

THE TOLLER

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BRITAIN ON VERGE OF REVOLUTION.

Triple Alliance Takes Up Battle of Miners in Ultimatum to Government to Accede to Nationalization.

Incipient revolution hovers over the British Isles. What the outcome will be within the next few days or weeks no one can prophesy with any assurance of certainty. The facts today are: The Triple Alliance of Miners, Transport Workers and Railroad Workers are united solidly together in a great combination and with one common aim against the government of the British Empire—to force it to nationalize the coal mines. The government has appealed to the "public" to volunteer in a "defense force" for a period of ninety days to assist the police in controlling the situation now beyond the power of the government without armed assistance.

For the past two weeks the situation has gradually grown more unsettled. Beginning in a strike of 1,200,000 miners, the movement now embraces the entire railway, and other land transport systems, probably 3,000,000 workers.

The direct causes are: The violation of the agreements between the government and the miners for government control of the mines until August and the setting up of a Wage Board before March 31. Instead, the government has turned the mines back to the private owners and refused to inaugurate the Wage Board, thus returning to the conditions prevailing before the war.

The situation is very grave. The

miners, learning lessons from previous strikes, have ordered out the pump men, thus flooding the mines and entailing a loss to the owners of millions of pounds sterling. They have refused to set the pump men to work as a condition to meeting in conference with the government and owners concerning the adjustment of their grievances. They are using every weapon against the government.

One reason for the solidity of the miners and transport workers in that the same situation facing the miners will also come before the railroad workers in August when the roads are scheduled to be returned by the government control to the private owners. The government is thru with any experiments in "socialization" and fears the nationalization of the mines as an irrevocable step toward socialization of basic industries which may lead to the supplanting of the entire system of private ownership and capitalistic exploitation.

In the meantime unemployment and privation stalk through Britain. To the critical conditions induced by an army of one and a half million unemployed is now added an industrial and political crisis which may mean even the crumbling of the government and the power of the British Empire.

SOVIETS WOULD TRADE AMERICAN WAR PRISONER FOR CONVICTED COMMUNIST.

Would Swap Kirkpatrick for Either Larkin or Gitlow.

Coming on the heels of the confirmation of the conviction of Benjamin Gitlow, in the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court of New York, on April 1st, is the information furnished by "Rosta" of Vienna, that the Soviet government is willing to trade Captain Kirkpatrick, an American military prisoner for the pardon by the New York authorities of either James Larkin or Benjamin Gitlow.

Gitlow and Larkin were convicted some months ago on charges of violation of the state criminal anarchy law and were remanded to Dannemora Prison awaiting the appeal of their cases. Gitlow was recently transferred to Sing Sing.

The ruling in the case has been awaited with great interest for several weeks because of its bearing upon the cases of Larkin, Chas E. Ruthenberg, I. E. Ferguson and Harry D. Winitzky, all convicted on the same charges.

Judge Read Between Lines.

Justice Frank C. Laughlin, in writing the decision of the Appellate Court, declared that when people advocate such doctrines as the "Left Wing Manifesto," there "must necessarily be great latitude for reading between the lines to determine what is implied in the doctrine, and they should be held responsible for advocating what they must know is involved in the doctrine and will be essential to the accomplishment of their purpose."

The charges against Gitlow and Larkin are that on July 5, 1919, they "feloanously advocated, advised and taught the duty, necessity and propriety of overthrowing and overturning organized government," in writing articles printed in the Revolutionary Age. Whether Gitlow's case will be carried into higher courts is not yet determined by his attorneys. Bail in none of these cases is allowed by the Court.

Louise Bryant Visits Kirkpatrick. Writing in the Russian Press Review, published in English in Moscow, Louise Bryant, wife of the late John Reed, American Communist who died last November in Russia, describes a visit to an internment camp where Captain Kirkpatrick is held a prisoner of war. Describing this visit and the conditions she met with there, she writes:

"We spent about six hours in the Andronovsky Camp. We were allowed to walk about the camp and to speak to the prisoners quite freely, un-

accompanied by the officers of the administration. We saw nowhere any signs on the bars on the doors of the cells. The prisoners pay visits to each other just as tho they were in any small town. For instance, an American, Captain Kirkpatrick, invited us to drink coffee with his Hungarian friends. I got the impression that I was in a Rest Home and not in a prison at all. Nobody, of course, can ever feel happy in a prison, but the example of the Andronovsky camp can be of much use to many of our prison reformers."

Captain Kirkpatrick was captured during the Red drive against General Wrangel. Interned with him in this camp are numbers of counter-revolutionists of note. Some members of the Hungarian nobility such as Count Szechenyi, brother-in-law of Gladys Vanderbilt, have found lodging from their labors here.

According to the Rosta Agency, Captain Kirkpatrick feels very peeved because the United States government has not made decisive efforts to secure his release and has requested political friends here to intercede in his behalf.

Should such an exchange of prisoners take place as is intimated to be possible by the Soviet government, it would meet with great enthusiasm by thousands of radicals here who are friends of Gitlow and Larkin. And, now that the question of amnesty for all political prisoners is attaining such momentum, it is within the realm of possibilities.

Another writer relates how ad-

The Bolsheviks Believe in Advertising.



The above halftone is made from one of the advertising posters which have become a common sight upon the walls of Russian cities and villages. We have heard much of the wide publicity given all public affairs under the Bolshevik regime by the method of poster advertising, but the one from which this cut was made is the first that we have seen. It measures 2 feet by 3 feet and is printed in bright, reds, greens, and yellows on a good quality of tough paper.

It represents the Russian workers, industrial and peasant, marching in a united line into the headquarters of the Communist Party, scorning the imprecations of the representatives of the old regime, capitalists, military, priests and vodka peddlers. The Russian text reads: Enter the Communist Party. Proletarians of the World, Unite. One writer on Russia, concerning this method of advertising, writes:

"Captain Francis McCullagh, a British officer who spent some time in Soviet Russia in disguise, relates in a series of syndicated articles how the Bolshevik war minister, Trotsky called a medical officer upon the carpet for not making a better stand against a typhus epidemic. The medical man protested that it was all on account of the people's failure to guard against dirt and lice. "Then start a war on dirt" and lice" or face a tribunal," ordered Trotsky.

In the next few days a flood of posters, circulars and printed matter appeared, calling upon the people to destroy dirt and lice as they would a "reactionary."

Another writer relates how ad-

vertising matter is used to sell the people on recruiting, on education, on art, on technical instruction, and even on sports. Posters seem to be a favorite medium. Says this writer:

"You will find posters on every wall, in a thousand stores of Moscow, on telephone poles, in rooms, in factories; they are everywhere. Picture posters for propaganda purposes. Perhaps a proletarian rock, flaunting a red flag, with a capitalist ship going to pieces at the foot of it. Or a poster recruiting for the Communist Saturdays, with a description of the consequences of laziness, and beside it the results of industrious work. Or else a picture poster attacking the old greasy Czarist officials and the aggressive military officers. Placards with red stars, recruiting posters of the Communist party, showing a procession

of workers passing by some representatives of the old order with an air of refusal, and entering a house upon whose gable are the initials of the party.

"But these are not the most interesting posters. More remarkable, more significant are posters of a different order. For instance, some wall bears the information that somewhere proletarian courses are being given on world problems, literature, problems of natural science, with excursions into the field of bacteriology, geology, agriculture, accounting, finance, etc. Entirely gratis, of course.

"Another poster requests people with a love for inventing and inventors' talent to invent all sorts of substitutes.

"Another poster calls the proletariat of a certain district to an even-

ing discussion of questions on art. "Another poster announces an industrial exhibition, with a platform where the principles of a technical education may be discussed.

"One poster asks the public to attend several lectures given by technical experts, dealing with the technique of the use of clay as a building material.

"Another poster announces lectures on forestry.

"The Soviet Republic makes a determined propaganda in favor of sports. In every corner, on every wall and other spaces lending themselves to the purpose there are sporting posters. Whoever has the desire may become a sportsman. Private yachts, tennis court rentals and expensive yacht club memberships are not required."

KEEP THE WORK GROWING!

The "Unemployment Edition" of last week was a big one. Forty-seven thousand TOLLERS were printed of this issue. Scores of orders for bundles ranging from 50 copies to as high as 5,000 were filled. Scores and scores of cities were made the distributing centers for that issue.

Yet, big as was this issue, it is but the first big step in a campaign of work which The Toller intends to carry on among the unemployed of America—with your co-operation.

You have taken the first step. The next and following ones must also be taken. We must reach the unemployed with more TOLLERS. Each week must show an increase in the number distributed among them. They must be educated in ways and means of ending unemployment in America.

The Toller will deal in each of its issues with this grave and growing problem—UNEMPLOYMENT FOR MILLIONS. You must help us in this work. You must help by supplying the funds with which to publish the paper and by distributing them.

You must organize with others for this work, get their contributions and help. Be on the job with a bundle of TOLLERS every week among the unemployed.

The regular price for TOLLERS for work among the unemployed will be 1 cent per copy. Join the UNEMPLOYED PROPAGANDISTS—NOW! Use the blank.

THE FREE PROPAGANDA FUND

Enclosed please find to use in printing TOLLERS for free distribution among the unemployed.

Name

Address

City State

Send me copies of the latest issue.

SUPREME COURT ORDERS HAYWOOD AND 79 OTHER I. W. W. TO JAIL.

Washington, April 11.—William D. Haywood and seventy-nine other Industrial Workers of the World were convicted before Federal Judge Lapdis at Chicago in 1918 of attempting to obstruct the government's prosecution of the war, must return to federal prison as a result of the conviction of Haywood and his co-defendants.

VERY SPECIAL "MAY 1st" EDITION

APRIL 30. ORDER NOW 1c per copy.

WORKERS AND THE STATE.

By Walter T. Johnson.

H. G. Wells professes to believe in the existence of ninety-nine classes. Of course he has his own idea of what constitutes a class. He cannot point to ninety-nine class struggles. We see two classes and one struggle. The State, including Congress, the courts and troops, is the instrument of the one class, the capitalist class, against the other class, the workers. Throughout the world the struggle is becoming clearer and more bitter. Where civil war between the classes is not continuous and widespread, it nevertheless breaks out here and there every day. In this country we observe that the use of armed force in industrial disputes is increasing. Some of the battles in this civil war are Butte, the Great Steel Strike, Colorado, the Boston Police and West Virginia.

We are living in an epoch of civil war. More than ever the working class needs a strong organization. The decisive struggle is coming. The vanguard of the working class, consisting of those who understand the struggle and how to fight it, must be ready. Without this vanguard of workers which places the interests of the whole working class above that of any group of workers, a successful revolution will not be possible. The capitalists understand that fact. That is why they make it illegal to be a Communist. And this is how they do it:

New and apparently unconstitutional laws were passed for the purpose of punishing or deporting individuals for being Communists. Any law which is passed to punish political opinion or to prevent political organization is apparently unconstitutional. A law which may be unconstitutional is usually not rigorously enforced until it has been tested in a higher court. There is a rule which has been established in criminal procedure that where the constitutionality of a statute and its correct interpretation have not been passed upon a higher court, or in cases where some new questions of law are involved, a certificate of reasonable doubt should be granted, thus giving the defendant the benefit of the doubt.

But when it comes to trying a class conscious worker for taking part in the class struggle, then the courts refuse or forget to grant a certificate of reasonable doubt. He is guilty of leading his class, therefore he is guilty, however old the law or however new, and whatever doubts there may be about its being constitutional.

Ben Gitlow was convicted over a year ago. His case was full of unusual features. It was the first instance in which a law passed 13 years before was used. The constitutionality and the proper construction of the law had never been passed upon by a higher court. There were questions of fact in the case so novel that no legal precedent existed. But in spite of all these unusual features the court refused to grant a certificate of reasonable doubt.

Take down your dictionary and look up the word "justice." Or, better still, borrow your children's school book on the American Government and read what it says about judges being independent and impartial. Then think about the cost of living and big business trying to break up your unions. Then read what the judge said in Ben Gitlow's trial: "When I consider what opportunities this country offers all its inhabitants, I find it difficult indeed to be patient with defendants like these."

Two months ago the case was appealed, but so far there has been no decision. The appeal will most probably be dismissed and then it will be necessary to carry the case to a still higher court, the Court of Appeals, and perhaps to the United States Supreme Court. This will cost a lot of money. Congress cannot reduce the salary of a judge, but legal red tape can make it more and more expensive for a worker to have his case heard in court.

Ben Gitlow's case is one of many. It is the first of the Communist cases. The cases of Harry Winitzky, Jim Larkin, Ruthenberg, Ferguson and Georgian are just as urgent. Read the Toller and learn what happens.

In the meantime raise money for their defense. Send your contributions to Geo. M. Dunaif, Treasurer, National Defense Committee, 339 Stone Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. Sell defense stamps to your shop mates and your union members.

Later: Gitlow's appeal has been dismissed.

A MAY DAY ALBUM.

You know The Toller does things a bit differently than most working-class papers. Besides just publishing a real workers' paper, we do various other things. And we do them for the reason that they help tremendously in raising the standard of working-class thinking and action.

AND NOW WE HAVE PUBLISHED A MAY DAY ALBUM.

This handsome album, with artistic cover in two colors, will contain a number of new photographs of the Russian Revolution, pictures of Lenin, Rosa Luxembourg, Liebknecht and others. Also articles on Soviet Russia, May Day, American political prisoners, the Third International and the Red Labor International, and original cartoons.

IT WILL COST ONLY THIRTY CENTS! AND IT WILL BE OUT ON THE FIRST OF MAY! Send in your orders now. Single copies, 30¢. Twelve or more, 25¢ each.

A TOLLER CARTOON BOOK AT HALF PRICE—50¢.

We have cut the price of our Toller Cartoon Book exactly in half. Other of life's necessities may still soar high but this one has really come down. Those we have left on hand will go at the half price rate. A MAY DAY ALBUM AND A TOLLER CARTOON BOOK FOR 75¢. As many as you want, one or a hundred—at that price. While you are ordering one just say "send both." You will be pleased.

THE TOLLER

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