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THE TOILER

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Prosecutor Hoyne Seeing Red

Frames up to Trap Wagenknecht

SELECTION OF JURY IN CHICAGO COMMUNIST CASES
DRAGS. — VENIREMEN PROFESS PREJUDICE.

Maclay Hoyne, Illinois State's attorney, who is supervising the trials of a large group of "reds", consisting of 41 members of the Communist Labor Party and 85 members of the Communist Party, which opened in Judge Oscar Hebel's court at Chicago, May 10th, is visualizing red wherever he looks. In this respect, he is fully the equal of Attorney General Palmer and it is feared that unless he is soon able to unearth something of a real red character, his mind may give way beneath the strain of its frightful fancies.

Chicago papers of May 25th carried lurid headlines connecting A. Wagenknecht, Executive Secretary of the Communist Labor Party, with a letter said to have been received by Hoyne of that date. The entire proceeding bears all the marks of a frameup such as has often been worked with complete success upon labor leaders in the past. According to the Chicago papers an attempt was made by Hoyne to assassinate upon the life of Wagenknecht by firing a shot thru the window of his home. From this an attempt is made to build a frameup that will connect the shooting with comrade Wagenknecht who is one of 15 Communists who have not as yet been apprehended upon indictments furnished by the Chicago authorities.

Chicago radicals, who are acquainted with the individuals named therein, state that the letter in its wording, spelling, misuse of the English language and general characteristics, bear them out in attributing it to the hand of Michael Flannigan, head of the Thiel detective agency, which has since the January raids, been employed by the bankers and business men of the Loop district to spy upon radicals and work up evidence against the "red menace." A slush fund of \$40,000 is said to have been raised for this purpose.

Copy of "Red" Letter

"New York—May 21—1920—
Mr. State's Attorney Hoyne and
dirty dog Henry Berger, and Barn-
hardt (Assistant State's Attorney
Marvin Barnhardt) and Mike
Flannigan of the Thiel agency.
We want you all to know that
our committee, of conspiring
against 200 men and women and
therefore I have been instructed to
write to you and let you know
that you will be shot at the first
opportunity we get. We mean all

of you; especially Flannigan, the
dirty crook detective; this is our
second letter to you—realize the
men or you will be shot soon. We
have spies as well as you got and
we know what you are planning as
well as you know what we are
planning.

"You can say goodbye to all your
friends if you don't realize these
men in ten days; we know that
the bankers are paying you to put
us in the jails. But let us tell you
something what to tell the bankers
including the president of the first
national bank; that we will put
him in hell just as well as not. We
may meet him some this days and
make him a surprise of something
and the other bankers too.

board.
"By order of the national executive
board;

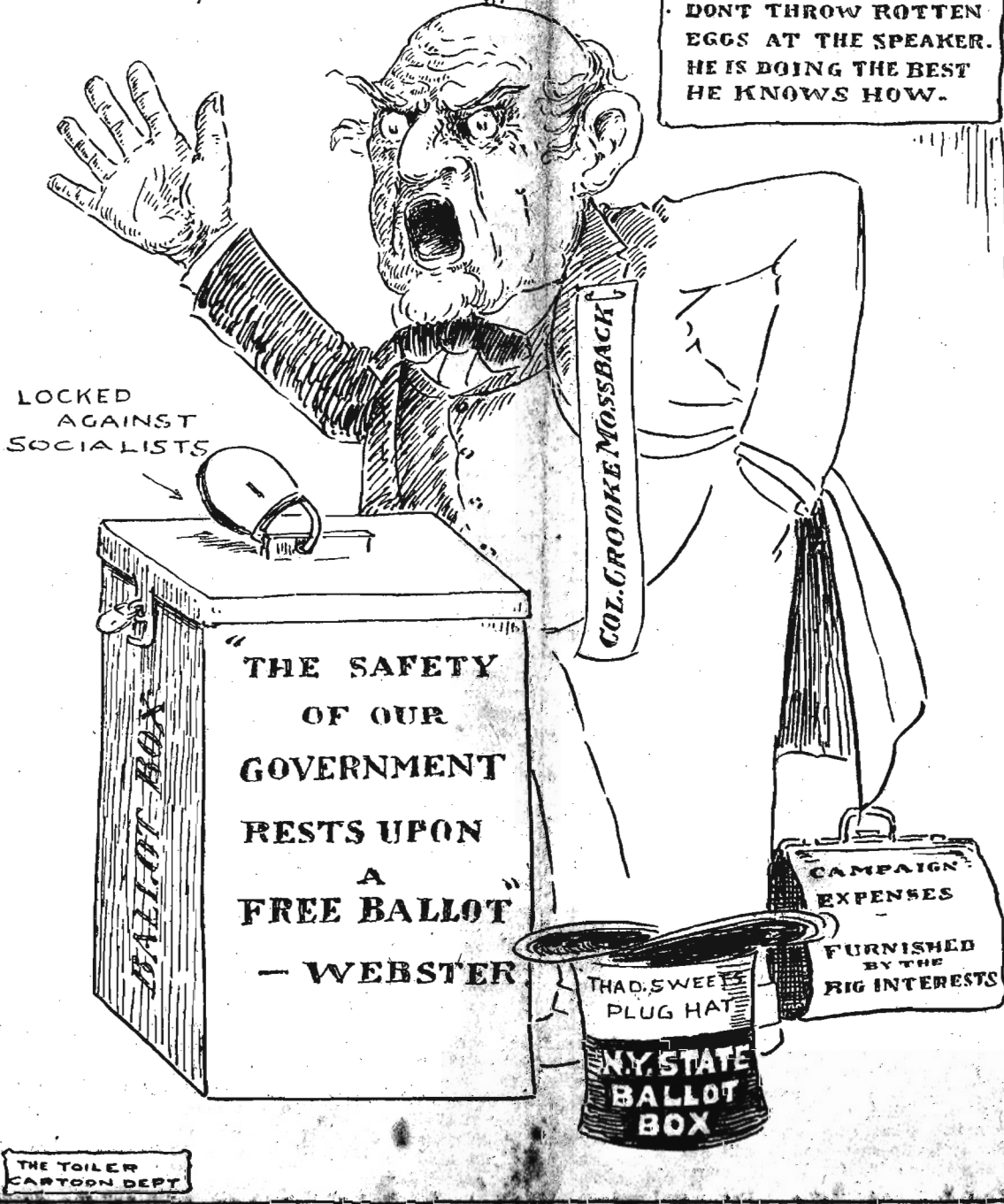
"Baker, Lindgrand and Bilan.
"A. Wagenknecht, executive secre-
tary (this signature in rubber
stamp.)

"This is your last notice."

Communists cases move slowly.
The selection of the jury in the
Communist cases move very slowly
and it is to this that the radicals at-
tribute Hoyne's anxiety to create a sen-
timent against them, such as Palmer
attempted previous to May 1st. At the
present time only five of the needed
12 jurors have been selected the
nearly six hundred veniremen have
been examined. Many weeks will prob-
ably elapse before the jury is com-
pleted. Four of the accused communists
have been released.

District Attorney Hoyne has not as
yet appeared as an active participant
in the cases. Frank Comerford, M.
Barnhart and Lloyd Heth handling the
prosecution. The defense attorneys are
(Continued on page 4.)

"Why air them dod-burned-hoss-stealin' Soshlists a sich like, allus usin' force
& violence! Atty. General Pammer just found out that them aig suckers tried
to blow up Noah & the ark! If they want to vote, why don't the cusses
go to the santimonious ballot box & vote fer honest paytriots like Sen-
ator Newberry & me." &c.



The Colonel in action. He will appear personally upon
every platform in America during the coming campaign
— much advice will be offered you.

BOURGEOIS BANKRUPTCY

The bankruptcy of the leadership of
the bourgeoisie is becoming more and
more evident as one industrial crisis
after another follows in quick suc-
cession. Not one of the recent national
strikes has been settled upon a basis
that will stand up under the first
breath of the next industrial whirlwind
that strikes it. The mishandling of in-
dustrial disputes under the leadership
of the bourgeois economists and mas-
ter minds of bourgeois political science
is a mere running in circles that be-
comes more vicious the longer it con-
tinues.

It is amusing to observe the differ-
ent stages of bourgeois thought in
regard to industrial justice to the work-
ers. Time was when the employing class
conceded the worker nothing as a
moral or just return for his expended
energies. The worker took what the
employer decided he should have whether
it was much or little—and it was
always little enough. During these
times the famous slogan of the A. F.
of L., "A fair day's pay for a fair
day's work," was almost revolutionary.
It was an attempt to establish a re-
cognition that labor was entitled to
enough of its product to maintain its
life and the functions of the human
being.

While the war did not materially
change the conception of Gompers and
the officialdom of the A. F. of L. re-
garding this, it and the outlaw strikes
have practically brought the capitalist
employers to agreement with that prin-
ciple. They have caught up with Gompers
and even stand a chance to sur-
pass him in recognition of new
"rights" for labor. We hear a good
deal about the "right to work." Gompers
has not conceded this right, but
perhaps he will by the time the cap-
italist class grants it under pressure
from the outlaw strikes.

The right to work carries with it the
right to the product—at least intelli-
gent labor will claim that. Gompers
and the exploiters of labor are in
agreement that no such right follows.
Both believe in exploitation of labor
by capital as a fundamental moral and
legal right.

The right to work and the right to a
"living" wage, brings up the question
of "what is living?" and how well is
the worker entitled to live? So, we
are in a circle, having gotten nowhere
unless we can solve these questions.
The bourgeoisie cannot solve them.
The moment they attempt it they are
confronted with their own economic
interests for the better the workers
live, the less is the employers' share.
Upon the rock of the division of the
products of labor is the bourgeoisie's
salvation and it is the necessities
of the workers' lives demand they
steer for it while the salvation of the
capitalist system and the

continuance of profit taking demand
its avoidance. The nearest the capital-
ist class can come to solving this ir-
reconcilable antagonism is to grant
a living wage—whatever that may
mean. But it is a solution which does
not solve. The workers will not accept
it. As long as there is exploitation, the
class-war must continue.

The bourgeoisie leaders and spokes-
men accept the idea that something is
wrong but they have no solution to
offer. The best they can offer are
but sops thrown to the workers to pa-
cify them for a little while.

They have no bridge to span this
chasm. As world leaders, the bour-
geoisie are bankrupt, they have reached
the end of their rope. The class war
grows more intense, production breaks
down, national and international econ-
omy cracks under the strain of in-
dustrial strife. The crisis approaches
and the workers are forced to take
the leadership and to steer the indus-
trial craters thru the whirlpools into the
quiet waters of industrial and economic
justice.

This is the course which events are
taking. Bourgeois spokesmen may wall
and cavi but capitalism is crumbling
faster than they can erect supports
against it.

The future belongs to labor. Their
is the only solution which can bring
peace to a world in class conflict. The
control of industry by the producers
alone, will raise man above a strug-
gling slave or an arrogant master and
weld them into one common mass
without inharmonious ends or
irreconcilable economic differences.

GO WEST!

— By Boomer. —

That grand old man, Horace Groely
used to say: "go west young man and
grow up with the country." Should
he be living today and give advice,
it would probably be "go west young
man and get in jail" if you believe
in the rights of free speech." For
there is not a jail in the west even
in the smaller towns that have not
held, or is holding: radicals picked
up since the Centralia tragedy of Nov.
11th.

And what does that mean to the
labor movement? It means that capital-
ism has turned the jails into schools
for the manufacture of radical, as
many a man has been only a luke
warm sympathizer at the time of being
"selected" but by the time he got
a two or three month sample of mod-
ern justice, he became a sure enough
class conscious guy.

Especially has Multnomah Co. Jail,
Portland, Ore., been a good school for
this education, as there are thirty or
more of us in the one corridor who
have been in since Nov. 11th. We
get books, papers and all kinds of
periodicals, which we read and pass
around to the other corridors. Our
labor has commenced to bear fruit

upon the inmates of the other corri-
dors who in the main are bootleggers
white slavers, etc. As an indication
in a straw vote taken a few days ago
Debs was the only one who got a look
in.

We have lost three of our members
by reason of an urgent invitation to
visit Salem, State Prison, for a period
of 2-2-5 years. Two of the sojourners
were members of the C. L. P. and the
third one was convicted of being
one of those "terrible" I. W. W.'s. put
on investigation it was found he be-
longed to everything ever heard of
around these parts. It is not hard to
convict a man here only a little
evident as Oregon has not got its
own corps of stool pigeon witnesses
yet, it has to borrow some from Wash-
ington, and as they have been rather
busy in that state lately they have to
look ahead for open dates.

Another little matter that seems to
be worrying the persecutors and dis-
pensers of "justice" is that these
prisoners have heard something about
being entitled to a jury trial, so they
all refuse to be satisfied with a part
of a jury. They are all holding firm
for a separate and individual trial and
since they are all migratory workers a
little thing like being held in jail six
months or a year is of no moment to
any one concerned save the taxpayers,
who ever they may be—at least none
of them are relatives of ours.

Justice! Yes, there is one way to get
it for the workers and that is by the
workers becoming the dominant factor
in society. Workers should devote more
time to education so as to be able to
handle their new found industrial free-
dom when it is attained. Well, I am
not going to worry, considering all
the men and women receiving their
education in the bastilles of capital-
ism it makes me rather optimistic. To
all who want to get a class conscious
education, if you are being overlooked
in the east or other parts of the coun-
try. Allow me to invite you to Port-
land jail, as we have room for several
comrades, brothers, fellowworkers or
just folks, whichever ever you may be.

TOM WALDON
Co. Jail, Portland, Ore.

THE SOVIET OF DEER ISLAND

A true account of the persecu-
tions inflicted upon the deportees
at Deer Island, Boston Harbor
after the January raids by the
Palmer inquisitors. 15c a copy.
Address The Toiler

TWO MINUTE TALKS ON TODAY'S TOPICS.

— By Elmer T. Allison. —
A pamphlet of short essays
dealing with a number of sub-
jects of vital importance to the
workers.

10c A COPY.
Address The Toiler

PALMER USES DETECTIVE AGENCY IN WAR ON RADICALS

WASHINGTON.—Direct connection
between the murderous campaign of
the Baldwin-Feltz Detective Agency
against labor in West Virginia and At-
torney General Palmer's raids against
so-called "reds" is now established by
means of official government docu-
ments.

It was at Palmer's instigation that the
Department of Labor issued hundreds
of warrants for aliens, based on Bal-
dwin's alleged prima facie evidence
covering "2,000 perfect cases" of men
and women who should be deported
for radical beliefs. While the law re-
quires that such warrants be served
only by officers of the Labor Depart-
ment, a great number of aliens were
seized by Palmer's men and by local
police or private detectives.

Carl Cram, of West Virginia is one
of the aliens thus arrested. On April
23rd, Immigration Inspector O'Brien
formally notified the Labor Depart-
ment that Carl Cram was being held
at Bluefield, West Va., and that the
private detectives were clamoring to
have the Labor Department officially
"parole" Cram in the custody of the
Baldwin-Feltz concern.

Attention is called to the fact that
the private strike-breaking detectives
already held Cram in confinement, but
were anxious to have the Labor De-
partment take the responsibility for
what they had done and intended fur-
ther to do with the prisoner. The
Baldwin-Feltz pretext was that Cram
was needed by the West Virginia
authorities as a witness against one
Tony Stafford, charged with attempted
murder.

Mother Jones, the famous friend and
comforter of the working class, declares
that Tony Stafford is an intelligent
and lawful champion of the workers,
whose only crime is his determined
opposition to the feudal mine owners
of West Virginia. To all who know the
circumstances, the implication was clear
that the Baldwin-Feltz detectives were
plotting to use a deportation warrant
to hold Carl Cram and "third degree"
him as a witness against Stafford and
all others whom they wished to get.

Anthony Caminetti, commissioner
general of immigration, was willing and
anxious to cooperate with the private
detectives. Within a few hours after
he received the request, forwarded by
Inspector O'Brien, Caminetti made out
a formal order to parole Carl Cram in
custody of Baldwin-Feltz. In the old
days before Louis F. Post began to
scrutinize Caminetti's work, that would
have settled just the way the mine
owners things want it. But the As-
sistant Secretary of Labor did not
rubber-stamp Caminetti's recommenda-

tion. Across its face, on the contrary,
he wrote: "Parole denied L. F. P."

Then Mr. Post communicated direct-
ly with Inspector O'Brien, directing
him immediately to recover the per-
son of Carl Cram from the Baldwin-
Feltz detectives, and adding the in-
formation that if the regularly con-
stituted authorities of West Virginia
wished to use Cram as a witness
against Stafford or any one else, those
authorities could procure the full co-
operation of the Labor Department if
they would state the facts and make
an official application.

Caminetti is Palmer's "inside man"
at the Department of Labor. In the
whole campaign of terrorism conducted
by the Attorney General for the past
year Caminetti has been an active
assistant. It was he, figuratively, who
christened the Buford when that vessel
carried the first cargo of men and
women into exile from America, and
it was his boasted ambition to churn
the Atlantic with subsequent fleets
of exiles from our "democracy." To this
end he welcomed the cooperation of
such gentry as the Baldwin-Feltz de-
tectives.

RUSSIA'S INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.

MOSCOW.—The locomotive factories
in Kharkov are working with full
speed. During the last two weeks two
new locomotives were manufactured
and three repaired. Besides a great
number of freight cars were repaired.
The trains on the Wolga-Bugulma line
are now running the distance in 48
hours which previously required 11
days. The workers of Alexandria line
have voluntarily prolonged their work-
ing day. The first labor army in the
Ekaterinburg district has already re-
paired 66 railroad bridges. Traffic on
the railroad lines south of Moscow
is rapidly being reopened. During
March, 513 locomotives and 1,400 cars
were repaired. Ten complete trains
were organized. The reports of the
commission for the Third Railroad
District of the Moscow azan Line show
a general and considerable improve-
ment in the traffic. All orders are ful-
filled with military strictness. During
"transportation week" 468 seriously
damaged locomotives were repaired.
Askij writes in "Pravda" that during
the first week of April in Soviet
Russia 6,595 freight cars were loaded
and unloaded. This constituted an in-
crease of 1,500 cars over the previous
week.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE LUSK COMMITTEE.

Some astonishing facts about
this extra-legal Committee never
before revealed. An authentic
report.

25c the copy.
Address The Toiler

Your Dollar Was Never Worth so much as Now

Now don't say it isn't so—right off the bat, of
course we realize the seeming contradiction in the state-
ment contained in the heading of this article. A whole
lot has been said and written about the Shrinking Dollar
—the 46 cent dollar, the 33 cent dollar. You have read
of it and have doubtless had more or less unpleasant ex-
periences concerning this fact. No need to tell you that
the Great American Dollar is no more great but very
small indeed, and contains but a fraction and a small
fraction at that, of its former purchasing power. In this
respect it has been getting smaller and smaller. Little
by little and some times a whole lot at a time, its value
in the necessities—of—life market has constantly dwindle-
d, until now we have come to regard a dollar as little
more than a joke, tho a tragic one for the most of us who
earn them all and get but a few. But still we maintain
that your dollar is worth more now than ever before.
But it will take several more paragraphs to tell you why.

You can't always measure the value of a dollar by
what it will buy in a general way. There is still another
measure for the dollar and that measure is the need of
it at a particular time. When you have many of them—
their purchasing power is not so important. Quantity
balances quality. But when you have only a few and the
purchasing power has dwindled to about one third—then,
even a 33 cent dollar looks as big and bright as a brand
new full moon.

Last week we told you on this page of the paper
shortage, of the very grave situation of The Toiler be-
cause of it and the lack of funds in The Toiler treasury
—of the absolute necessity of getting funds immediately
to purchase paper if we were to continue publication.
But in spite of the paper shortage, paper can be had—for
dollars. Even a truth-telling weekly paper such as The
Toiler can obtain paper if dollars are at hand.

And there is the trouble, comrades, and readers of
The Toiler. Just as we told you last week, we have no
funds to buy newsprint. We want to repeat—in spite of
the difficulties of obtaining news print, in spite of the
conspiracy which is said to exist against the smaller
weeklies, in spite of the conspiracy which WE KNOW
exists in certain circles to kill The Toiler in any way—
and several ways have been tried this past year, in spite
of all these—we know how to get all the newsprint we
need for many months. We know whom to see, we know
what wheels to turn to start hundreds of reams of paper
to roll our way—if you will help us get the money needed
to pay for it. We have learned how to do that in battling
for The Toiler these past trying months—and we have
learned it well.

The rest is up to you, comrades, we believe we have
done our duty. We have found the ways—you must help
us find the means. It is not much that we ask, just a
little from each of you who believe in The Toiler and its
mission; who believe that in this particular crisis a little
33 cent dollar is not too much to give to it to sustain it
in its struggle for the education and emancipation of the
workers.

And now we repeat what we state in the first para-
graph—that in this particular instance, that measly,
blackened, torn, 33 cent dollar in your pocket is worth
more NOW than ever before. Because it will insure the
continuation of The Toiler by supplying the needed pa-
per upon which to print; by making certain that which
we MUST have if we are to do our work—yours and
ours. Twenty five hundred dollars will pay for ten tons
of newsprint. Ten tons of paper mean a good long lease
of life and a chance to do a whole lot of needed social-
ist work—a whole lot of educational work among the
workers.

We know this is worth while. You realize it is too.
Already the dollars are coming in. We ask you also to
drop at least one dollar in the stream of dollars that is
to revolve the wheels that keep The Toiler turning out
each and every week the necessary education and inspira-
tion which the workers must have to win a world for
those who toil.

SEND YOUR DOLLAR NOW!

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to publish a newspaper. Your renewal NOW will aid materially
in meeting the expenses of printing.

If You have Renewed
Get Another Subscription
Use This Blank

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

Name
Street
City State
Renewal New Which?

Skygac's Column

(Written especially for The Toiler.)
B. L. T. with his line-o-type informs us that "Mr. Deaneley does exclusive undertaking in Clinton, Ia. Just how it is possible for Mr. Delaney to thus enter to the "exclusive" in a classless country, which B. L. T.'s boss, the W. G. N. Tribune (the W. G. N. stands for World's Greatest Nuisance) insists that America is, B. L. T. failed to state.

When Wood tells us that Lavender is pink-dilly-dilly-daily, and McAlister tells us that Lavender is grey-dilly-dilly-daily, and Hoover tells us that Lavender is green-dilly-dilly-daily, what is a poor color blind voter going to do?

The Rotary club in our town is all bet up over the soldier's bonus. They are agin' it—strong. Likewise they are to a (I almost wrote "to a man") Rotary Member, agin' these terrible high wages paid the extravagant workers, who none of 'em "will do more than half a day's work for a day's pay." Rotary—means to go around in a circle—and get nowhere!!!

The M. and M., same being Merchants and Manufacturers, are likewise all het up. Their recent meeting had the largest attendance of any in the history of the local M. & M. They must be existing somewhere, country. Prices? Wages? Social System? Or What? You tell 'em Hy, Palmer won't let me.

That is Palmer SAYS he won't.

One column of the morning scream informs us that prices on women's ready made clothing will go no higher according to Cleveland authority and the next column tells us that prices on women's clothing had been cut 50 per cent, one half, by Western firm. Any connection between the two news items which appeared side by side?

Press report tells us of a foreigner who, upon being threatened with deportation, kissed the American flag and committed suicide, saying with his dying breath, "America, my country."

"Every soldier knows that both his comfort at the rear and his safety on the battlefield were sacrificed" editorializes the W. G. N.

The W. G. N. failed to state that the same forces which uphold, maintain and defend the wages-system, are the forces which sacrificed the soldier's comfort and safety. So the rich may be safe in their riches and the poor be kept in the station which it has pleased Almighty God to place them—in punishment for the sin of Adam, I suppose.

Profiteers are now threatened with "deflated finance". We are used to that. None have ever accused us of

being a profiteer—but we have suffered from deflated finance for 10, these many years.

Some people look it over; some people overlook it.

An organizer from the N. O. Socialist party told me that I ought to join THE party. When I asked her to submit her reasons she argued like this: "Well, it is the only party that is doing anything; it is all that is left, and one has to work somewhere."

Whereupon I told her: "according to your argument, if I were a Christian and the Bolshevik got my God, I'd have to take up Devil worship on the ground that 'one has to worship somewhere.'"

Press reports that "reactionaries are organizing an army to co-operate with the Poles against the Bolsheviks." Reactionaries is the right word. Also birds of a feather are apt to be found in the same nest.

Rumor is a strange thing. A fellow gravely informed me the other day that a certain government arsenal was supposed to have eight thousand machine guns with ample rounds of ammunition and there was not a single one there. He intimated that the local Rotary Club knew of the location of some of them, and that they were soon to be used against the rebellious working-class. A friend of mine was invited to "come in out of the wet", what ever that means. Rumors ARE strange affairs. Was there any truth to that rumor? Who knows?

"Hope to wind up DRIVE this week"—press report.

HOW LONG will the dwellers of the land of the free and the hope of the brave CONSENT to be driven?

TRUTH FINALLY ADMITTED—WITH RESERVATIONS.

Anybody with brains enough in their head to know that two and two makes four knows that there are NO classes in America—except the working class and a class of parasites which work the working class. Here is the way the Muskegan (Mich.) Chronicle straddles the issue:

"Any time that right (the right of free speech and a free press) is taken away, whether by tyrannical use of the masses or the classes, to use to Mr. C. that will be understood, BUT WITHOUT CONCEDEING ANY SUCH DISTINCTION IN THE UNITED STATES AS IT MIGHT IMPLY, our boasted liberties will have vanished."

"Will have vanished." By striking out the word "will" in that phrase the actual situation in the U. S. will be revealed.

his enemies by electing them to Congress where they can turn their backs on the punishing labor. I can't believe me listen to Mr. C. G. Jones as he goes about like a roaring lion because congress stung labor once more.

It is one of the sad and weird mysteries of life why the A. F. of L. clings so tenaciously to the tail of the "dam" donkey (I wouldn't say "dam" for any thing) after being kicked repeatedly with stinging emphasis on a certain part of the anatomy. As Dunderberg says it is one of those things no fellow can find out. Some one suggests the tie is Adelphi.

I have read or heard somewhere of a poor fellow that was twin brother to an ox can it be that the A. F. of L. is twin brother to the democratic jackass and the tail of the donkey is the connecting figure as in the case of the famous Siamese twins, Eng and Chang. If this be the case we may gladly sing Blest be the tie that binds.

—Selah.

But it is in the wide and fertile field of religion that the halfbacked descendants of Ephraim blossom forth in all their varied glory, can you imagine three or four hundred separate bodies attacked to one head. You can't do it. Then you are no Ephraimite. Every disciple of Diabolous (Diabolous is the one who causes deception you know) Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians etc. etc. without batting an eye. Even the usually astute and redoubtable Skygac shows a cross of Ephraimite blood when he makes catholicism and protestantism synonymous with christianity, and when he terms the hell begotten nations of Europe christian. I use the term hell begotten advisedly. Get out your bibles and read the thirteenth chapter of Revelation for my authority. But this is the book of which Mr. Ingersoll says it requires a man suffering from delirium tremens to understand but Mr. Ingersoll was a descendant of Eph in the direct male line so his testimony is of no value.

Selah and Selah.

Springfield, O. A. C.

CENTRALIA, WASH.—Grangers, organized labor and the Private Soldiers' and Sailors' Legion of Seattle and other cities are planning a mammoth Liberty picnic to be held near Centralia May 29, as a counter to the activities of the Centralia reactionaries who lynched a returned service man following the Armistice day shootings, and who are now united in an anti-progressive campaign to down the organized workers.

It was on January 9, 1905, that Father Gapon led a procession of workers to present a petition to the Czar, which ended in the petitioners being mowed down with machine guns. Today it is interesting to read some of the demands of that petition: "Personal freedom and inviolability, freedom of speech and the press, freedom of assemblage, freedom in religious affairs."

"Responsibility of the ministers to the people, and guarantees of lawfulness in administration."

"Equality before the law for all without exemption."

"Immediate rehabilitation of those punished for their convictions."

NO "MEXICAN SOVIET" YET --- OBREGON ANOTHER KERENSKY

— By Lina A. E. Gale. —

Capitalists need feel no tremors and Radicals no glee over the prospect of the early establishment of a "Mexican Soviet" as predicted in a United Press dispatch from Washington, May 8. There will be no Soviet here just yet. Some day, but not now.

The Obregon administration will be "safe and sane but progressive." Obregon will be another Kerensky, trying in all sincerity, no doubt, to improve the standard of living of the workers and at the same time to permit the oil and mining interests to gain bigger profits, seeking to grant to the workers the demands that Carranza promised but never fulfilled while still endeavoring to retain the friendship of the United States.

Unlike Kerensky, Obregon may rule for several years, but, like Kerensky, he will eventually fail in his efforts to mix conflicting elements and to prevent the irrepressible conflict.

Mexico's next revolution will be a Social Revolution. Just as the liberalism of Carranza, auspiciously initiated, developed into gross corruption, waste of funds and brutal tyranny, which brought the downfall of the regime, so the liberalism of Obregon, no matter how honest may be the motives of the man, must culminate in a similar surrender to the bourgeoisie that will mean another revolution, sooner or later.

Despite the unsavory character of some of those who supported the recent revolution, and despite the fact that the fruits will be reforms but not fundamental social changes, it must not be forgotten that the Mexican masses are undergoing an awakening that is ominous for capitalism. When they find that this upheaval has brought them but minor improvements in their condition, their swing to the Left will be still more pronounced. They will no longer dally with Liberalism. They will demand Soviets—and get them.

Carranza fell because the people thought he had sold out to the same Wall Street that he had so long resisted. He also fell because of the support that personal enemies, bandits and some bourgeois politicians gave his opponents. But the primary cause was the general feeling that Bonillas, the government choice for President, was Wall Street man, and that the story of the \$1,000,000 campaign fund furnished by New York bankers, was true.

The masses flocked to Obregon because they thought he was the champion of the common people. They liked his brusque, unostentatious manner. They admired him more than ever on May 9 when he rode on horseback into Mexico City and, in his shirt-sleeves, his face unshaven for at least a couple of weeks, he made a speech from the balcony of the plain, old-fashioned St. Francis Hotel. They still admire him and they are willing to give him time to accomplish what they want—if he will. But if he doesn't—and it will be practically impossible for him to, even if he tries—he will throw his sword to the wall as they did Carranza.

Wall St. Planned Long Civil War—and Intervention.

There is some reason to think that American finance-capital is putting up the money for the election of Bonillas and in urging Carranza to send troops to Sonora to force Obregon's people to vote against their favorite son, deliberately sought to precipitate civil war. It is also likely that my original statement that guns were furnished the Sonorans from the United States, was true, and that American Big Business deliberately played one side against the other. I am certain that I was right in saying that Wall Street expected a long-drawn-out civil war which would make intervention inevitable, and result in a repetition of the Texas incident of 1848.

But developments were different than Wall Street anticipated. The people had supported Carranza as long as they considered him the enemy of them, they revolted. Their revolt was genuine and almost spontaneous. The fact that the revolution was bloodless and met practically no opposition, proves this. The people were a unit or nearly so.

Seeing the immense popularity of Obregon, Wall Street changed its tactics. Seeing how unanimous was the backing of the people, it realized that there could be no civil war—all the fighters would be on one side. So it made overtures to Obregon and made overtures to American Big Business while Obregon, fearful of interference from above the Rio Grande, was making overtures to American Big Business to protect himself. Thus the two parties to the contract came together—the one because to subsidize a revolutionary government would be cheaper than to finance a counter-revolution or wage a war against it, the other because afraid of being attacked and overthrown.

Indirect Control of Mexico.

So there will be no armed intervention. No annexation. No repetition of the Texas case or the Panama affair. None of these things will be necessary. Obregon has compromised sufficiently satisfactorily.

American finance-capital will get what it wants—or most of it. It is very probable that Obregon will insist on a better enforcement of labor laws, on better wages and better working conditions generally in return for the friendly manner in which he will deal with American capitalists here, but the fact remains that he will not undertake anything radical.

"Soviet Mexico" is still some distance away. Instead of a proletarian dictatorship, Mexico is scheduled to have a form of Liberalism like, perhaps, what William Jennings Bryan might initiate if he were President of the United States.

A big business boom is already anticipated by merchants, miners and oil men. The worries of those Americans who remembered Obregon's vigorous tactics of a few years ago, have disappeared with the authoritative assurance that there will be "no rough stuff." Stores are painting their buildings. Business men are buying more stock. Credit facilities which were pinched in the last few weeks, are

stretching out again. The Y. M. C. A. is planning considerable extension of its work having just received a donation of \$1,000 from the munitions department and a pledge of a steady bonus of \$100 a month from the government-owned railroad. These remembrances were promised by the outgoing regime in the days when Carranza thought he was going to elect Ambassador Ygnacio Bonillas and was lavishly spending money alleged to have come from Wall Street. The Y. M. C. A. people were fearful that the new administration might not respect the promise, but their fears have just been set at ease. The \$1,000 has already been paid. The railroad money will be paid shortly, the officials explaining that they must wait a week or so as Director General Fontes of the Carranza government, took all the funds away with him when he fled. However, the money is a sure thing, and confidence has been restored in the "Y" as well as elsewhere.

Bidding for Popularity.

The Obregonistas made themselves popular with newspapers at the outset by cutting down the mailing rates on second class matter to 4 centavos a kilo. The rate had been 6 centavos and the Carranza postmaster general had raised it to 10 just a few weeks ago.

The national mint is busy coining a new supply of 5, 10 and 20 centavo pieces to relieve the wretched shortage of small change, due to speculation in silver and bronze, that had caused vast inconvenience and even suffering during the past few months and at different other periods in the Carranza administration.

An amnesty has been promptly declared for all former exiles who left Mexico under Carranza as well as for adherents of Carranza who opposed the Obregon revolution, providing, of course, that they lay down arms. Political exiles in Mexico who came here from the United States and other countries to avoid participation in the war or to escape persecution, will be protected at the expense of the U. S. government. Obregon in February, he told me that no political fugitive here would be extradited back to his own country.

Efforts will be made to put the educational system of the country on a respectable basis, it is also claimed, and there is certainly need enough of it. At present the City of Mexico maintains only 85 primary schools with the attendance of 35,491 pupils, less than half the number of two years before. Steadily the money that should have gone to schools has been cut down to permit bigger graft for generals and politicians under Carranza. The big teachers' strike of a year ago was the result of the non-payment of salaries to the teachers of the Federal District for several months. In 1910, at the time of the last census, there were 42,484 children over 6 years of age who could not read and write and in the whole Federal District an illiterate population of about a quarter of a million souls. The figures would be no less today. Obviously, there is opportunity for useful work if the new administration undertakes it honestly.

While there is reason to believe that the regime will be in many respects an improvement over the preceding one, it must not be forgotten that it will be so deeply obliged to American Big Business that it will be able to do very little that conflicts with the profits on foreign investments. Insofar as it can improve conditions without touching those profits, it will be free to do so, but the minute it comes to the question of how to improve the lot of the old, old, old threat of intervention, Obregon is too wise to throw away the political prize that he wanted, by blindly defying Wall Street. In all probability, he will yield as gracefully as he can whenever mooted points come up.

Placating American Big Business

Every possible effort has been made by the leaders of the revolution to make American interests friendly and to pave the way for recognition by the government in Washington. In an exclusive interview with the Associated Press in Tacubaya, a town in the suburbs of Mexico City, on May 8, General Obregon declared:

What strengthens the United States stronger Mexico. What weakens the United States weakens Mexico. My ideal for the relations between Mexico and the United States is to make the international border like the Canadian boundary, withdrawing troops, except customs officials. Carranza's interpretation of the Monroe doctrine was a mistake, although I believe Carranza was perfectly sincere in his belief that his policy was best for Mexico. The Government of Mexico, of Sonora, Provisional President of Mexico, told a United Press correspondent: "I have a great, strong desire to see Mexico a field for safe investment, for honest and legitimate investment in accord with the spirit of the world.... The revolutionary government promises stabilization of the Tampico oil question. As we feel that the real interests of the government and the oil companies are the same, we will meet at the proper point. We promise a satisfactory and sensible arrangement."

"You do not feel your government can be called Socialist?" he was asked. "Absolutely not," was de la Huerta's answer. "It is entirely directed to democracy and seeking the betterment of the poorer classes by orderly means."

Robert V. Peasequia, financial agent of the revolutionary government, has stated that "the revolution proposes to consolidate all the elements of the country for united peace and progress and to respect foreigners and their interests, with which we aim to maintain the most cordial relations."

Ralph H. Turner, Mexico City correspondent for the United Press, told me the other night that he "guessed Obregon would be good, all right, and cooperate with American Big Business."

A dispatch in the Kansas City Post of May 12, said: "It was learned that an agent of General Obregon, leader of Mexico's revolutionary armies, visited New York last week for a series of

conferences with big business interests. The Obregon side, General Ramon de Negri, carried Obregon's pledge to protect American citizens and American property rights in Mexico."

The Wall Street Journal remarked a short time ago that petroleum companies need not be disturbed over the increase of the export duty on petroleum from 30 cents to 54 cents a ton, scheduled to go into effect May 25, for "from all appearances Carranza will not be in Mexico on the date when the increase is scheduled to go into effect."

An extra of "El Heraldo de Mexico," the Mexico City daily owned by ex-Governor Alvarado of Yucatan, created while "Socialist" (?) and now slated for Secretary of the Treasury according to reports, carried an account of a banquet in New York attended by N. L. Dooney, Secretary of the Interior, Lane and representatives of the Standard Oil Co., the Continental Rubber Co., the Texas Oil Co., the Southern Oil Transport Co., Island Oil Co., United Fruit Co., and the Continental Co. In this banquet, according to "El Heraldo," Obregon was acclaimed as "the men that Mexico needed" and great satisfaction was expressed with the termination of the revolution.

The attitude of a prominent official in the Texas Oil Co. is of interest as revealing the change of mind that he has undergone. In the first few days of the Obregon uprising he held certain persons confidentially that the situation looked very bad. "Obregon is as bad as a Bolshevik," he asserted. Some days after Obregon had entered Mexico City, however, he told these same persons that he was satisfied that "the new government is going to do the right thing and Obregon won't repeat any of his radical business of a few years ago." He had previously declared that "Bonillas would be a much better man for American interests." He was plainly for Bonillas in the first place but later received assurance that the new administration would do nothing antagonistic.

Tampico correspondents assure me that the "Socialist Party" in that city held a convention that endorsed Obregon almost unanimously, but which appears to have been organized by Obregonistas as a campaign auxiliary, having no previous existence, is practically a bourgeois organization. At the convention the subject of Russia was not mentioned, the word Bolshevism was taboo, and the principal speakers for Obregon asserted that he would enforce labor laws already heretofore, is true enough, and if the promise is kept, the workers will benefit materially yet this can hardly be confused with Socialism.

The status of labor in Tampico has been especially wretched for although high wages are paid in many cases by the petroleum companies, the prices are outrageous and far out of proportion to the wages. It is practically impossible to get for less than 20 pesos a day's dinner. That costs the equivalent of 30 or 35 cents. American money, in Mexico City, Colonel Orozco, a Carranza appointee and friend, was head of the police department during the old regime, and his brutality in dealing with the labor unions was notorious. Both I. W. W. unions were forced to suspend meetings, their halls shut up and their members beaten and jailed as automatically as the United States. Although the Carranza officials constantly fought the American corporations and tried to force them to pay higher and quite justifiable—taxes, they were in turn grafting and spending public funds with shameful extravagance, and anybody who dared expose their rottenness, was browbeaten, bullied or bribed into silence.

Writing from Tampico, a friend says, "The labor situation is quiet here at present but may develop strikes at any time, as wages while higher than the average in Mexico, are far from equaling the terrific cost of living. I am continually astounded by prices of food and clothes."

C. F. Bertelli, Universal Service staff correspondent, in a Paris dispatch to the American press, says that the Obregon revolution was planned and financed by a group of wealthy Mexican exiles in the French capital. He names Francisco Iturbide, millionaire banker of General Angeles, whose revolution of a little over a year ago ended abruptly when he was captured and executed; Jose Diaz, Mexican rubber king, cousin of Porfirio Diaz, whose estates in Yucatan and Tehuacan were confiscated by Carranza; Ramon Garcia, adviser to the late Victoriano Huerta; Jesus Ignacio Hiram, millionaire Diaz follower; Juan Estrada, Mexican song writer living in Madrid; Hiraldo Cabrera, colonel under Madero, and J. Y. Limantour, minister of finance in the Diaz regime, as the abettors of the scheme. Jose Diaz, he says, is now going to London as head of the English branch of the revolutionary junta, the object of which, according to his information, is to replace the "scientificos" and restore the iron reign of the days of Porfirio Diaz.

Such a story is by no means improbable and Bertelli is too dependable without a strong belief in its reliability. It is notorious that the Obregon has utilized the services of any and all classes in his uprising against Carranza, and it would not be surprising if he had the financial backing of the old Diaz leaders who have been exiled since Carranza came into power.

Obregon's Compromise Means New Revolt.

It is probably incorrect that Obregon was directly financed by American interests as I and many others believed originally. Inasmuch as these interests were really trying to elect Bonillas President and Carranza had "flopped" and joined hands with them, it seems that the Obregon revolt was a semi-protest of the Mexican people generally against the attempt to put a semi-American, alleged to be Wall Street's choice, in the presidential chair. The spontaneity and unanimity of the support Obregon received, while due partly

(Continued on page 4.)

The Black Sheep.

Chapter XXXIII.

Unadaptable (Continued).

"For three years," Olive said to herself, "I have just passed thru a library, and developed conceit." She smiled at her self analysis. Why did she have to see all the imperfections in life anyway, that was the thought that troubled her. She leaned back and looked out thru the window. It was fast growing dark. A few stars shone out from among grey black clouds. She noticed neither the stars nor the clouds, but visualized the image of Jack Thurston, care-free in the woods of the mountain wilderness. Why should he play such a powerful the unconscious roll in her existence. She did not reason on the subject. When the human mind is attached to an object of affection it does not reason. If it really does reason the attachment is imperfect. All she knew, was that he was different from other men she knew. His views of life were different. When he was abused, he did not retaliate in kind, but endeavored to explain. He even tried to exonerate him. "I know all things means to forgive all things," he had said. It was a bigger truth than Frank Cartwright was capable of. In fact, at the time he had spoken it, Olive had not grasped it, but her consequent study of the thought modes of teachers, editors, merchants preachers and politicians had caused her to realize that mankind en masse do what they feel they must, under the pressure of environment, so that if you could know all the circumstances there was bound to be an excuse for every act.

To her, Jack had been an example of what she conceived real christianity ought to be. He had not mistaken the cross for the Christ. But tonight she saw deeper as Jack had spoken deeper than she had been able to understand. She realized that christianity urges forgiveness, which is a form of condoning by those who consider themselves superior, the acts of those who they consider inferior. The very act of forgiving makes the forgiver a hater in his own eyes, than the forgiven. It was only another way in which the type struggle, and thru it the class struggle manifested itself in human society. Jack, on the other hand had told her, that he did not forgive or ask to be forgiven. He only tried to understand, and endeavored to make himself understood. "To forgive is Christlike, but to explain is justice," he had been his words.

The more she thought of those things, the more wonderful became her vision of the boy she had first seen in the murky light of a prison cell. Each moment in that short acquaintance she treasured as a jewel.

She tried his philosophy on herself. Could she explain why Frank Cartwright should call this boy whom he had never seen, "a nameless bum." Simply because an unworthy judge had sent him to an undeserved cell. Frank knew that the judge had been exposed and had been made the scape goat for the whole ring of grafters of which he was but a part. A certain sense of pride surged through Olive's blood at the thought of this. It had been her work that started the agitation which put the judge out of office. The fact that very little had been gained by it, of that time, was not apparent to her at that time. But aside from that she succeeded in explaining Frank Cartwright's attitude. It was after all not difficult. He was jealous, and jealousy is a ghoul, which digs into the mental tombs of the past, awakening the emotions that thrived in the jungle and the cave.

Frank Cartwright was aware of the fact, that Jack's words had placed Olive beyond his reach. It had wounded his pride to think that this son of the working class, unshaven, unwashed and well-jaded, should have thwarted him in his desire. The shot maddened him. Yes, she could understand. But the fact that she could understand, did not help her to forget Jack neither did it cause her to love Frank. She reread Jack's notes for the fifth time and became convinced, that between her and Frank no bond could endure. She felt certain, that unless Jack would have to leave her life again she should have to leave to face the world alone. "Poor Frank," she sighed as she threw herself on the bed and consciously watched the subconscious struggle between her instincts and tranny. She decided to answer his letter. It was no small task. Thoughts fairly crackled in her brain. Heart, brain and hand vied with each other for expression. It was the woman at work but no sooner had she begun to write than the lady of the product of church and school, got busy. She told her not to write or to write just a card of acknowledgement, that was the nice thing to do. But the woman proved to her that the card was too small, she must at least write a note. So she sat down to write or rather to waste paper. "My Dear Mr. Thurston: No, that was too familiar. "Mr. J. Thurston: Dear Sir, suggested the lady. "Never," retorted the woman. "Dear Jack," Oh horror, that would never do. How she would like to write the way she felt, "Society forces us to be hypocrites against our will," Jack had said. How true it was. Well for once I'll be natural be the results what they may," she said to herself.

"My Dear Boy," she wrote and then she looked at it. Surely this was imprudent. What would he think of it, but she let it stand. She had made her decision, and as usual it went. "I've had many presents in my day but the one that Mr. E. C., whoever he may be, sent me was easily the best present I have ever received. Surely, I thought that in the enjoyment of your liberty you would have forgotten this little 'gray mouse'. I had not hoped to leave an impression on your busy and interesting life, for I felt then, as I feel now, that you are not mere common clay. You are living in a great school of things as they are and hence get glimpses of things as they ought to be.

"This summer I'll graduate from high school. Yes, then I'll be graduated like

a thermometer, and from then on my value will depend upon my performance.

I have that of you often. Oh, so often, and of the wonderful things you told me. You cannot conceive of the way your remarks influenced my life. The ideas you implanted in my mind, have made for me no new friends and perhaps a few enemies. But when I review the work I have been able to do in this little town, I know that life is worth living, and I am really proud of the enemies I have made. I wish you would come back to Anamosa, so we could talk, but if you cannot do that write and tell me all the news about yourself.

Sincerely yours,

OLIVE ANDERSON.

She sealed the letter and addressed it to the post office Collins had indicated and alternately prayed that it would, and would not reach him.

The train for Minot was nearly due; if her letter went out on it, Jack would have it in two days. She therefore resolved to loose no time in getting this letter on its way.

While she was on this errand her mother entered her room and spied the several sheets of paper on which her daughter had started her unsuccessful letters. This made her curious, and caused her to investigate further, but there was nothing further to be found than the letters addressed to Thurston. Jack's notes were securely hid about the person of her daughter. Mrs. Anderson was indeed puzzled who this man Thurston might be, to whom her daughter was trying to write.

As was her custom when in any kind of doubt or trouble, real or imaginary Mrs. Anderson immediately called up Mrs. Nellie Cartwright, her long friend, and Frank Cartwright's mother and asked her if she knew any one by the name of Thurston. And when Mrs. Cartwright answered in the negative, Mrs. Anderson informed her that he was a man to whom Olive was writing or trying to write. This last remark made the proposition clear to Mrs. Cartwright. Her son had told her of Olive's attitude, might be, and it was that which gave her the clue to the mystery. "Oh, yes Mrs. Anderson, coming to think of it I do know who that man is. Frank told me last night. He is that hobo they had in jail last fall. Frank says, he is all she thinks about."

Of course this was more than Mrs. Anderson would believe. In fact, she told Mrs. Cartwright, that it could not be true. But Mrs. Cartwright insisted, that she knew it to be true, and advised Olive's mother to be careful. "That fellow was a bad one," I hope you have not forgotten the trouble he stirred up when he was here."

Mrs. Anderson answered with the old bromide, that it was hard to raise children decently these days, and after a few more irrelevant remarks she hung up the receiver. After which Jack and Olive were under fire on both ends of the line.

Tom Sooveland had stopped but a moment at Anamosa and Olive had deposited the letter in the mail box, thus the die was cast.

As she walked toward home she suddenly remembered the waste paper she had left on the table and fearing her mother should enter her room and find it, she walked as rapidly as she could. Frank passed her and tipped his hat. She nodded but did not stop. He groaned and inwardly cursed the nameless tramp whom he considered the cause of his misery. But his emotions were little deeper than his brain. In fact less than ten minutes later he met Tillie Duffy and the two went to a vaudeville show which happened to be in town that night. When Olive reached the house Mrs. Anderson confronted her, as if she were guilty of some heinous crime. "Who is that young man you are writing to," she asked preemptorily.

"Mr. Thurston," Olive replied with a saucy toss of her head.

"Who is he? I asked," the mother snapped.

"He is a man," Olive retorted.

"How long have you been corresponding with him? I never corresponded with him. A friend of his sent me some notes, he had written while out in the woods and I wrote him a letter of thanks. That is all."

"Why did you make so many beginning letters you finally wrote?" "Perhaps, I've had a high school education does not teach me how to write to a man without making a hypocrite of myself. I wanted to write just the way I felt and I did."

"Olive!" The mother fairly shouted. You don't mean that you care for him? Who is he?"

"Did not say that I cared for him," Olive answered quietly. "And when you ask me who he is, I can only say that I don't care. All that I do know is that he is the boy, who was in jail here last fall."

"Do you still think of that hobo?" gasped the mother trying to feign surprise.

"If I were homeless, and penniless, in a strange town, what would I be?" Olive snapped. "I would be worse in the eyes of the civilized savages you call decent people, than was he."

"But Olive, think of who are! Think of your father's friends! Think of the community. Think of the neighbors would say if they knew that you were writing to a tramp. Why Mrs. Cartwright knows about it already."

"Knows what?" asked the girl as she gathered the attempted letters and tore them up and threw them in the waste basket.

"Why she knows that you care for him. She thinks that you are crazy. Think of Frank Cartwright! He is a good boy and his father has valuable property. You've gone with him almost a year. Why Olive dear just think what the neighbors would say."

Olive dropped into a chair and leaned back wearily. "If I loved that stranger I would not care what people would say, I might be foolish, I might be wrong, I would not care. All they could say would be that I loved a man who had gathered the grain from our fields, and suffered privations that we might have comfort. All they could say would be that."

(Continued on page 4.)

HOW THEY DO LIE

Hillquit claimed, at the Socialist Party national convention just held in New York, that the Socialist Assemblymen involved in the Albany trial upheld the principles of International Socialism and that not a move was made but what was in accordance with these principles.

What International Socialist principles does the extracts of the testimony of Waldman, one of the expelled Socialist assemblymen, which we print below, accord with?

Extracts from testimony of Louis Waldman Socialist Party assemblyman, at the Albany trial.

Page 1746 Favors voting for militia Page 1750 Does not favor establishment in the U. S. of a Soviet form of government

Page 1755 Made public speeches urging people to register

Page 1758 Workers in this country owe no duty to the workers of another country

Page 1790 This government is not a capitalist government

Page 1828-9 Would ask all workers to enter war of defense

Page 1829 Would favor preparedness against an invasion if one was reasonably expected

Page 1830 The government and not the S. P. should determine whether an invasion was anticipated

Page 1833 Prefers government of New York state to Soviet Government

Page 1835 Reaffirms above

Page 1836 Condemns the Lusk Committee and the secret service agents for their opposition to Soviet government

Page 1839 Would vote for military appropriations

Page 1843 Claimed constitution of S. P. did not require his expulsion for voting for military appropriations

Page 1857 Desires to see the American flag, not the red flag maintained

Page 1859 The government of New York state is the people's government

—

CHRIST OR DIABOLOUS

To the Toiler:

Ephraim is a cake not turned. (Hosea VII.—8.)

Translated into the vulgar parlance of today "Eph" was only half baked. Poor Eph has been dead quite a long time but unfortunately for society he left behind him an amazing lot of descendants possessed of intellectual bias, no for instance, eight

The Toiler

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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 ELEVEN.

Beginning Invention of the steam engine.
Tools and Weapons Hand tools, steam and power-driven machinery.
Transportation Greatly improved fire arms and other ordnance.
On land, railroads with steam power. On water, steam and improved sailing vessels.
Subsistence Cooked and preserved foods of great variety.
Shelter Buildings of brick, stone, power-sawed lumber.
Beginning of use of concrete with steel frames.
Clothing Machine made fabrics of wool, cotton, silk, flax and other fibre.
Environment Advanced machine agriculture. Center of industry transferred from home to factory.
Cities connected by railroad and steamship lines.
Man's control over natural environment enabled him to inhabit all climates.
Organization Monarchical and representative political government, with armies, navies and police. Serfdom and feudalism supplanted by a fuller development of the wages-system. Greater development of trade and labor unions based upon craft and skill. Beginning of the separation of church and state.
Arts and Institutions Beginning of wire communication. Postal service. Public school system. Concentration in the ownership of industry.

CHAPTER ELEVEN.

Civilization. Middle or Machine Age.

The middle age of civilization began with the appearance of the steam engine, invented by James Watt in 1763. A. D.*)

The invention of the steam engine gave a mighty impetus to the development of power-driven machinery and this machinery in turn substantially modified the entire plan of our industrial and social relations. The hand tools of a former age here gave way to the power-driven machines of the new era.

The difference between a tool and a machine consists in the method of the application of power. If the power is directly applied, the implement is a tool. If the application of power is indirect, then the implement is a machine. A scythe in the hands of the reaper is a tool. The modern self-binder is a machine.

Steam engines and power-driven machinery did not develop by chance, but were the natural result of the economic urge of the age. The multiplication of the race in excess of the sources of local food supply made increased speed in the methods of production and transportation imperative.

The rapid development of the Western Continent along agricultural and industrial lines, made necessary the concentration of vast masses of people in cities in order to supply the necessary tools and machinery with which to carry on the settlement of a continent. This gave an impetus to manufacture and transportation.**)

The commerce between the cities of the coast and the rapidly developing interior made the old hand-tool methods of production and ox-cart methods of transportation totally inadequate, with the result that power-driven machinery and transportation was an economic necessity. Power machinery forced out the shop of the artisan and instituted the modern factory system.

In every age of human evolution, the methods of destruction have kept even pace with the methods of production, hence in the machinery age we find guns of monstrous power, range and destructivity.

The machine age witnessed the application of steam power to every branch of industry, especially to transportation on both land and sea.

The subsistence of this age was similar to the age preceding it, with the addition of the canning factory and the further development of the art of chemical preservation of food.

Concrete and steel frame structures were a further evolution of the building art of this age.

Homespun garments gave way in this age to factory made clothing, thereby greatly modifying domestic economy.

The machine age transferred industry from the home to the factory. It took from the home such industries as spinning, weaving, dyeing, knitting, tailoring, soap-making, tanning, boot, shoe and harness-making, laundering, baking, canning, fruit-drying, candle-making etc.

The machine age worked a revolution in the home, transforming it from an industrial to a social unit.

Factory production with its social labor led to a great concentration of wealth. The perfection and extension of the wages-system led to the clearer division of society along class lines.

The concentration of wealth with the resultant investment of capital in foreign lands, made necessary the extension of naval and military power for the protection of these investments. Concentrated capital now invaded the halls of representative government, transforming those organizations from bodies representative committees for the dominant class. The tightening of the class lines forced the development of labor unions, based upon craft and skill.

War Profits of American Profiteers

— By BASIL M. MANLY.

When the coal controversy was at its height, former Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo startled the nation by declaring that in 1917 the mine owners made shocking and indefensible profits on bituminous coal. He stated that their income tax returns revealed that they were making earnings on their capital stock ranging from 15 to 2,000 per cent and that earnings of from 100 to 300 per cent on capital stock were not uncommon. Mr. McAdoo drew his facts regarding the profits of coal operators from Senate Document No. 259, a report of the Secretary of the Treasury in response to a Senate resolution requesting all facts in possession of the Treasury Department relative to profiteering. Great objection to the printing of this report was made by reactionary Senators, who wanted to conceal these facts from the people; and only after a hard fight by Senators Borah and La Follette was an agreement finally secured to print a small edition. As the result of this partial suppression, this important report, which should have been made available to every American citizen, has been obtainable only with the greatest difficulty. In this article are presented the startling facts which it contains.

In the publication of this report every effort was apparently made to conceal from the reader all facts which would reveal the profiteering of the great corporations and trusts. The report contains 388 pages. In the first 360 pages you will find not a single corporation with more than \$10,000,000 capitalization, and very few with more than a few hundred thousand; but beginning on page 361 you will find all the big trusts for which reports are given lumped indiscriminately with little corporations with capital stock as small as \$1,000. An inconspicuous note on page 5 states that the tables beginning at page 361 relate to returns on which computation had not been completed when the preceding tables were sent to the printer. Was it an accident that all the big corporations were held back while the data on more than 30,000 small companies were compiled and sent to the printer. Whatever the reason may be, the fact is that any ordinary citizen examining this report would be led to believe that all the profiteering was done by the small companies. Some question might also be raised by inquiring citizens as to why this report does not include the big copper companies which in 1916 and 1917 made such stupendous profits, and why other notorious profiteers were omitted. But putting aside all such defects, the report still contains an enormous mass of information of the greatest value to the American people.

Profits in Coal

An examination of the report shows that Secretary McAdoo was entirely too conservative when he stated that the profits of the coal operators were as high as 2,000 per cent. He should have said that the profits ranged as high as 7,856 per cent. He stated that profits as high as 100 per cent on capital stock were not uncommon. The fact is that nearly half the coal companies (185 out of 404) actually earned profits on their capital stock ranging from 100 per cent to 7,856 per cent. In other words, the prices paid by the American people for their coal in 1917 were so high that nearly half the mines reported were paid profits equal to their entire capital stock, and at least one of the mines was paid profits equal to 78 times its capitalization.

It is a notorious fact that in many of the mining corporations the greater part of the capital stock represented nothing but water. The stock was given as bonuses to the buyers of bonds, and nobody expected that the stock certificates would ever be worth more than a few cents on the dollar. Nevertheless we find that in 1917 the net income of the 404 coal companies reported was \$78,000,000 or nearly 45 per cent of their total capital stock of \$175,000,000. This net income is after the deduction of interests on bonds and all the over-generous allowances for depreciation and depletion provided for in the excess profits tax law. Furthermore, these figures are based on the original returns of the companies, and take no account whatever of millions of dollars of tax evasions which were revealed by the Internal Revenue Bureau in auditing the returns.

With these facts before us, and making due allowance for smaller profits in 1918 and 1919, it is absolutely certain that it would have been cheaper for the American people to have bought the coal mines outright when we entered the war so that coal could have been sold to the people at a low cost, than to have paid the enormous profits of the last three years. To put the matter in a different way, in the last three years the American people have paid in net profits every dollar's worth of stock of the coal companies.

Some Other Profiteers

The coal operators are not the only ones who were profiteering while this nation was at war and every loyal citizen was paying his expenditures to the bone in order to buy Liberty Bonds and provide for the necessities of our soldiers and sailors. While the coal operators were making profits ranging as high as 7,856 per cent on their capital stock, the meat packers were making profits ranging as high as 4,244 per cent, cannors of fruits and vegetables

Electricity was first applied to the systems of communication in the machine age. The telegraph and telephone systems came into existence in response to the economic needs of a commercial age. The postal system is also an outgrowth of these same forces. The operation of the machines and the necessity for keeping records, made the arts of reading and writing an industrial requirement. It was in response to this economic necessity that the public school came into existence, championed by organized labor and fought by the church. The church has ever and everywhere been the foe to progress.

The duration of this age was less than one hundred years.

*) The steam engine in its primitive state was known as early as 130 B. C. In the "Pneumatics" of Alexandria is mentioned the aeolipile, but it was not until the decade following its invention by Watt that it became a commercial possibility.
***) See page 13 of the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels, commencing with the words, "The discovery of America," etc. Read to last paragraph on page 19.

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER ELEVEN.

Middle Civilization.

1. What invention marks the beginning of the machine age?
2. What was the effect of power-driven machinery upon the social structure?
3. Explain the difference between a tool and a machine?
4. Name the underlying economic causes for the substitution of machines for tools?
5. Name some of the changes in home life induced by the factory system.
6. What was the economic advantage of the railroad? The steamship?
7. Explain the difference in division of labor between the factory and home.
8. What was the result of the factory system upon subsistence?
9. Were "skyscrapers" possible before concrete and steel?
10. Explain the difference between homespun and factory-made garments.
11. What is meant by the term 'social unit'?
12. Which is more productive, individual or social labor?
13. What is social labor?
14. Explain the effect of concentrated capital upon representative government.
15. Why do foreign investments require an army and navy?
16. Explain the origin of the public school system.
17. When was electricity first applied to communication?
18. Did economic necessity have anything to do with the extension of postal system?
19. What has been the attitude of the church towards progressive measures?

2,032 per cent, woolen mills 1,770 per cent, furniture manufacturers 3,295 per cent, clothing and dry goods stores 3,826 per cent, and to cap the climax, steel mills as high as 290,999 per cent. A profit of 290,999 per cent seems incredible, but here are the facts. This steel company (page 267 of the Treasury report) had a capital stock of \$5,000; in 1917 it reported to the Treasury Department a net income of \$14,549,952. After paying its excess profits tax, its net income still amounted to \$12,554 per cent on its capital stock. This corporation did not make any report of its invested capital. Owing to the secrecy which shrouds the income and excess profits tax reports, nobody except the officials of the Treasury and of the company itself knows what company this was. No explanation of these sensational facts can therefore be given. It may have been a case of getting a fat contract from this government or some foreign government and selling the right to another corporation for some \$15,000,000. The company may have been formed by the inside officials and financiers of some big corporation as a means of concealing profits and plundering the other stockholders. Nobody knows; but this corporation did make this unbelievable profit of 290,999 per cent while this nation was at war; and so far as I have been able to discover neither the Attorney General nor any committee of Congress has ever made any attempt to ascertain who this king of profiteers was. This steel company did not stand entirely alone, for there is another corporation reported on the same page as earning 20,180 per cent on its capital stock.

What Did the Steel Trust Make?

What profits did the Steel Corporation, which has denied its workers the right to organize, report to the Treasury in 1917? I tried to find out. On page 367 I found a steel company with a capital stock of \$685,583,600. There is only one corporation in the world with that amount of capital stock — the United States Steel Corporation. I thought I had found it. I looked to see what net income it had reported to the Treasury Department in 1917 and I found the amount recorded as \$155,594,865 before the deduction of income and excess profits taxes. This seemed incredible, as the net income before the deduction of taxes reported by the corporation in its published report was \$478,204,342. It appeared as though \$322,000,000 of the Steel Corporation's income was being concealed from Uncle Sam. It did not seem possible, so I went to the Secretary of the Treasury and asked permission to see the return of the United States Steel Corporation in order to verify the facts. Section 5 of Treasury Decision No. 2016 states that the Secretary of the Treasury shall permit the inspection of the return of any corporation listed on the stock exchange. I was told by an official of the Treasury Department that this decision was now in force and covered the inspection of returns. Yet access to the return of the Steel Corporation was denied me, and after a day's delay I received a long memorandum, three pages of which were taken up with telling me that although this was the only decision on the subject, it was not now in force, having been modified by one of the later revenue acts. The last page of the memorandum, while refusing to state whether the facts which I had quoted from the report of the Treasury Department applied to the United States Steel Corporation or not, set up a hypothetical case to explain how this apparent discrepancy of \$322,000,000 might have occurred. It was stated that in the case of a holding company reports of the subsidiaries were made separately, and the only income reported by the holding company was that accruing directly to it. I believe that this statement is correct, and that the Steel Corporation reported its income correctly to the Treasury Department, but neither I nor any other American citizen has any means of knowing positively what the facts are. So far as the income and excess profits taxes are concerned, the Treasury Department is an impervious veil through which no citizen is permitted to see.

For this reason the net income of the Steel Corporation cannot be stated on the basis of the Treasury Department's figures; but on the basis of its own published report, its net profits in the two years 1916 and 1917, after the payment of interest on bonds and after allowances for all charges growing out of the installation of special war facilities, amounted to \$335,931,511. This is \$20,000,000 more than the total capital stock of the Steel Corporation. In other words, in 1916 and 1917 every dollar of the capital stock of the Steel Corporation was paid for in net profits. In this connection it should be remembered that when the Steel Corporation was formed its entire \$500,000,000 worth of common stock represented nothing but water.

I have tabulated the returns of industries engaged in manufacturing and selling the principal necessities of life. There is not a single one of these branches of industry and trade in which there was not at least one establishment making 100 per cent or more on its capital stock. Out of 506 flour mills, 84 reported net profits of over 100 per cent on their capital stock, and one company reported 2,628 per cent. The bread and bakery companies were not quite so fortunate, but out of 217 of them, 34, or more than one-seventh, made more than 100 per cent on their capital stock, and 153, or more than two-thirds, made over 20 per cent on their invested capital.

The Story of the Packers.

The newspapers have carried advertisements costing millions of dollars telling how little profit is made by the meat packers. The Treasury Department's reports show that out of 122 meat packers, 70, or one out of every four, made more than 100 per cent profit on their capital stock. One of these companies, not one of the "Big Five," made the nice little profit of 4,244 per cent on its capital stock in 1917. In this connection I discovered one interesting and significant thing while examining this report of the Treasury Department. On page 365 I found a meat packing corporation with a capital stock of \$100,000,000 in 1917. There were two meat packing corporations with capital stock of \$100,000,000 in 1917 — Armour & Company and Swift & Company. The corporation that is mentioned above reported to the Treasury Department a net income in 1917 of \$49,139,147; after the payment of income and excess profits taxes it still had a net income of \$43,810,384. Looking at the published reports of Armour and Swift I find that Armour reported to the public profits of only \$30,628,157 in 1917, and Swift reported profits of only \$34,650,000. I do not know which of these companies is represented in the Treasury Department's report, but I do know that whichever one it is concealed from the public either \$9,000,000 or \$13,000,000 net income which it reported to the Treasury Department. In other words, the Treasury Department's report reveals beyond question that one of these companies has falsified its report to the public and to its stockholders, if the public had the access to the tax reports to which it is entitled by every rule of justice and by every precedent of the American government, there would be no difficulty in ascertaining which of these companies was guilty of this offense. As it is both of them, must lie under suspicion.

While the war was at its height and the federal government was bending every energy to sell Liberty Bonds to pay the heavy cost the Federal Trade Commission, in connection with its investigation of the packers, called upon Armour & Company to furnish a sworn statement of their subsidiary South American beef companies. No reply was received from Armour & Company; but one morning Federal Trade Commissioner J. Franklin Fort former governor of New Jersey, received a visit from a noted Chicago corporation lawyer. He said that he was there representing Armour & Company and wanted Governor Fort to use his influence with the other Federal Trade Commissioners to recall their demand for a sworn statement of the profits of Armour & Company's South American subsidiaries. He stated that

if they were obliged to make a truthful and accurate statement of such profits and if these reports were made public by the commission it would result in a great increase in the taxes, which the companies would have to pay in South America, and further that it would reveal unreported income amounting to millions on which Armour & Company would have to pay income and excess profits taxes here. Commissioner Fort indignantly spurned this attempt to use him as a tool of Armour & Company, and ordered the lawyer to leave his office. The facts were reported to the Treasury Department, but so far as I have been able to ascertain no successful attempt has yet been made to punish J. Ogden Armour or any other official of Armour & Company for this confessed attempt to defraud the United States Treasury of taxes or for this bare-faced effort to induce government officials to defeat the ends of justice. A written statement signed by Governor Fort detailing every circumstance of this transaction is on file with the Senate Committee on Agriculture, where it is effectively buried under a wagonload of documents obtained from the Federal Trade Commission at the same time, which serve effectively to conceal it from the knowledge of the public.

The Treasury Department reports give the returns of 45 woolen and worsted mills, one of which earned 1,770 per cent on its capital stock. Out of the forty-five, seventeen reported profits of more than 180 per cent on their capital stock. Among the woolen mills we also have a case similar to that of the meat packers, of concealment of income from the eyes of the public. On page 380 of the Treasury report is shown the income of a woolen company capitalized at \$60,000,000. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there is only one woolen company in the United States capitalized at that amount—the American Woolen Company. The Treasury Department's report shows that in 1917 this sixty-million-dollar woolen company reported a net income of \$29,560,342. The annual report of the American Woolen Company for 1917 shows a net income before taxes were deducted of only \$13,383,155. If this sixty-million-dollar woolen company is in fact the American Woolen Company—and the evidence seems to be conclusive—it is clear that the American Woolen Company in 1917 concealed from its stockholders and from the public profits of nearly \$15,000,000. In other words, the actual profits of the American Woolen Company in 1917 appear from this comparison to have been more than twice as great as the company acknowledged in its annual report and in its statements to the American Woolen Company have every reason to demand an accounting from the officers of that corporation to ascertain whether or not \$15,000,000 of profits were actually concealed, as these facts seem to indicate, and if so what disposition was made of that enormous sum of money.

It must not be imagined that manufacturers were the only ones who reaped enormous profits while the nation was at war. The report of the Treasury Department shows 2,068 clothing and dry goods stores, one of which earned 9,826 per cent on its capital stock and nearly 100 per cent of the entire number earned more than 100 per cent on their capital stock. Out of 313 department stores, one earned 757 per cent on its capital stock, and 26 earned more than 100 per cent. There are 577 furniture stores reported, of which seventy-eight, or nearly 15 per cent, earned 781 per cent. We have heard a great deal about the high cost of building in the last few years. In nearly every case an attempt is made to attribute the high cost to the wages paid building labor, but this report shows that out of 809 contractors and construction companies, 154, or more than 15 per cent, earned profits of over 100 per cent on their capital stock, and one of them earned 1,390 per cent, or nearly fourteen times its capital in a single year.

War Profits Equal Capital Stock.

In a recent speech before the Senate, Senator Capper of Kansas made the statement that during the war the American people paid for the steel mills, the steel mills, the textile factories, and every other essential branch of industry. Senator Capper did not give the facts upon which his statement rested, and I doubt if he knew how literally true that sensational statement was, but the fact is—and this report of the Treasury Department proves it beyond any doubt—that the American people during the war did pay in net profits for the entire capital stock of the corporations in the essential lines of industry and trade. In other words, it is clear that if the national government at the beginning of the war had taken over the essential lines of industry, and the American people had been required to pay the prices which private manufacturers and merchants have charged them, there would have been sufficient profit to pay for every dollar's worth of capital stock, and leave the nation today in possession and control of practically all its manufacturing plants.

If this had been done, and the manufacturing officials and employees had performed their duties as efficiently for the government as for the private corporations—and every citizen has a right to assume that neither the manufacturing officials nor the other employees would deliberately sabotage their government—we should have today, instead of a debt of \$26,000,000,000, a large part of which went to pay the products of these industries a debt of only the billions necessary to cover the expenses of our government, the pay of our soldiers, and the cost of our allies. In addition we should have vested in the federal government the ownership of billions of dollars worth of manufacturing and commercial property. This opportunity now seems to be lost, but the picture of American profiteering revealed by this official document of the Treasury Department should be indelibly fixed in the mind of every American citizen.

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THE LAND POLICY OF SOVIET RUSSIA

By WILLIAM W. DAMBIT

The solution of the land question is of primary importance to Soviet Russia. Before the Revolution the land privileges then existing, embodied in the vast landed possessions of the nobility, appanage, monasteries, and churches, dominated economically the rural population. The masses of the peasants, who make up a large majority of the Russian nation and without whose support no Russian government can survive, demanded the expropriation of the great landed property and the increase of their land allotments. On the other hand, the socialist regime required for its success the gradual socialization of agriculture—a process quite contrary to the private husbandry of the peasants. The Soviet regime, therefore, had before it three main tasks in the land question: to abolish entirely the land privileges of the great landowners, to satisfy the individualistic demands of the peasants, and to start and carry on the socialization of agriculture.

Accordingly, the earliest Soviet land decrees, of November 7, 1917, and of January 27, 1918, ordered the expropriation of the estates of the nobility, appanage monasteries, and churches, thus establishing in 1918 a National Land Reserve of 15,800,000 dessiatines, of which 12,800,000 were distributed for the private use of the peasants through the ownership remained with the state. The prerevolutionary land allotments of the peasants remained in their possession. The Soviet Government had left at its disposal 3,000,000 dessiatines, mainly the large modern holdings of the former landowners, the estates utilized for technical agricultural enterprises, and the lands with mineral deposits.

After this first stage of the agrarian revolution the Soviet Government in the first half of 1918 made the first attempts at agricultural socialization. From the very beginning this work fell in two main divisions: the organization of Soviet estates and the promotion of agricultural communes and of other collective agricultural enterprises not under state control. In August, 1918, the Peoples Commissariat of Agriculture published some principles and by-laws on the organization of communes, and on November 2, of the same year the Government by a decree created a fund of one billion rubles for loans to collective agricultural enterprises.

In 1918 this work was still in a state of confusion. The unique policy of socialist land organization was established early in 1919 by several important land decrees, of which the fundamental one is the land

law promulgated on February 14, 1919. This law declares once more that all land is the property of the state, administered by the Peoples Commissariat of Agriculture, provincial and county land departments, and other government bodies. The peasants' land remains in their use, all the undistributed land of the land reserve is excluded from private use and placed at the disposal of the state. The Soviet estates are operated by the state, producing exclusively for its needs and employing only state laborers, preferably organized workers from the cities. The administrative and technical affairs of each estate are conducted by a specialist or a board appointed by the government authorities, a labor committee having the right of controlling the economic and sanitary life of the laborers.

The estates are supposed to be scientifically arranged model agricultural enterprises of the highest possible productivity; undertaking such agricultural and industrial activities as dairies, stock-farms, vineyards, wine presses, tea, tobacco, and beet plantations; and equipped with experimental fields, agricultural schools and exhibitions, libraries and museums. The purpose of the scheme is to make the Soviet estates serve as large agricultural centers for the benefit and instruction of the peasants.

The agricultural communes are collective enterprises voluntarily organized by a group of producers from their individual land allotments and the equipments of their households, or from lands and inventories placed at their disposal by the Soviet authorities; the communes are operated primarily for the needs of their participants on the basis of an equal collective application of their labor and communal consumption of the products.

Collective cultivation of land means, in the law, collective tillage, manuring, sowing, and harvesting of lands by a whole village community or a part of its members who for that purpose combine in partnerships, sharing in the collective work with their own labor, inventories, and working animals, or with an inventory owned solely by the partnership. Village lands not allotted to individual households are marked out for collective cultivation as well as private plots whose holders are not able to till them and lands assigned for that purpose by the Soviet authorities from the land reserve.

Both the communes and the partnerships of collective cultivation are to be managed by committees elected by the group however, they have to submit themselves to certain definite plans of work pre-

scribed by the land departments, in order that a proper use of the means of production granted them by the Government may be insured.

From the annual yield of the communes or of the partnerships their own collective needs are first satisfied, and in the case of the partnerships a certain amount is distributed for the individual use of the partners. The surplus must be delivered to the Soviet food-supply authorities in exchange for money loans and other things received from the Government for the operation of the enterprises, or in payment of taxes and other public duties. The Peoples Commissariat of Agriculture is urged by the same law to provide for the communes and in general for the collective agricultural association money loans, seeds, inventories, agronomic aid, and every possible assistance.

A supplementary Soviet decree of February 23, 1919, makes definite regulations regarding the award of the loans from the billion ruble fund mentioned above. The administration of the fund is to be in the hands of a special central committee under the authority of the Commissariat of Agriculture, and of local committees with the land departments. The loans are awarded in money, agricultural implements, artificial manure, and other supplies, and are repayable in products without any accrued interest charges, except in cases when for a delay in the repayment a fine of one per cent a month is charged. The receivers of the loans must obey in the operation of their enterprises definite rules worked out by the land departments and intended as a guaranty of a productive application of the aid received.

The Soviet authorities and economists ascribe great importance to each form of collective agriculture. The Soviet estates are conceived as the basis of a complete socialization of agriculture on a national scale. The communes are also supposed in the course of time to become nationalized enterprises; while the collective cultivation of land is regarded as a means of training the peasants in agricultural collectivism and of paving the way for ultimate combination in communes. In this conception both the communes and the partnerships for collective cultivation constitute only temporary, transitory economic organizations leading finally to the complete nationalization of agriculture.

It was inevitable that the efforts of the Soviet Government to socialize agriculture together with the nationalization of education should have led to the nationalization of agronomic instruction and of the

labor of agricultural specialists, whose knowledge was greatly needed by the Soviet estates and other collective agricultural enterprises. The agricultural educational institutions were already nationalized in 1918 and were free to all. By a decree of February 12, 1919, the agricultural experiment stations were taken over by the state. On January 30, 1919, the Soviet Government ordered a state-wide registration of all kinds of agricultural specialists and on March 20 of the same year called them from twelve Soviet provinces of the state.

It is important to note that the Soviet Government in its efforts to collectivize the private enterprises of the peasants has not adopted or employed compulsory methods. The first agricultural communes, in 1918, were started quite voluntarily by groups of the poorest peasants to help themselves by cooperation to survive the economic crisis and the scarcity of agricultural implements. Likewise the fundamental land law outlined here conceives the communes and agricultural partnerships as voluntary organizations. There are other conspicuous evidences to the same effect. Kuraev, a prominent member of the Commissariat of Agriculture, at a government conference on socialist land organization in March, 1919, asserts: "We must influence the peasants by example, conviction; but in the work of the collectivization of agriculture by no means resort to force." And Lenin, the head of the Soviet Government, at the eighth congress of the Communist Party of Russia, made the following statements: "There is no greater stupidity than the mere thought of compulsion in the field of the economic relations of the middle peasants.... We must convince the peasants, and convince them by example. It is necessary, first of all, to prove that such a collectivization is better, that it is profitable." To the same effect the congress demanded in a comprehensive agrarian resolution a mild policy in collecting taxes from the poorer peasants; a system of artificial measure, improved breeds of cattle; the of distributing to them agricultural machinery, seeds, establishment of a rural credit system; the promotion of home industries; and a number of other economic measures. This resolution embodies the real Soviet policy in this question, as the Communist Party has been the determining political factor in the work of the Soviet Government.

This conciliatory attitude is due mainly to two circumstances. First, in matters of agricultural socialization the application of any compulsion to the peasants—the majority of the people—would be in-

effective and ridiculous. Second, the Soviet authorities hold to the view that collective agriculture is, in respect of efficiency and productivity, superior to the small individual agricultural homesteads of the peasants and that the practical demonstration of the superiority of the Soviet estates and communes before the eyes of the peasants will stimulate them to combine gradually in partnerships of collective cultivation of land.

In pursuance of the principles and methods outlined in the foregoing, the Soviet Government during 1919 has organized many new Soviet estates and promoted the organization of agricultural communes. The cultivated territory of the estates, numbering 2,524, comprised a little short of 1,000,000 dessiatines, of which the whole annual produce, estimated in money amounted to 843,000,000 rubles; it is intended to increase this territory in 1920 to 2,000,000 dessiatines. Some inference as to the growth of the communes may be drawn from the respective data available for the provinces of Petrograd, Novgorod, Vitebsk, Mohilev, Tula, Kaluga and Orel, where in the middle of 1919 there were in existence 1,360 communes with a land area of 179,000 dessiatines.

In view of the vast agricultural area of Soviet Russia, these results, no doubt, are not extensive. Yet this comparatively slow process by no means indicates a failure of the methods employed. The war created some extremely unfavorable conditions which temporarily have handicapped a more rapid socialization of Russian agriculture. The material resources of the Soviet Republic had to be devoted to the prosecution of the war forced upon the country. On that account, and on account of the blockade, the worn out agricultural implements, particularly agricultural machinery, could not be repaired in sufficient quantity or replaced by new ones. The live stock was largely reduced in number for the needs of the war. Hundreds of thousands of the most skilled laborers were withdrawn from agriculture to serve in the army. Under such conditions the Soviet Government was able to realize only to a very limited extent its plans for the socialization of agriculture, since the essential prerequisite for an efficient operation of the Soviet estates and agricultural communes is a plentiful supply of labor and of live stock, and the possibility of applying modern technical methods.

The end of the war and the resumption of normal commercial relations between Russia and the outside world, removing most of those handicaps, will presumably enable the Soviet Government to proceed with the socialization of agriculture on a larger scale.

Hoynes Seeing Red.

(Continued from 1st page.)

Clarence Darrow, Wm. Canaan and Wm. Forrest, noted constitutional lawyers.

Reasons aplenty for dismissal of venemen.

A great variety of reasons are given by the venemen why they would not make fair judgments in these cases. While many admit prejudice against the defendants about one fourth of those so far examined state frankly their sympathy with the defendants. One prospective juror, a non-union carpenter in employ of the Standard Oil Co., was promptly discarded by the defense when he stated that he was a Catholic and that it was against his religion to give a socialist a fair trial. Class lines were drawn in two cases. One gave as his reason why he could not serve as an unprejudiced juror, because he was an employer of labor. A workman frankly told the prosecution that he would not convict the defendants no matter what evidence the prosecution brought against them as a matter of principle. The prosecution takes particular pains to see that no striking switchmen or railroaders get on the jury. One switchman examined stated that he had been on the job for 30 years and denied he was on strike when challenged by the prosecution, stating that he was "taking a vacation."

Radicals claim that the extreme persecution carried on against radicals by the capitalist press for the past six months is responsible for the difficulty in securing a jury in these cases. In the meantime, the defendants amuse themselves by watching the play of social forces in the selection of the jury that will have in its hands the first test of the Illinois state criminal syndicalism law and the biggest legal case of the communists of the United States.

IDOL WORSHIP.

A missionary from the United States had spent many years among the heathen natives of East India. He had christianized many of the natives. One of the great western virtues he was in the habit of teaching and emphasizing consisted of the statement that the people of his native country did not worship idols. He pointed out that his countrymen were a great people with a great nation. That they were great because of their Christianity and the absence of idols worship.

One of the native children he had taught from infancy grew up into a bright young man of twenty who was well advanced in his preparation for the ministry. He was also a student of English and other European languages. The aged missionary was very proud of his pupil and desired very much to have him see America and its people.

When the young native finally accompanied the missionary on a trip to New York the old man possessed a great passion to show his pupil the great sights of the western world. When the ship they were on came in sight of the land of America the missionary began to explain to the in-

When the ship neared the great statue the young native asked: "What did you say that statue was?"

"That's the Statue of Liberty. It holds the torch for all who seek to enter the land of liberty. 'Liberty enlightening the world,'" explained the missionary.

"I am puzzled," observed the young native of India. "Did the people of your country accept that statue and believe in it?"

"Yes, they are very proud of that statue, but why are you puzzled?" rejoined the missionary.

"I can understand that your people love liberty as I also do, but I always thought that your people did not worship idols contributed."

At last reports the idol is still worshiped tho the liberty has long vines deposed. Ed.

THE BRASS CHECK

A story of the control of American journalism and the newspapers by the capitalist class.

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The Two Barbers.

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2nd)

be that in a choice between soul and sex, I had chosen the soul." Then after a moments thought she added "Mother, I only saw that boy twice, both times under unfavorable circumstances, and neither time, did he speak of himself, nor did he berate others. He always spoke of the great problems of life; of those deeper things of which I love to dream. But of which you and daddy never seem to think." She drew the notes Jack had written from somewhere about her person and read their contents to the mother.

"What did I tell you. Just a nameless, homeless hobo living like a beast in the woods," persisted the mother angrily.

"Foxes have holes, and the birds of the heavens have nests, but the son of man has no where to lay his head," she quoted with a whimsical smile. "If Christ came to Anamossee you would call him a tramp and if I associated with him your friends would call me a Magdalene. But mother dear don't worry, I have my life to live; I have my work to do. I hope I will hear from that boy again. Just to think of him makes me feel stronger. It is good to know there is some one who has a purpose in life and who can inspire a purpose in me." (Continued next week)

NO "MEXICAN SOVIET" YET—OBREGON AN OTHER KERENSKY.

(Continued from page 2nd)

ly to his popularity was due more largely to the public desire to show resentment against political dictation, especially dictation supposed to proceed from the United States. The plot to buy the election for Bonillas, proved a fizzle, and the popular outburst, getting beyond all possibility of control, was allowed to run its course. Then

American Big Business set about it to make friends with the man who was swept into power on this wave of wrath. Evidently it is going to succeed. American capitalism may not know it, but by subsidizing the new revolutionary government and diverting the natural fruits of the revolution away from the Mexican people, it is kindling the flames of another uprising not many years hence.

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