

EQUALITY.
The law in its majesty equally forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets and to steal bread.
Anatole France.

THE TOLLER

NO. 174.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, SATURDAY, JUNE 4TH, 1921.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

MAY FREE MOONEY.

DIST. ATTORNEY PREPARING APPEAL TO GOVERNOR

Will Governor William H. Stevens open the prison doors for Tom Mooney? This is the question agitating the minds of thousands of Tom's friends in every part of the United States and the world.

Data concerning the world famous Mooney Case is being prepared and brought up to date by District Attorney Brady in preparation for submission of the case to the Governor with a plea of pardon.

In the light of a number of confessions of perjury of witnesses for the prosecution of testimony which was instrumental in convicting Mooney, and the statements of other witnesses of the tragedy favorable to Mooney and Billings, it is hoped that the testimony which convicted Mooney may be upset and result in a pardon by the Governor.

In case Governor Stevens rejects the appeal for pardon it is that he may rule that Mooney's case will have to stand over until the statutory period of ten years from the date of his conviction is up. At the end of ten years the case of every person bearing a life sentence is subject to consideration for a pardon.

Preparing to Fight.
The fight for Mooney's freedom is being carried on in other ways. Thru his attorney the argument for a writ of audita querela was heard on May 24. A written decision by Judge Louderback will be rendered on this before June 1.

If the petition for the writ is granted, the case will in all probability be reopened and witnesses called by the defense to prove that Mooney is the victim of a criminal conspiracy.

Confidence in the Governor's willingness to free Mooney is not held by his attorney. "Seeking a remedy thru the Governor is no remedy at all. His arbitrary action in commuting Mooney's death sentence to life imprisonment shows that no relief is to be expected from that quarter," said attorney Parker when apprised that District Attorney Brady was preparing the case for submission to the Governor.

Later, the writ of audita querela was dismissed by the Court. "Mooney's only hope is executive clemency," the Court said.

Revolutionary Tactics in Trade Unions

By X. Y. Z.—Seattle.

Radicals in the past, have been too prone to look upon any movement on the part of the workers not led by Marxists as futile. There are many good men in positions of leadership in the A. F. of L. who do not as yet accept our program, but who cannot be classified as fakery. Their misunderstanding is not intentional. All their time and energy have been spent in the practical, technical details of the trade union movement to the exclusion of the study and understanding of the historical meaning of what they are engaged in.

Because of the past "left" tendencies of the radicals in the labor unions, what honesty and decency there is among the leadership of the A. F. of L. is to be found among men who are mostly not yet ready to accept our program.

Honest trade unionists who really desire to better the lot of the workers can be found in positions of leadership in nearly every locality. They enjoy the confidence of large numbers of the rank and file, and are thoroughly acquainted with the technical apparatus of the trade union movement.

As the lines become more tightly drawn most of these men will accept our program, but until they do, or can be replaced by people of our choosing we should not hesitate to use them to gain our ends by throwing our full support behind them, whenever they show a willingness to go along with us. It should be a mistake to attempt to replace one of these men during a strike or other crisis by even a good revolutionist who thru inexperience or lack of executive ability might fall down on the job.

Most of us in the past have suffered from "leftism" and have refused "pie cards." It will be some time before we can produce enough trained revolutionists in labor union work to officer the A. F. of L. Most of our initial victories will be won not by fighting what sincere leaders there are in the A. F. of L. but by using them to gain our immediate

Senator France Sails For Russia.

May Have Important Bearing on Future Trade Relations.

With a passport and State Department credentials in his pockets, Senator Joseph I. France of Maryland sailed for Russia May 25 via England.

Senator France denied he represented any governmental department or officials on his journey, but intimated that the report he brings back to the U. S. may have material bearing upon this country's relations with the Soviets.

"We are the only nation not trading with Russia or seeking future trade relations with her," he stated before leaving. "As far as one man can, I propose to say my say for a different policy for an interchange of commodities and ideas. I hope that the result of my trip will be a better understanding of Russia and the European situation generally," was another statement made.

Senator France expected to meet the Russian trade commission headed by Leonid Krassin at London. He will enter Russia either by the Baltic route or from Berlin via Riga or Reval.

Intimations that the Senator may not be able to enter Russia in the face of the Soviets' published declaration that no Americans would be admitted until a Soviet representative is allowed here, did not appear to cloud his anticipations.

"If they won't let me in, of course that finishes my journey," he stated. He seemed entirely confident however that no obstacle would be placed in his entry and journey to Moscow to interview the heads of the Soviet government and to get a first-hand acquaintance of the workings of sovietism.

France has been most active in the Senate in pushing the establishment of trade relations between this country and Russia. He expects to be absent several weeks.



LABOR CRUCIFIED—THE OPEN SHOP PROGRAM FULFILLED.

Bullets, Babies-and Scab Coal

By HELEN AUGUR

Federated Press Staff Correspondent.

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Matewan, W. Va.—Yesterday I saw a little white iron bed in Blackberry City. A machine gun bullet from a Kentucky coal mine had crossed the Tug River, pierced three stout walls and zig-zagged across the baby's bed on its way through the house. The feathers from the little pillow straggled across the torn sheet. The wall behind bore an irregular design of holes.

Eight days before the baby had been snatched from that bed and carried to safety with her brothers and sisters, pelted with shots from highpowered rifles and machine guns, falling almost as thick as the heavy raindrops. The family were only that day crawling back from a rude shelter behind the hill, taking a chance of more bullets, to save the children from pneumonia.

In the living-room, wrecked as if by an earthquake, the mother was sweeping up great heaps of splintered glass and wood. The mantelpiece mirror was gone, but the deep holes were there to stay. The family pictures were despoiled, books bored through and dishes smashed.

We had seen the father, John Ward, down the track toward Matewan. He is a railroad section foreman. The war in Mingo County is between the miners and the coal operators, and the railroads are no party to the dispute. Yet here was the baby's bed, and the wrecked home. And along the whole bluffside were the other pretty frame cottages, most of them not the property of the miners, riddled through and through with hundreds of bullets.

Back of the houses lay the brown canvas tents of the striking miners. There were two babies in the Stafford tent sick with pneumonia from exposure, and another in the Jackson tent. For two weeks no mother in Blackberry had gone to bed expecting to finish the night there. Sniping from the Allburn coal mine had driven them to cold cellars in their nightclothes.

Thirty bullets had made their easy way through the White tent. Mrs. White, wan with days and aims along lines of organizing workers, winning strikes and fighting fakery.

nights over a piece of sheet-iron cooking for the fugitives, showed us her black winter coat hanging on the centrepole of the tent, under a severed electric light wire. It was riddled.

"New" mind, I had two winters' wear out'n it, anyway," she said, triumphantly. "But when we crawled back here last night to get our clothes off and have a little rest, I told my husband I was going to sleep 't'other way of the bed. Look where the bullets tore open the pillows. H't made me right nervous." She looked at the rifle under the bed. "I'll swear they ain't going to do this any more. I'm tired of it."

I was raised in Carolina, where they ain't no war like this, but if they start again, I'm going to put my four least ones in a cellar, and help the men shoot."

Silky blind rabbits, born during the battle, smuggled in the sunshine outside. Almost every other living thing on the bare hill had been mowed down—the miners' cows, and even their rose bushes. But now, after five days' unwonted silence, the ground-hogs were venturing out of their holes, and the children were perching again on the fenceposts. Many of the families had not dared to come back, and their devastated houses peered sightlessly for them.

George Tinsley and his wife were tired. For a solid week before the three-day battle they hadn't had their clothes off because of the night shooting. The chimney and the kitchen range had been considered safe places to crouch, until shots from highpowered rifles had sent bricks tumbling from the chimney. Then they and five small children and grandchildren had spent the nights in their cellar until they found it insecure. After that it was "over the hill."

"I was washing clothes Thursday noon, when the machine guns opened on us," said Mrs. Tinsley. "My son came running down the hilltop. They had aimed at him and one of the state constabulary up there. We ran down to the stone cellar of the milkhouse below the hill, with the thunder and bullets crack-cracking around us. In a space eight by ten feet there were nineteen children

and seven grownfolks, and we had to stay there in the drenching rain for two days and nights. We had no food or water, any of us, for 36 hours. Then we ran down Sulphur Hollow, and a colored man and his wife took in these families.

"We wasn't so bad off as some. Rob Moore's wife had to get her little baby and her paralyzed mother out of the house. They stumbled into a ditch of water, and lay there, nobody knows how long. My oldest son was threatened that day by mine guards, and his married sister got him on a train just in time. We was awful afraid they'd do him like Clarence."

His 17-year-old son, Clarence, was shot in the back and killed by Baldwin-Felts detectives in the Matewan shooting a year ago. He was carrying no arms.

We crossed the village to the bluff's edge. Across at Allburn little cars of coal were rounding the mountain—scab coal. On the plateau before the powerhouse a company of Kentucky militia were drilling. The sun beat down on their hot uniforms and their rifles cracked faintly to our ears. The strikers, squatting along the holes in the porches, sighted out the positions from which three machine guns had poured terror from the green Kentucky mountains.

We went down the steep road toward Matewan. High from a hillside came the song of a little girl rocking her doll to sleep. There was a bullet hole through its leg.

HOW INDUSTRY IS "PICKING UP".

First Hand Information From Wilmington, Del.

Dear Comrade:—As it is the duty of all class-conscious workers to inform workers of other sections of conditions in their part of the country, I will send you some facts about conditions in Wilmington, Delaware.

The "kept press" of this section is proclaiming the fact (?) that things are picking up industrially, but the only things I have seen "picking up" are cigar and cigarette stumps and such scraps. Just how work is picking up will be seen by the fact that the Pullman Car Co. laid off 50 per cent of their force of between 800 and 1,000 men. It is reported the street car company is to reduce wages next week

TWO QUOTATIONS & SOME FIGURES.

STARTLING FACTS OF CONDITIONS OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIES.

By JOHN L. JONES, British Labor Party.

When men talk of the ancient wealth of a country, of riches inherited from ancestors, and similar expressions; the idea suggested is that the riches so transmitted were produced long ago, at the time when they are said to have been first acquired, and that no portion of the capital of a country was produced this year except so much as may be added this year to the total amount. The fact is far otherwise. The greater part, in value, of the wealth now existing has been produced by human hands WITHIN the last 12 months! And again—, "Capital is kept in existence from age to age, not by preservation, but by perpetual reproduction." John Stuart Mill another quotation—, "To the worker let me say that he stands where the farmer does. The work of the world waits on him. If he slackens or falls, ARMIES AND STATESMEN ARE HELPLESS." President Wilson's proclamation April 15th, 1917.

Labor produces all wealth and no wealth can be produced but through labor. Working men of America, do you know that through and by your labor the annual wealth produced in the U. S. has increased from 35 billion in 1915 to 73 billion in 1918 an increase of over 100%?

—but they are not going to cut fares. The Topkins, Ginnis Co., which controls the theatres here have asked the musicians to accept a wage cut of 30 per cent. The musicians agreed to do so—provided the prices of admission were also reduced 30 per cent, which of course the bosses refused to do, but laid off some musicians instead.

The Dupont Motors Co., builders of the Dupont automobile, have posted a notice to the effect that the plant will close May 25. About 100 workers will be thrown out. There are now nearly 20,000 unemployed in Wilmington.

Workers of the World Union; you have nothing to lose but poverty and the Bosses' profits to gain. Fraternally
O. E. Gray.

'Liberator' to Have 2-nd Class Rates.

Communist Magazine Gets Favorable P. O. Ruling. Will Receive Refund.

The Liberator, Communist monthly magazine, edited by Max Eastman, and to which the late John Reed was a contributor, has had its second-class mail privileges restored.

Based solely upon the rule that any publication acceptable for mailing thru the United States Postoffice is entitled to the privilege of the special rates for its class, Postmaster General Will H. Hays granted the application of the Liberator for admission to second-class mails on May 25.

The ruling is looked upon as an important one in respect to the post office censorship of the public press. Inasmuch as a number of radical and socialist magazines and papers were deprived of second-class rates while being allowed to pass thru the mails as mailable matter under the Wilson-Burleson-Palmer administration, the new Hays' ruling comes as a welcome rift in the clouds of official suppression of public expression.

The Liberator (then named The Masses) was barred from the second-class rates Nov. 2, 1917 when Judge Rogers upheld a decision of the Postoffice declaring that "considering the natural and reasonable effect of the publication it was intended to wilfully obstruct recruiting."

Will Refund Excess Charges.

Mr. Hays in announcing his decision stated that the claims of the Liberator publishers for a refund of the difference between the charges paid at the 3rd class rates and what they would have had to pay at their entitled rates would be paid. This amount is considerable. A total of \$14,321.96 has been paid by the Liberator in postage charges since the Burleson ruling. The cost for the second-class rates would have been only \$3,044.96, a difference of \$11,277.00.

George Hardy Back From Europe.

Chicago.—George Hardy, general secretary of the Industrial Workers of the World, who has just returned from a six months' visit to Europe, where he attended the international conference of industrial unions held in Berlin some months ago, in a report to the thirteenth annual convention of his organization, just concluded at Chicago, recommends affiliation with the Industrial International and closer unity between the I. W. W. and other revolutionary labor groups of Latin-America. He declares that no other organization in the world has the same influence, from a revolutionary standpoint, as the I. W. W.

Touching upon home issues he urges greater efforts among the colored workers of America and more co-ordination between the various parts of the organization, from the job branch to the general office. He stresses the importance of industrial education and the carrying on of industrial research to the greatest possible extent, recommending that handbooks giving the facts on the various industries be written.

Hardy was detained in a German jail for a month, incommunicado, because he was without passports. He finally arrived in Russia, where he conferred with Lenin and active union men and visited factories. As a result of his observations in the Soviet republic Hardy reports, in comparing conditions there with conditions in this country, that those who control the economic organizations will control the revolution.

He said he found that in Russia there is a group of workers who believe that the industrial unions are capable of running the industries, irrespective of the government. The I. W. W. secretary, however, states that the Communists were in the majority on most factory committees notwithstanding the charge that they know little about factory management.

Of the movement of revolutionary bodies of workers in other countries Hardy has this to say:

"We have the support of the Italian Syndicalist movement, which is stronger and better organized than our own. The Italian Syndicalists look upon the I. W. W. as a leading organization in the revolutionary movement.... The Germans are also looking to the I. W. W. and take our papers. The Scandinavian countries have squabbles among themselves at to which is nearest the I. W. W. The Danes say they are, and the difference between the two is that the Danes have a centralized organization, using the boring-from-within tactics. The Swedes are a federation organization and decentralized."

A Miners' Resolution

Dillonvale, O., May 1st, 1921.
PRESIDENT OF U. S. A.
Mr. W. G. Harding,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:—We the coal miners of many Local Unions of the U. M. W. of A. and members of different groups and councils of organized Labor, assembled on the May 1st—"World's" Labor Day" celebration held in Dillonvale, O.

Resolve:—That Capitalism is an international cancer with the words of truth and promise on the lips but with spirit of the devil and falsehood in the heart, and

Be it further resolved,—That we, American producers assembled in the monster May-Day mass-meeting hereby emphatically protest against the further brutal persecution practiced against members of organized labor and their leaders in general in the U. S., a persecution evidenced by violence, savage sentences, maltreatment and murders; so we pledge ourselves to resist in united action such barbarity as the Open-Shop drive which would lead to modern slavery and further—more—

We pledge ourselves to help give the widest publicity possible to this reign of terror and to obtain in various ways the liberation of the victims of the terror.

The mass-meeting also enters its protest against the continued imprisonment of Mooney and Billings and furthermore hereby demand of the President of U. S. A. to declare a general amnesty for Debs, Haywood and all others who sincerely opposed the war and the wage system through economical or political conviction.

Signed
J. J. Kobylak, Chairman.
Joseph Benes, Secretary.
Of Mass-Meeting on May-Day Celebration.

(Continued on page 4.)

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE 3rd, COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL: Moscow 1920

SOLEMN CLOSING OF 2ND CONGRESS OF III INTERNATIONAL.

(Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 8, 1920.)

Yesterday in the opera house was held the solemn concluding sitting of the 2nd Congress of the III Communist International.

Comrade Kalinin opens the sitting. He points out that in this 2nd Congress we see how a certain portion of the revolutionary task, a certain burden, is being transferred from the shoulders of the Russian proletariat to those of the international toiling classes.

The representative of the Finnish workmen, Comrade Maner, says that if the Finnish bourgeoisie dares to carry out the orders of the Entente and attack Petrograd, then it will receive a blow in the back from the revolutionary proletariat of Finland.

FROM "THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," PUBLISHED BY THE RUSSIAN DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Comrade Radek speaks in the name of the Polish workmen. He expresses the deep conviction that the Polish proletariat, which has always marched in the first ranks of the Russian revolution, will show in deeds how it will handle its own bourgeoisie and the officers of the Entente.

Comrade Trotzky makes a long and brilliant speech. He says that the 2nd Congress of the Communist International met one and one-half years after the 1st Congress. These 18 months were rich in profound historic content.

of five years, Soviet Russia will give to the European working class five times more bread and raw materials than gave the old Tsarist-bourgeois Russia.

The Congress is closed with the powerful singing of the International. The Italian delegates, supported by all present, sing Italian revolutionary songs.

ZINOVIEV'S SPEECH AT CONCLUDING SITTING.

(Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 10, 1920.)

Comrade Zinoviev, president of the III International, makes a beautiful and brilliant speech; he was greeted by long and fervent applause.

"With complete satisfaction we can say that the Congress has been an entire success. After the World War and the collapse of the II International the workmen were waiting to be united, and this passionate desire for unification was the driving force of the workmen's International and of world history.

The Congress representatives not only of European and American countries but also of the Orient and of colonies. We are convinced that the movement in the Orient will grow and will merge with the Communist movement of the proletariat.

"At our Congress were also represented groups of penitent compromisers. They came humbly before the judgment seat of the III International and petitioned for amnesty.

"Our Congress put forth 21 conditions for admission to the Communist International, so that not a single opportunist should be able to slip in.

"The resolution of colonial and national questions was adopted unanimously, and this represents a moral victory for us. The III International continues the glorious traditions of the I International.

of 'black' and 'yellow' color. At the congress was organized the International of Trade Unions, and thus was destroyed the last bulwark of the bourgeoisie—the yellow Amsterdam International.

Comrade Zinoviev further draws a comparison between the bourgeois International and the proletarian International, and says that while in the former a constant conflict is going on, in which the brigands of world imperialism are knifing each other.

"The Soviet idea has won the entire working class so completely that the resolution on Soviets did not call forth any discussions at the Congress, and was adopted unanimously.

In conclusion, comrade Zinoviev states that many comrades on their return from the Congress will have to face trying difficulties; "But they can be sure that we at any moment will render them all the assistance that is at our disposal."

HAS MEXICO A LABOR GOVERNMENT?

WHO IS TELLING THE TRUTH ABOUT MEXICO?

By GEO. N. FALCONER.

A writer in the N. Y. Call of Mar. 4th says of the Mexican-American Press: "Some of these papers are owned outright by American Capitalists, others by Mexican Capitalists, they are equally reactionary and have the same custom of lying and misrepresentation."

"One cannot publish abroad the truth about Mexico under the Obregon government without increasing the danger to which Mexico is directly exposed. On December 1 I reported from Washington the story, which Washington believed, that a working agreement had been concluded between President Obregon, on the one hand, and Senator Albert B. Fall, representing the American capitalists who demanded a revision of the Mexican constitution and laws 'hostile' to foreign investors.

Today I believe that report was false. So telling the truth about Mexico is no easy job. You see the big majority of Capitalist newspaper readers in the states prefer apparently, a beautiful lie to an ugly truth.

Let us glance through the pages of, say, the last three issues of Gale's and read what he has to say about Mexico's Labor Government; then read a few extracts from recent writings of that incomparable(?) grand old man of the American La-

bor Movement, Samuel Gompers and his fellow labor leaders who were recently in Mexico City as delegates to the Pan American Congress.

OBREGON THE WORKER'S PRESIDENT.

From Gale's Magazine for Dec. 1921. "In the first few days after entering office, Obregon made numerous statements regarding his future policy which, although carefully worded, indicated that he will not be ruled by American Big Business.

A delegation of workers, representing 9,600 employees in the government's munitions factory, visited President Obregon promptly on his accession to office to ask that Luis N. Morones, head of the Federation of Labor and chief of the munitions factory, be retained in office.

"Today in Mexico we have a government which gives the people free speech, free press and free assembly and the right of the workers to organize as they please.

"The future as Soto y Gama says, 'belongs to Bolshevism'—and in Mexico before several other countries." In this same issue is an advertisement entitled, "What to expect if you come to Mexico." After describ-

ing the many advantages and a few of the things not to expect should you make the trip, our communist author and host closes with—

"The government contains many radicals. The labor unions are all Radical. Radical sentiment is found everywhere and according to the New York Times, Mexico may prove to be 'the Soviet Russia of America.'

"Such a country obviously is inviting to radicals. We who are here already want them to come and help us in our work of propaganda, education and organization. But we want them to come without misunderstandings. That is why I have made this extended statement.

I want to state the facts honestly without varnish or whitewash. I invite correspondence with interested comrades.

Yours for Soviet Mexico and Soviet America.

GALES FOR JAN.—FEB. SEES BOLSHEVISM STEADILY PERMEATE MEXICO.

"As water soaks into a sponge little by little until every wrinkle and kink is filled, so Bolshevism is permeating every nook and corner of Mexico.

The process is steady and sure. Growth of revolutionary sentiment is no sky-rocket, fly-by-night happening but a regular, gradual process that possesses stability along with increasing momentum.

The New York Times, American capitalism's most reliable spokesman, recently remarked (before the inauguration of Obregon) that while there was a question as to what Obregon would do, it was feared that even if he tried to crush Bolshevism in Mexico, he would be unable to do so, so strong a hold has this "pernicious" philosophy acquired here.

"Newspaper men asked President Obregon the other day in the course of a lengthy interview, 'Do you believe it a danger for the nation that the Socialists have gained power in Yucatan?'"

This was Obregon's answer: "Any group that may go into power will have to submit to our legislation and to the political system of the Republic while it remains as it is.

MEXICO GOING RED.

Meanwhile, the government officially is keeping hands off while Bolshevist ideas spread like an irresistible flame into every section of the country.

draws nearer with every new day. It is inevitable. If the government discreetly acquiesces in the rising tide, it will be a comparatively peaceful Revolution—as peaceful as can be expected anywhere. We know that the capitalists will not joyously agree to being expropriated. But if, as may be the case in Mexico, the government, with numerous Communists in office and composed of others sympathizing with the workers and hating the capitalists, cooperates with the Great Change, it will obviously be easier than if the capitalists had at their disposition a docile and obedient state."

"Socialists capture three states." "The reds carried Campeche." "Bolshevism rampant in Mexican Army."

"History Being Made in Mexico." "Voting \$1 to the Magon brothers in an American prison is not Communism, nor is the election of Socialist tickets in three states, nor yet is the establishment of workers' schools by the government."

"The pulse of the world is throbbing today," declared 'Mother' Jones. "Humanity is watching the new Mexico. I want to tell you that there will be no intervention by the capitalist robbers of the United States in the affairs of Mexico. We won't stand for it. We are going back to the United States and appeal to the workers there to stand by the workers here."

"The moving finger writes. And its message is— Soviet Mexico is near."

Comment: The foregoing excerpts show the Mexican revolution is making steady progress; the army is being Bolshevized; the red dawn is near; and the atmosphere, generally is becoming friendlier.

OBREGON NOT FRIENDLY TO SCABBING.

"Newspaper men asked President Obregon the other day in the course of a lengthy interview, 'Do you believe it a danger for the nation that the Socialists have gained power in Yucatan?'"

This was Obregon's answer: "Any group that may go into power will have to submit to our legislation and to the political system of the Republic while it remains as it is.

Comment: It will be seen that Obregon is slowly but surely becoming steepled. The word stable is significant. Legal and constitutional are perhaps more correct.

MEXICO GOING RED.

From March Gale's:

"In Mexico, as elsewhere in the world, it is the effort of revolutionary communists to proceed along more scientific lines. We are trying to rid ourselves of the utopian tendency of taking fanciful trips through the sterilized ether of impractical philosophizing."

This lingo sounds like our departed friend and leader—Harold Lord Varney?

To a small group of I. W. W. Mexican workers and revolutionaries who now and then throw the spot light of publicity upon questionable tactics of Gale and the Mexican Federation of Labor leaders, the following bouquet was distributed free of charge:—

"Either they are well meaning fanatics or they are cold-blooded conspirators serving sinister ends."

MOTHER JONES.

Seemed as if she had been imported specially to boost the Workers' Mexican Government. "Workers," she shouted during her several addresses during the Pan-American Congress, "stand by your government and it will stand by you."

When she shouted, "You are going to bring the new day in this country and center the eyes of the world on Mexico as well as Russia," the applause was tremendous.

Didn't Mother Jones boost for Woodrow Wilson in 1916? And Mother Jones paid many compliments to that "grand old man of labor," King Gompers. Why? Is she so ignorant of Samuel's labor history?

Once more the workers' government. Since their return from Mexico to the states Gompers and his fellows have been spreading the glad tidings of Mexico's wonderful labor government. In the March Mexican Review, a high class capitalist magazine, Samuel says,—

"We found in Mexico much evidence of progress and our delegation is a unit in expressing the belief that the present government of Mexico is composed of able men of integrity and initiative. The government of Mexico is as near to being a government of and for working people as any government on earth,

and the principle reason to be proud of this fact is that so far as we were able to determine, it is a government devoted to the principles of democracy."

The kind of democracy, presumably, for which 10,000,000 lives were butchered?

Jos. W. Kelly, of the Machinists' Union declares in several articles that—"Obregon is the idol of the lower classes of Mexico." Obregon will assuredly be pleased to hear this. It is surprising how the lower classes of all countries love and idolize their Kings, Czars, Kaisers and Presidents.

MEXICAN GOVERNMENT MOST LIBERAL.

"Mexico has today the nearest approach to a labor government this continent has ever seen," declared William H. Johnston, of the International Association of Machinists, returning to Washington from the Pan-American Labor Congress in Mexico late in January.

"Many of the government officials are members of organized labor. Louis Morones, president of the Mexican Federation of Labor, is chief of the military commissary department and ranks as a cabinet minister. The governor of the federal district in which the City of Mexico is located is a union shoemaker.

"The people appear to have every confidence in President Obregon and his associates. Of course, there are some radicals and discontents, but they constitute a very small minority."

Compare Johnston's "small minority of radicals and discontents" with Gale's—"The social revolution in Mexico draws nearer with every new day. It is inevitable." Who is telling the truth? Neither.

Meanwhile Gompers and his labor allies are working overtime damning and blackening the Workers Republic of Russia. Why so? When you (Continued on page 4.)

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That 'Share in Management'.

Shop Committees there are—and also other Shop Committees—the Bosses own. The Shop Committee of the workers, by the workers finds its parallel in the institution of the Bosses' Shop Committee—a "democratic" committee composed of elected workers and appointed Bosses' representatives.

The Bosses' press has given considerable space to the new "Assembly of Joint Representatives" which the Swift Packing Company has inaugurated as a means of obtaining a "closer community of interests between employe and employer."

Let us see what this magician's wand looks like that can turn the class-struggle into a rose bower where exploiters and exploited may gambol together to the honeyed melody of pure democracy.

"When any decision of the Assembly of Joint Representatives is reached by a two-thirds vote it will be sent to the management for action and will have binding effect upon both employer and employe, unless within fourteen days the Board of Directors of the Company or the Employes' Representatives request the assembly to reopen the matter for further consideration with a view to reaching an agreement."

"When after such reconsideration in the assembly it is deemed impossible to arrive at a collective agreement by joint conference on any (or) issue, the management and the employe are at liberty to take such action outside of the plan as they may think desirable. But such action will not of itself terminate the general use of the plan which shall continue in full force so long as it is desired by employer and employe."

Wonderful plan! If this doesn't satisfy the slaves of the packers they are hopeless. The reader will observe how far the workers' "share in the management" reaches. It reaches exactly to the point—and no further—of the Packers' inclination to grant it. True, it is the same on the workers' side—EXCEPT—the Boss has the whip hand because HE OWNS THE PLANT.

The sole intention is to fool the workers, to make them believe that in this fake "management" they have a real share. Beware of any such efforts of the Bosses to hand the workers lemons of this brand. They are fakes.

Learning to Work.

A sad tale comes out of Jugoslavia concerning 1,500 "high class" Russian emigres who followed Wrangel's defeated army out of the Crimea. But it is a tale that draws no tears. It seems that the hordes of parasitic Barons, Dukes, Princes and Princesses and other parasites belonging to the former Russian ruling class were unable to bring "their" property with them when they fled before Judenny's Red Cavalry.

Bearing upon their royal persons remnants of their former prosperity and titled decorations, they now wander melancholy about Europe, half starved, untrained to work, their world gone forever.

True, a few have learned the art of providing themselves with the necessities of life. Notably the women and mothers whose efforts to keep their children from starvation are to be commended but are no more pathetic than millions of cases of workers.

However unfortunate may be the circumstances into which these emigres may have been driven by their rashness, folly and fear of the Soviets, one is unable to feel sympathetic impulses toward them. They serve no cause in their privations. Their social and political alignments are with the enemies of labor. They have deserted Mother Russia when she called for strong sons and daughters to help her bear her burdens. They have sown the wind, let them reap the whirlwind.

During the steel strike in Pennsylvania, free speech, and peaceable assemblage were denied the strikers, union meetings were broken up, and many of the strikers, and union officials were arrested, and beaten up. While out at Gary, Ind., U. S. soldiers were on duty to protect steel-trust property.

Z N A N J E South Slavic Weekly For Rates Address 2741 West 22 Street Chicago, Ill.

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

WHAT THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA HAS ACCOMPLISHED.

An Answer to Those Critics Who Do Not Understand the Vast Historical Significance of That Revolution.

By M. OLGIN.—Translated by S. SMITH. (From the Jewish Daily Forwards, New York.)

At this stage let us see what the Russian Revolution has accomplished in its first three years. We know it has destroyed much. It has driven out the big landowners and abolished that class. It has driven the manufacturers from their factories and deprived them of their capital.

All this was easy. In a time of revolution it is easy to destroy. There is no need of any great genius, any well thought-out plan, for that. The breaking up goes on because the people are stirred up. Destruction goes on because for far too long the people have suffered.

Russia's Accomplishments. Has the Russian Revolution truly begun the building of the new world? Thousands of people do not think so. Thousands of people believe that things are worse now than ever before.

Is it really so? It is hard for a man to grasp a world-historic occurrence. Only when we are several years removed from it do we begin to understand the greatness of it; only when its effect is noticeable everywhere do we realize that it was something of world-historic moment.

Many an honest man reached a wrong conclusion in the Russian Revolution. If one goes to Russia and has dealings with dishonest communists, the revolution appears as the rule of thieves. If another goes to Russia and sees that there is not enough to eat, the revolution to that one becomes the rule of hunger.

And everyone thinks that he saw the revolution and that he appraised it according to its worth. But each has failed to see the revolution in its entirety as an occurrence of world historic import.

What has the Russian Revolution accomplished in these three years? (1) It has given over all the factories, mines and other industrial establishments into the hands of the state, and organized a central ap-

paratus for taking care of the economic life of the country. It has proven that this is possible, in spite of the contentions of the learned and practical men of the times that it is impossible.

No one says that the economic apparatus of Russia is working very smoothly. None of the Russian leaders is pleased with the economic arrangement of the soviets. There is bureaucracy. There is too much red tape and too little work done.

But the leaders in this Herculean struggle are not discouraged. They know that it could not have been otherwise. A new class has acquired power. It lacks knowledge. It lacks experience. The old intelligentsia has sabotaged the new system and its ideals.

It is almost seven years since the beginning of the war. During this time there was no possibility of maintaining the nation's means of production, no possibility of making necessary repairs and renewals. The machines were old and worn out; the locomotives damaged; the rolling stock deteriorated; many of the materials needed for repairs were lacking altogether.

Yet it remains a fact that the apparatus is here, that it works, that it is constantly improving, that the productivity of labor increases and that the country can do very well without private enterprise.

(2) The Russian Revolution has created a tremendous apparatus of distribution. This is altogether new in the history of mankind.

Here too not everything runs as smoothly as it should. The most essential products are lacking. It is difficult to get a little food, the simplest tools, or clothes. Nor is the law of equality always observed.

And all this in three years, no more. In this time they had to face Brest-Litovsk, the German invasion of Russia, the Czecho-Slovaks, Kolchak, Denikin, Judenitch, the Japanese and English in Siberia, the English and Americans in Archangel, Peltura, the Estonians, the Poles, Wrangel and Kronstadt.

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portant institutions in Russia today. It is the opinion of all, even of its enemies, that this apparatus works now much better than it did a year or two ago. It is adjusting itself, becoming finer, more complicated.

Let us reiterate: the whole machinery is new. It began to function some three years ago. It had to do its work in a time of great suffering, in a time of insurrections and counter-revolution within the country, a time of wars with both internal and external enemies.

(3) The revolution has established the general law, that he who does not work, neither shall he eat. This is not a law only on paper, it is a law practiced in everyday life.

This, people say, is against human freedom. But this freedom does not mean that one should have the right to go about doing nothing useful and living on what others produce.

It is natural to find there cheating, laziness, incompetency and crime. Not so quickly does the spirit of a community change. There are groups of people that will never serve honestly the new regime—these are the exploiters, those who never worked, and the spendthrifts of the past.

(4) The revolution has created a new system of jurisprudence and administration. I have already written about the system of the Soviets.

(5) The revolution has created a new army with a new psychology and a new social ideal. And all this in three years, no more. In this time they had to face Brest-Litovsk, the German invasion of Russia, the Czecho-Slovaks, Kolchak, Denikin, Judenitch, the Japanese and English in Siberia, the English and Americans in Archangel, Peltura, the Estonians, the Poles, Wrangel and Kronstadt.

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BRAIN TEASERS

By SARGENT.

Why don't union-men when they go on strike, stop the salaries of their officials thereby putting them on the same level as themselves while the struggle is on?

Again, why don't union-men when on strike choose a committee from the rank and file instead of the officials, to deal with the bosses?

In union there is strength, no doubt England has found it out by her present experience with the miners. Wonder if American miners will learn something by the struggle over there?

It doesn't seem that France wants Germany to pay any indemnity, it rather seems all she wants is to destroy Germany. She wants security by enlarging France, because she knows she can never compete industrially with Germany.

The railroads, so the reports go in the newspapers will put about eighteen hundred men to work thruout the country within the week.

Hoover says the foreign markets are glutted, then he says he expects business to pick up, but of course slowly. Therefore workers, take a reduction in wages, go back to work and produce for all that is in you.

Over there, just like it is over here, lockouts, strikes, hunger, hypocrisy and lies aplenty. Only it is worse over there, than it is over here. Except the lies and hypocrisy.

Are you working? No! Neither am I. Where are you going? Nowhere. Lets go together. I have no place to go either.

Fifty per cent of the people didn't vote in Italy in the recent elections, and the capitalist press is crowing about it being a great victory for the government. Another victory like that and it will mean an eternal defeat, and none know it better than the supposed victors themselves.

Some people think, some others think they think, and some do this. They had to face sabotage and all kinds of trouble from the intelligentsia. They had to face hunger and need. They had to face inexperience.

And yet they have created so much, so powerfully created. This was possible because of a great revolution, because of a great, new social force.

Poor, blind critics! They are to be pitied. They cannot see the light of history.

thinking for others, and apparently many do no thinking at all; while some admit they do their own thinking. Others claim they are thinking of, and for humanity, then there are some who think only of the workers, while others are paid to think for the shirkers.

In W. Va. hereafter when an industrial fight is on between the bosses, and the workers in the courts, no union-man will be allowed to sit on the jury, according to a recent law passed in that state.

When the miners went on strike an injunction was issued against the leaders demanding that they force the miners back to work, and their money was tied up by the court so they could not get any strike benefits.

The Danbury hatters' strike is another instance of the use of the courts by the bosses, when the union was sued for losses caused by the strike, with the result the treasury of the union was cleaned up and the personal property of the members who had any was taken to reimburse the bosses.

Many more such incidents could be narrated, but the above is sufficient for the purpose of asking the workers: On which side is the government when there is a fight between the workers and the bosses? Do you need to guess?

Amalgamated Clothing Workers are Winning.

Officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers expressed the belief yesterday that the great lock-out in the men's clothing industry which has continued for twenty-four weeks would be settled within a few days.

Although a group of manufacturers has reorganized the New York clothing trade association with the intention of continuing the battle against the union, it was claimed at union headquarters last night that this group does not represent more than seven per cent of the market.

Since many manufacturers settled with the union some time ago and begun production again, this means that the manufacturers who fought the union were unable to produce any appreciable amount of clothing.

It is expected that the impartial machinery for settling industrial disputes which was destroyed by the manufacturers last December will be re-established. This machinery, which leaves to an impartial judge the settlement of vital disputes between the manufacturers and the workers, has proven successful throughout the period of depression in the Rochester and Chicago clothing markets.

The twenty-four weeks' struggle in the men's clothing industry has been the most expensive war in the history of the industry. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers raised a fund of almost two million dollars for the relief of its locked-out members.

The lockout has been characterized by many injunction suits and suits for the dissolution of the union. Since the manufacturers who filed dissolution suits against the union are now ready to deal with the organization, it is assumed that these suits will be dropped.

