

GOOD DAY!

As previously announced, this will be the last issue of the English section of the Toveri, for reasons fully given some days ago. If it be true that an all-English labor paper is to be started in Astoria, we would request that those who have supported us extend that support to the new labor paper.

Good-bye now; "Take care of yourself."

INVESTIGATING THE UNREST.

A British governmental commission, which was sent out to ascertain the causes of industrial unrest, has returned a report after five weeks of investigation. The principal causes are given as:

The high cost of living coupled with a disproportionate advance in wages, and unequal distribution of food supplies.

The operation of the munitions of war acts, especially the restriction of personal freedom imposed upon the workmen under these acts.

Operation of the military service acts.

Other causes were stated to be the lack of sufficient housing accommodations in congested areas; industrial fatigue; lack of proper organization among trades unions; inconsiderate treatment of women wage workers; and "lack of confidence in the government due to the surrender of trade union customs and the feeling that promises as regards their restoration will not be kept."

Similar conditions obtain in this country, and the causes of unrest are largely as stated above. However, the British commission states that but a small percentage of the unrest has a revolutionary significance, while it is becoming more and more apparent that the uprisings of labor here are of deep revolutionary import. Perhaps this is also true of England and the commission were not capable of comprehending that fact.

The Industrial Relations Commission sent out by the United States Government made a report that startled many an industrial king from his slumberous seat. Russia staged a surprise for the autocracy who had read history wrongly, and Australia, which has been falsely called "Labor's Paradise," bids fair to become in reality what it has been in name. Argentine has been, and probably still is, in the throes of a labor revolt; Spain has had a proletarian awakening—Japan has also seen the light, and the world of workers is filled with hope in spite of the frenzied attempts at suppression by the masters of the bread.

The very fact that labor has become important enough to be investigated is in itself a revolutionary thing.—Ind. Worker.

THE PRESS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The press is the most important single factor in the emancipation of the working class. How few workmen seem to realize this!

In this country the press of the working class has for the most part been ignored or neglected by the workers themselves as if it were a matter of no consequence to them whatever. Most workingmen support capitalist newspapers and periodicals, even scab publications, while they subscribe grudgingly, if at all, to the publications of their own class. It seems strange that workingmen should be so blind to their own interests and this is one of the reasons why they continue in bondage.

This is an age of newspapers, magazines and periodicals, an age of literature, and the capitalist class is shrewd enough to realize the necessity of owning and controlling the press that moulds the public sentiment in

accordance with the established order of things.

Wall street, in control of the public press that teaches the whole body of our people every hour of the day, can spring an issue, however foreign to the interests of the working class, and popularize it in short order. It can lie about a strike so flagrantly and persistently as to create a popular sentiment of deadly hostility against a body of peaceable workmen protesting against starvation wages.

In every clash between capital and labor the latter sadly feels its weakness consequent upon a feeble and inadequate press. It is the press that reaches the people, the press that moulds sentiment, the press that enlightens the masses and makes for despotism or democracy, for freedom or slavery, for peace or war, for weal or woe, for life or death. Then why not realize this and set to work, every one of us, to build up our own press and make it strong enough to fight our battles and blaze the way to emancipation!

ALL HEADED THE SAME WAY. WHO GOES FIRST?

There are no military experts on the staff of this paper, and no pretense is made of any special knowledge on that subject. In these editorial columns, victory for one side or the other in the great war has always been subordinated to considerations of the tremendous economic changes the war is certainly bringing. Military victories have no permanent result, but economic changes are permanent, and in the long run immeasurably more important. The military victories and defeats of a Napoleon, the Wagrains, Austerlitzes, Moscows, and Waterloos, in themselves, appeal to none now save the student of military affairs. But though defeated, the economic effect of Napoleon's wars is the one permanent thing, and, to a large extent, forms the basis from which the present war developed.

This journal has consistently held to the view that the final result of the war must be the elimination of the capitalist system from production, and the substitution thereof of Socialism, no matter how the actual fighting results; that win, lose or draw for any side, it means the same thing.

And, just now, the statesmen who are playing the war game, and the publicists and journalists who comment on it, are all unconsciously, perhaps, but nevertheless playing the game of Socialism also. If Socialism is to result from the war, naturally and necessarily it must be preceded by social revolution in one or other of the countries involved. And that this is the object of all is now plain—to drive the other fellow into revolution, that they figure will weaken the government and throw it out of the fighting; what they overlook, or, perhaps, cannot take time to perceive, or, perhaps, ignore, is that nowadays all revolutions must be social revolutions; that in all these expected revolutions Socialism and the Socialists must, and will, play the leading part and shape and mold the revolution.

Two years or so ago came the tremendous German thrust on the Danajec; that, for the time being, threw Russia out of the war and into social revolution; into a revolution dominated by Socialism and Socialist aims, objects, conceptions and ideals.

There was internal trouble—plenty of it—impotent and blundering and cowardice, and heroism, and chaos, and "anarchy." It is there yet. No one knows whether Russia will pull herself together to enter the war again. But whether or not, the one thing that has been accomplished in Russia, and that cannot and will not be undone, is social revolution, as "socialistic" as it was humanly possible for a revolution to be in such a country.

Then things began to go badly for Germany on the western front. French and British victories followed each other in rapid succession. And millions of people, Socialists and non-Socialists, began looking for social revolution in Germany. Even Germany's capitalist opponents were expecting the German Socialists to move, as they know there is nothing else can overthrow kaiserism.

Milwaukee Is Healthier and Happier Under Its Second Socialist Administration

MAYOR HOAN, BY INSTALLING A HUMAN GOVERNMENT CITY HAS RESPECT OF CITIZENS

The people of Milwaukee liked a Socialist administration so well that last April they elected Daniel W. Hoan mayor of the city. The Socialists also have 11 members in the city council. A careful perusal of the following article will prove that a human administration is better for the citizens than a "business administration," the latter simply meaning that the government is given over to "big business" to loot the city.

(By David Weiss.)

The Socialist administration has given Milwaukee the best government in the history of the city. This has not only been conceded by non-Socialists in the city, but by all fair-minded citizens of Wisconsin.

Immediately after assuming office Mayor Dan Hoan, finding a rabid opposition from the non-partisans in the common council ("non-parts" because they refuse to act favorably on almost everything that has a smack of Socialism) appointed a mayor's advisory committee of non-Socialists to advise him on all city projects. The mayor confers with this committee on all important city measures.

Socialists of Milwaukee stand for something more than mere abstract ideals; they advocate and have enacted progressive labor laws, better social conditions, and have driven out of the city political gangs and abolished political jobbing. Socialists represent the maximum good for the greatest number of people. And in spite of the fact that they are in a minority in the common council, having only thirteen councilmen out of thirty-seven, the Socialists have accomplished more in three years than the former administrations by old parties have done since Milwaukee was a city.

"Are you a capable and conscientious worker?" Not "to what political party do you belong?" is asked of applicants for city positions. Service is the keynote.

The growth of the Socialist movement in Milwaukee is not that of the mushroom variety. It has had a steady growth during the last 12 years, and is rapidly growing to be the most powerful political organization in the state. The following is the vote cast for the Socialist party in Milwaukee for the past 12 years: 1904, 8,000; 1906, 16,000; 1908, 20,000; 1910, 27,000; 1912, 30,000; 1914, 29,132; 1916, 32,000.

Socialist Officials Praised. The Socialist city officials have

won praise from thousands of people who have never before voted for Socialism. And in view of this fact it is conceded by most of the old party politicians that the vote for Socialism at the spring election in 1918 will be at least 50,000 out of a total vote of 75,000 that is usually cast in Milwaukee.

"We will elect every Socialist candidate from the mayor down to the dog catcher," said Paul Gauer, private secretary to Mayor Hoan.

"Socialists will sweep Milwaukee clean at the coming spring election and there will be little left of any anti-Socialist political organization. People have tried the nonpartisans long enough and are now tired of their blunderings and obstruction," said Herman O. Kent, Socialist assemblyman, elected for the third time last fall.

The efficiency and absolute impartiality of the Socialist administration has never been questioned. Even the capitalist dailies, rabidly anti in everything that is for the advancement of Socialism, have often admitted in their editorials that Mayor Hoan is a "pretty good mayor."

The Ashland Daily Press, a non-Socialist daily in northern Wisconsin, after making a careful survey of the conditions in Milwaukee, wrote the following:

"The Social Democrats of Milwaukee are certainly giving the country some splendid lessons on high ideals in public office. Service to the public seems to be the aim of the administration. Merit, and merit only, counts in all official appointments. The best man for the place, the one best qualified to perform the work required in the office is sought for, and when found is appointed. Honesty, economy, full service for pay received seem to be the principles so far used in conducting the business administration of the city."

No Sinecures Sought. Socialist candidates seeking election ask for no favors; they want no political sinecures; they stand on their past records, and ask the citizens of Milwaukee to elect the entire Socialist ticket so they will not be obstructed in their work in helping to make Milwaukee a better city for all the people to live in. The following is a partial record of the Socialist administration since April, 1916:

Labor organizations were given a great impetus when Mayor Hoan was elected. He immediately proposed a measure to increase the pay of unskilled laborers of the city from 25 cents an hour to 30 cents. Although a number of employers protested at the increase, the mayor, with the

support of all labor, forced the common council to pass the bill.

Socialist Protects Strikers

Mayor Hoan has done everything in his power to see that workers who went on strike were protected. When the employes of the Badger Raincoat company went on strike, and the police interfered with the peaceful picketing, the mayor told the police that it was their duty to protect peaceful pickets and not to molest them. When the company failed to get the cooperation of the police department to browbeat the strikers the corporation left the city.

Who has ever heard of a mayor of a big city helping to organize workers? This is exactly what Mayor Hoan has done. He assisted the machinists in their strike of 1916, took part in campaign drives for membership among the garment and textile workers, and has continually offered his services as a mediator in practically every labor dispute that has occurred since he has taken office. He has made several attempts to close the department stores on Labor Day, but so far has been unsuccessful. And, in fact, whenever labor is in need of real friends, it always comes to the Socialists.

Believing that labor is strongly for peace, Mayor Hoan invited the People's council, last September, to meet in Milwaukee after it was driven out of Minneapolis by Governor Burnquist. Mayor Hoan, however, was overruled by Governor Philipp, who refused to permit the council to meet in Wisconsin.

Sells Food to People at Cost. As a member of the Milwaukee council of defense Mayor Hoan is doing a little more than the war council would have him do. He believes that the people of Milwaukee have to be fed as well as the fighting forces. He has contracted for more than a dozen carloads of potatoes, to be bought direct from the producers, and will sell them without profit to the people of the city. It has already saved the workers thousands of dollars by selling fish to them without profit. The mayor is contracting for other staple foods to be sold directly to the consumer at cost.

Milwaukee, for years, has endured a most abominable street car service. The people have complained until they were disgusted; but the nonpartisan administrations took no cognizance of the inadequate service nor of the people's complaints.

The Socialist administration, as soon as elected, took up the work that the former city officials had failed to do. Mayor Hoan, with the support of the Socialist councilmen, ordered the city railway corporation to operate more cars and improve its equipment. The company refused, pleading poverty and an insufficient return on its investment.

To compel the T. M. E. R. & L. company to produce a monthly statement of its actual profits and expenses, the Socialists introduced a measure to have the city take over the operation of the street car service. The Socialist administration in 1916-1917 took the initial step to give Milwaukee a municipal lighting plant. For many years the people complained of the poor street lighting. And, although the city paid \$65 a year for the upkeep of each street light, the still many of the lights never worked properly, allowing many streets to remain dark.

The Socialist administration in 1916-1917 took the initial step to give Milwaukee a municipal lighting plant. And after it had erected an auxiliary plant, T. R. Neacy, an opulent manufacturer, later of labor and Socialism, died up the plant. At the end of the first Socialist administration, after two years of litigation, the state supreme court decided that the city plant could furnish light for streets, public buildings and parks.

The "nonparts," however, after they defeated the Socialists by combining all the anti-Socialist forces, got into office for the term of 1912-1916 allowed the city light plant to remain idle until the last year of their misrule.

After the anti-Socialist aldermen had failed in two attempts to railroad through a 10-year lighting contract to a private corporation, and public opinion demanded action, the "nonparts" joined with the Socialists and voted \$1,000,000 for a generating plant. It was not until Mayor Hoan assumed office that actual work was begun. The aim of the Socialists is to furnish electric light and power to the people at cost.

Adequate Bathing Facilities. To supply adequate bathing facilities has been one of Milwaukee's great problems. Immediately on assuming office, Mayor Hoan urged the common council to build more lockers and dressing rooms to accommodate the large number of people who used the beaches. And in 1917 the council built additional bathing facilities. The mayor has appointed a commission of experts to make a survey of the lake shore property so that permanent bath houses could be erected.

Spotlights for flags, to show the patriotism for capitalism, is more important to "nonparts" than the lives of Milwaukee babies. The council defeated a resolution calling for an appropriation of \$2,500 to combat infant mortality, but voted to spend \$2800 for a patrol wagon, and another sum for spotlights for flags.

The opponents of the bill to decrease infant mortality are playing

politics with the lives of babies," said Dr. John Bessel, a prominent Milwaukee physician.

The size of the loaf of bread is steadily growing smaller, as the price continues to increase. At our entrance into the European war, Milwaukee bakers reduced the weight of their loaves. People were confused, and did not know what they were paying for.

Bread Loaf Standardized

Alderman Arthur Urbanek, Socialist, presented a bill in the common council to standardize the size of the loaf. Immediately a loud protest arose from the big bakers against this measure, and the council defeated it.

About six months later Alderman Urbanek again brought this bill before the council. This time, however, the women's clubs, civic societies, housewives, and small bakers lined up solidly with the Socialists and forced the council to pass the bread ordinance.

That vacant lots should be cultivated and not used for dumping grounds was the opinion of Alderman J. W. Murdock, Socialist. He had an appropriation of \$500 passed for expenses to secure vacant lots for people who were willing to cultivate them. Where formerly these lots "raised" tin cans and garbage, during the past year hundreds of families raised their own vegetables. Socialists are planning to extend this feature and make it an important municipal undertaking.

To save the city hundreds of dollars a year in garage expenses, Alderman John Doerfler Jr., Socialist, proposed that the city build a public garage. The "nonparts," afraid that the Socialists would get more credit, defeated this measure, and seven months later passed a substitute bill.

Careful city planning—a "city beautiful"—is one of the planks of the Socialist administration. Plans have been made to extend transportation facilities, improve roads and streets so that congestion would be minimized. At a Milwaukee real estate operators conference with Mayor Hoan, an appraisal was ordered of property leading to Juneau park and the lake shore to enable the city to begin condemnation proceedings. Much of this land will be used to build homes for working people.

City and county jails have been in a chaotic condition for years, until the first Socialist administration was elected. Socialist officials immediately abolished the filthy and inhuman conditions that existed. The Socialist sheriff treated the prisoners like human beings; he gave them better food, more freedom, and, during intervals, secured entertainment for them. The aim of the jail should be to reform prisoners and make them useful citizens, and not to crush them so that society may be avenged, declares the sheriff.

Water System Improved

The city's water supply has been neglected by the past city officials. It remained for the present administration to introduce the process of chlorination; to begin building a new sewage disposal plant and a system of intercepting sewers. And, furthermore, to ascertain whether a filtration plant was necessary to safeguard the purity of the water supply. Mayor Hoan secured from the United States government the services of experts to make a thorough survey of the water system. The report of the commission was that a filtration plant was necessary.

Just as a straight jacket keeps a man from moving, so does the present city charter prevent Milwaukee from getting progressive legislation. Socialist officials have been compelled to appear before the state legislature time and time again to request that the city be given home rule.

With an efficient municipal electric plant in operation, the Socialists have sought power from the state legislature to permit them to sell light and power to the people. And although this request of the Socialists was backed up by labor, civic societies and all public-spirited citizens, the legislature and the city council have refused to allow the people of Milwaukee to use their own light plant.

The city council, composed of a majority of "nonparts," tried every conceivable means to obstruct most of the progressive legislation proposed by the Socialists. And this has forced the Socialists in the council to act as "watchdogs"—to prevent the "nonparts" from "putting it over on the people."

Socialist Committee Alert. The central purchasing bill was one of the few bills that the Socialists had no trouble in passing. This measure puts all the purchasing power in the hands of one committee of experts, who, by buying in large quantities, can save the city large sums of money, and at the same time get a better quality of goods.

The Socialist councilmen have to be alert to prevent the "nonparts" from passing bills that are inimical to public welfare. And Mayor Hoan has vetoed fourteen bills passed by the majority of the council since April, 1916. The following are a few of the measures that were vetoed by Mayor Hoan:

A bill to purchase intake tunnel machinery for \$9,600, to be rented to O'Brien and Johnson for a rental of 6 per cent a year, and 15 per cent for depreciation was vetoed, because when the work is completed in three years, the machinery would be junk, and the city would have lost nearly \$7,000 in the transaction.

Because of the unsettled conditions of the lake shore property, and because no survey had been made, Mayor Hoan vetoed an appropriation for \$75,000 to build bath houses at McKinley beach, pointing out that this was done to safeguard city funds from unscrupulous real estate men.

Mayor Hoan vetoed a bill that sought to build a new plant to operate the Milwaukee Flushing tunnel, because the city already owns a generating plant, which, if enough steam was generated, could supply sufficient power for the tunnel. This measure was passed by the council

to discredit the municipal plant, which was built under the Seidel administration.

Two automobile ordinances, that would have driven hundreds of chauffeurs out of work, and put the taxicab business in the grip of a corporation, were vetoed by Mayor Hoan, at the request of the Chauffeurs' Union, and hundreds of independent taxicab owners.

The first ordinance required that all operators must undergo a physical, mental and technical examination before a license would be granted. This law, if enacted, would have deprived many men of earning a living, and forced others to work for the taxicab companies that refuse to pay more than starvation wages.

The mayor vetoed a second bill that required that all taxicabs be equipped with a taximeter. Such meter is owned by a corporation, which charges a rental of \$50 a year. Taxicab owners charged that this rental was too high, and that this bill was fostered by the taxicab corporation to drive out the independents, giving them a monopoly of the business in the city. In vetoing this bill, Mayor Hoan declared that he was in favor of a zone system that would do away with unfair charges.

INDIA—ITS WEALTH AND ITS POVERTY

Making the world not only safe for democracy, but really democratic, so that every man and woman can enjoy the fruit of his or her labor and provide care and education for their children instead of providing the non-producing rich with all the good things of life, is truly a big problem.

Dispatches now and then relate of unrest in India and of the revolutionary activities of the Hindus, but seldom if ever is there, in the ordinary newspaper accounts, or even in the special magazine versions, any intelligible reference to the causes of these phenomena. On the contrary, every effort is made by the capitalist-controlled news agencies and the press to conceal the true nature of these occurrences and to offer explanations that do not explain. Usually it is the hackneyed story of the "pernicious propaganda of demagogues and agitators" who are ungrateful enough not to even admit the "beneficial" or "civilizing" influence of the British imperial, as well as imperialistic, rule of India, but try to foment trouble.

Even in this country, especially after our participation in the war, some authorities have shown special solicitude for this rule by surveilling and arresting Hindu revolutionists, apart from the apprehension of those who, for military purposes, have or are thought to have been planning uprisings.

The fact is that the people of India are exploited and oppressed far beyond any popular conception of a tyrannical regime. A country fabulously rich in all kinds of natural resources and with an over-abundance of physical facilities for making everybody happy is absolutely at the mercy of the Iron Heel of its foreign and native money lords. To confirm this let us quote from the November issue of *Life and Labor* the following article by Dr. N. Krishna, who, although born of a Brahmin family, and heir to all the traditions and privileges of his caste, has concentrated his interest on the international labor movement, preaching the gospel of organization in nearly every country of the world. He is by no means an extremist in his views of the workers' duty to themselves, which ought to serve as a guarantee to those inclining

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