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## 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 to overthrow 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 has acted 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.

### 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.

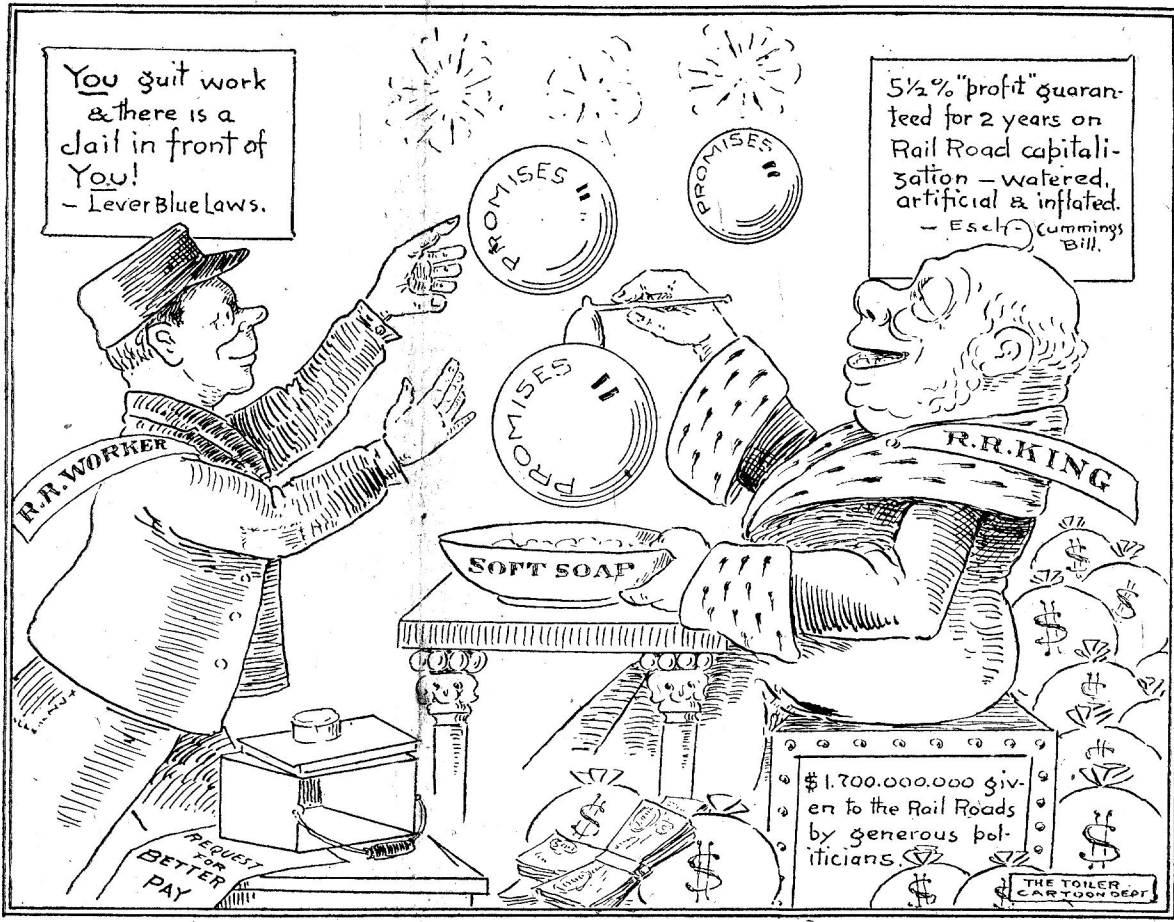
Since the conference the debate has been shifted to the Labor Press—particularly to the columns of the Daily Herald. Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the Labour Party, has come forward to defend the Second International and

pinkest 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."

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 program; 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—Gardeners 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 LUSK COMMITTEE.  
Some astonishing facts about this extra-legal Committee never before revealed. An authentic report. 25c the copy. Address The Toiler.

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. Comerford 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. Address The Toiler.

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 Address The Toiler.

### 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 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 Poor's Lauck cites the net income of various corporations during this period, 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."

## 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 the condition 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 defense 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 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.



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EDITOR ..... Elmer T. Allison

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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 rebuilding 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 rebuilding 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. F. officials at Albany in seeking to retain their

## 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. Copyright 1920. By W. E. R.

### 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 ever 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 religio-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 monogamic 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" (Kerr 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.

William C. Bullitt's testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Contains much valuable and interesting information about the attitude of President Wilson and the Peace Conference and why peace with Russia was denied.

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