

Communist Labor Party is Legal, Says Secretary Wilson

Rules cannot deport aliens who hold membership

"The belief in, teaching and advocacy of the class struggle, mass action, the conquest of political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism, communism, the one big union, shop committees, shop stewards and other social, industrial, economic and political changes mentioned in the Communist Labor party platform and program, however reprehensible these things may be to the minds of any or all of our people, do not bring the organization within the purview of the act, as long as it does not propose to use force or violence to accomplish the purpose."

With these words Secretary of Labor Wilson, on May 5th ruled that the Communist Labor Party is a legal political party and that membership in it of aliens does not constitute sufficient grounds for deportation.

In ordering cancellation of a warrant under which Carl Miller, a German, was held because of such membership, the secretary declared that, while extracts from the organization's platform indicated an extremely radical objective there was no evidence of intention to use force or violence toward organized government.

Hundreds of members of the Communist Labor Party have been indicted and charged with violations of various states' criminal syndicalism laws on the score of carrying on party activities. Since the raids of early January, when these sleuths of the Department of Justice swooped down in a nation wide raid netting thousands of Communists and Communist Laborites, the exact status of the Communist Labor Party was in doubt. A previous ruling by the Secretary of Labor practically outlawed the Communist Party which, with the Communist Labor Party developed out of a split in the ranks of the Socialist Party at Chicago last September. A number of members of the Communist Party have been deported merely on the grounds of their membership, while many more are held under indictments on like charges.

Department of Justice disapproves of Secretary's ruling.

It is no secret that the Department of Justice and the Secretary of Labor have long been at odds regarding the status of the "reds" of various hues. Attorney General Palmer, who ruled

pinkish red who dared to mention the "third international", "mass action" and like revolutionary phrases, was fit only for prison or deportation and has conducted systematic raids upon homes, halls and meetings of workers. The trials of alleged Communists at Boston recently brought out some astonishing confessions from agents of the Department which showed that they sought to bring about the causes which led to the arrests of the revolutionists. The prediction that Palmer had overreached himself in his wild ravings against the radicals seems to be a now well established fact.

The department of justice frankly deplored the labor secretary's decision. Assistant Attorney General Garvan, in charge of raids on radical elements, asserting that because of it all undesirable aliens could enter the folds of the Communist Labor party and be free from government interference.

Although Mr. Wilson declared examination of their platforms showed "some very substantial differences" between the Communist and the Communist Labor parties, Mr. Garvan asserted that concerning principles they were "absolutely the same," and predicted that members of the Communist party, now outlawed, would affiliate with the Communist Labor party to evade deportation proceedings.

"The tactics of the Communist party in Russia," Mr. Wilson said, "can have no bearing upon the Communist Labor party in the United States except in so far as those tactics are accepted or adopted by the Communist Labor party; nor can the statements made by prominent members of the party be accepted as the expressions of the organization unless the party by its own action adopts the statements."

Battle on for Endorsement of 3-rd International

By Evelyn Sharp
London Correspondent

THE FEDERATED PRESS
LONDON.—The battle of the International is still raging in the British movement. The Independent Labor Party at its Eastern Conference, decided definitely to leave the Second International, and equally definitely not join the Third. Instead the I. L. P. is urging the Swiss Party to call as soon as possible a conference to discuss the reconstitution of the International "with a definitely Socialist objective." Also it decided to get into touch with Moscow.

Since the conference the debate has been shifted to the Labor Press—particularly to the columns of the Daily Herald. Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the Labour Party, has come forward to defend the Second International and

to attack the Third. The Second, he maintains, is still alive; it has done valuable work; it is "convened on no narrow doctrinaire basis but in consonance with the principle of working class solidarity." The Third on the other hand is doctrinaire and exclusive and insists on tactics which can only lead, as in Hungary, to a dictatorship of reaction. With Henderson is J. Ramsay MacDonald.

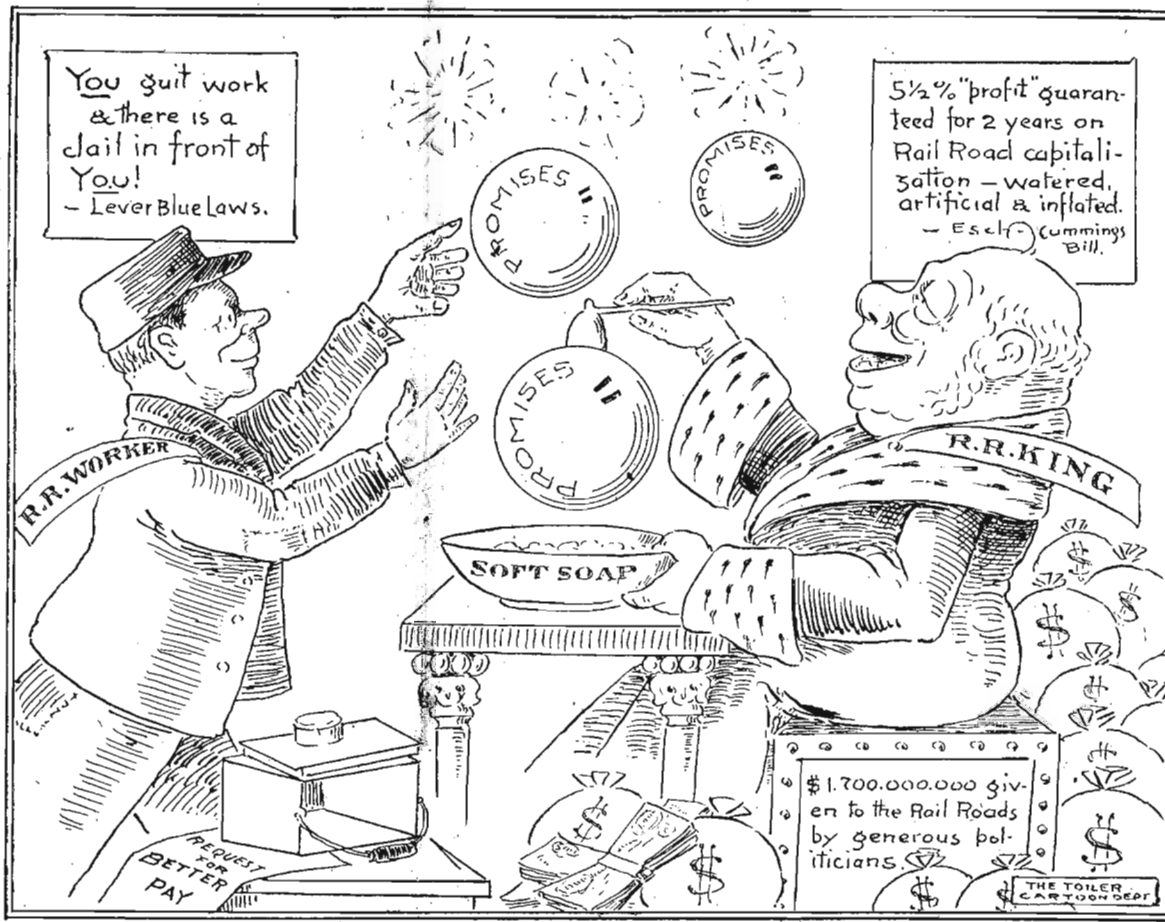
To Henderson, Clifford Allen, the leader of the younger members of the I. L. P. replies in an open letter in the Daily Herald that the Second International has failed because it held pre-war ideas, that the big fact, which Henderson cannot ignore, is that Russia, Italy, France, United States, the German Independents and a number of smaller countries have all left it. "Without these parties it cannot be revived," he says.

"Therefore," he pleads, "we have to create new International machinery." And the first step to that must be to get into touch with Moscow. "I beg you," he writes, "you and

your colleagues—go to Russia, and, with the full facts in your possession come back and then summon the conference which shall consider the new International."

The Daily Herald itself supports the plan for the Swiss Conference. There are, it says, two views held of the Third International:

1. That it claims to impose the method as well as the objective of the revolution on its adherents; and
2. That it leaves open the choice of method, but demands an overwhelming purpose to take the quickest way to the overthrow of capitalism. We accept the latter interpretation on the strength of Lenin's own personal assurance. The purpose of the Swiss Conference should be to remove all doubt as to the Moscow programme; and thereafter if our interpretation is right, to affiliate with Moscow; if our interpretation is wrong, to set up on International on the basis of the formula of "the overthrow of capitalism in the quickest possible way," leaving the choice of method to the constituent parties."



He'll blow 'em as long as You'll Chase 'em John. Try Direct Action!

CHRISTIANA.—That trade relations between Norway and Russia are soon to be resumed is indicated by the report of Mr. Holvold, president of the Kirkenals Cooperative Society, who has just visited Northern Russian and the Murmansk district. He has reported that complete order exists in these parts and that therefore "external conditions constitute no barrier to the

resumption of trade relations between the two countries and that it is to the greatest interest for both parties that they should be resumed." He pointed out that Russia would provide a market for the fisheries of Norway.

LONDON.—Gardens and estate labourers on King George's Scottish estate at Balmoral Castle have demanded wages of \$15 a week and an eight hour day. Captain Ramsay, the King's Commissioner, replied by telegram: "Give men option of working ten hours or one weeks notice."

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE LUKS COMMITTEE.

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

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THE CENTRALIA CONSPIRACY

—By Ralph Chaplin—

Every worker should read the conspiracy of the lumber interests of the North West to destroy the I. W. W. and how that conspiracy resulted in the tragedy at Centralia on Armistice Day.

50c postpaid
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NORTH CHURCH FORUM MEETINGS, CLEVELAND.

Rabbi Louis Wolfey of the Euclid Avenue Temple will address the open forum meeting May 16th at the North Church Forum, East 72nd and St. Clair. His subject will be AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Lecture will begin at 7:30. The May 23rd meeting at this Forum will be addressed by Mr. Comford of Chicago. His subject will be THE WORK OF THE LOYAL AMERICAN LEAGUE. If you have anything either good or bad to say about the work of this organization you are invited to say it at this time. Questions and discussions invited.

THE RED RUBY

Address to the Jury by Ben Gitlow. Also Darrow, the Judge and a final article by Antonio Giovanitti. 10c a copy.
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Labor's Share of Products Less Than Before War

—By Paul Hann, —

Staff Correspondent,
The Federated Press.

WASHINGTON—Railroad labor has taken the offensive in the hearings at Washington and denied flatly that wage increase granted since 1917 are in any degree responsible for high prices.

Speaking in the name of seventeen different unions of railroad workers, W. Jett Lauck opens the issue with the following flat-footed statement:

"A careful analysis of the data bearing on the causes of high prices and the relation of cost of production to prices leads to the following specific conclusions:

- "1. Profiteering—by which is meant the exaction of profits greatly in excess of pre-war profits on the part of producers, middlemen and retailers—is a fundamental cause of the high prices of practically all commodities.
- "2. Increased wages to labor are in no way responsible for increased prices."

Lauck is an economist of many years' training. He served as Secretary for the National War Labor Board under former President Taft, Frank P. Walsh and Basil M. Manly. His charge that "wage advances have been an effect of price advances, not a cause, is supported by an array of facts which employers strive to ignore but cannot refute.

Following up his written indictment of the profiteer as the most conspicuous cause of modern society, Lauck took the witness stand late last week for cross-examination by railroad attorneys and members of the wage board.

"As a result of the war," says this expert, "labor as a class is now worse off than it was before the war. Almost without exception, a day's wages buys less than it did in 1912 to 1914. In other words, in the distribution of the income of the country labor is receiving a smaller proportion than it did before the war, while the capital—in the form of profits, interest and rent—is receiving a very much larger proportion."

Taking the profits listed by such authorities as Moody's and Bowley's, Lauck gives the average of wages 1912 to 1918 by a typical group of metal, clothing, food, fuel, light, housing and miscellaneous corporations, and then makes the following comment:

"The outstanding fact is simply stated. The corporations listed earned during the years 1916-1918 an average income of nearly \$1,250,000,000 a year, or nearly 24 per cent of their capital stock. This appears to be nearly three times the average for the pre-war years 1912-1914, and the figures for production show conclusively that these increased profits were not due to increased production. In a large measure they were due to the fact that the corporations took a larger proportion of every dollar spent by the consumer."

The corporations cite in Lauck's list earned about one-sixth of the total corporate income of the United States, and that fact supports his contention that if the other corporations did as well then the combined corporations of the land scooped up about \$4,800,000 more per year during the war than they previously earned per year.

(Continued on page 2.)

Trade Unionism, Industrial Unionism and Workers' Committees

(ISSUED BY THE BUREAU OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.)

1.—Unions are necessary organizations in the economic struggle of the workers against their employers, since, in spite of their limitations, the unions are means for resisting and often improving the most inhuman conditions of labor. Nor are the unions transitory in character, since they can particularly as industrial unions become active means of revolutionary struggle, and a factor in the Communist reconstruction of society.

2.—The Trades Unions persisting in the defensive struggle against Capitalism do not materially improve conditions. The rise of wages is, in general, exceeded by the rise of prices, while the policy of compromise, wage agreements and industrial peace weakens the fighting spirit of the workers.

3.—The Trades Unions arose during the epoch of small industry, with its consequent division of the workers into crafts or trades. The artisan conception prevailed that a worker's craft or skill was a form of property, developing a property and petty bourgeois ideology; and this, together with the circumstance that Trades Unions acquired power during a period of intense national economic development (1870-1900), produced the concept of limiting the proletarian struggle within the limits of Capitalism and the nation.

4.—Trades Unionism represented (and still represents) the upper layers of the working class, excluding the bulk of the unskilled workers; and where these workers are organized in Trades Unions, they are dominated by the concepts and practice of the upper layers—the "aristocracy of labor."

5.—The development of Imperialism merges the Trades Unions definitely in Capitalism, the upper layers of the working class being bribed with a share in the profits of imperialism by means of slightly higher wages, steady employment, and labor legislation. The "aristocracy of labor" dominant in Trades Unionism accepts Imperialism, uses the unions to assist Capitalism in "stabilizing" labor in industry, and becomes the source of the corrupt ideology of social imperialism. The decisive factor in the old International was the immersion of Socialism in Trades Unionism, with its practice of social-imperialism, petty bourgeois democracy, and its fundamental counter-revolutionary tendency.

6.—Trades Unionism (as typically expressed in the American Federation of Labor) is impotent to improve materially conditions of labor or to conquer power, since the division of the workers into craft or trade organizations splits them into innumerable unions, each antagonistic to the other, making hopeless the struggle against concentrated Capitalism, which largely expropriates the worker of his skill, eliminates the craft divisions of small industry, and brings masses of the proletariat together regardless of particular occupational functions. The general mass strike alone is capable of decisive action against concentrated Capitalism; but Trades Unionism in form and spirit is antagonistic to the mass strike.

7.—Trades Unionism comes to realize its economic impotence, and proceeds to Parliamentary action, which, represented by Laborism (as typically expressed in the British Labor Party) is as impotent as Trades Unionism to accomplish fundamental conquests, since Laborism necessarily accepts the dominant union concepts and practice. Laborism unites with the dominant union concepts and practice. Laborism unites with petty bourgeois democracy against the proletarian revolution—that petty bourgeois democracy which is seduced by Imperialism.

8.—The governmental form of expression of Laborism is State Capitalism, the merger in the state of the capitalists, the small bourgeois, and the upper layers of the working class dominant in the Trades Unions; the state is used to regulate equally industry and labor for purposes of Imperialism, the proletarian masses being compelled to accept this arrangement by means of deception and force.

9.—The tendency is for Laborism and Socialism to unite (either formally or by means of Trades Union domination of the Socialist Party) each necessarily accepting social Imperialism, since their activity is limited within the limits of Capitalism and the nation; and under the ascendancy of monopoly and finance capital, the "prosperity" of a nation depends on Imperialism.

10.—Laborism becomes the final bulwark of defence of Capitalism against the oncoming proletarian revolution; accordingly, a merciless struggle against the oncoming proletarian revolution; accordingly, a Laborism is imperative. But while politically Laborism expresses itself as State Capitalism and petty bourgeois democracy, its animating impulse and force

is in Trades Unionism. The struggle against this form of unionism accordingly is an inseparable phase of the struggle against Laborism, proceeding—

(a) In general by the Communist parties agitating to drive the unions to more revolutionary action.

(b) Encouraging every movement in the unions that tends to break the permanency of the bureaucracy, and placing control in the masses by means of delegates being subject directly to instructions and recall.

(c) By the formation of organizations such as the Shop Stewards' (Workers' Committees, economic Workers' Councils, and direct branches of the Communist parties in the shops, mills, and mines, which are not alone means for moving the masses and the unions to more revolutionary action but which at the moment of the crisis may develop the Soviets.

(d) By endeavoring to transform the Trades Unions into industrial unions, that is, a unionism in form paralleling the economic integrities of modern capitalism, and in spirit animated by the struggle for political power and economic mastery.

11.—The agitation for and construction of industrial unions provides, in an immediate and practical way, the opportunity to articulate and mobilize the militant spirit of discontent developing in the old unions, to carry on the struggle against the corrupt bureaucracy and the "aristocracy of labor." Industrial Unionism, moreover, provides the opportunity of calling to action the unorganized, unskilled workers, and to release the unskilled organized in the Trades Unions from their bondage to the reactionary upper layers of the working class. The struggle for revolutionary Industrial Unionism is a factor for the development of Communist clearing and for the grasping of the night.

12.—Unionism trades and industrial, must not limit itself to economic strikes, but must acquire the concept and practice of the general political strike—co-operate with the Communist parties to develop the general mass struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeois state.

13.—The concept that Industrial Unionism alone is necessary for the conquest of Capitalism must be decisively rejected. It is sheer Utopia to imagine that all the workers, or an overwhelming majority, can be

organized in industrial unions under Capitalist economic conditions. The upper layers of the working classes, being the impulse of Laborism, will necessarily reject revolutionary industrial unionism; while the lower layers will not move very rapidly until thrown into action by the impact of revolution itself. Moreover, the concept that the workers under Capitalism must in their industrial unions acquire the experience and technical management of industry, "growing into" the new society by the industrial unions' gradual acquisition of industrial control, is identical (although inverted in form) with the proposals of parliamentary Socialism—that the working class must gradually "grow into" Socialism by acquiring experience of state affairs and "absorbing" control of the bourgeois state. Each concept, in its own way, rejects the fundamental problem of the revolutionary conquest of state power.

14.—The conquest of the power of the state is the objective of the revolutionary proletariat. Neither the parliaments nor the industrial unions are the means for this conquest of power, but mass action and the Soviets—mass action to rally the workers, organized and unorganized, in the open revolutionary struggle for power, the Soviets to constitute the mechanism of the revolutionary proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the moment of active revolution the struggle becomes not a struggle for industrial unions, but for the construction of Soviets.

15.—After the conquest of political power and under the protection of the Soviet Dictatorship, Industrial Unionism comes actually to function in the economic reconstruction of society on a Communist basis; and the stronger the industrial unions the easier the process of reconstruction. The government of Soviets, of proletarian dictatorship, is political and transitory in character, the necessary agency of repression to expropriate and crush Capitalism. While industrial in its constituents and representation, the government of Soviets functions geographically and politically; but alongside of itself it constructs a central administration of industry, wholly economic in character, equality in representation and functions, perfecting the organism of proletarian control and management of industry on the basis of the industrially organized producers.

The Private Detective -- what he does and how

I. "Every murder and wholesale destruction of property that has been committed in the United States since labor was first organized has been premeditated and carried out by the secret agents of the private detective corporations, who have sworn their way into the organized bodies of workers for the purpose of betraying them."

Somebody who ought to know has just made that charge, in writing, to President Wilson.

Stephen A. Doyle, of Chicago, for 30 years a detective in both private and government service, is ready to tell the world of the iniquity he has seen in those 30 years, of the blood that has been spilled, the lies that have been told; the women that have been outraged, the men who have been sold, in the effort of the great bosses to incriminate the workers in all the labor wars that America has seen.

He knows the story well, with all its dramatic plots and secret, unwritten history. Orty McManigle was a Burns detective. Harry Orchard worked for Thiel—the 1918 strike at Argo, Ill., was a company-engineered affair to break the union, which had grown 100 per cent strong while the government had the plant in wartime. It all costs millions of dollars, millions which each citizen of America pays as a consumer.

Not a "Bolshevik"

His letter to President Wilson has been the first step in Doyle's revelation. Now he is writing a book, making the expose on a larger scale. His object is the outlawing of all private detective agencies. He makes the following allegations concerning the activities of private detective agencies.

"I am 100 per cent American (democrat), 49 years of age and a life-long detective, and fully understand what I am writing and realize that this statement is going before you, our chief executive, for your consideration, and thence before the eyes of the world, and I make the same without any pretensions or retraction or apology, and for the further purpose of giving you an opportunity of dealing intelligently with the complex problem that now confronts the welfare of our nation. In other words, remove the dagger that is slowly but surely bleeding to death 'the goddess' from her patriot bosom," writes the wise detective in introducing himself to the president. And he has this view of "foreign labor" and its anxiety to abide by genuine American institutions—a view which no capitalist source ever permits to reach the light:

"The foreign element are 95 per cent laborers, consequently had to mingle quietly with our noble sons who earned their bread by the sweat of their brow, and always stood steadfastly by their constitutional rights and do so still.

"Thank God, they organized the foreigners and educated them up to true American standards; co-operated with them in all things; and today, for love of country and freedom and true American standards, they stand shoulder to shoulder in a solid phalanx to combat against the common enemy that threatens to crush and crucify.

Spitting on the Flag.

The Doyle story continues:

"On close estimate it costs the Bankers and Manufacturers' association of this city and state \$250,000 per month; on an average, to keep up this private detective system, and on Jan. 1, 1919, \$750,000 was distributed among the different agencies for the purpose of creating and promoting strife between the races, and, in every most undreamed-of way, work their way into the ranks of organized bodies of men and agitate and lead them into all imaginable acts of violence against the government of the United States and the present administration, and they have succeeded very well so far.

"I went into a hall that is branded as 'red' with a detective friend about a month ago. He walked up through the center of the hall wearing a red flag, made a short speech, hurled his curse on the traitor, Woodrow Wilson, pulled down the American flag and wiped his feet on it and spat on it. I said to him, after we came out: 'Good Lord, how can you have the heart to do that?' 'Oh, hell,' he said, 'I get \$45 a week from the Thiel Detective Agency for pulling that stuff, and I have 15 names in there, and every act I pull off, in making my reports, insert one of those names. It is easy to convict them, for I carry a sheriff's star.'

"He also told me that his agency had 1,500 men operating in the city of Chicago, under the same conditions as he is, I met him again on the 6th, and he said: 'Doyle, this is great game. Did you see by the paper about that letter the governor's mother-in-law got?' I replied I believed I did. He said, 'We sent that.' I said, 'What purpose?' 'Oh,' he said, 'a double

purpose. Governor increased his plain clothes squad, and we got them scared of the 'reds'—we deal both ways, see?'

Besting the Government

"The Ethiopian hasn't changed his skin, nor the leopard his spots since the government took over the railroads up to the first of October.

"The special detective system established to serve special interests has systematically looted the freight department in which I served out of \$70,000,000, which the poor people must pay, and from the first of October, 1919, \$27,000,000 to the present date. The claim department has a record of about \$125,000,000 to its discredit; all this system's work is done for the purpose of discrediting government control.

"I endeavored to expose it and was ousted out of the service. They got wise.

"The first private detective service known in the world's history is Pinkerton's in Chicago. The next was Thiel, and the Burns agency following. Today they are millionaire companies, although they are non-productive—that is, they have never produced anything but crime.

"The blowing up of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan concentrators in the state of Idaho, in the year 1898, and the murder of 25 men was planned and carried out by private detectives. They were not quite satisfied with their deadly work, so they furnished false testimony against Frank Butler and Paul Cochran, president and secretary of the local miners' union, and sent them to the penitentiary, the real culprits giving evidence against them. The next step was to murder the governor. For this crime the officers of the union were arrested. Harry Orchard, a Thiel detective, who was covered in the union as surely as Judas in Christ's family, turned state's evidence and was given immunity by the state officials, who formed a partnership with him. I exposed the conspiracy and the innocent men went free. He was put on his trial and confessed that he was a secret operative for the Thiel Detective Service and was directed in his work by them; also confessed to having dynamited a building in Colorado and murdered 13 innocent men. He also confessed that this work was done by his agency and the motive was to break up the Western Federation of Miners and call down the wrath and prosecution of the government officials upon its members.

"The western manager of the Thiel agency was discharged from this service, but he was financed by them, to start an agency in his own name, as they considered such service as he was capable of rendering indispensable.

Los Angeles Times.

"Orty McManigle was another man of the Judas type. He was a Burns detective for many years, and to show how cleverly he carried out his work—and, of course, you will realize that I couldn't describe this clearly unless I was part and parcel of it—he furnished his master, Mr. Wm. J. Burns, chief of the Burns International Detective Service, 40,000 letters to be used as evidence after forming a partnership with the governor of California, the judge, etc.

"Water finds its level. Orty McManigle also said he sent the mysterious bomb that Colonel Otis' confidential Jap brought in, and the captain of police exploded, to destroy the evidence. Some would discredit this, but I wouldn't as I know the game from A to Z.

The Argo, Illinois, Massacre.

"When the government released the Corn Products & Refining Co.'s plant, it was 100 per cent union, and private detectives were immediately engaged to bust it up; and in order to do this successfully they began to run covered spies into the union. The boys, when in, did their work well in creating race hatred, that being their 'long suit.' Finally they got the forces divided by telling the Americans that the foreigners wanted the Americans run out and informing the foreigners likewise. Consequently, on the 9th of July the strike was called on.

"The private detective service company brought up the sheriff, prosecutor and mayor of Argo. So the foreign class had a poor show. Spectators at 5 p. m. were congregated about the gate of the plant, and the mayor of Argo assembled his gunmen in front of his home at Fifty-seventh place and instructed them as follows:

"Twenty of you go under cover around the rear of the plant and open fire on them, when you see me close in from the north side, and we will shoot them down."

"They opened fire and shot down 58 people, men and women, and killed three men. On July 14 they made another attack on a congregation of foreigners, and three men and a woman were thrown in jail and brutally tortured. Private detectives had shot one man and were beating his head with a gun. A priest, who is also a foreigner, stepped up and said: 'I know him. He

Moving Toward Intervention

— By Linn A. E. Gale. —

The judgement of American capitalism moves on steadily toward intervention in Mexico.

The "made-in-the-U. S. A." revolution momentum, little by little, and the storm mutterings grow louder through the country. A friend in Tampico writes me that most of the Americans there frankly look for intervention and none of them manifest much concern about the revolution. There is a general air of complacency indicative of the quiet understanding that "everything is all fixed up."

The attitude of the pro-interventionists in the United States shows clearly where their sympathies are.

Henry Lane Wilson, former ambassador to Mexico and notorious friend of the anti-union, Huerta, tells the Fall committee that intervention in Mexico as far south as the 23rd parallel of latitude should take place at once. Tampico's oil wells are north of the 22nd parallel!

Senators Fall, Smith and others who have been actively anti-Mexican, foam at the mouth at the very idea of letting Carranza's troops travel a short distance on American soil in order to reach their destination and fight the Sonora rebels. Senator Smith tells his fellow soldiers that "Sonora is the only state in the Mexican Union that has shown consideration for American property rights" and that he does not propose to consent to letting a gang of murderers march on Arizona land in order to fight the people of Sonora.

It is informing to know how grateful the senator feels to the Sonorans for their care of American property rights. And it helps illumine the situation greatly.

Altho the Carranza government—at this writing, anyway,—denies having formally asked permission to let its troops march thru a section of Arizona, there is no doubt that Carranza would be highly pleased to have such permission. It is probable that he has not directly asked, but that feelers have been thrown out by his friends in Washington. And in view of the fierce opposition that has been stirred up by the suggestion, Carranza will no doubt refrain from asking a favor which he can clearly see would not be granted.

Meanwhile, the flames of insurrection spread, a little here, a little there. Mexico City is still as quiet as a country churchyard, in so far as revolutionary activities are concerned, but beneath the surface serenity there are doings that are ominous. New faces are appearing constantly. "Hombres" from the north from the nearby ranches and from nobody knows where, are coming into town steadily. They are mostly big husky fellows whose bulging big pockets, eagle eyes and military swagger indicate that they know what it is to fight. Some of them are Obregonists who have come here to size up the situation and get ready for business. Some are Carranzistas who fled from the north considering Mexico City a safer place for now. Many women and children have also fled the danger zone.

Not a few families, especially those of foreigners who remember the revolution of a few years ago, have begun to store up provisions, food, etc. If Mexico City should be besieged, they would be able to exist if rail connections were broken off and they could even shut themselves in their houses and live with more or less safety until the fighting was over.

Nobody knows just where Obregon is, altho all kinds of wild and contradictory stories have been published since his disappearance from the city. But the likeliest guess is that he is right in Sonora, directing affairs quietly. Why he has not issued a manifesto and called on the people generally to rise up in arms and support him, is subject of dispute. Some think he is sparing time, not wishing to publicly endorse the revolution until reasonably sure of its success. By avoiding making such a statement, he could afterward repudiate the uprising, saying it was the unauthorized outbreak of the people of Sonora and that while he did not approve of Carranza's policy (he did not approve either of secession. The other theory is that Obregon is negotiating with American interests for sufficient support to make the success of the rebellion a certainty and that as soon as he has matters arranged, he will call on the masses to join with him.

A general appeal to the Mexican people would no doubt result in a generous response. By cunning politics-playing Obregon has a majority of all classes with him. His chief lieutenant, Luis M. Morones, Samuel Gompers' representative in Mexico, has swung in line a big share of the craft unions. "Socialist" and "Labor" parties galore have been organized in various parts of the country and packed with Obregon men so that the parties would be certain to declare for Obregon. On the other hand, an active press bureau

has nine children and he is not a bad man."

"We are not killing him because he is a bad man, but because of the money there is in it, and they finished their ghastly work.

"Emil Liedick, a foreigner, was not out on a strike, but he was locked up in the plant and left his 16-year-old wife at home, and Mr. Sayer, general superintendent, sent three of his choice gunmen to watch Liedick's home and protect his wife from the people he branded as lawless foreigners.

"They (the private detectives) robbed the house of \$95, kidnapped his young wife, after dragging her, took her to Dick Lambert's saloon. Sixty-third street and Archer avenue, where 14 of the private detectives outraged her, stripped off her garments, threw her into their master's car and sold her out in the white slave district. This, Mr. Sayer, the superintendent, says is 'loyal Americanism' to show further 'loyal Americanism' to foreigners in the name of our most beloved government."

(To be continued next week)

Miners Provoked by Persecution and Libel

LOCAL UNION 1531, U. M. W. of A. POSTON, OHIO.

Resolution No. I. — 4-20-20.

WHEREAS, our official brothers of the state of Kansas have been imprisoned under the antistrike law of that state and

WHEREAS, we believe said law to be unjust and not worthy a place on the statute-books of America. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we demand Pres. Lewis to do all in his power to get said members released, and be it further

RESOLVED, that should Pres. Lewis fail in his efforts, to get justice for these men, that we demand him to call a general strike of the U. M. W. of A. until said members are released.

We request all Local Unions to take action on this resolution.

(Signed)

IRA JONES, Pres.

AL. MOODY

ED. CALL

GEORGE ROBINSON

Resolution's Committee.

Resolution No. II. — 4-20-20

(Our challenge to the Press)

We see by the press, that some of the so-called "outlaw" strikers have returned to work. Would you please explain to us why the steel strikers were called Reds and Bolsheviks; why the miners were called traitors and enemies of the government, and why the present striking switchmen are called outlaws.

Have not the workers a right to strike when they have exhausted every other possible method of getting justice? It seems to us, that every time the workers ask for justice, that the press attempts to bias their case, by calling them "red", "radicals", and the like.

Why not give the workers a square deal? They certainly deserve it.

We, the members of Local Union 1531, U. M. W. of A. believe the demands of the striking switchmen just and reasonable and be it

RESOLVED, that we do all in our power, to see that their case is presented to the public, in its proper light.

IRA JONES

ED. CALL

(members) Res. Committee

TWO MINUTE TALKS ON TODAY'S TOPICS.

— By Elmer T. Allison. —

A pamphlet of short essays dealing with a number of subjects of vital importance to the workers.

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has sent out a mass of material outlying Obregon as a sound, conservative business man with a proper respect for monied interests. Bonillas has tried to play the game but with less success. The fact that Bonillas has an American wife and lived in the United States so many years has been utilized by Obregon campaigners to convince the peons that Bonillas is pro-American. The prejudices of the workers have been aroused against Bonillas by these appeals, while on the other hand, the prejudices of American merchants and of Mexicans employed by them, have been assiduously cultivated by reminding them that Bonillas is Carranza's man and that Carranza refused to aid the Allies and until recently insisted on the petroleum tax. So, by clever maneuvering, Obregon has "gotten them coming and going," and both labor and capital are lined up to a considerable extent behind him.

The really radical workers are savagely fighting any tendency to support either candidate declaring that neither Obregon nor Bonillas is honest, radical and that the masses will be exploited under either.

Preparations for military activity continue and it is evident that much is happening which is not generally known. Only a week or so ago, 5000 rifles disappeared mysteriously from the government storehouse. Now the report that several aeroplanes purchased in Europe by Mexican government agents and which were just shipped to Veracruz, have been damaged beyond repair.

The feeling prevails that this is the silence before the storm. The people are uneasy, nervous, worried. They shrink from the prospect of further bloodshed new atrocities, fresh agonies.

But the American capitalists and investors here—except a few small business men who are not on the inside of things—look unconcerned and even optimistic.

They know that intervention is coming—unless a wave of wrath in the United States prevents it.

Workers' Share Less-

(Continued from 1st page.)

"A total of \$4,800,000 means \$240 per family of five throughout the nation," says Lauck. "Consider that each family of five paid as a total, not to so-called legitimate profits but to excess over pre-war profits, \$240 a year, and one gains an idea of the total burden which profiteering meant in the country.

"Our facts show," concludes Lauck, "that it is impossible to charge labor with profiteering, or to say that labor is responsible for the high cost of living. For, as we have previously pointed out, if invested wealth gets a larger proportion of the national wealth than formerly, the man who gives personal service or labor is bound to get a smaller proportion.

"The menace of the future lies in the probability that the vast profits which are still held in reserve will be capitalized in order that, under the pretext of a fair return on capital, those who own them may continue to take the larger proportion of national income, even at the expense of very great suffering on the part of the workers."

Closely associated with Lauck's argument is the proof offered by W. S.

The Black Sheep.

Chapter XXX.

His experience explained.

It took Jack no little time to tell his companions all that had befallen him since he had left them in search of a job. Needless to say that much of what had happened the boy was an old story with the veterans of the Class War. It was his particular and unique views on these events that interested his companions most of all. Still they enjoyed many a hearty laugh at the boy's expense.

"What did we tell you?" Collins laughed. "These employment offices are not legitimate institutions; they are festering sores on the rotten body of Capitalism. No doubt they could be so conducted as to be of service to the slave under the present social order, but then they would be less profitable to the operators and you must never forget that it is profit and not service that is the driving power of the business world." Leaving back in his chair and putting his feet upon the table and looking his fingers behind his head he went on, in the same strain. "There is profit in crookedness and glory in honesty that is the reason honesty is precious in business by reason of scarcity while crookedness is as common as dirt. And you knew it, having learned it both theoretically and practically when they had us in the can (jail) at Anamosa."

"I see that I am a living illustration of my theory that education does not change man's nature to any great extent unless it is carried far enough to form definite habits in the individual. His education must make him an automaton of the new order. He must live and act the social life with out an effort of the will, and unless he is brought that far no matter how well he knows the theory of a thing he will act on his instincts. That is, he will use his philogenetic instead of his ontogenetic mental equipment," Jack explained.

"Hold on a moment—put on the breaks—fetch us the ghost of Webster and the encyclopedia," roared Collins while Rudolph who was still busy with his household duties grinned broadly.

Then after a pause he added, "I understand you alright but I want you to express yourself in such a way that the average 'stiff' can get you."

"Which is equivalent to an admission that you are above the average 'stiff,' and want to hand him down something from your high estate."

Jack replied, "You understand me. Rudolph understands me. None of us have had any advantages. What we got we took at the cost of midnight oil and tired eyes, while the average was hanging on the bar or playing poker or solitaire or stupidly snored away their time. They mentally starved while food for the mind was cheaper and more abundant than bread. The average—why should I talk to the average? Why should I throw pearls before swine? They will only turn and rend me limb from limb. Your precious stupid, stupid cowardly average, which knows nothing but to exchange their strength for sufficient bread to keep alive and spawn. They are the debris of the law of fecundity which your misguided enthusiasm mistakes as the stones from which to build the wonderous temple of the machine age. You talk without thinking, that is all. You take it for granted that a thing is human just because it wears pants." Evidently excited by the vehemence of his own speech he suddenly ceased and opened a volume of John Fiske's Cosmic Philosophy.

Collins was more than pleased with the boy's defense of his position although he was not in sympathy with it. He was of the opinion that Capitalism made environment and environment made men what they were. He hoped that by teaching them the possibilities of machine production he could make them hopelessly discontented with their present environment, so much so that they would rise and consciously inaugurate the new state of society. He had forgotten the old saying that the creature is not greater than the creator from which it follows that man being a product of evolution can not rise above the source that gave him origin. He is in the grasp of the inexorable law of biologic cause and effect. A fish by desiring it cannot become a beast yet all beasts have evolved from fish and thru them from still lower forms. At each step whole species and races dying out except a few favored variations who became the progenitors of the new race or species. No species has ever survived a great geologic change intact, so no race or nation has ever survived a fundamental economic shift with every change in our environment."

Wlen Collins came to this part of his argument Rudolph was again agreed, and showed his approval by quoting from the 'Kasidah' "They change with place, They shift with race, And in the very span of time Each vice has worn a virtue's crown All good was banned as sin and crime."

"On this we are all agreed," Jack ratified; but I do not yet quite see your distinction between exploitation and theft."

"Exploitation is the process of getting away with a margin between the value of a man's product in the market and the purchasing power of the money he gets as wages. The worker is a chronic loser in his constant trading of his life for his bread. It's the business of capitalism to see to it that he always comes out short. In fact he must come out short or capitalism cannot survive. Exploitation is the motive force of capitalistic progress. That is the reason that they control pulpit, school, and press in such a way that these shall only inculcate such knowledge in to the minds of the masses as will lead them to believe in the justice and necessity of exploitation. Thru the agencies of education they manufacture public opinion, and public opinion determines the concepts of justice prevalent in the minds of the masses. Morality is what the papers say it is. When the masses lose faith in the papers, they will also lose faith in the morality of the existing order."

(Continued next week.)

The Toiler

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, MAY 14th, 1920.

Secretary Wilson's Ruling.

The ruling of Secretary of Labor Wilson, that membership in the Communist Labor Party does not constitute in itself grounds for deportation, and that the advocacy of mass action, proletarian dictatorship, shop committees and Communism are legal unless accompanied by the advocacy of force and violence in instituting them, comes somewhat as a surprise to communists generally.

Since the January raids upon radicals of all hues the exact legal status of the Communist Labor Party has been in doubt. Soon after the raids were instituted, Secretary Wilson ruled that membership in the Communist Party constituted sufficient grounds for deportation of alien members and some were deported and others indicted. It was only natural considering the similarity of the principles of the two parties that a like fate awaited the alien members of the Communist Labor Party. That the adherents of Attorney General Palmer and his methods should sharply disagree with the conclusions of the Secretary of Labor would be expected since it is known that there have developed radical differences of policy between them. Naturally enough the Palmerites are peeved at the ruling. Apparently Palmer and his fellows are slated for the scrap heap.

What is beneath and behind the ruling of Secretary Wilson is not just now apparent. Communists have too much sense and knowledge of capitalism and capitalist governments to assume that the decision however favorable to them, is based either upon a sense of justice residing within the Secretary's breast or upon a liberal conception of the fundamentals of American law and constitutional guarantees. Communists and Communist Laborites have stoutly disclaimed any fundamental differences in principle between them the readily admitting differences in tactics and internal organization. If Secretary Wilson has discovered vital differences perhaps he is to be congratulated upon his diligent researches. It is said that the Almighty moves in mysterious ways his wonders to perform. So it is with politicians. We must leave the future to reveal WHY Mr. Wilson discovers what all Communists have claimed—that we are legal and within the law in the statements of our Platform and Program, methods and tactics.

What Communist Labor Partyites are concerned with however, is not the why nor wherefore of Mr. Wilson's ruling which is far reaching indeed placing our Party as it does in a perfectly legal position as regards political activities. We know that "Constitutional guarantees" in so far as the workers are concerned under capitalism are not guarantees at all but merely liberties loaned to them only so long as they use them in the interests of the capitalist class. It must be admitted that the capitalist class is in a quandary in the crisis which they are faced with. They have played the game of repression and have failed utterly in stamping out the reds. If the pendulum should swing to the opposite extreme and a measure of liberty be restored it should astonish no one.

Of vital importance to the Communist Labor Party will be the readiness and vigor with which they accept the definition of Secretary Wilson and push with all the force at their command the upbuilding of the organization. It is safe to assert that that which could not be destroyed by the repressions and intimidations of Palmer and his agents and inquisitors must flourish with even a modicum of liberty of action. The January assaults were calculated to utterly destroy Communism in this country. How futile have been the efforts of the capitalist hangmen can be known only to those very close to the Communist movement. We have lost little while many times the loss has been gained in experience, in knowledge of revolutionary tactics and methods. The Communist Movement is so well established in this country that it fears nothing from whatever forms of repression capitalism may attempt to heap upon it. At the same time it is prepared to take full advantage of every opportunity to function politically. If the ruling of Secretary Wilson is genuine, and we must assume that it is, our duty lies open before us. Nothing less than political activity (participation in elections) should satisfy us—not because we have a sublime faith in it as a weapon to ACCOMPLISH our aims but for the opportunity political campaigns afford us to propagate our ideas and to establish a close contact with the masses. At the same time the upbuilding of our shop committees must proceed with all possible vigor.

These then are the duties which the present days lay open before us. As we fulfill them shall we be judged by our Movement. Every Communist then to his task. ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

COMMUNIST UNITY

The question of unity of the Communist Labor Party and the minority faction of the Communist Party which split away from the C. P. recently, confronts us. While it is true that the members of the two divisions of the C. P. have not wholly decided their affiliations and probably will not at once, in fact some groups have decided to remain neutral for a time, eventually the matter of unity with the Communist Labor Party will become a pressing one with at least the minority faction.

Up to the time of the occurrence of the C. P. split unity negotiations had been in progress but only a minority of the C. P. officials had held out genuinely for unity. Unity of the C. L. P. and the minority faction of the C. P. is now not only a near possibility but a promising development.

A foregone conclusion resulting from such unity would be a tremendous strengthening of the Communist Movement here. Since the three-way split at Chicago last September thousands of real revolutionists have held aloof from affiliation with any party abiding the time when they should adjust their differences and unite. Unity of these two revolutionary groups would draw these workers at once into the ranks again and thus place at the disposal of the movement the energies, enthusiasm and support of these earnest comrades.

Another development and source of strength for a united Communist Movement is seen in the new "left wing" which has developed again in the Socialist Party since left wing elements were cast out of it last September. That a near resemblance to the situation of last summer again exists within the S. P. is apparent to even the casual observer. The reactionary and compromising tactics of the S. P. officials at Albany in seeking to retain their

EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

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 EIGHT. MIDDLE BARBARISM.

Beginning	Among the Aryan Race with the domestication of Animals. Among the Red races of the Western Hemisphere with agriculture.
Tools and Weapons	Bow and arrow, bronze spears and swords, highly polished stone tools. Tools of SMELTED copper.
Transportation	Natural locomotion, crude sledges, drawn by animals. On water, canoes, dugouts and early sail boats.
Subsistence	Cooked foods, flesh, farinaceous and vegetable. Milk.
Shelter	Hewn plank, stone and adobe houses.
Clothing	Tanned skins, wool and other woven fabrics.
Environment	Temperate and cold climates, Prairie and grassy country. Herding of domestic animals and agriculture.
Organization	Federated tribes containing the germ of primitive kingdoms. Organization of armies. Patriarchal family and the development of monogamous family, with inheritance of property. Competition of medicine men led to union of priests and prophets and establishment of religious institutions within and not separated from tribal organization.
Arts and Institutions	Beginning of systematic agriculture. Smelting of native soft metals, institution of chattel slavery and private property. Genesis of the class struggle in society.
Duration	Much less than lower barbarism.

The middle Age of barbarism began amongst the Aryan races of the Eastern hemisphere with the domestication of animals. The Red races of the Western hemisphere developed systematic agriculture at the beginning of middle barbarism.

Our domestic animals are but the descendants of wild animals adapted to the uses of man. The dog is but a domesticated wolf, and the cow a domesticated auroch. The auroch was the native buffalo of the Indo-Iranic plains, where the Aryan race first evolved out of lower barbarism.

The acquisition by man of any tool marks a forward step on the road to progress. Animals have been called the animated tools of man. The need of man for sleep caused him to utilize the dog as a sentinel. The storage of grain brought vast numbers of predatory rodents. Cats were domesticated to catch the thieves of grain. They proved themselves so useful for this purpose that their bodies were declared sacred and they were worshipped as gods.

The specific circumstances surrounding the first domestication of animals are of course unknown, but much can be learned of the process by an observation of present day tribes who are passing through this period of social evolution.

While the Aryan races were domesticating animals the Red races were busily developing systematic agriculture. The most notable examples of Red races so engaged, were the Pueblos of New Mexico, the Aztecs and Toltecs of Mexico and the Incas of the high plains of Peru.

The architecture of both races at this age was very similar, both using stone and adobe as building material, stone predominating in the Eastern and adobe (a kind of dried mud) in the Western hemisphere. The difference in building material chosen was due to differences in geological formation and climatic conditions. Where stone was abundant and the climate wet, stone was used. Where clay was abundant, stones scarce and the climate dry, adobe was used. Hewn planks were used only in the localities where timber was abundant.

Smelting and the making of bronze first made its appearance in this age the smelting however being confined to the soft native metals such as copper, tin and lead.

The domestication of animals brought a change in the methods of land transportation, crude sledges drawn by animals now made their appearance. Metal cutting tools, mostly of bronze, made possible larger boats of hewn timbers, and the weaving of fabrics made possible sails for boats. Sail boats made their first appearance during this age.

The agricultural village life brought a greater variety and abundance of food material, which made famines and pestilence less frequent. The improved methods of transportation stimulated industrial development and increased the fecundity of the race.

The domestication of animals led to the making of fabrics of a wool nature, altho there are no wild wool bearing sheep. Wild sheep have only a long coarse hair, which by man's selection has been improved into the wool as we know it today. The same is true of the mohair of the angora goat.

Man became a herdsman with the domestication of animals. He located in such localities as furnished past-

seats in the Legislature constitute but one of the rocks upon which the Socialist Party ship has struck and the shock from which has shaken the membership bringing to the surface a rebellion against what a large portion of the membership realize is compromise and reactionary tactics which have their base in fundamentally reactionary principles. These rebellious elements whose eyes have been opened to the non-revolutionary character of the S. P. are ready when unity is accomplished within the Communist ranks to join them in purpose and tactics.

While the Communist Labor Party makes no appeal for membership except its principles be endorsed and its adherents prove their qualifications as Communists in educational, propaganda and organization work along the tactical lines laid down by the Party, we shall welcome to our ranks all workers who stand ready to endorse our principles and are willing to prove them by their activities.

The split in the Communist Party is a welcome sign for future development of the American Communist Movement.

urage for his herds and flocks. The extent of the range was limited by the necessity of the herdsman to get his flock back to the village fold at night. Wild animals were not the only marauders. Along with the development of agriculture and herding developed also a group which found it easier to steal a herd or a crop than to raise one. Here is the genesis of the military system. Conflict over herds and pasture land was the beginning of territorial wars.

The thirteenth chapter of Genesis gives a complete account of these early conflicts over pastures, and thus contains internal evidence that the book deals with a period of social development corresponding to the middle age of barbarism.

Domestication of herd animals, with the consequent necessity for definite pastures, further developed village life, out of which developed the Patriarchal Family and monogamous marriage. The Patriarchal Family was a group family,*) based upon blood relationship subservient to the authority of the oldest man—the paterfamilias or father of the family. He was also called the senex, from which we get our word senator, meaning old man. The world senile, which means childish, is also derived from the same source. The advent of the Patriarchal Family marked the passing of female supremacy and descent.***)

Herding, agriculture and village life was the foundation out of which evolved the institution of private property in land, substance and slaves, and the Patriarchal Family, with its consequent laws of inheritance based upon the right of primogeniture; this in turn made monogamy an economic necessity.

The right of primogeniture means the right of the firstborn son of the Patriarch to inherit all the property of the family, including his father's younger children. This made him the owner of the group and its substance. He ruled by the right of possession, and then as now, his subjects were taught to be "law abiding" to constituted authority. Here in middle barbarism was laid the genesis of the class-struggle between the sons of the ruler and the sons of the ruled.

The Patriarch was a warrior, maintaining his authority by his physical courage. He surrounded himself with a primitive army of professional warriors whose duty it was to repel invasions and keep slaves in submission. There were no wars for democracy in those days!

Medicine men, priests and prophets in this Age organized themselves into primitive groups for offense and defense. They maintained themselves in power by preaching subservience to the slaves and lauding the virtues of the Patriarchs. Primitive religious systems developed as a tribal or state function, the Patriarch over at the head of the political, industrial and religious institutions.

The institutions of middle barbarism were, private property, chattel slavery, laws of inheritance, monogamous marriage and federated tribal organizations of a religious-political nature.

It may be stated as a general law that each Age of social evolution will be shorter than the one which preceded it. The duration of historical epochs is in inverse ratio to the rate of increase in the rate of population. The rate of increase of population is dependent upon the ease with which food and life's necessities may be acquired. Thus as the tools of production improve the ages of historic evolution shorten.

*) The first book of Job contains a complete account of the ravishing of the herds by marauders.

**) In its primary meaning the word family had no relation to the married pair or their children, but to the body of slaves and servants who labored for its maintenance and were under the power of the paterfamilias.

***) In two forms of the family, the consanguine and the punaluan, paternal power was impossible. When the gens appeared in the midst of the punaluan group it united the several sisters with their children and descendants in the female line, in perpetuity, in a gens, which became the unit of organization in the social system it created. Out of this state of things the syndysmian family was gradually evolved and fluctuating, then commenced, and it steadily increased as the new upward progress of society. When PROPERTY BEGAN TO BE family more and more assumed monogamous characteristics with the CREATED IN MASSES and the desire for its transmission to children had changed descent from the female line to the male, a real foundation for paternal power was for the first time established.—Lewis H. Morgan's "Ancient Society" (Korr edition) p. 478.

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER EIGHT. Middle Barbarism.

1. What industry marked the beginning of middle barbarism among the Aryans?
2. Why did not the same industry begin in the Western hemisphere?
3. Name all the domesticated animals, birds and insects you can.
4. Explain the difference between natural and artificial selection?
5. Are there tribes today living in the middle age of barbarism? Name them.
6. Explain the reason why different tribes chose different building material.
7. What is adobe?
8. What is meant by the term smelting?
9. Why was a sled the first form of land transportation?
10. Were sails practical upon a canoe?
11. Explain why village life and agriculture would tend to increase food supply.
12. What limited the extent of the herdsman's range?
13. What is the genesis of militarism and the cause of tribal wars?
14. With what period of human history does the book of Genesis deal?
15. Explain the Patriarchal Family.
16. What was the right of Primogeniture?
17. What was the genesis of the class-struggle?
18. Name the institutions of middle barbarism?
19. Upon what does the rate of increase in population depend?
20. Explain why the periods of historic evolution shorten?

(Continued next week)

THE BULLITT MISSION TO RUSSIA.

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DEMOCRACY AND REVOLUTION --- by Bertrand Russell

— From the Liberator —

(Professor Bertrand Russell of Cambridge University (England) is one of the two or three most celebrated philosophers in the world to-day. He is a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he teaches mathematics and mathematical logic. His outspoken opposition to the war caused his removal from this position, and his imprisonment for six months under the Defense of the Realm Act. But the university has recently been compelled, by an organized demand from soldier students returning from the war, to reinstate him and expunge from the University record the minutes of his dismissal.)

To many who have thought of Bertrand Russell, aside from his scientific achievements, as merely a liberal pacifist by temperament, this article will come as a surprise. His conclusions in regard to the tactics which communists must pursue in order to be victorious must command their approval, though we cannot agree that even in England the revolution will be accomplished without the accompanying historic strife. Bourgeois "liberalism" is here shown to be an utterly futile weapon for workingclass emancipation. Through this splendid article Professor Russell vigorously upholds the Communist position.

Before discussing my nominal subject, I propose to make a brief survey of the world from the point of view of the possibilities of freedom. The ultimate possibilities of freedom are greater than ever before, but the dangers also are great, and the immediate future is very difficult.

The war has afforded a test as to what was strong and what was weak in the nominal belief of men. Much that was traditional would probably have stood a good deal longer, but for the harsh realities which the war forced upon people's notice. Much also was swept away that belonged to what may be called urbanity, much that depended upon not getting down to bed-rock, or stirring up the primitive passions. The world since the war is more stark, less easy-going, more brutal. The division of old and young is greater than in normal times, for the old succeeded in idealizing the war, and in order to do so were compelled to depart even further than usual from reality, whereas the young have had reality ground into them as never before. The result of this is that politics is no longer so amiable as formerly, and that although leading politicians may indulge in the old humbug, it has lost its grip, and the motives for which men act are very realistic.

Not only the Liberal Party, but Liberal ideals also, have suffered eclipse as the result of the war. Their failure was made manifest by President Wilson's collapse. Liberal ideals, in so far as they were genuine, depended upon a certain degree of forbearance as between man and man, a certain unwillingness to push things to extremes. Religious toleration, democracy, free speech, free press and free trade, were all of them ideals implying that the differences between different groups were not irreconcilable. I am one of those who, as a result of the war, have passed over from Liberalism to Socialism, not because I have ceased to admire many of the Liberal ideals, but because I see little scope for them, except after a complete transformation of the economic structure of society.

The war has resulted in a confrontation of plutocracy and labor, capitalism and socialism. Socialism has appeared at last as a force roughly equal in strength to capitalism. In Russia, it is in power, and elsewhere there is a possibility of its acquiring power. What have these two opposing creeds to offer?

Capitalism, so long as it fought against feudalism, was associated with certain Liberal ideas: freedom, democracy and peace. It was associated also with increased production. The lingering remnants of feudalism have been swept away by the war: the three Emperors who dominated Eastern Europe are gone. In the remaining monarchies, in Milton's words, "the kings sit still with awful eye." But every step in the victory of capitalism over the past has made it more hostile to the future, and less liberal. In America, I am told, there is now a prison at the foot of the Statue of Liberty.*

The greater part of the civilized world remains subject to a reign of terror. The Bolshevik reign of terror has of course been used to make our flesh creep, but it differs from the others solely in its purpose. I do not allude merely to the White Terror in places like Hungary, where the Bolshevik regime has been crushed; similar methods in a less drastic form have become all but universal. In France, by the acquittal of the murderer of Jaures, the courts have given it to be understood that the assassination of a Socialist is not illegal. In America any one professing Socialist opinions is liable to imprisonment or deportation, and Socialists duly elected are not permitted to sit in the New York Legislature. In Ireland any person who believes in the rights of small nations, in self-determination, or in any other of the objects for which the war was fought, is liable to imprisonment, without trial. Of India it is not necessary to speak, since the facts have become too notorious. Throughout the world we are faced by a clash of naked force. Socialism, in alliance with oppressed Nationalism, is opposed ruthlessly by Capitalism, strengthened by victorious Nationalism.

Under these circumstances, freedom throughout the capitalist world is not to be thought of. But how about democracy? Democracy was supposed to be one of the inspiring ideas for which we fought in the war. We are now told by the Bolsheviks that dem-

ocracy, as we have hitherto understood it, is a bourgeois trick. We are told, on the other hand, by the capitalists, that it is anti-democratic to attempt by means of direct action to prevent a reactionary Parliament from flouting the will of the majority. Let us try to understand what democracy in a capitalist community consists of. We have to begin with the Judiciary and the Civil Service, both allies of the Plutocracy. We have the fact that Members of Parliament, and still more, Ministers, through their social status and income, are brought into natural connection with the possessing classes. We have the fact that capitalistic influences are more concentrated, swift and secret than labor influences, and the fact that the psychology of power tends to make its possessors more sympathetic with the directors of the capitalist industrial machine than with those who, for the time being obstruct its smooth working. The constitutional power of the democracy is limited to the expression of a choice about once in five years, a choice often between candidates none of whom are really expressive of the political opinions of the constituency, for, owing to the expense of elections, only great and rich organizations, or very wealthy individuals, can fight with any hope of success. In the whole process of forming opinion before the exercise of the vote, capitalism has enormous preponderance. Beginning in the schools, where the education is designed to produce acquiescence in the status quo, and continuing in the press, which, with very rare exceptions, is a capitalist venture run in the interests of capitalism, the mind of the child is warped, and the mind of the adult is filled with falsehoods, so that only persons of exceptional energy and independence of thought can hope to arrive at anything approaching a true view of the issues to be decided at an election. The early Benthamite advocates of democracy imagined that it was easy for a man to ascertain his interest, and that he would certainly vote in accordance with it. Thus the result of democracy would be a just representation of all interests in proportion to their numerical strength. Admirable theory! But if they had studied, for example, the Jesuits and their influence, they might have seen its falsehood. The average man's opinions are made for him like the house he lives in. He can choose among a few varieties, but the varieties are rigidly limited by forces quite outside his control. They are limitations, it is true, to what can be done in the way of manufacturing opinion. If the opinions inculcated lead to the death in unsuccessful war of a large proportion of the men, and to the starvation of the women and children, it may happen, after a certain number of years, that the usual methods of generating opinion will fail. In that case, revolution results. But the hardships required before this climax is reached are appalling. What is called the rule of the majority in a bourgeois democracy is, therefore, in reality, the rule of those who control the methods of manufacturing opinion, especially in the schools and the press. It is absurd to give a sort of fetish worship to such a system, or to condemn all uses of the weapon of direct action, because of the supposed sacrosanct authority of a Government elected years ago on quite other issues. The Bolsheviks are right in maintaining that bourgeois democracy is a trick by which the victims are induced to pronounce their own condemnation in order to minimize the force required for carrying it out.

At the outbreak of the late war, capitalism pretended that feudalism, as represented by the Kaiser, was what had caused the disaster. Feudalism is gone, but capitalism has shown itself incapable of making any real peace. Quite apart from the hostility to communist Russia, the trade rivalries inherent in capitalism have necessitated a harsh treatment of Germany and Austria, which makes any stable peace impossible. Every thoughtful person must realize that the continuance of the capitalist system is incompatible with the continuance of civilization. It is as clear as noonday that, if this system survives, the late war must be succeeded by other wars, which will be even more destructive in proportion as they are more scientific. A few more of such conflicts must put an end to everything that has made the European races of importance to the world.

Finally, capitalism has begun to fail as a technical method of production. The well-founded and universal belief in the importance of production no longer, as in the past, strengthens the hold of the capitalist system. The old incentives to work have broken down, for the bees have begun to think that it is not worth while to make honey for their owners. At the present moment, as a result of the war, the world needs speedy production in a quite unprecedented degree, but if speedy production is to be possible new incentives must be found, and can only be found through self-government in industry. It is this that has given, in Great Britain, such extraordinary and sudden strength to the guild idea. We have all been watching the experiment of the building trade in Manchester, where, after the whole capitalist machinery had failed hopelessly to deal with the housing problem, it is being found that guild methods afford a complete solution, equally perfect from the point of view of the producer and of the consumer. Largely because of this technical breakdown of capitalism, the advent of socialistic methods of production is now immeasurably easier than at any previous time. What-

ever the workers choose to demand in the way of economic justice, they can secure. Nothing stands in their way except the moderation of their own demands.

Thus capitalism has lost all the merits by which, in the past, it sought to commend itself to the average man. Through trusts and an intimate union with the State, capitalism has succeeded in destroying almost all vestiges of freedom. Through control of education and the press, it has made democracy a farce. Through national rivalries, it has made peace impossible except by its overthrow. And by arousing the discontent of the workers it has become inefficient as a method of production. The first three of these failures are reasons for desiring its overthrow. The fourth, fortunately, is also a reason for expecting it.

Capitalism has failed to secure freedom, genuine democracy, stable peace, or the increased production that the world needs, and there is no reason to think that its failure in these respects is in any way temporary. On the contrary, it is likely to grow more and more marked through the discontent which it arouses. What has Socialism to offer in these respects?

The most important of all the new facts that have emerged from the war is the existence of a Great Power which has adopted socialism in practice. Socialism, hitherto, has been a mere theory, something which practical men could despise as impossible and visionary. The Bolsheviks, whatever we may think of their merits and demerits, have at any rate proved that socialism is compatible with a vigorous and successful State. Faced by the united hostility of Europe, and by civil war within their own borders, coming into power at a time of unexampled chaos and starvation, deprived by the blockade of all outside help, they have, nevertheless, beaten back their enemies, reconquered the greater part of the old Russian Empire, survived the worst period of the famine without being overthrown by internal revolution, and set to work to regenerate production with amazing vigor. There has been nothing comparable since the France of the Revolution, and for my part I cannot but think that what the Bolsheviks are doing is of even greater importance for the future of the world than what was accomplished in France by the Jacobins, because their operations are on a wider scale, and their theory is more fundamentally novel. I believe that Socialists throughout the world should support the Bolsheviks and co-operate with them. And I think that Guildsmen,* in particular, ought to pay great attention to Bolshevik methods of organization, not only because of their power and prestige, but because of their partial adoption of an industrial instead of a geographical basis for the Soviets. But I do not mean to suggest that we, in this country, where conditions are exceedingly different from those in Russia, should blindly follow in the footsteps of the Bolsheviks. With other Guildsmen, I recognize the importance of organization by trades, but at the same time believe that the territorial Parliament still has useful functions to perform, and therefore I am not persuaded that, for us, the complete suppression of Parliament as opposed to Soviet forms is desirable. And I am strongly of opinion that whatever in the way of socialism is feasible in this country can be accomplished without armed revolution. Slavish imitation of the Bolsheviks is not what I wish to advocate. I am inclined to think that their methods were probably the only ones by which success could have been achieved in Russia, but it by no means follows that they are the only or the best methods for us. Our circumstances, however, are peculiar, and through out the Continent there is far more similarity to Russian conditions, and far more likelihood of similar methods being needed, if socialism is to acquire power. And in view of the success of Bolshevism in beating back its enemies, the spread of socialism throughout the Continent has become a by no means remote possibility.

Bolshevism has temporarily flouted two ideals, which most of us have hitherto strongly believed in; I mean, democracy and liberty. Are we on this account to view it askance? I think not.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is professedly a transitional condition, a war-time measure, justified while the remnants of the old bourgeois classes were still struggling to promote counter-revolution. Lenin, following Marx, regards the State as in essence the domination of one class in the community. As soon as communism has abolished the distinction of classes, the State is to wither away. When there is no longer any class except the proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat will ipso facto cease, and the State, in the sense in which Lenin uses the word, will disappear. Are we to object to this process on the ground that it may involve for a time the seizure of power by a minority? And are we to object on the same ground to direct action for political ends, in our own country? Lenin's defence of his action is broadly that the opposition to communism is essentially temporary, and that, when once communism has been established, it will command universal support. An argument of this sort can only be judged by the outcome. If the outcome shows, as it seems to have done in Russia, that the opposition was largely ignorant, and that experience of the new regime leads people to support it, it may be said the forcible transition has been justified. The

arguments in favor of democracy and liberty, it may be said, are arguments, applicable to normal times, not to cataclysms and world revolutions. In these terrific epochs, a man must be prepared to back his own faith; whether he is right or wrong in doing so, only the issue can show. I think there is something a trifle pedantic in applying to the circumstances of Russia the sort of arguments and principles which are valid for ourselves in ordinary periods. Russia could only be saved by a strong will, and it is doubtful whether a strong will could have saved it without dictatorship in some form. I do not think, however, that these considerations would apply to ourselves even if we were much nearer than we are to the establishment of complete socialism. England, ever since 1688, has had a love of moderation. Methods such as those of the Bolsheviks would alienate ordinary people. Nor is the opposition of the reactionaries sufficiently ruthless to justify such methods. The moderation of our Labor Party is often exasperating, but at any rate it is matched by the moderation of their opponents. This was clearly illustrated at the time of the railway strike. Marx, the great exponent of the doctrine of class war, asserted that, in England, Socialism might come by peaceful means. Let us hope that in this, as in so much else, he was a true prophet. But on the Continent, as the example of Russia has shown us, such a hope is probably chimerical. I believe, though of course to prophesy is so uncertain as to be little more than a pastime, that in view of the successes of Russian communism in resisting the united hostility of the capitalist Great Powers, the victory of Socialism in Germany, France and Italy, within the next ten years or so, is quite within the bounds of possibility. There is much reason to fear, however, that it will not be effected in these countries without the same accompaniments of war and terrorism that we have seen in Russia, though perhaps in a much fainter form. I do not believe that, if it were victorious in such a contest, it would confine its victory to those nations in which a majority was in favor of Socialism, particularly if its help were invited by Socialist insurrections. Poland, for example, would very likely fall again under Russian domination as in the days of Czarism. Nationalism and religion would keep the Poles, for a time, hostile to Socialism, whether it were international, or took the form of a revived Russian Imperialism. It would be necessary to suppress by force the Polish desires for independence and for the persecution of the Jews, and doubtless it would be sought by means of a rigid control of education to indoctrinate the rising generation with a more Marxian outlook. Similar troubles would arise throughout the Balkans. The regime of International Socialism for at least a generation would have to be, in many regions, a regime of armed force, backed by rigid control of the press and the schools. There is no reason to suppose that, when the time came, the Bolsheviks would shrink from such a course, however little imperialism there may be in their present purposes. Their outlook on the world, like that of the early Mohammedans, is at once realistic and fanatical. Believing, as they do, in the Marxian formula of inevitable economic development, they feel their ultimate victory fated. What they regard as of most importance is, that the guns should be in the hands of the class-conscious proletariat. This once secured, they feel convinced that propaganda can bring to their side the part of the proletariat which is still misled by "bourgeois catch-words," such as Religion and Patriotism. It is highly probable that they are justified in this view, and that if they could govern Europe for a generation, opposition to them at the end of that time would not come from the dying forces of the past, but from whatever new movements might arise, for embodying such Socialist ideals, as the Bolsheviks might in the meantime have forgotten.

If we suppose that some such development is likely on the assumption that Bolshevik successes continue, ought we to seek to promote those successes, or to shrink from promoting them because of the bloodshed and terror that they might involve, and the loss to civilization, at least temporarily, that the conflict would entail?

For my part, I feel convinced that any vital progress in the world depends upon the victory of International Socialism, and that it is worth while, if it is necessary, to pay a great price for that victory. I feel convinced also that there will be no peace in the world until International Socialism has conquered, and that to strengthen its forces, and to weaken those of the opposition, is the quickest way to end the conflict. I believe, in a world that "each recruit means quicker peace." When I speak of Socialism, I do not mean a milk-and-water system, but a thoroughgoing, root and branch transformation, such as Lenin has attempted. And if its victory is essential to peace, we must acquiesce in the evils involved in conflict, in so far as conflict is forced upon us by capitalism.

* I do not know whether this is true literally or only symbolically. (It is true literally.—ED.)

* A reference to the members of the National Guilds League of Great Britain.—Ed.

The Communist Party Splits.

The left wing of the Socialist movement in this country, from its inception, contained an element that claimed to be exclusive 100 per cent pure communists, and that the communist movement, to be protected from adulteration, must either remain under the unrestricted control of these 100 per centers — or must confine its personnel to these apostles.

The activities of that group led to the split in the left wing movement, which eventually led up to the formation of the two parties, the Communist and the Communist Labor Parties. The former would never have seen the light of day had it not been for the fact that the majority of the left wing council was dazzled with the glittering arguments of the 100 per centers and did not heed the warning given against the rule or ruin tactics of that element. These "Communists" had built up a machine for control within the Russian and other language federations and insisted upon the continuation of the autonomous federations because only through them could they hope to completely dominate and control the Communist movement. So the question of autonomous federations became the bone of contention, though the real question was: control or no control through these self-appointed apostles.

Those that were concerned more with the building up of a communist move-

ment than with the question of control, continued their labor in spite of all accusations of "menshevikism" or "centrists" hurled against them, in spite of the further accusations that those who had organized the Communist Labor Party had split the American movement.

History has vindicated the Communist Labor Party. Those of the left wing council that deserted the left wing to join the 100 per centers found to their sorrow, that they had made a mistake. They found that under the cloak of the argument, that strict centralization of power in the communist movement was necessary, there was hidden away contempt for the workers, for the rank and file, who were supposed to play the part of stage decorations in the drama to be enacted by the coming revolution. They saw their mistake and were compelled to take the only means to rectify it; to split away from the 100 per centers whom they now discovered to be more impure than true, and to split the Communist Party.

Recently, during a four day's conference of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party, to which were invited the district organizers and the representatives of the federations, the split became an established fact. The voting power in the conference was confined to the members of the C. E. C. The vote stood 5 to 4. The minority of 4 broke away, together with all district organizers except one, and with the representatives of the German, Ukrainian, South Slavic, Estonian and Polish Federations. Both

sides immediately sent out their emissaries to explain the split to the membership and it now remains to be seen what stand the rank and file will take.

It is to be hoped that this split will bring about a clean division between those that are concerned mainly with the formation of a strong communist movement, and those that are concerned with the questions of control and careers. A unity between the former and the C. L. P. ought to be effected within a very short time and with the help of the united efforts of all true communists, we should now succeed in making the American branch of the Third International a worthy part of that great movement.

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