and given a degree, a black speck. But in the human mass the black sheep reacted different from the mothers themselves before the ad- friend. While they are vociferously and Debs, their enemy, is sent to the others. Within them were the souls The woman who works," said vent of the babe and continues until shouting "stop thief" to draw your prison. Some day when the working of eagles. They loved the light, although the stop thief to draw your prison. class garner some sense, the exponent their straining toward it seemed almost ity they are mercilessly gouging the of justice and humanity will receive futile. How pitifully few they were?

Harding and Coolidge, Republican andidates for President and Vice Pre sident, are working overtime in at tempting to convince the public that Voltaires, Savana-e-Rolas, tions of our fathers," etc. They imagother years. What the people now deother years. What the people now de-mand is an institution that will the pressure of their time. If that three times the cost of production. "toot." These gentlemen are due for were true then why did not the pres Believe me, when it comes to profiteer- a rude awakening. Once a politician ing the sugar profit monger in his always a politician.

The Black Sheep.

Chapter XXXVIII.

Decision (Continued) of industrial organization, that the with the stew pan over the fire. He cally from these variations, whose ficking? of Gompers means the rise pretended to burn his fingers, and names have with-stood the erosions of swore viciously. The oath was only a time. They only react slower, and disguised escape for his emotion of therefore die, and are forgotten. The that will truely reflect the sentiments happiness, for it was now several mass is timed, the mass is dull, they of the mass. It means a change from months since he began his endeavor mistake the dawn for a conflagration to convince Jack that he ought to and consequently fear the light. He throw his lot with the radical move smiled at his decision but he knew Again, the one correct method of ment. This had not been an easy task, that Olive was going into the Mass estimating the strength of any move. The best workers are not enlisted in a and he decided that she should not ment is to judge it by its average of day. Brain processes of a profound go alone. intelligence. The workers have been nature cannot easily be swerved from intelligence. The workers have been acquiring knowledge in the last three Jack's mind was drawn to natural phenomena, generally out side of the and mentally reviewed the long line of will be of more value to them in the sphere of human activity, and Collins struggle, and much of the education had come to realize that to bend such has been forced upon them by the ac- a mind into new paths of activity

demanded more logic and argument Realizing that the emotions are often shattered. The belief that modern which was capable of working a change of attitude in the boy's mind. So it representing some mythical entity spark which rendered the boys latent called the public, has been replaced to Anderson who as a purely emotional ina large degree by the knowledge that fluence, caused the boy to decide in This decision pleased Collins im-

so-called leaders, but it makes his terests and that its principal function mensly. He felt, that if he could sucis to assist these interests in their ceed in landing the boy in the midst of terrific industrial problems, he would then inevitably cast his lot with

Rudolph, too, rejoiced in what he considered a mutual victory over Jack's natural tendencies, altho he youthful brain is wont to distort and 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 eral, both Collins and Jack had refrained from discussing such matters n 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 ex-

pect nothing, if not a negative result. While he was greatly pleased with miner's needs. the boy's decision to enter the class struggle, he did not like the idea of and now stationed at Hamburg, "In him going to the mines. He wanted study the miners and their industry him to follow agricultural work. "T today many thousands of tons of tell you Ed," said he, addressing Colmeats and fats destined for Russia, to the mines, but you must not for but little has gone to that country get that he is enthusiastic just now, on account of continued disturbed when the whole mining world is seething with trouble. But wait until the trouble is over and things quiet down The "disturbed conditions" refer a bit as far agitation is concerned, and to by the correspondent are none 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 to serve, any way there is where I

agitator, Prince Kropotkin raised the go. wolf on bread 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 Rudy would you mind going out to same thing for Jack. It is true we have fed him up on the class struggle. agree, we have it under his skin. but I don't believe it has soaked thru. We can't deny that his natural bent toward the study of nature in general, more than it is toward the study

I believe would rather study the slaves than the slavery, and the migratory

Jack listened to all this, but made history and laboriously spelling out vas toilsomely working its way hither it, then we should be on the job." and thither in the darkness. While among that crowd, there were a few were in the mass but not of the mass. The mass seemed to instinctively prefer the darkness. Perhaps they only have a slight influence on that mass. These few, gave their time, their strength, and in many cases their lives, that the darkness in which the lighter, that the thoughts that entered the minds of the mass might be a little clearer, a little happier, a little ing among them a few that were dif-

the ages, in comparison with the thoughtlessly drifting crowd. He tried to call them by name, these Haywoods, these Pettibones, Debses, these Manns, these knechts, Marx, Lassalles, Breskofskies, Emmets, Browns, Lincolns, Garrissons, crates, Spartaci, Solons. What lights What glories centered arround the names of these black sheep of history. Of course they had sure equally effect the mass? There was a difference. The black sheep of history were positively heliotropic to

Tow few they had been through out

ward like a magnet, while the masses were negatively heliotropic or rathe Collins arose and busied himself inert. They were not different intrinsi-

Trese, and kindred thoughts ran

through his brain with lightening speed

as he leaned back in his camp chair. 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 fusing and fallacious doctrine of iden- more forceful stimuli to human action them. Kersey Graves tells of sixteen tity of interests between exploiter and than the processes of reason, he had crucified saviours. This, too, was exploited has been almost completely hit upon probably the only thing wonderful. Perhaps more wonderful which was capable of working a change than the phenomena of birds and beasts. That nature should have given government was an impartial agency, happened that Collins had brought to mankind this long train of martyrs, in the newspaper. In it was the report of a speech made by Rabbi Wise of Portland, Oregon, in which he said, 'the race of God's prophets is not vet extinct." The phrase was as music to his ears. Unconsciously he placed Olive Anderson amongst them. 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 magnify when under the spell of feminine attraction. It was enough that he beheld her so for it perfected his decision to join her and to walk 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 ones own life if by so doing, more joy could be brought to succeeding generatins. The agricultural field was not now 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

When Rudolph had ceased speaking Jack simply said, "I am going to

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

Collins, who had been busily presing a mulligan over the camp stove, now turned to Rudolph and said. "Say 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. of society. I would rather see him foll When Rudolph had gone down the low agricultural work. He grew up in hill, Collins said, "If it's any of my business Jack would

> 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. 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 "I knew she would do it,"

man said almost reverently. "When do "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

"My Dear Boy:" it read, "I surely enjoyed your letter. Especially of your lescriptions of your camp and of your studies, but mre than all did I appriciate your brief mention of the abor struggle now going on in the

Shortly after you were here, I received a copy of a paper called "The Appeal to Reason," Perhaps you sent 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 committed. I am following it all carefully and I am amazed at the wickedness going on in this word. I feel like saving that all one has to do is to scratch a human being no matter Grachi, Cornelea, Ninas, Theorias, Solhow civilized and you will find a savage under the skin.

I cannot understand how you can be contented with a quiet woodland life 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

(Continued on page 4.)

The Foiler

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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 neglible.

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 ilberty 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 witholding a part of the product, he is virtually a slave, the 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 forged 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 accepture 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

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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 Roustam 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 bourgecisie may foment such economic and political turmeid 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 criterian 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, althostrongly 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 Ukrainia is new 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

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 mass-

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! Twas 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

Our Mayflower blood, once heretical, Flows now in their veins, orthodox,

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

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

Garment-workers, loyally standing to-Daughters, like me, of a pilgrim line, Of a people persecuted, exiled, pioneers of liberty.

With these I am at heme; In the house of my kinfolk I am an

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 throng 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

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

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MORE PRODUCTION. These facts are taken from the re-FARGO, N. D .- Contrary to pre- ports of an investigation by John Handictions 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.

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TERROR IN HUNGARY WHITE

By Ernest Lorsy. European Staff Correspondent THE FEDERATED PRES.

strange feature that the Rumanian troops were able to give Joseph B. Williams. They have just returned from Budapest. 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 Guard government of the Hungarian bourgeoisie. During the last two months be considered as functions of this Terror.

The third period lasts from March 1 until the signing of secretly killed the treaty of Neuilly, expected shortly. This period is marked by serious attempts to deny and conceal the facts of the White cover, clothes, horribly treated, tortured, flogged, their eyes struck out. Terror. Instead of decreasing, the terror shows a tendency

Yet the appeals of the tortured Hungarian workers have reached their comrades in western countries and the latter superiors that there is no terror in Hungary. In these days corpses are have, after all, been strong enough to extract from their fished up from the Danube every day, Hohler sends the "highcommissioner" respective governments the semblance of a protest against the a report which unmistakeably proves that there exists a strong solidarity terrible methods of Budapest. It was at the end of March between the English bourgeoisie and that of Hungary. that the Hungarian premier, Dr. Simonyi-Semadam, read to the National Assembly, a letter from the president of the Hun- able to ascertain if terror exists or not. garian 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 also is in possession of a document which undoubtedly proves that the man-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 result whatever. No inquiry was started, and Captain Pronay is still an ofsee that there was no such thing as a White Terror. These in- ficer of the national army and Horthy's best friend.

vitations were accepted—a fact which rather disconcerted the VIENNA, May 31—(By Mail)—The downfall of proletar- lords of Hungary. First came the delegates of the Socialist ian dictatorship in Hungary, caused by the fact that the Red party of Italy, Alceste Della Seta and Arturo Vella, both of Troops had been defeated in open battle by the Rumanians them members of the Italian parliament, who reached Hunwhom counter revolution had called in to help, was followed, gary in the last week of April. Then there came, led by Colonel with complicity in the execution of some counter-revolutionaries at Szolnok after a short democratic intermezzo, by the first period of Wedgwood, member of parliament and leader in the Intepend- More than 120 persons were prosecuted, and possibly the scandalous Hun-White Terror. It lasted until the Rumanians evacuated Buda- ent Labor Party, four delegates of the British Trade Unions: garian "justice" now will sentence several of them to death. pest on November 16th, 1919, and was characterized by the William Harris, Fred W. Jowett, G. H. Stuart Bunning, and (To be continued)

> The Toiler has received copies of "The Hungarian News", an inform Stockholm for the socialist press of the world.

bourgeoise after their victory over the communists, depicting the awfulness at court. 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 127 legal murders were executed,-other than numbers of socialists illegal and

Twelve thousand working men are interned, without sufficient food In several cases prisoners have been maimed, burried alive, and stab-

bed to death with bayonets. In spite of those horrors an English burgess is vile enough to tell his

The English delegation of workers which has already left will soon be

GRIEVIOUS DOCUMENTS.

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

Budapest, May 15th, 1920.

In November the police got a report that three socialists had been killed in the military prison. - At the barracks of Kelensold two corpses the following members, well known in all Europe: were found which were killed by the officers and then hidden. - The paper its also six comrades—all of them honest and brave combatants—were

All those occurances were reported to the police. However, without any

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

A POWERFUL PROTEST AGAINST THE WHITE TERROR IN HUNGARY

Budapest, May 15th, 1920.

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

Levai belonged previously to the Red Army, and then he had to bring ation paper published by the Hungarian Socialist Information Bureau at 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 Concerning conditions now extant in Hungary under the rule of the acted on compulsion, but this fact is not at all mentioned by the prosecutor

> 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.

Lighteen persons in Budapest were recently dragged out of their home and then quite disappeared.

A paper states that nearly all proletarian children in Hungary are shu out from the charity institutions and even from the places for feeding ar ranged by the foreign missions. The Hungarian workers' society for th 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 prisoned 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

Oscar Asboth (Slavic philology), Bernhard Alexander (philosophy aestetics), Emanuel Beke (mathematics), Ladislaus Eber (art history), and ufacturer, Menalt, was buried alive by the Danube detachment. By some band | 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 Pogqny, George Lukacs the former section leader of the educational commissariat, Bela Forgarasi their doctor's degree, although Hungarian Law does not authorize lenial of doctor's certificates as a punishment for common crimes.

British Labor Demands Self - FIND TAYLOR "GUILTY" determination for Ireland

self-determination for Egypt and In- land, has been found guilty. After dia and a just settlement of the Irish eight hours deliberation, the jury finquestion were demanded June 25 by ally agreed that he advocated force the British Labor party conference in and violence. This, in spite of the session here. The Irish plank called fact that Secretary of Labor Wilson for the establishment of a constituent assembly to determine the form of Communist Labor Party roes not adgovernment to be adopted by Ireland, vocate force and violence, and that without any condition or limitation im- membership in that organization is posed by Great Britain, and the com- not sufficient cause to deport an alien. plete withdrawal of the army of oc- Taylor was sentenced Monday, June

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 commitof the Trades Union Congress to call derick Dubovsky, attorney. 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 100% perfect cases of the Department conference for the purpose of organiz- of Justice are dwingling to zero. The ing a general strike; and Robert Smil Department of Labor has notified lie, who received a tremendous ovation, Harry Weinberger, Max Gendlin. David swept the whole meeting by his de-Orlick, Lona Chenovsky, Jonnio Lapiclaration that something more than a dus, that their warrants of arrest have deputation to the Premier would be been concelled and their bonds releasnecessary to carry out the demands of ed. Many of these had originally been the conference. Should the deputation arrested without warrants, and warbe rebuffed, he said, a special con- rants obtained later; some had been ference should at once consider plans beaten up in the raids. 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 recogniz-

ed the newly formed republic of Eastern Caucasus and its provisional go had long asked to be deported to vernment. Diplomatic and commercial Germany, and who had been kept a relations are soon to be opened.

ed their working day to ten hours.

SAN FRANCISCO-John C. Taylor SCARBOROUGH, England- Full fourth Communist to be tried in Oak has ruled that the platform of the 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

All the deportation cases have been tee and the parliamentary committee dismissed, due to the efforts of Fre-

PALMER'S CASES STILL **FALLING**

NEW YORK-Many of the raided

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 Iitaly as an anarchist. This is just what Mariani desired. He will be deported shortly.

Carl Voss and Emile Foltman who long time in jail, have finally been The "work week" in Belashow re- deported to Germany while Thomas sulted in a triumph. During the week Martinez who fought deportation to 22 river beats were repaired. The metal Mexico on the ground that his life workers have voluntarily prolong would be in danger, has been released on bail,

81d King Canute

Old King Canute

He had so many courtiers

That he thought at last ANYTHING! So he set up his throne

On the shore of the sea 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

For his LIFE And it isn't on record

Whether his throne was saved, Or engulfed in the flood. On whether he MOVED

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 complancently: "Go back STRIKES!

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.

Saving: "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

alt all depends, I gess,

Entente's Support Strengthens | ment, It demanded that the peace Russia

(Continued from page 1-st.) you that at the present time the love us, and that is a source of posed all sorts of places for meeting amount to something in our state. For to Borisor. We refused. peasant of the Province of Twerska, who continues to own his own piece us to resist Poland as long as neces-

Bourgeois Rally to New Regime. "That brings to me the third great of our former adversaries to rally to of our former adversaries in Russia. us. This factory manager, this General, every one in Russia united with us." asked.

'Who ever saw Russian ready at a have learned our lesson, we come back states are sacred." 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 our friend, Jack Thurston. I feel that if we are fighting her we do not wish at all to destroy Poland. However, Po. of humanity. land under one pretext or another wishes to continue the war. At pres ent it is a question of the Ukraine. However, from December of last year brought a wonderful effect. He has deup to March of this year we were proposing peace to Poland, and we good. would have accepted a proposition for the Ukraine and for a plebiscite.

"Then there was the story of Bothe bad falth of the Polish Govern- necessary job,

pouparlers take place at Borisor. It did not wish any armistice except at the spot where peace was to be discussed. Borisor was the most vulnerof the old land proprietors. I assure able spot on the Polish front and at this time the Poles were preparing

"Above all we continue to wish for peace, for continuation of war hind- of financial and industrial evolution. ers our economic recovery. We can His philosophy is one in which the of land and returns to it frequently. with our present resources keep up the underlying economic forces which rule It is the peasants who now enable us war for years without being beaten, battleing for that which has forever to resist Poland, and who will enable but that will increase the burden of vanished from the face of a capitalistprivations which we have so long ically ruled world. He is seeking a relishes in throwing the Poles against terly unknowing of the principles of us. For that country were it not for know that the principles of "Americanservice that the Entente has rendered the aid of the manufacturers of muus. It is bringing to our aid a great nitions and arms would not think of class, not because it is part of the former Bourgeois and Infighting us on its own resources. But tellectuals. In permitting Poland to describe our privations the British and soulless, but because the raging and soulless, but because the raging and soulless struggle which has developed tellectuals. In permitting Poland to despite our privations the Entente with the intensification of the instart against us an entirely useless war, obtains a result which is only negative dustrial processes, creating two utterly the Entente persuaded a great number -it reconciles with us a great part opposed classes, necessitates the ex-

"On the other hand the people of that engineer, began to see that we other nations, and especially France, als such as Robins are allowed the were actually the only force in Russia deceive themselves in believing that freedom which would be denied any able to resist the foreign assailants. If we wish to carry on propaganda in Poland fights long enough you will see other countries. There are men among us who believed that Soviet Russia "But how about your reverses on could endure only through a world ruling class. The Garys, the Morgans, the Ukrainian front?" Krassin was revolution. The events of the last few years have clearly proved that the So-"Fine business," he answered viet regime can endure in the midst of a world of capitalist Governments. given moment? We always begin by We now accept this state of things getting beaten. Then, as soon as we and our engagements with foreign

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. personal matter relating to her school work, and other common places which need not be recorded here. When he returned to the cabin Col

lins wrote the following note. "My Dear Mis Anderson:-

I am glad to notice that you hav entered into a correspondence wit your words have inspired him to greater and nobler efforts in behal

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 Greatfully and sicerely,

That afternoon it was decided that the withdrawal of both armies from the time for getting busy was at hand is ready to have him at home. and accordingly they began prepara-tions for the storing of their accumu-

Robins Unveils Free Speech

(Continued from page 1.)

calling it. He named them as:

Basis of Free Government. Robins said three fundamental prin-iples underlaid free government— Americanism," as he persisted in

Religions freedom, political freedom and the right of private property and economic freedom in industry. audience appeared to believe that the ose would smell just as sweet under another name as "Americanism". Perhaps that was because they were most-Just what he Internationalists. 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 ome 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 varience to the rules of the capitalist political game.
Robins favors 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

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

tions and answers How should the war debt be paid?

By the profiteers. Would you release Eugene V. Debs f 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 greet-

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 thrust aside like it was in Russia. This answer brought forth a round of protests. How about our two socialist oucilmen? 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 historie and rican policy. I favor the sending

A Butting of Heads Against Stone.

To one who has read "Raymond Robins' own Story" of the Russian Revolution, listening to his speech is peasants not only accept us, but they their offensive against Kiev. We pro- like reading for the second time the concluding chapter of that cleverly great power. They feel that they but they refused. They would go only written and intensely interesting book. Robins is one among the army of int the futile effort to turn back the tide human society do not exist. He is borne. That is all the Entente accomp | naissance of an age that is past, uteconomic evolution. Robins does not ism" have been cast aside by the ruling tinguishing of popular liberties if the present ruling class is to survive.

It is no mere coincidence that liberclass 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 the Guggenheims know that the processes of industry and the social system will not be turned backwardand a little freedom is fine bait for some fish which might be hard to land without a little playing. No, we take it that Missess Free

Speech and Free Assemblage will not be allowed in company of the rude proletarians and communists on Cleveland's Public Square—unchaperoned by the City Club by permission of the Chamber of Commerce. Hie ye, fair Damsels, to your Nun-

nery 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 vour 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.

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 dicated himself to the cause of human clubs, where he has games, books, and school books and is watched over until his mother has finished her work and

When he has attained the age of 16 he either enters the university on risor, which shows in tangible manner about the best places to look for the state pay or becomes a worker in the industrial life of the community.