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Echoes of Secy. Wilson's Ruling

— By Paul Hanna,
Staff Correspondent, The Feder. Press.
WASHINGTON.—Secretary Wilson's ruling in favor of the Communist Labor Party of America is a kick that sends Attorney General Palmer reeling a long way toward the end of his career of bluff, bluster and secret persecution of political opinion.

That part of the department of justice which received the full force of the blow is represented by Francis P. Garvan, assistant attorney general, in special charge of witch-burning under the New Freedom. It was Garvan who said of the destitute wives and children of men deported on the Buford that they were better off without such men, no matter what their suffering and privation. Garvan is also author of the celebrated statement that the illegal raids conducted by his office had "created a belief in God" among the "infidel" agitators for economic justice.

Garvan more than any other man in the department of justice, is held responsible for leading Palmer up the bling alley of political bigotry where he now finds himself. There is recognition that the jig is up in Garvan's furious outcry: "Every radical I. W. W., communist or whatnot will now find in the Communist Labor Party a haven where he can continue agitation without abandoning one of his theories or purposes."

The anguish of Palmer and Garvan is enhanced by their chilling apprehension that the White House will sustain Secretary Wilson unless the department of justice shall lay its cards on the public table and there show by argument and the law why men who aim at drastic alteration of our institutions by peaceful, constitutional means should be declared outlaws.

It is reliably reported that Secretary Wilson's sensational decision is merely a sequel to the recent cabinet meeting at which Palmer tried and failed to convince the president that seizure without warrant, imprisonment without trial and deportation without evidence were the proper and American way of dealing with persistent agitators against the rule of plutocracy.

Two facts are known. Louis F. Post wrote out his resignation when as acting secretary of labor, he began his policy of releasing aliens against whom Palmer could produce no evidence except loud-mouthed innuendo and newspaper headlines.

William B. Wilson is ready to quit as secretary of labor if, without consideration of his own interests, the White House should give its support to Attorney General Palmer and Garvan.

Politically considered, Palmer has been utterly isolated for the time being. As a candidate for president he has been shown to have no following anywhere. From the A. F. of L. cabinet to the I. W. W. he is detested by labor. Federal judges denounce him from the bench as a ridiculous tyrant. All the middle class liberals who once supported this administration despise and revile the attorney general. Aside from Judge Gary's following and a few liberty baiters in Congress he stands absolutely alone.

To a self-respecting man in Palmer's place there is only one course open. He must meet and disprove the labor department's indictment of his methods and force the President to fire both Post and Secretary Wilson, or he must resign himself. That is, if he is a self-respecting man.

But nobody familiar with his official course charges Palmer with being that. His real calibre is shown in the so-called movement by Congress to impeach Post. To the extent that the impeachment effort had a basis at all, it was founded upon Palmer's tale-bearing about the department of labor. Poofs and knaves in the House took up the charges and instituted hearings. Post's counsel sat through the imputation Lusk proceedings, and calmly waited for their chance to refuse the slander and to present their client as a witness in his own defense. All this time the attorney general kept far in the background. He has not dared associate his name or his office directly with any of the charges against Post. He has known that facts and the law were with Post, and has studiously avoided a direct encounter.

That spectacle of shuffling evasion gave Secretary Wilson his final measure of the attorney general, who stood revealed as a man afraid to finish what he had started. Members of Congress who began the proceedings found themselves marooned with Palmer, unable to proceed without being faced by the man they strove to destroy. So they tried to duck out of the whole mess by concluding the hearings abruptly.

At such a moment Secretary Wilson strikes the hot iron with the sledge of his Communist Labor Party decision. Let Palmer dodge the sparks if he can.

15th NATIONAL CONVENTION, S. L. P.

will be the subject of a symposium by J. Braun, O. E. Server and J. D. Goerke delegates from Ohio

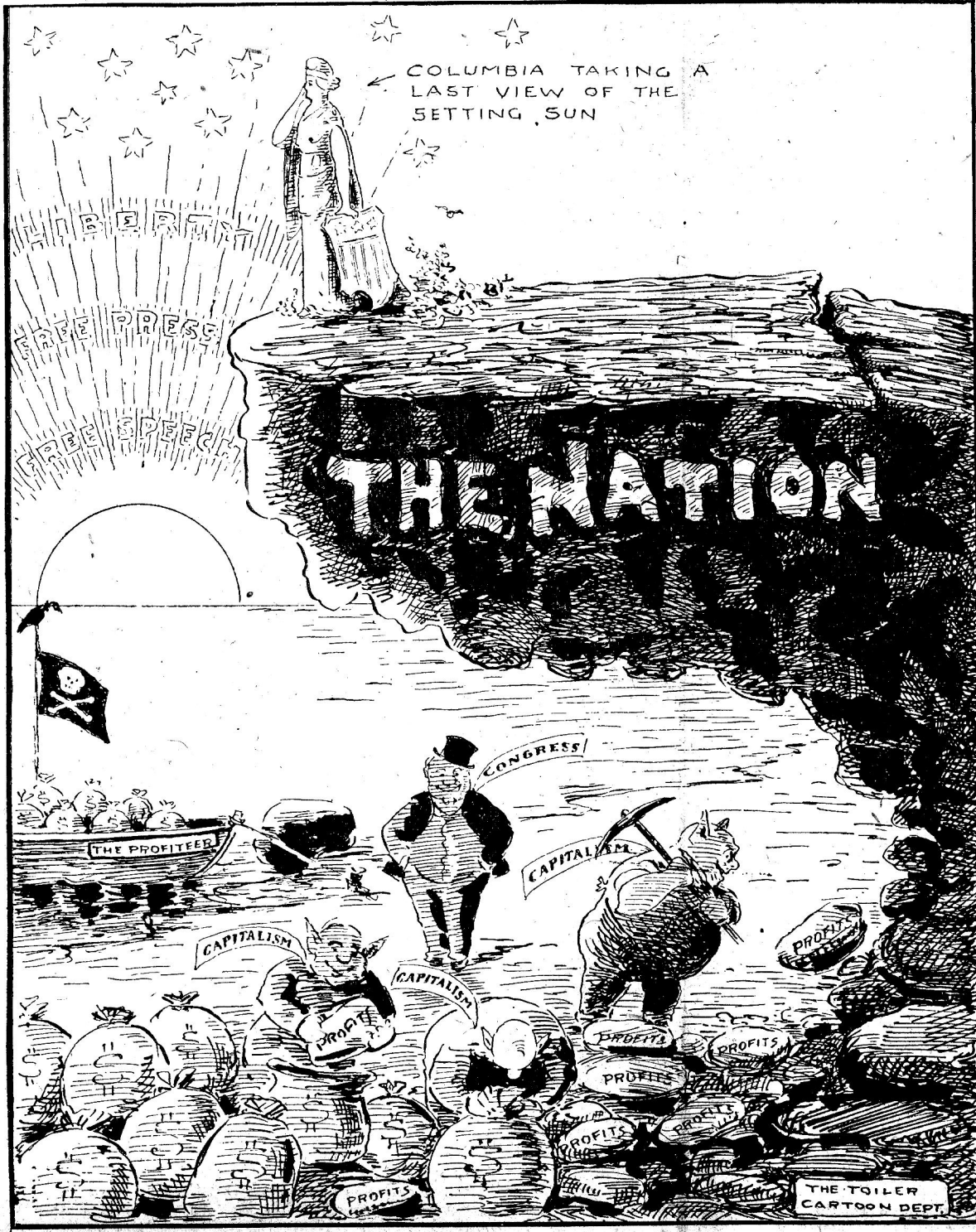
under the auspices of the

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Pythian Temple, 919 Huron Road
near Prospect Ave., and E. 9th St.
Cleveland, O.

SUNDAY EVENING MAY 23rd, 1920
at 7:30 o'clock.

— Questions and discussion invited. —



The Miner and Sapper

The insatiable desire of capitalism for profits and yet more profits, its unquenchable thirst for unearned increment, its demand for industry of the last "pound of flesh" is undermining the foundations of the nation. Industry, the foundation upon which is built such civilization as we have, has become merely a means of fattening the parasites of society, the exploiters of labor. American institutions are crumbling and ready to tumble into chaos due to the intensified coining of profits from the nation's resources and labor.

In the imminent collapse of the economic and social structure, Miss Columbia, emblem of our one time liberties will be stood on her head amid the debris. Her tears will avail nothing. For after all, she stood only for a fiction, or at least for that which became a fiction when the class struggle between the makers and takers of wealth became acute. The setting sun of our once proud liberties is revealing in the glow of its last rays how fictitious indeed, were these liberties. In fact, we know that they were not liberties at all—merely privileges granted to the workers by capitalism and the capitalist state—granted just so long as the workers remained in ignorance how to use them for their own class interests. The moment the workers began to use them for themselves

and against the capitalist class, they were taken from them. The dictatorship of the capitalist class, acting thru its government, police, court and Congress annulled these 'liberties'. They ceased to be. THAT sun can rise again only in a world controlled by the workers.

Communists have no tears to shed because these things are so. They are the products of the development of capitalism. They were born in the era of capitalism's beginning, they will die with capitalism and what is good in them for the worker's will be resurrected by them in the building of the new Industrial Democracy that must follow Capitalism.

Liberty, free speech, free press, cannot exist in a society built upon slavery of the workers to the owners of industry. Such an incompatibility is unthinkable. And because this is so, they have been ruled out by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. So-called liberals and other straddlers may weep and rave as this sun sinks behind the horizon, their tears will be lost in the sea of turmoil that is rising.

Only thru the collapse of capitalism and all its institutions can real freedom be born to the working class. Workers should hail as presaging this collapse the destruction by capitalism of these fictitious 'liberties'.

Victory Foreseen in Communist Labor Cases in California

— By J. G. Reed. —

(Special to "The Toiler")

OAKLAND, CAL., April 29, 1920.—

We won! Yes, in spite of a six months campaign of poison gas singing by the capitalist press of these Bay Cities, in spite of the worst kind of slimy tactics and propaganda by the "best citizens" of this community, in spite of having our headquarters raided and wrecked by patriots and police officials in the name of One Hundred Percent Americanism, in spite of being framed, up twice by the Oakland police, the Communist Labor Party in the case of the State of California vs. James H. Dolsen succeeded in convincing six men on a jury that the party was a legal organization and the jury was dismissed because of "failure to agree!"

"A funny sort of a victory," I hear you repeating, but wait—

Anita Whitney was convicted! John G. Wieler was convicted! Both were Communist Labor Party cases, and—

James H. Dolsen converted six men, half a jury, to the idea that the Communist Labor Party is perfectly legal. And furthermore—

Anita Whitney's case was tried as an ordinary criminal case. She admitted membership in the Communist Labor Party; she admitted having ideas contrary to the administration, but she lost out by not attempting a defense of the party. Her lawyers avoided the issues in the case, and defended the defendant personally. The same was more or less the case with that of Comrade Wieler.

On the other hand, Comrade Dolsen, State Secretary, Communist Labor Party, defended the party, and incidentally himself. He got the court to admit it was not a criminal case. And he defended the case as a social one, or still better a political and industrial.

The victory was a clean cut one. Not one principle did he compromise. The court was turned into a schoolroom where lessons in economics, tactics, propaganda, and organization were fully discussed. Capitalism in all its horror was laid bare. The nakedness of the violence, terror, and persecution was shown to the world in all its hideousness, but not one word of the damning evidence appeared in print in the prostitute press. Their publicity was done earlier in the days of the inquisition, and they were determined

to keep the first impression intact in spite of the truth.

Day after day I sat in this Court of "Justice", only during this case the court was transformed into a schoolroom, and followed the evidence as it was unfolded, closely.

During the first two weeks the schoolroom was in charge of Professors Myron Harris (Prosecuting Attorney) and Fenton G. Thompson (Inspector of Police and head of the "Loyalty Squad"). They conducted courses in Law Prostitution (commonly known as juggling the law), and also gave very good lessons in "How To Perform The Gentle Art Of Frame-up", in good Fickertian style.

First they produced a young reporter who attended the first State Convention of the Communist Labor Party. He described the setting of the convention in the ill fated Communist Labor Party Building, identified reports, resolutions, and speakers attending the convention; swore to having "seen" contraband books on Syndicalism, Sabotage, and the I. W. W., and testified that the assemblage sang an "awful" song entitled "We'll Make the Bolsheviks Victorious", and another one that ended, "While Gene Lies In Prison For Us All". The Songs, to be sure, were enough to damn us for life. Think of any convention in a land of the free wanting to make the "majority victorious", or making

Socialist Party Convention Betrays the Revolution

Opposed by but a small minority of "reds" and "centrists" the socialist Party in Convention at New York last week completely eradicated from its program and principles the last vestige of revolutionary spirit and came out openly and enthusiastically for a program of compromise, fusion and "yellow" socialism. The strength of the "red" element left in the Socialist Party since the split in the party last september, when, at Chicago the Communist and Communist Labor Parties broke away from the Socialist Party, was seen on the first day of the Convention in the election of Morris Hilquit over J. Louis Engdahl for Chairman by a vote of 91 to 29.

The election of Hilquit was a test case which indicated the comparative strength of the two factions and all questions before the convention brought out nearly the same vote upon the floor. For the first time in years the conservatives had everything their own way. Having eradicated from the Socialist Party practically all opponents to their long loved principles of compromise and political trading, they proceeded to spread a path of bright yellow before the feet of the American workers.

Fight on declaration of principles. As might have been expected, the real fight of the two groups centered upon the declaration of principles. According to a decision of the convention of last year a committee was appointed to draft a Declaration of Principles for submission at this time. This draft was brought in by Morris Hilquit, who after reading it moved its adoption. A minority declaration was submitted by the opposing group thru Louis Engdahl backed by the Illinois delegation and scattering support of radicals. A bitter fight ensued taking up some five hours of debate before the final vote adopting the Hilquit draft settled the matter.

Declaration, a "vote catcher". Referring to the mildness of the Hilquit draft, which declares only for political action, supplemented by industrial action by the workers, Engdahl charged that the purpose of those who had framed the report was to create something that would appeal to the Non-Partisan League and the Labor Party and that some of its sponsors would even go further to catch votes and response from "sympathetic" groups. It was in the paragraph of Engdahl's substitute declaring in a somewhat milder form for "the dictatorship of the proletariat" as a transitional tactic of the workers against the bourgeoisie, that the artillery of the majority was directed. "The dictatorship of the proletariat", de-

besides being inconsistent with the rest of the preamble, we cannot speak to the workers vaguely of the class struggle, wage slavery etc."

The platform, declared Samuel Holland of Chicago, "contains nothing but nice phrases", while another member of the minority faction stated his opinion that it read like a high school essay. Hilquit's rejoinder was that the platform was being opposed not because it was too academic but because of the absence in it of certain well beloved phrases. He claimed that the basis for the platform was the assumption that the Socialist Party was a party of political action and intimated that it was criticized because its opponents found in it no suggestion of more "violent" methods.

No dictatorship for Berger. The fight for a declaration for bourgeois "democratic" methods to be pursued by the workers during the transition stage from capitalism to socialism was soon brought to a close when Victor Berger arose and enlarged upon the possibilities of success for a third party in American politics. "I don't believe in dictatorship of any kind" he said, "I am for democracy."

Why do we have a convention every year for anyhow? To sprout wings-left wings. I belong to the center myself!" Tucker, who argued that the Hilquit report was evidently framed to get by the Department of Justice, urged the necessity of a dictatorship of the proletariat in order to conquer the bourgeoisie with as little violence and bloodshed as possible. Irving M. Weiss, of New York, declared his opposition to dictatorship of any body whether it be that of the Bolsheviks in Russia or of the capitalist class of America. For this statement he received hisses from the gallery.

Hands off Russia! Demands McBride. NEW YORK.—Several thousand people in Carnegie Hall rose to their feet and cheered for a full minute when Isaac McBride, journalist and lecturer recently returned from soviet Russia, cried: "It's time to call a halt to this murder and say, 'Hands Off Russia!'"

The purpose of the meeting, which was held under the auspices of the Peoples' Freedom Union was to demand the immediate resumption of trade with soviet Russia. That demand was voiced from hundreds of throats at the climax of McBride's description of the titanic miseries caused by the economic blockade by the allies.

"I saw soldiers of the Red Army whose heads had been blown to pieces with shrapnel, bandaged with newspapers," he said, "I saw great fellows gnitting their teeth to the ordeal of having arms or legs amputated with-

James Onal probably voiced the sentiments of the majority as fully as any when he attacked the world "dictatorship" and declared that the time and conditions that favored the Russian revolution must be studied before any attempt was made to adopt Russian methods.

"Let it go thru the country that you favor a dictatorship of the proletariat and you will cease to be a political party," he said. "Adopt such a resolution, and you must do your work underground, for you will be driven underground by Sweet and Albany and the politicians at Washington."

"Bourgeois democracy, with all its shams and illusions, permits in normal times an honest and fair discussion. To espouse the dictatorship program would turn every such democracy into an absolute autocracy."

The vote upon the principle of a proletarian dictatorship as a fundamental tactic of the revolution was 103 to 33.

Severs connection with Third International.

One of the principles laid down by the Third (Moscow) International as a basis for membership in it of Socialist and Revolutionary parties and groups of all countries is the adoption of the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a tactic during the transition stage from capitalism to socialism in order to the quicker place all power in the hands of the workers and to destroy with as little violence as possible all opportunity for bourgeois counter revolution against the workers.

The recent referendum of the socialist Party membership upon affiliation with the Third International by a vote of 3 to 1 with certain reservations will be discarded if the platform adopted at this convention is adopted by the rank and file. That it will be adopted goes without saying. The Socialist Party thus definitely

severs its connection with the revolutionary movement of the world and becomes a party of mild reformism if not reactionary measures.

The "Party of Debs", but will he lead it?

With the nomination of Eugene V. Debs as its candidate for president and Seymour Stedman as Vice-President the convention closed its deliberations. The question now is, will Debs accept the nomination? Opinion is divided as to what his decision will be. Communists point to Debs' statement before he was sent to prison, when in many speeches in Ohio and other states he voiced his entire approval of the Bolsheviks and their methods of gaining control over the capitalists and bourgeoisie, as bearing out the assertion that he would not degrade his revolutionary spirit by accepting the nomination.

Speaking of the victories of the Bolsheviks in conquering the enemies of the workers, Debs said in an article in The Class Struggle, of which he was one of the editors, in the issue of February, 1919, "They are setting the heroic example for world-wide emulation. Let us, like them scorn and repudiate the cowardly compromises with our own ranks, challenge and defy the robber class, and fight it out on that line to victory or death! From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet, I am Bolshevik, and proud of it. The Day of the People has arrived!"

Will Debs repudiate that statement by accepting the candidacy of the party which has emasculated its platform to the extent of rejecting the principle which Debs accepted, advocated and which constituted one of the charges against him by the capitalist class courts and for which he was sent to prison?

"Soviets victorious!" How criminal! And to think that a convention of American workmen would "stoop so low" as to pay homage in song to a "common prison rat"! What kind of a people could sing, "In a Living (Continued on page 2.)"

"Russia has learned to go hungry and still defy the world against taking her liberty away. The rank and file are dying now for the preservation of that liberty, and for the existence of the soviet state."

"Lenin told me that if he or Trotzky should go out into the streets and advocate the overthrow of the soviet, they would not last 24 hours alive. The rank and file were in arms in March 1917, and they overthrew the czar's regime. In November by power of the same arms and the same will they overthrew the Koresnsky government. Tell me, if the armed proletariat of Russia was opposed to this government, do you suppose it could stand for a moment against the power of arms and will?"

Norman Thomas, editor of The World Tomorrow, and Harriet Stanton Blatch, of the Emergency Committee for Russian relief scored the treatment of Russians in America by the present administration. One thousand dollars was contributed to the fund for technical aid to Russia.

The Toiler

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EDITOR Elmer T. Allison

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, MAY 21st, 1920.

Be a Scab

The Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland is Johnnie-on-the-spot when the interests of its members, the employers and exploiters of some 200,000 Cleveland workers, are menaced. The switch men's strike, which all along was played up in the capitalist press as of little moment "settled" and all over "in a day or two", has gotten the goat, so to say, of the profit-takers. The "outlaw" strike, which refuses to be settled by promises has thrown the whole industrial machinery of the country out of kilter. Cleveland factories are not alone in closing their doors for lack of raw materials and shipping facilities. In the meantime the "outlaws" proceed to organize their own union and are making great headway.

The capitalist press reports that last week the Chamber mailed to 4,000 members in Cleveland a circular letter in which the statement was made that only 137 of the normal 293 switch engines in Cleveland yards were working and that many yards were worse handicapped. While it is agreed, says the statement that the switchmen have a just grievance, they are taking the wrong method to get it adjusted. No one would expect the Chamber of Commerce to say that a strike was ever justified. To strike is to stop production. To stop production is to stop profits. The stoppage of the bosses' profits is of course unjust and immoral from the profit-taker's viewpoint.

The purpose of the circular was not however, to settle the strike along the lines of fairness to the strikers. Its real purpose and the methods by which it hopes to accomplish the defeat of the workers was to have every employer of the city who harboured a railroader on his pay roll to "suggest" and "encourage" these workers to take the striker's places and start boosting profits as of yore. Workers generally know what this means. A "suggestion" to go scabbing coming from one's boss is tantamount to an invitation to quit. Thus by all employers following suit, it is hoped to drive the strikers back to their dangerous tasks at the same old rate of exploitation while the strike is being settled in a manner perfectly satisfactory to the Chamber of Commerce and exploiters generally.

In such illuminating manner is the Chamber of Commerce revealed as the arch-enemy of the workers — the voice and tool of the employing class to maintain the regime which is the source of its thousands of per cent profits wrung from the sweat and blood of the workingclass.

It is commendatory of the class consciousness of Cleveland workers that no large number have or will fall for this game in which only deeper enslavement awaits them. Six weeks of scab hunting have netted precious few so low in the scale of class consciousness and fellow feeling as to accept the offers of the employers to become scabs.

Another Fallacy

Now that the politician is abroad, the capitalist press loudly proclaiming the virtues of political action and politicians hungering for an opportunity to save the nation, we hear a good deal about the glorious ballot and its usefulness in the hands of a free people to bring about such change as they desire without resorting to any of the "violent" methods of an aroused constituency, such as mass action, strikes, etc.

It is safe to assert that the virtues which the capitalist apologists find in the use of the ballot reflect their desire for its exclusive use as a weapon by the workers. Else it would not advocate its use. If the public press had ever advocated any measure which actually benefitted the workers as against the capitalist class, we would be prone to listen to their advice in these troublous days. But we challenge it to prove that it ever in one single instance advocated any thing which would tend in one iota to change the status of the slave class and the master class.

When we consider the source of public information, how controlled by capitalism is the fountain from which the public receives its ideas, the school, the church, the daily capitalist press—when we consider the hold upon the minds of the people which this vile press has, then we begin to realize why it is so insistent upon the use of the ballot only as a means to bring about changes in the government and social conditions. It is perfectly safe in advocating its use. Does it not control almost completely the information which the public obtains and can obtain upon the issues at stake? It has no competitors. The workers, because of the pitifully small class-consciousness among them have no virile press, no powerful means of telling the truth about any public question. This is realized the moment a strike of importance takes place. Strikes are lost daily because the workers are unable to get the facts of the case before the workers of other localities and trades. The capitalist press is on the job every moment in every city of every land. It is fulfilling its mission of supporting without any hesitancy whatever course is most advantageous to the particular local capitalist group it represents and the capitalist system at large.

To prate of democracy, the free ballot and such like when the source of opinion and information is wholly on one side is preposterous and misleading. Where such inequality exists in getting information before the people, where one side is played up and the other down, where perversion is the rule and misinformation the purpose, what hypocrisy to then advocate in smugly written editorials an extended use of the ballot by workers to bring about the establishment of conditions which make for freedom and progress!

In this, as in all other of its publicity is seen the hand of the profit-taker and exploiter. To fool the worker, to pervert the information he receives, if it cannot be absolutely controlled, is its function and purpose.

How satisfactorily to the master class it succeeds is seen in the prosperity in which it basks.

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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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

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. Copyright 1920. By W. E. R.

OUTLINE FOR UPPER BARBARISM.

BeginningBegan with the smelting of iron.
Tools and WeaponsCopper, bronze and iron. Swords and various cutting tools. Plows.
TransportationOn land, wheeled vehicles. On water, sail, boats and slave-propelled galleys.
SubsistenceCooked provisions in great abundance and variety.
ShelterHouses of hewn plank, stone and brick. Temples.
ClothingHand woven fabrics of wool, cotton and flax fibres.
EnvironmentAll climates except frigid, development of cities and trading marts, agricultural and herding occupations for the lower classes. Also artisan work. Leisure, and ease with great show of gaudy dignity for the upper class. Usual causes of change due to ethnic and telluric condition.
OrganizationDevelopment of the kingdom with armies and paid retainers. Class struggle conditions of master and slave. Patriarchal family, monogamous marriage. Development of the military, religious and slave castes.
Arts and InstitutionsManufacture and commerce.
DurationShorter than the middle age of barbarism.

CHAPTER NINE.

Barbarism upper age.

The Upper Age of Barbarism began with the smelting of iron.

The smelting of iron made possible a greater variety of tools and weapons, particularly those having a keen cutting edge, such as knives, axes, swords, etc. With the greater perfection of tools came greater skill in the industrial arts. Technical knowledge depends upon technical instruments. Iron made technical instruments possible.

Keen cutting tools gave an impetus to woodworking. From the rolling of sections of logs, the idea of the wheel and axle evolved. This in turn had its effect upon land transportation, making the moving of heavier burdens possible. All primitive wheels were solid—being merely a section of a comparatively round log. The tendency of a section of log to split owing to the end thrust of the loaded axle, gave rise to the idea of binding the wheel with an iron tire. It is significant to note that Moses could not defeat the Hittites "because they had iron-shod wagons".

The development of the keen cutting tool and the institution of slavery gave an impetus to the building of larger boats. These were propelled by sails and also by large numbers of slaves chained to oars.

The shelter of upper barbarism was very similar to the former period except that the making of adobe had evolved to the burning of brick. The development of slavery and institutional life during this period gave rise to the more elaborate architecture of fanes and temples. These were usually built of brick, as the development of slavery was the ideal institution for the development of the brickmaking industry.

The coming of iron tools brought more improved looms, and cotton and flax fibres were added to the raw materials of weaving. The leisure, with its consequent desire for gaudy show which the institution of chattel slavery gave to the masters of that day, greatly stimulated the art of dyeing fabrics came into existence at this time due to the necessity of having different coloured garments for the different castes—the masters wearing light, the priests, blue and the workers, red garments. Purple was also used by the masters as trimmings,—the insignia of mastery.

Nearly all races have their legend of a flood or floods. It is the consensus of opinion amongst scientists that these floods were due to one or both of two causes—the sinking of large portions of land areas beneath the waters of the sea, such as the legendary continents of Atlantis and Lemuria, or the flood waters due to the passing of the glacial period. These catastrophes overcame the Aryan-race while they were passing thru their upper age of Barbarism, and perhaps greatly lengthened the duration of that age due to the annihilation of vast numbers of the people with a consequent retarding of industrial development.

We should not be unmindful of the fact that historical epochs of industrial evolution must not be confused with chronological history. Epochs of industrial evolution are based upon the mode of development of the tools of production of a given race. Thus while the Aryan race, and to a large extent the Mongolian race have developed far into civilization, there are yet races who today, live in barbarism and even savagery.

Improved methods of production and transportation gave an impetus to commerce. The complexity of social relations between the various tribes due to the necessities of commerce forced the federation of tribes into a closer organization for military protection against invasion from outside hostile hordes. This laid the foundation for the perpetuation of the military caste and gave origin to the military dictator or king. Thus the chiefs of lower barbarism became the kings of later periods.

It was during the age of upper barbarism that the Patriarchal Family developed to its highest power. The laws of inheritance made necessary the outward observance of the monogamous family relation. Monogamy while obligatory upon the part of the woman due to the fact that man objected to bequeathing his property to another man's son, was usually never more than an outward show upon the part of man.

At this age the last remnant of female supremacy and descent vanished, due to the fact that private property was exclusively in the hands of the male. The Patriarchal Family marked the beginning of male supremacy and descent. This was a military necessity which grew out of the defense of property.

Military necessity developed the state. The state developed and conformed to territorial limitations which corresponded exactly with the industrial developments of the period when land was the unit of industry. Industry was then basically territorial, which gave rise to the present day political sub-divisions of the nations, based upon territorial lines.

SUMMARY.

The epoch of Barbarism is divided into three great ages, lower, middle and upper.

The lower age of barbarism began with the discovery of the art of pottery-making.

The middle age of barbarism began in the Eastern hemisphere among the Aryan Race with the domestication of animals and the development of agriculture. In the Western hemisphere among the Red race agriculture was developed without the domestication of animals. The American Continents seem to be devoid of animals suitable for domestication.

The upper age of barbarism began with the discovery of the art of smelting iron.

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER NINE.

Upper Barbarism.

1. What industrial development marked the beginning of upper barbarism?
2. Upon what does technical knowledge depend?
3. Explain the development of the wheel and tire.
4. What was the economic effect of a leisure class?
5. Explain the origin of the legends of the Flood.
6. Explain the difference between chronological time and historical epochs.
7. Are there still races in the world passing through the stages of barbarism?
8. What was the effect upon commerce of improved methods of production?
9. Explain the origin of the military dictator.
10. What is the difference between a chief and a king?
11. Was the monogamous family a fact or a fancy?
12. What effect did private property have upon female supremacy and descent?
13. Explain the economic reasons for the development of the state.
14. Why did the state develop along territorial lines?
15. What was the unit of industry during this age?
16. Is there any relation between the state of that day and the present day?
17. Did the Patriarchal Family develop because of private property or did the private property develop because of the Patriarchal Family?
18. Explain the origin of chattel slavery?
19. Give the economic reason for different colored garments for different classes and castes?
20. Name the three great discoveries which marked the ages of barbarism.

(Continued next week)

SPARKS

Just a very few left—Code of Labor Laws of Soviet Russia. They can be had from us for 60c per hundred. Elsewhere you must pay 10c a copy. Need we say—order now!

"I am going to raise—with the slaves here" writes G. B. of San Francisco. He orders a package of Soviet Labor Code. Good way to do it we say.

You subscribers whose subscriptions expire in May—have you renewed your subscription? Don't let us have to throw a brick to wake you up.

Yes, it costs money to print a newspaper.

Marguerite Prevey speaks at Moline, Ill., on Sunday the 16th.

She will speak at Byesville, O. on the 11th and 12th of May.

Literature sales and subscriptions are still moving at Youngstown. That's because the live ones there refuse to quit.

A nice bunch of subs. arrived recently from W. B. C. of Pittsburg. All yearlies too.

Sure he got a premium.

From out in Wyoming comes a literature order from comrade Georgeff.

Comrade L. of Sandusky sends a dollar for 4 trial subscriptions for fellow workers. It's an International Labor Day donation, he says.

Have you remitted for your Labor Day stamps? Do it now.

Judging by the number of literature orders which we are receiving there is no diminution in the amount of desire for information about Socialism these days. From states near and distant and towns large and small they come to The Toiler for the best literature of the Revolution.

It is reported that a small-sized guy with a Charlie Chaplin mustache has been making numerous inquiries of Portsmouth comrades. Just tell them where to go comrades, they ain't worth a minute of your time.

Comrade H. writes that the "Full Dinner Pail" would make a good slogan for the old parties' Punch and Judy show if there was any thing to be gotten to put in it.

Comrade Border, one of the new Kansas City readers sends in a literature order and a compliment to the Toiler. Thanks, we like them both.

Jeanette, Pa., was placed on the Toiler map last week when comrade P. sent in those 9 subscriptions. Good work.

Of course comrade B. of Mansfield is still on the job. Nice list of subscriptions proves it. And comrade Berry has been busy at Pomeroy too.

Which is just as true of comrade Mrs. L. at Canton.

Which indicates that all reds fall for The Toiler sooner or later.

Including comrade K. of Akron, who sends three new ones.

A nice literature order, a contribution to the defense and cartoon funds arrived last week from comrade D. of Portsmouth. Just shows how the live ones there behave.

Comrade R. of Battle Creek finds time to round up a couple of new subscribers.

Producing a bumper crop of class conscious socialists is a job that comrade L. has cut out for himself. His method is to systematically distribute the right kind of literature. We have that kind. He gets a package. Watch results.

Comrade C. Balino, of Cuba writes for a copy of Two Minute Talks.

Comrade Workman sends us a handful of subscriptions from W. Va. this week. Keeping on the job seems to be his motto.

THE CARTOON FUND

A Ouija Board Hunch.

"Here's a dollar for the Cartoon Fund. After the arrival of the last paper I just couldn't keep this one in my pocket. My ouija board told me that this cartoon had inspired a feeling of unrest in him and he wanted this dollar to join his comrades in the Cartoon Fund, so I had to release him."

John M. Scott.

Whew! With both the quick and the dead working for the Cartoon Fund it sure ought to grow. Let's see what the last week's receipts show.

Previously subscribed	\$47.50
John M. Scott	1.00
M. A. Martin	1.00
Schumacher	1.00
Alois Able	1.00
John Wagner	2.50
A. Aman	50
Samuel Royer	50
Steve Basich	50
Robert Dodge	1.00
J. Preikazas	50
Frank Kino	50
Emil Barouth	50
Effie B. Main	60
Mike Sosnow	75
S. Katz	50
W. M. Reider	2.00

Total 61.95
Expense 83.92
Has YOUR ouija board any thing to say about this?

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.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

--- By Linn A. E. Gale

Mexico City, April 29. (By mail). — Is the Sonora revolution a Proletarian Revolution or not? If it is not so far, can it be made one? Are the leaders of the revolt real friends of the working class who for reason of prudence, supposed or actual, have avoided telling their whole aims to the public?

These questions are being debated with much intensity by the labor organizations of Mexico and opinion is sharply divided.

It has been my belief all along that the northern outbreak is financed by American financial interests to pave the way, either for intervention or for annexation. The circumstances are suspicious. The revolutionists have made questionable bed-fellows in their efforts to overthrow Carranza. If they are not actually in the pay of Wall Street, it would seem they are but one set of politicians trying to oust another, and that they are doing precisely the thing that will deliver their country into the hands of the interventionists, even if that is farthest from their intentions. Several American warships have been dispatched to Mexican ports ostensibly to protect American citizens and large numbers of American troops are being massed on the border. No sane person questions that intervention will come if the revolution drags out for a long period.

The Communist Party of Mexico, the one really revolutionary body in the republic, has issued a manifesto warning all workers to keep out of the squabble and to take no sides. The party feels that one side is not essentially superior to the other and sees no use in jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

At the same time, the Communist Party's manifesto explicitly declares that if it becomes convinced that a different course of action will be more conducive to Communist ends, it would change its tactics accordingly.

To date, we Communists are "from Missouri". We know that there are some in the Sonora movement who are excellent Radicals. We know that there are others in the movement who are just the usual lot of scaly, smooth-tongued, office-and-money-seeking politicians. We believe that the aggregation is getting arms from the United States. We know that Villa and Pelaez, both bandits who have long been in American pay, are with the Obregonistas.

We want definite assurance backed by facts and proofs, before we endorse, either conditionally or wholly, any such movement.

Meanwhile, these facts are submitted for what they are worth to the reader.

Gen. Plutarco Elias Calles, head of military operations of the rebels, was until a few months ago, Secretary of Commerce and Industry under Carranza. Defenders of Sonora say that Carranza appointed Calles to kill his popularity, knowing that he would probably make enemies among the workers, if he acted in such capacity. They claim that Carranza did everything possible to put Calles "in wrong" with the unions and that although nominally an official, he really had almost no authority. He was not even allowed to name his own inspectors, it is said. In the big Orizaba strike he favored the strikers and succeeded in keeping Carranza from sending troops to break the strike. Finally, unable to accomplish anything for labor, he resigned rather than be misjudged by the workers. He is, I am told, a member of the Yucatan Socialist Party. An admirer of Calles said yesterday that "what Calles does not know about the international Socialist movement is not worth knowing," and described the large radical library that Calles has.

Governor Adolfo de la Huerta of Sonora, who has just been named "provisional President of Mexico" by the secessionists, is also reputed to be a member of the Yucatan Socialist Party and a real Radical. It is claimed that when the Bisbee miners were deported into the Arizona desert, de la Huerta provided refuge and protection for many of them who crossed the Mexico line. He also forced the Phelps-Dodge Corporation to pay decent wages and provide proper working surroundings for its employees in Sonora, and gave it such a scare that it went much farther than required and even built rest rooms, swimming pools, etc., for the workers!

Obregon, when Secretary of War under Carranza, initiated some radical measures, and at the time gained the reputation of a full-fledged Socialist. He commandeered coaches and horses in the street when needed during the revolution, imposed heavy taxes on merchants, provided a double tax when the regular payments were not met promptly, and punished some of the recalcitrant capitalists by imprisoning them in the penitentiary. A few were put to work at convict labor, cleaning streets in Mexico City. In his recent campaign, Obregon has made a principal appeal on his plank of restoration of land to the peons in small tracts, giving each family what it can properly cultivate and no more. Carranza promised land restoration to the masses but the promise has never been carried out except in isolated instances. Most of the cases of confiscation have simply resulted in transfer of the land from seigniors of the Diaz regime to generals and politicians in the favor of the administration.

On the other hand, it is believed by many that Obregon has lost most of his early Radicalism. His transactions with the Allies during the war, when he sold thousands of dollars' worth of "garbanzas" to Hoover, have dulled the edge of much of the enthusiasm that Radicals formerly entertained for him.

A friend of Alvarado and supporter of Obregon, trying to convince me that the workers of Mexico would fare much better if Obregon ruled the country than if Carranza's man, Bonillas came into power, reminded me of Carranza's action in breaking the general strikes in Mexico City and Tampico a year ago and of his appointment to the governorship of Quintana Roo, of the army officer who was responsible for the outrages against the Socialist Party of Yucatan. I answered that despicable as were these acts, we had no assurance that Obregon would do differently. Even if Obregon's impulses were friendly to the workers, he would not be free to obey them if he owed his elevation to power to the aid of American business interests.

The rejoinder was that Obregon will be as radical as possible when he gains power but that he will not spoil things by attempting too much at once and that he has permitted special stress to be put on his alleged friendship for the United States so that he would be left unmolested in waging his revolution. My reply was that it was not necessary for him to say things he did not mean, for American Big Business hates Carranza so much that it would certainly do nothing to hinder any uprising against him. The mere public declaration by Obregon that he was trying to overthrow Carranza would have been enough to guarantee immunity from trouble with Yankee menied interests.

There are many American Radicals, to say nothing of Mexican Radicals at home, who would join Obregon's ranks if it were not for these positive assurances by Calles and de la Huerta that property owners will not be troubled. My friend answered that it was true that the Sonoras had compromised with American interests in order to have Uncle Sam keep hands off and that, as a result, it would be impossible to socialize American property, although other property would be socialized in short order. I could see little to be gained in that way. If American property is not socialized, what under the sun is there to socialize, anyway?

Presumably an authoritative statement of the aims of the Sonora insurgents is the "Plan of Agua Prieta", a manifesto issued in the city of that name April 23. The last article of the plan explicitly says:

"The supreme commander will afford all legal protection and enforcement of their legal rights to all citizens and foreigners and ESPECIALLY FAVOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL INDUSTRIES, BUSINESS AND COMMERCE IN GENERAL."

Nothing very Bolshevistic about that, is there? If a Wall Street attorney had drafted the clause, he probably would not have used much different language than this very phraseology.

Nor is this all. We have the words of Governor de la Huerta of Sonora. The *New York World* telegraphed him for a statement as to the reasons for secession and the policies that the rebel government would pursue. In a telegram dated Hermosillo, April 13, de la Huerta closed by saying:

Under this principle, the entire public administration as well as ordinary commercial life, will be continued as before. The order of things remains unchanged and the entire state and government under my charge is firm in its purpose of continuing to accord, both to Mexicans and foreigners, all the guarantees conceded to them by the law of the land."

So impressed was the headline writer of the *World* with this declaration that he inserted in the head of the article, "Order Being Maintained; Business Life is Normal."

But let us now turn to the editorial pages of the *San Antonio Light*, an American paper that has never been guilty of anything but fierce hostility toward all forms of Radicalism and one near enough to the border to know where of it speaks. An editorial a few days ago, captioned, "Why Obregon is Opposed", begins by quoting an unnamed person as saying that "Obregon is hostile to the anti-American policy of Carranza." These extracts are also significant:

"It was only when Obregon announced his international policy of friendship with the United States that the clouds began to gather... It is not so much because Obregon wants Mexico to attain such prosperity, as because he wants to accomplish that end thru the most natural and logical means—friend-

ship and cooperation with the United States — that makes his election to the presidency so undesirable to Carranza. Obregon's platform is unique in the history of Mexican politics. Its chief plank is a pledge of friendship with the United States. No other candidates for the presidency of Mexico has ever gone before the people on such a platform... When Americans realize that Carranza's objection to Obregon is primarily a result of a conflict between their respective policies with respect to the United States — the one a policy of bigoted hostility, and the other a policy of liberal interchange of needs—the action of Sonora will not be looked upon as 'just another Mexican revolution.'"

Now, when the capitalist press of the United States commends a foreign politician as manifesting "friendship for the United States", we may always understand that friendship to really be friendship for Wall Street.

The news that the bandit chief, Manuel Pelaez, who has so long lorded it over the Tampico and Tuxpam oil district, has joined in supporting Obregon with his bandit-soldiers, is also not without meaning. Pelaez, it is generally known, has been financed by the petroleum kings for some time. Let us take the words of a reasonable and reliable witness, L. J. de Bekker, the correspondent for the *New York Tribune*, whose articles were so fair that his paper would not accept them and he sold them to the *Nation*. On page 27 of "The Plot Against Mexico", de Bekker says:

"I said to the oil men: 'Why don't you shut off this blackmail and make your peace with Mr. Carranza? No doubt your stockholders could use to advantage the \$200,000 a month you are giving Pelaez, and he doesn't seem to be delivering the goods.' 'We can't,' was the invariable reply. 'He would blow up our wells if we did. Besides, the state department at Washington knows each and every payment we make to Pelaez and approves it.'"

Two years previous, Carl W. Ackerman wrote: "Pelaez and his army—estimated at 3,000 to 27,000 men depending on the authority quoted—get \$40,000 a month protection money from the oil companies." It appears that the oil companies in two years increased their retainers to Pelaez from \$40,000 a month to \$200,000 a month!

With this evidence of the relations of Pelaez with the petroleum kings, can we have much doubt as to the kind of man he would probably support in Mexican politics?

In this connection it is interesting to observe that the Sonora government has returned the Southern Pacific Railroad to its owners, after having taken possession of it. At the time of the seizure, some were jubilant at this exhibition of "Bolshevistic tendencies." As a matter of fact, the Carranza government was going to seize the railroad and force the settlement of a strike, and the Sonoras seized it to get ahead of the Carrancistas. As soon as control of the state seemed certain and the strike was settled, the rebel officials turned the road back to the company.

Regarding Obregon personally, I may say this: As correspondent for various newspapers, as well as for my own satisfaction, I procured an interview with him in the latter part of January while he was spending some time in Mexico City. I submitted in writing five questions and he agreed to send me by mail the answers. The first question was as to his opinion on prohibition; the second related to the restoration of land to the peons; the third, if Mexico ought to recognize Soviet Russia; the fourth, tariff reduction or free trade; and the fifth read, "Are you disposed to favor the socialization of the mines and industries of Mexico?" Some days later, I received typewritten and signed answers to three questions, but no answers to the third and fifth queries, the one about the recognition of Russia and the one about socialization of mines and industries!

I do not mean to say that I have had any more satisfactory experience with Bonillas and Gen. Pablo Gonzales, the other candidates. I have never been able to get them to commit themselves on these questions, either.

A word about Alvarado who, in an interview in the *Hearst* papers in New York, just declared that

the rebel movement would control Mexico City within three months. I first met Alvarado a year or more ago when he was making plans to begin his daily, "El Herald de Mexico", in Mexico City. He had just returned from Yucatan where, after completing his term of office as governor, he turned over the reins to a self-picked successor. He was reputed to have done much for Socialism in Yucatan. At that time I know less about Yucatan than I know now. I later learned that the brand of "Socialism" that Alvarado introduced on the peninsula, letted him several million dollars, and was merely a kind of reformist politics, manipulated mainly in his own interest.

During my first conversation with Alvarado, I expressed gratification that he was about to start a Socialist daily, for it was thus that I then understood his plan. He explained that it would not be a socialist daily for he believed it was necessary to go very slowly. "We must be 'smart'," he said with a knowing smile and in excellent English, and then he explained to me that in his judgment Socialism would not come in Mexico for a long time. He expected to see serious labor troubles in the United States in the near future and he believed that many American investors could, therefore, be induced to come to Mexico and go in business. Mexico would thus be developed by foreign capital while the United States was writhing in the throes of industrial disorder. Then, years later, when Mexico had been sufficiently developed, perhaps Socialism would come. But the country must go thru a period of capitalist development first. There must, in other words, be economic exploitation first and economic emancipation later, and Alvarado was in favor of exploitation now! He added that he was going to have an English page in his paper—no Mexico City paper had one at that time—and that he hoped to gain a circulation among the American capitalists and business men in Mexico.

When the paper began publication, its policy was precisely what Alvarado had predicted. When I was arrested, fined and imprisoned for publishing a Spanish translation of Margaret Sanger's book on birth control methods, I went to Alvarado and tried to induce him to champion the cause of birth control editorially. He answered evasively, saying, "We must be careful", and that birth control was not popular in Mexico yet. I told him it would be popular if the people understood it and called his attention to the swarms of hungry, half-naked children that may be seen on almost every street of the city, asking if he did not think that a few children, properly fed and clothed, would be better than thousands of homeless, begging, potential criminals. Put I could get no direct answer and the only thing the paper did for the cause was to publish a letter of a subscriber endorsing birth control. On the other hand it published a vicious article attacking me in connection with the birth control book, same appearing on its English page and being written by one Charles F. Phillips, then editor of that page. For this, however, Phillips was alone responsible, and later he retracted his attack. Shortly after, my sentence was revoked by order of Secretary of State Borlanga.

Still later, when the Socialist local of Mexico City adopted my resolution denouncing intervention and I sent it to an employe of "El Herald", who published it, Alvarado gave the employe a call-down and told him to keep out of print all reference to Socialist organizations of any kind in Mexico.

Possibly the policies of the organs of the two candidates, Obregon and Bonillas, ought to be mentioned in this connection. "El Monitor Republicano", the Obregon daily, has given extensive space to articles about labor unions dominated by Luis N. Morones, local representative of Samuel Gompers, has shown the utmost friendliness for Gompers and the A. F. of L., and has studiously avoided any mention of the Bolshevik government of Russia except in rare cases. "El Civilista", one of the three Bonillas organs, has a labor page and some time ago offered to publish any articles submitted by the Communist Party or the Mexican I. W. W. The offer was accepted with the distinct understanding that, since the Mexican Communists and the Mexican I. W. W. repudiate parliamentary action, they would not be obligated in any way to support Bonillas. Since then, articles on Communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc., have been published, and no article, no matter how revolutionary, has been refused. This does not mean that "El Civilista" is a Bolshevik sheet nor that Bonillas is a Communist. I have seen and still see no real Radicalism in either camp. That there are some Radicals supporting Obregon and some others supporting Bonillas, is true. A larger number is supporting Obregon than Bonillas.

But as yet, I see in the activities of both sides merely the maneuvers of cunning politicians who are shrewd enough not to antagonize the growing Radical sentiment of Mexico and instead, seek to lure it with revolutionary catch-words and saccharine deceits, into voting for this candidate or that.

The Sonora revolution is not today a Social Revolution. In it politicians, professional generals, bourgeoisie and some Radicals are standing side by side.

If the Mexican masses knew their own power, they could make it a Social Revolution, sweep into the discard all the sophists and soft-soapers on both sides, and erect a Proletarian State under which exploitation and graft would cease.

They can do it! But will they?

RUMINATIONS OF A REBEL.

(Continued from page 3)

not entitled to live in opulence at the expense of the proletariat. Prepare yourself, old boy. The proletariat are getting ready to "re-nig."

Speaking of men of ability, wise men like George are wont to inquire, in a supercilious way, what Socialists would do with men of "ability." We'll handle them, all right. We'll put them to work and prove their ability by the quality of its product. However, there are some men of ability we might not be able to use, such as able bootleggers, able burglars, able bandits, able bankers, able barons of business and able shooters of the "bull," like George Horace. Instance: It is just possible that the interests of society would be best conserved by turning the ability possessed by the above enumerated gentlemen into other lines of activity. They might in time become able to make their own living, speak the truth, drop their hypocrisy, and thus contribute to the general welfare of the new order of society. O, yes. We'll take care of 'em.

Among all the methods employed by the bourgeoisie to quell a threatened awakening of the working class the

"red herring" is the favorite, for it has never failed to draw the attention of the workers away from their misery. Whenever signs of general discontent prevail, the master class send out an S. O. S., and immediately the fish is requisitioned and started on its mission. The Interchurch Movement is the particular "red herring" now being used as a soporific and it remains to be seen whether the workers will yield to its influence. They are asked to "Give God His Share." Since God has permitted the bourgeoisie to absorb all the surplus wealth, the wise worker will simply let Him look to

those gentlemen for His share of the spoils. Of course the workers are not expected to respond to any marked extent financially. The master class will cough up the "dough," and be satisfied with its investment if the workers will continue to absorb the sophistical drape of kingdom come beyond this vale of tears.

This will lull them to sleep just as effectively as through they had a lower berth in Abraham's bosom. Great game, this religious stuff. Be contented with your lot, and great shall be your reward in the sweet afterlife.

There are over one hundred makes of automobiles on the market, differing so slightly that only an expert can tell them apart. Millions of dollars are being spent and thousands of glib tongued salesmen employed in presenting the merits of the various machines. This enormous waste of time and labor could easily be avoided through the incorporation of the best features of all machines in one product. This standardizing would reduce the labor cost of production to a minimum and give greater efficiency. Will it be done? Not as long as the profit system prevails. Waste is a basic feature of capitalism and competition its cardinal virtue. The remedy is Socialism.

THE RED RUBY

Address to the Jury by Ben Gitlow. Also Darrow, the Judge and a final article by Antonio Giovannitti. 10c a copy.

Address The Toiler

Comrade W. of Birmingham Ala. is on the job getting subs. for The Toiler. No reason why The Toiler should not make many fast friends below Mason and Dixon's line.

If every C. L. P. member was like one comrade who pays a full year's dues in advance, no one would be awakened of the working class the