

The Toiler

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Address all mail and make all checks payable to THE TOILER 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

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

EDITOR Elmer T. Allison

Published Weekly by The Communist Labor Party of Ohio at Cleveland, Ohio. Telephone: Harvard 3639.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, JUNE 11th, 1920.

"Force and Violence"

With an astonishing celerity and rapidity the capitalist nations of the world and the different states which make up the United States of America have for two years or more been passing laws against the use of "force and violence" by insurgent and dissatisfied elements of the population in seeking to bring about governmental changes.

Thousands have been arrested (unlawfully), followed by forcible deportation of hundreds. Thousands of private homes and workers' halls have been forcibly entered and raided. Hundreds have been beaten and slugged by the strong arm squad of a governmental department miscalled Department of Justice. Some have been murdered outright by the extreme cruelties and forcible measures used against them. Others have been driven insane.

All this was brought about by the use of force and violence. Unlawful and inhuman use of force and violence. Unlawful and inhuman use of force and violence by the government. This fact is now being admitted by some departments of the government. But its admittance is but a reflex or a prevailing sentiment of the great mass of the people thruout the country. And in so far as accomplishing the ends sought — a mere mouse has been brought forth. No threatening movement of the masses, admitting that such existed, against constituted authority has been averted nor brought under authority. And it is safe to assert that none with courageous convictions will nor can be by these methods.

While the capitalist governments, state and national, have hypocritically waged a war against the use of force and violence, they have continuously practiced its use and have created the very sentiment they sought to prevent.

Casting a backward glance over events of the past five years, we see a world blackened and in ruins with ten million graves as a result of the application to the world's problems of the use of force and violence by capitalist agencies. After an orgy of such unprecedented slaughter, how hypocritical seem the protestations of Palmer and the henchmen of capitalism against the use of force and violence in the arena of politico-social affairs. Dripping with the blood of their fellow men, the capitalist conspirators profess their angelic, lily whiteness and proceed to accomplish more slaughter and violence if the profits of their masters are menaced.

Here are the latest figures upon the slaughter of Europe under the rule of make-believe advocates of "peace on earth, good will to man".

FINAL WAR FIGURES

The World War reduced the population of the earth 40,000,000. This is the estimate of the Society for the Study of the Social Consequences of the War, a Copenhagen organization. Its figures include war casualties, rise in deaths and decline in births.

On this basis, Russia was the heaviest sufferer, losing 13,000,000; Germany lost 6,300,000; Austria-Hungary, 5,800,000; France, 3,340,000, Italy, 2,280,000; Great Britain 1,850,000; Serbia, 1,650,000; Rumania, 570,000; Belgium, 375,000; Bulgaria, 275,000; America, 300,000.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace places the direct cost of this slaughter at \$188,000,000,000 and the indirect cost at \$151,612,542,560.

All the wars between Napoleon's time and the World War showed a loss of life on the battlefield of only 4,450,000. The known dead of the World War battles total 9,998,771 and the missing 2,991,800.

This is the result of capitalism's control of life's necessities; the result of the control of all men's needs by a parasitic few whose profits come first and the welfare of the masses last or not at all.

This fact is the problem of today. It is especially the problem of the great suffering masses who pay the terrific cost in blood and treasure. No worker can evade this issue. It will pursue him relentlessly. Whether he recognizes it at present or not, ultimately it confronts him and demands his answer.

The world is moving swiftly toward the point where we must directly face the overthrow of the rule of capitalism, the profiteering rule of the parasites and substitute that of the masses, the producers. We are nearing that point even in America. Old methods of workers' organization, old political theories are being cast aside for new ones which have brought success to the workers in Europe. We must study the uses of these weapons under conditions prevailing here. Mass action, dictatorship of the proletariat, shop committees, these are tactics and organization methods we workers must learn the meaning and the use of.

We must prepare the groundwork upon which we are to erect a society wherein the use of "force and violence" will eventually become unnecessary. The masses only can accomplish this task.

DEBS ACCEPTS -- A TRAGEDY

A matter that has been agitating the minds of thousands of radicals and socialists for some weeks has been set at rest by the acceptance by Eugene Victor Debs of the Socialist Party nomination for the Presidency.

The divisions within the ranks of the socialists, the ousting of the "Lefts", or revolutionary elements from the Party by the more conservative "Right wing", the formation of two Communist parties out of the Left group, the eventual split in the ranks of the Communist Party; the governmental repression, deportations and persecutions especially of the Communists and Communist Laborites; the expulsion of the Socialist Assemblymen from the New York legislature the reactionary stand taken by the Socialist Party in its convention; together with the fact of Debs own imprisonment at Atlanta Federal penitentiary, all have focused socialist attention upon the matter of the position of the former standard bearer of the Socialist Movement toward his probable nomination for the fifth time of the highest office in the gift of the American workingclass.

In view of the fact that comrade Debs was shut away from participation in socialist activities and unable to receive but very little matter pertaining to Party affairs and developments in the movement, it was believed by most revolutionary elements in the movement that he would decline to accept the nomination. Previous to the Socialist Party convention Debs had sought to unite the Communist Labor Party and the Socialist Party for harmonious campaign work at least, stating that deeper differences might be adjusted

later. In this Debs was undoubtedly sincere in an attempt to prepare the way for a political protest by the millions of dissatisfied workers against the oppressions of capitalism. His project was repudiated by both Parties in the realization of the deep fundamental differences between them.

For years Debs and the revolutionary attitude he took upon matters of the working class struggle have been bitterly fought by the same individuals who now tender him the nomination. This fact is significant. It brings to the front a question to which there can be but one answer. The officialdom who now control the Socialist Party have not changed their moderate socialism into the revolutionary socialism of Debs. They like his position no less than formerly. Then why have they, in practically complete control of the convention, without a revolutionary following to force them to accept Debs, named him again the nominee of their Party? It is a question that is on the tongues of thousands who see at a glance the inconsistency in the situation. There is but one answer. The same political socialists who have fought Debs and his revolutionary attitude in the past now hope to garner a harvest of votes and a measure of prestige for their party by carrying his revered name at the head of their political ticket. This is the reason and there is no other. The Socialist Party is entering upon an entirely new phase of its life. It is now practically rid of all revolutionary elements and glories in that fact, it has repudiated the Third International. It has placed moderatism, political socialism, clearly above revolutionary mass action. It has swung so far to the Right that it almost meets itself coming back. It is seeking votes, not socialist votes so much as "labor" votes, votes of the merely discontented. Non artisan League votes, any and all kinds of votes that will give it political popularity.

Debs will not make his campaign. It will be made for him by the very ones he has opposed, upon a platform he has almost repudiated. It will not be Debs' campaign any more than it is a Debs platform, had he had the making of it. Debs' statement at the time of his acceptance of the nomination, in decrying the lack of stress in the adopted platform of the class struggle and of industrial unionism, that "we can breathe the breath of revolution into any platform", is decidedly unsatisfactory. Undoubtedly Debs might perform a miracle of that sort had he an opportunity, but the opportunity is not his and those who have his campaign in hand will not breathe a revolutionary spirit into it for they do not possess it within themselves. His hopes in this respect are bound to meet with disappointment.

The statement has been freely made that should Debs be made fully acquainted with the situation in the Movement and the development of the Revolution all over the world, he would never accept this nomination. It was in this belief, and in the further desire to accomplish a comradely duty that an unofficial committee of the Communist Labor Party visited him at Atlanta prison. As best it could under the circumstances, this committee laid before him the entire situation including his own position in the world Revolutionary Movement. It cannot now be said that Debs did not know. The nomination has apparently been accepted in full possession of the facts. In accepting it Debs has definitely alligned himself with the moderates, the political, the vote chaser, the compromisers, with the Party that has repudiated the tried and proven principles and tactics that lead to workingclass victory.

What other thoughts were in Debs' mind as he paced his prison quarters no one can say. Doubtless the faces of many friends, comrades came before him, many hard fought battles came again to mind, many ties of friendship tugged at his heartstrings. All presenting claims which insistently demanded their share, and would not, could not be denied.

That comrade Debs has made an error in this critical moment is our conviction. That he had not done so—had at least have remained neutral for the while, is our wish. Circumstances have made him the plaything of forces stronger than he. They have made a tragedy of the life of America's most beloved.

Proletarian Science History

An economic interpretation of history especially arranged for use as a text-book for study classes, or for home study.

— By W. E. REYNOLDS. —
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OUTLINE FOR CHAPTER XII.

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|-----------------------|--|
| Beginning | Use of electrical power in industry. Steam, electric and gas-power machinery. |
| Tools and Weapons | Modern firearms and massive ordnance. Submarines, aeroplanes, poison gas. |
| Transportation | On land, steam, electric and gas-propelled cars and vehicles. On water, steam, electric and gas-propelled vessels of great proportions. In air, gas-propelled aeroplanes and dirigible hydroplanes. |
| Subsistence | Same as in previous periods, plus package foods, imitations and adulterations. |
| Shelter | Buildings of brick, lumber, stone, concrete and steel. |
| Clothing | Same as previous periods with more adulteration, imitation furs, etc. |
| Environment | Greater scale agriculture, great industrial cities, rapid transit and communication. Tightening of class lines. Growth of the penal system. |
| Organization | Monarchical, representative political government. Vast armies and navies, police constabulary and detective systems. Development of industrial unions. Great newspaper syndicates, great libraries, schools, colleges, universities, churches, theatres and moving pictures, all controlled in the interest of the dominant class. |
| Arts and Institutions | Beginning of air transportation. Air warfare. Wireless telegraphy and telephony. Beginning of nationalization of great industries. Development of revolutionary groups, working for the abolition of the wages-system. |
| Duration | From the year 1868 to the present time. |

CHAPTER TWELVE.

Civilization. (Modern Industry.)

The upper age of civilization, known as the age of modern industry, began with the appearance of the electric motor.

M. Faraday, in 1831, discovered that an electrical conductor when moved in a magnetic field would generate an electro-motive force. It was this discovery which made commercial electricity as a source of motive force possible. The use of electricity as a motive-force was brought into commercial use about the year 1868.

The economic urge underlying the development of commercial electrical power is to be found in the concentration of people in vast industrial establishments with the consequent need of quick, frequent and smokeless street and interurban transportation. The same economic urge forced the introduction of electro-motive force within the factories, chiefly in response to the speed-up system and the piece-work pay phase of the wages system.

The perfection of electrical devices made the gas engine possible. The gas engine made possible the automobile, aeroplane, hydroplane and other machines requiring localized power. Gas and electric power greatly reduced the time element in transportation and production and thereby again modified the social structure.

In warfare as well as production, gas and electricity made their power felt. The tank, submarine, caterpillar guns and tractors are some of the later developments of modern warfare.

With the development of electricity came the art of electro-chemical analysis and synthesis known as the electrolytic processes of industry.

Nickle plating is done by the electrolytic process, as is also the extraction of gases from the atmosphere, the welding of wire and other metals, and in fact all processes of industry based upon the separation of electro-positive and electro-negative elements.

The rapid development of the automobile industry together with the telephone, the rural free delivery and the parcels post brought city and country into closer relationship and drew tighter the lines of the class struggle in agricultural communities. The advent of the "flivver" marked the passing of the paternalistic relations of agriculture and removed the "hired-man" from the fireside to the bunk-house.

Cold storage, imitation and adulterated foods now flood the market with a resultant general race deterioration. It is a medical fact that 90% of the American people are today in some way afflicted. The great prevalence of disease gave rise to the "breakfast food" and patent medicine industries.

Concentration of industry led to a greater concentration of wealth, and also the concentration of people into great industrial centers. This raised the land values and furnished the economic motive for the erection of the "skyscraper" and the modern apartment house.

The concentration of people in the cities, the forcible separation of the worker from the soil, due to the operation of the wages system, and private property in land, thus separating vast masses of people from the source of food supply, greatly intensified class antagonisms, which in turn developed the public and private police and penal institution to proportions hitherto unheard of.

Modern concentrated industry seeks to dispose of its surplus values, which are the direct products of the wages system, among the less developed people of the world in the form of loans and credits. Thus armies and navies develop as an international police force for the purpose of collecting the interest and guaranteeing the principal of these loans. In other words the military resources of the nations having reached the stage of modern industry are used as collection agencies for the modern industrial capitalists.

The industrial proletariat developed along with modern concentrated industry. Centralized industry furnished the economic base for the class or industrial union. The passing of the craft form of industry marked the passing of the utility of the craft union. The development of the class or industrial union is due to a conscious recognition on the part of the industrial proletariat of his class position in modern society.

The class antagonism growing out of the development of modern industry transferred the class war from the domain of theoreticians and parliamentarians to an ever increasing belligerency on the part of both classes involved. The weapons of this warfare are at first intellectual: on the part of the dominant class, great newspaper syndicates, endowed magazines, schools, colleges, universities, libraries, churches and Sunday-schools, theatres, moving pictures and lecture platforms are used to control the mental processes of the workers by a propaganda seeking to justify the continued existence of the dominant class.

Overuling economic necessity forces a recognition of the futility of purely intellectual propaganda, causing the dominant class to develop their forces of physical coercion, such as state constabulary, private detective agencies, hired thugs, state militia and other public and private coercive forces.

Intellectual propaganda on the part of the dominant class was met by propaganda in kind on the part of the working class. When the dominant class entered the field of coercive force they forced the development of industrial unionism with its propaganda of industrial solidarity.

The arts institutions of the present era are so intricately interwoven with the industrial process that it would require space far beyond the proportions of this volume to enumerate and differentiate them.

Wireless telegraphy and telephony and the experiments now being carried on in the transmission of wireless power together with the quest for the secret of inter-atomic energy, gives us a glimpse of a coming new order of society based upon the transmission of wireless power or the unlocking of inter-atomic energy.

The age of modern industry began in 1868 and still continues.

SUMMARY.

The epoch of civilization began with the invention of the phonetic alphabet and the adoption of the Solonic Law.

The middle age of civilization began with the invention of the steam engine.

The upper age of civilization began with the appearance of the electric motor and still continues.

We have now traced the development of industry, and hence the racial history, from the club in the hands of the primitive savage on upward to the hand tool of the craft age and onward through the shop, factory, partnership, company, corporation, trust, and international syndicates. As industry developed the class antagonism become ever more pronounced, and the class lines clearer, and now we are at the parting of the ways.....

The question confronting us now is; shall industry develop along the lines desired by the class conscious element of the workers, into a socially controlled mechanism for the service of all mankind?

Upon the answer to this question depends the name of the coming epoch of history.

(Continued on page 4.)

SOVIET TRADE ENVOYS RECEIVED IN SWEDEN

GREETED AND ACCLAIMED BY THE TOILERS OF SWEDEN.

— By F. J. n.

A unique occurrence, and one that is destined to be repeated in every capitalist country of the world, took place in Stockholm on March 31, when, what may be termed "The First Socialist Reception of the World" broke thru the public in the World. The Imperialistic world and arrived in Sweden, where it was given royal welcome by the toilers of that country. "The Politiken" of April first carries the following interesting and vivid account of the event, which, the late, will undoubtedly be read with interest in this country!

SOVIET RUSSIA'S FIRST COMMERCIAL COMMISSION.

A piece of world history was written yesterday. The blockade policy of the Entente and its vassal states against Soviet Russia has miscarried beyond redemption, and Sweden is the first country to be accorded the honor of receiving a Russian Commercial Commission. This delegation, whose arrival has been looked forward to with great anticipation, arrived in Stockholm at five o'clock yesterday afternoon on the steamer Oihonna. As early as three o'clock a considerable number of spectators and friends of Soviet Russia had assembled. Among those, who were present when the steamer landed were the representative in Sweden of the Soviet Government, Friedrich Strom; Wilhelm Hellberg, Socialist attorney; Zeth Hoglund and C. N. Carlsson, editors of the Politiken; Carl Vinberg, member of parliament; and many other Left Wing Socialists. Local Stockholm members of the Left Wing were represented by Einar Ljungberg, who carried an imposing wreath, decorated with red ribbon, intended for L. B. Krassin. In addition to these there were at the gangplank a half-score of young ladies loaded with flowers.

Among those who undoubtedly awaited the steamer with greatest anxiety was Mrs. Krassin and her children. Mrs. Krassin, it will be noted, has been living in Sweden for a few years and Mr. Krassin can therefore during his visit stay under his own roof—something that the other members of the commission cannot do. The few Russian friends of the Soviet Republic (Russians still remaining in Stockholm) were also represented thru Professor Smirnov.

Late in the evening the Politiken succeeded in arranging an interview with Mr. Krassin, who in spite of the many hardships of the journey obligingly put himself at our disposal.

Regarding the chief aims of the commission, Krassin pointed out that the commercial policy of Russia is based on the following principles:

The country is at present in need of a large amount of commodities, which may be divided into two categories. First, industrial products like shoes, clothes, etc., and second, different kinds of machinery and tools, necessary for the reconstruction of industry. The commodities of the first class are keenly needed, Russia must for the present get along without them because her gold fund does not permit the purchase of mere articles of immediate consumption. The principal needs of Soviet Russia are locomotives and other railroad materials essential to the increase of the country's productive powers, and to obtain these is the foremost purpose of the commission.

There are in Russia, and especially in Siberia, enormous stocks of raw material, such as grain, leather, flax, fats and minerals especially graphite; but these cannot be moved until the war ceases since all available means of transportation must be used for war purposes.

In the course of the conversation Mr. Krassin related that during the past 14 years no less than 2,500 railroad bridges have been constructed or put in order. Among these is the important Syrian bridge over the Volga. 5,000 kilometers of railroad track have also been laid. Besides this everything possible has been done to bring transportation back to normal.

Krassin emphasized that for these essential commodities, locomotives and other railroad materials, Russia is willing to pay in gold. In addition to her own gold resources Russia has, thru the defeat of Kolchak, come into possession of great masses of gold which this Czarist general had turned over to the Checho-Slovaks. With the needed locomotives in operation Russia will be in position to move grain to the cities and at the same time revive transportation of commodities and raw materials.

Mr. Krassin then referred to the commercial relations between Sweden and Russia, and in his capacity of industrial engineer praised the Swedish metal industry very highly and considered the Swedish constructors as the foremost in the world. Russia is anxious to buy locomotives immediately from Sweden and will pay cash in gold, and is willing to deliver, grain to Sweden later when, with the aid of these locomotives, transportation becomes normal.

The blockade was also touched upon in the conversation, and Krassin said that Russia has not as yet received official notification of its cessation. Thus, it is still in effect, and Russia does not want to send out any ships because of the risk of being captured.

One of the main conditions for negotiations with England and other countries is that there must be no demand for a change in the constitution of Soviet Russia, which is based on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet form of government, and the socialization of industry and other means of production. On the matter of the form of government Russia cannot permit foreign intervention. It is understood that this demand must be respected if the Entente powers sincerely intend to establish relations with Russia.