

WESTERN CLARION

The Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

No. 793]

Vancouver, B. C., June, 1917

[Month 5c

THE correspondents who have been protesting in the "Saturday Review" against the crude catch phrases and thoughtless cries about democracy and autocracy ably discuss different aspects of the question. But there is a far graver menace behind all this glorification of revolution than seems to be yet recognized. The notion that the change contemplated is merely a change in the theory of government is extremely shortsighted. Is it to be supposed that the whole working-class world—when once fiercely whipped up by the leaders on both sides and in arms for liberty and democracy, bent on pulling down all the autocracies, ruling and privileged classes, militarists, kings and emperors—will stop at that? "What good would that alone be to us? they all ask." Canon Maclean can hardly suppose seriously that the triumph of pure Liberal principles is likely to be the sole issue. Little need he be concerned lest Liberalism should triumph! There is not the least probability of the revolution now being worked up in Great Britain and in the United States etc. ending in Liberalism.

On the contrary, there is every likelihood that, if the game is once fairly set afloat—and our party leaders on both sides, with the diplomatists and the representatives of British and American capital, are running in, tumbling over one another with firebrands—Liberalism, far from triumphing, will, with Conservatism, completely end.

Four-fifths of the population of this country and something like four-

WORKING UP THE REVOLUTION

By An Outlooker

The following article is taken from the "Saturday Review," 21st April, 1917, a British weekly, devoted to Politics, Literature, Science and Art, and read by Conservative old fogeys who hang around Victoria Street, St. James' Mansions, and other such localities where wage slaves only go when their country comes camp to town. It will be seen that some apprehension exists as to what the slaves are thinking.

EDITORIAL BOARD.

Five-fifths of the population of the civilized world, I imagine, is composed of poor people working people. Now, when the average poor man, working man, who has inherited neither money nor property of any kind, and who is therefore all his life a fettered man, learns from Mr. Page, the Ambassador of the United States, and from our party leaders on both sides that the American and British aim—for their aims are identical, the Anglo-Saxon aims—is that every person on the earth shall be absolutely free and shall enjoy equal opportunity in life, what will this poor working man naturally conclude.

He will look around him, see everywhere inequality in wealth, inequality in labor, inequality in opportunity; and he will conclude that the first thing to do is to get life a bit level between the "have-nots" and the "haves." That will be his no-

tion of how to reach real freedom and democracy.

The "Saturday Review" in a note last week spoke of the millionaires who thrive in America under America's system of democracy, so-called. (Millionaires and democracy—what extraordinary bedfellows!) Can there be any real freedom for the poor, starving, unsuccessful man in this world, any equal opportunity in life? he will ask himself incredulously, so long as millionaires and multi-millionaires are piling up such vast wealth and power!

He will conclude that, for the sake of real democracy, real freedom—not the sham freedom which party leaders, diplomatists, and capitalists to-day have at the back of their minds—he must be rid of these Cræsus and of the whole system under which they flourish; for great money is great power, and great power in individuals denies freedom.

I am not saying that he will be arguing deeply or well in this conclusion—I simply say that this is sure to be his line. It is, in fact, in a dulled, incoherent way, his line already in numberless instances; presently it will become, instead, a fierce and coherent line. Where he only growls in undertones, he will, when fully worked up by the oratory of Luncheon Clubs and the flag-wavings of leaders with a rousing cry, roar loudly and make ready to spring. He will have down those millionaires in America, every man jack of them; but it will not stop at millionaires.

He will have his eye not only on the land, on the property generally,

in this country, he will have his eye upon the money, too, on the "stuff"; and I imagine that this is a good bit beyond the Liberal principles which Canon Maclean fears to see triumph.

He will have his saying knife deep into the vitals of the system which permits of "the second generation" in human society. Then how will it fare with the inheriting sons and daughters of our party leaders and orators? How will it fare with mercantilism? How will it fare with the City?

He will argue: "How can there be any real democracy, any real freedom in the world—and democracy and freedom, always perfect freedom, is what the leaders and orators all tell me to come out for—whilst I am born to toil and poverty all my days, whereas the son of the man who employs me is born to a large income or, at least, to a comfortable competency?"

And the world-freedom revolution once fairly worked up and started, he will conclude: "We must sweep away all these inequalities and injustices. We must start really free men and democrats with equal opportunities—not the democracy and freedom which humbugging millionaires and party leaders would fob off on us."

Again, I do not say he will be arguing soundly; on the contrary, I think he may be arguing incorrectly. All I say is that this is what he will argue; and once he has got the bit well between his teeth, why Mr. Page and the American millionaires and our own eloquent Liberal and Conservative party leaders and orators will find it harder than they suppose to stop him. Where will the freedom-loving millionaires of the United States, where will "the second generation" in our own country, where will all who are privileged, largely or even moderately, in

regard to money or any other property in this country, and in the United States then find themselves?

Are they sure they will not discover themselves where the emperors and autoocrats of Russia already are, and where the emperors and autoocrats of Germany and Austria are going to be? Many of them will be lucky if they only lose their money but keep their lives.

Are they confident that when Russia, Germany, and Austria are all freed the four-fifths contingent in America and in this country—who are being roused to-day by our leaders and orators with battle-cries of perfect world-freedom and democracy—will not in their turn rise up and proclaim: "It is our day now, give us up your stuff, away with your cursed privileges; so long as this inequality exists between you and me there can be no real freedom."

If our eloquent leaders and orators, with their programme of freedom and democracy and long live the Russian Revolution, think that they will be able to put away such awkward demands with the minimum wage of twenty-five bob a week they think wrongly. Twenty-five bob a week will not satisfy the world-revolution which is now being worked up, nor fifty bob a week. Twenty-five or fifty bob a week may be Liberal principles, but it is not equal opportunities for every man in the world; why it is not even the conscription of wealth which will be a sine qua non in the world revolution being worked up.

I quite see that it is necessary, if we are to make sure of conquering the overweening Central Powers something should be done to keep in the masses of Russia and to bring in the masses of America. Our leaders and orators may justly claim that they must have a rousing cry of some kind. The logical and intel-

lectual arguments for beating down the tyranny and threat of Germany strong as these are for the few, do not serve for the million. All are not Regius Professors of Modern History, Arthur Halfours, or Edw. Greys. We have to cater for the grey world of labor." Our reasoned arguments for the quelling of the many at whatever cost of blood and treasure would be largely poetry to the working classes. Still, had better have a clear idea what we call for a revolution, and what we exalt to the skies democracy of perfect freedom and equal opportunities for all men where we are leading to. There is little sign that the persuasive orators and leaders have any such idea to-day. If they are merely leading to the adoption of Liberal principles, as Canon Maclean humorously suggests, it is such a very novel or startling thing—then indeed nascent ridiculous!

But really, in calling for this social revolution, we are leading, not a little, to the nineteenth century Whiggery which offends the divine rights of kings as to a vast upheaval that may be bloody and which will open up an abyss into which will disappear the privileges of wealth and birth, the class distinctions and all that mass of immemorial law and tradition which make, here, in the United States, and other civilised countries, inequalities between man and man.

"Perfect freedom, equal opportunity for all men!" declare the orators and leaders. Very well, then, wealth has to be conscripted, classes amalgamated, physical labor shared and shared alike by cook's son and duke's son; and behold the reign, not of Liberal principles, but of Herbert and of Anarchists Klootz.

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

WE hear it said from many sides that the nations of the world have interests that are not in harmony with each other, and that each nation has to look to those things that it enjoys to safeguard against the aggression of other countries. This attitude is taken by a vast number of people who make mere assertions which the facts of reality entirely dispute. This "Nationalism" which has been injected into the brains of the masses springs from a very reliable source. It has its origin in the condition of property in a given country.

To get at the ideas that flow through the institutions that exist, and that reflect definite interests, we must see who it is that owns property in different nations. By property we mean those things that the nation is dependent upon to make its livelihood.

Land, forests, mills, mines, railways and waterways, are indispensable to the life of modern society. Around these means to sustain human life we have a set of relations that correspond to the mode of production and distribution. That is a process that calls for collective effort on behalf of the members that take part in the operation.

Today it is not every person that does this work, for there are a number that live at the expense of those that do the work. Those that own the means to produce the necessities of life are in a position to demand the great majority in society to rally to the call of a master if they desire to live. This system is the most profitable one that ever was, from the standpoint of the masters, with the great amount of wealth that falls to their lot. With this wealth there is the necessary upkeep, to maintain the many institutions for the purpose of educating the workers to accept the teachings of the master class. At the schools while an infant, the child is taught the

blessings and liberties that are his through being born in a particular country; also that the child is of a superior standing than the child of another country. Thus breeding national hatred in the public schools. Then comes the churches to mold the child in its acceptance of the servile conditions of this system. The press with its powerful editorials, bold headlines of the atrocities upon some of its citizens, gotten up on most occasions by the paid servants of those that rule. After a routine of learning of this kind, it is easy to understand the reason for the workers response to the call to arms. The desire for "Nationalism" is fanned by those that are benefited by it. And this again (nationalism) is begotten of the conflicting interests of the masters of the different nations that are competitors for the markets of the world in which they hope to get rid of the wealth extracted from the wage slaves.

That this fact is amplified by the events that led to this war it is impossible to dispute. And it matters not who the ones may be who tell the workers that they are fighting for freedom (unless they are paid agents of the class that profit by war) they are hopelessly at sea, and are detrimental to the workers as a whole.

We have evidence of the liberty the slaves are fighting for. When returning from the scene of battle incapacitated they are not cared for and are left to rustle for themselves. In Canada there are numerous cases of this description. Were it not for the kindness of friends they would be left to starve. The only liberty you have under capitalism is to work for wages when you are wantably employed) and when the markets have been glutted with the surplus wealth stolen from you, to be thrown out of work to want for the bare things of life, or take up arms and fight for the opportunity of your master to dispose of his commodities you so generously produce

and turn over to him. This is the general condition of the slaves of any country where capitalism prevails, and the evidence is there for any one that cares to look.

To speak of "Nationalism" just means to talk of the interests of the rulers of a nation. And to accept the teachings of "Nationalism" is to segregate the workers of the world and make out of them enemies ready and willing to fly at each others throats when the exploiters want them. The boundary lines of the various countries do not cover the cloak of exploitation, and furthermore are of no concern from the viewpoint of a slave. That there is any marked difference in slavery in any country cannot be found, only that it is more intense in the highly developed nations of the world. And if the workers wish to scrap over the intensity of exploitation and where the profits will go to, they are quite in order to rally to the call to arms.

But to get to the point. Seeing that the workers have masters, and little caring who that master may be, it behooves every slave to make enquiries into the condition that is his. We are the producers of the world's wealth, yet we get simply a slave's portion, wherever we may be slaving. The slaves of England, Germany, Austria, France, Russia, U. S. A. and other countries under the yoke of capitalism, live under the same general condition of wage slavery. This is not altered by the fact that slaves fight the slaves of other nations. We as workers of the world that are exploited by the capitalist class have a cause that is a common one. Our cause is that of the proletariat, the dispossessed workers of every nation, that are being crushed by the load of this damnable system. We are International in kind, and our enemy is the class that live from the produce of our toil. That and that alone is responsible for the plight of the workers of the various nations of capitalism.

Our efforts must be bent to the cause of our enslavement, capitalism; and in that case it precludes the workers from taking action in national wars, that does of necessity undermine the international character of the proletariat. Should the workers bend their efforts to the elimination of this system, the bonds of our common cause bind us closer together. The international aspects of our movement will be well looked after, provided we are not stamped by the ideas of the jingoes, nationalists, and others of their ilk, for we must remember that the present fracas in Europe would not be taking place had it not been for the false ideas circulated and assimilated by the ones waging war.

The only movement that has outlined the position of the workers in this war is the Socialist movement, based upon the class struggle, for it is the direct antithesis of "Nationalism" being international in its make-up. And those calling themselves socialists, that have gone into the war have not a leg to stand upon, when they put forth the ideas that they are waging it against invasion. For what have the proletariat got that they should defend against invasion? What "rights" have we that must be safeguarded? That the "Prussian Military System" must be crushed, in other words the workers of the "German Empire" must be slaughtered to break the power of the ones that rule in that country. In that case it only means exchange of masters, which will not affect the standing of a slave. Every nation to maintain its system of slavery had to have its guards to further its expansion, and to defend itself against the aggression of other slave masters. The facts of every day life show that the workers did not have anything to do with the calling of the war, neither were they anxious to impose the edifying conditions upon any other peoples. The real trouble was that the masters interests were endangered through com-

petition with each other, and they called upon their slaves to fight it out. And that the manufacturers of armaments wax fat at the large profits derived from the sale of the engines of destruction, explains their attitude on war very ably.

It is left to the Socialists (worthy of the name) to explain the facts of wars and the reason for them. For it must be clearly understood that as long as we permit a system of robbery to be, war will be an effect of it. Realizing that must be the case, the cause of Socialism wages its unrelenting propaganda against the system that breeds them. The teaching of "Nationalism" it denounces as anti-socialist, and those propagating such ideas antagonistic to the clear cut Socialist movement. Let us get away from the teachings of our masters, national hatred, "superior to other nations," etc., and spread the ideas of our position as a slave class. If that is done there is no danger of the workers rushing at the throats of other workers when called upon to do so. This strife taking place in Europe will eliminate a lot of "national socialists" which have been a hindrance to the furtherance of **International Class Solidarity**, an essential condition to the building up of the **International Socialist Movement**, whose mission it is to dissolve the system of capitalism.

"Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain." is as true today as when it was given to the proletariat in the last century by Marx and Engels, the pioneers of the Socialist movement. If the evils of today have got to be done away with, let that be our slogan.

"GINGER."

EXPLOITATION.
(Being last of series on Economic Class Discussion.)

AFTER all it was only a quibble about terms. Although, in general, we should be careful in our

terminology, there are bounds, even that. The main point is that we should get the outline firmly in our minds of what takes place in the field of industrial activity and the part taken therein by ourselves.

In our preceding articles we have watched the advent of the unemployed Working Class, that we have seen as our illustration, from the fact that he appeared on the scene of Human Activity until he has been placed in the ranks as a full fledged worker.

Having seen that the power of work is the only asset possessed by any member of the Working Class and that owing to the peculiarity of the situation he is compelled to use that power wherever he can get the best terms, we get a fairly clear conception of his position in Human Society.

Had the Workers any right of access to the means of producing things to support life, then the situation would be entirely different. If it is we are confronted with no such conspicuous as the complete fixed between them and the necessary means of Life.

On the origin of the Land Air and other Natural Resources of the World we do not need to dwell. These things are complementary to our existence. Without them we would not be. They were not produced by any particular favor of men—in fact were in existence before men, or anything like them, had evolved upon this planet.

That Human Society should create Private Property Rights in any of these things for one moment is one of those conundrums that the student cannot at once comprehend. Had we not been brought up in the midst of such a state of affairs and taught that it was "right" we would have a little difficulty in assimilating the position. It would be almost as difficult as explaining to the untutored savage the niceties and advantage of the Real Estate Business.

Should our unit worker happen to

be born with atavistic and undesirable tendencies to independence and freedom he will very soon be forced to face with indisputable evidence that life cannot be taken on his own terms. Today the individual is powerless to disassociate himself from the rest of his fellows and is necessarily subject to the same conditions as they are. Any evidence in addition to observation, that he may require will be speedily supplied by the State. Did he not agree to accept the situation caused by the fact that the means of life were not to be touched, except on the terms imposed by the owners, he would soon be convinced of the error of his ways by the agents of these owners—the policeman, the soldier and other such.

We have seen that the literal state of affairs with our member of the Working Class is that he is compelled to throw his power to labor into the market along with all other commodities and he has to take in exchange therefore what the Laws of Exchange determine.

According to the Laws of Circulation and Exchange we know that all commodities circulate and exchange—including the money commodity gold—according to the respective amount of value (labor) in each, varied only by local conditions of supply and demand.

We cannot well say that this transaction constitutes robbery for, by our own showing, an equivalent in value is given. And nether can we say that the workers are robbed of the product of their toil for after the transaction referred to has taken place the seller of Labor Power has no voice or interest whatever in the produce of that Labor Power—it is no longer his. We can not very well contend that the workers are robbed of something in which they have no title or claim.

Profits are made by virtue of one peculiar characteristic of this Labor Power Commodity. It is the one productive commodity and is purchased by the owning class in view of this potentiality. And that is

that when applied to "property" it has the peculiar result of producing values many times in excess of the values contained in itself.

Here we have the solution of the puzzle presented by the question of "Where do profits come from?" In the potentialities of the Labor Power and the possibilities in its exploitation we have the key to the situation.

And one cannot be very indignant for long with the fellow who calls it "robbery." Being compelled to stand and deliver—even if our cost of subsistence be given to us—almost eclipses the "transaction." In fact the unwary one still has his doubts.

In order to get away we consented to use the term "Compulsory Exploitation by means of Wage-slavery." But I very much fear that he is still telling the other fellows that the whole system is a Robbers' System.

W. W. Lefeaux.

THE GAME AND PLAYE OF SUEQUER PYSHING.

By A. Budden.

TODAY is the day of gloom. Wrath and vilification are spread abroad and the Apostles of the Lord are preparing a new Apocalypse. The Jonine Jew assails the Pauline many with considerable rancor and abuse. Exasperation flares up to incandescence in a vain attempt to find a goat. A difficult task for blind men, you will agree, for eh! but the quadruped is main slippery. "We" have been defeated and someone must suffer. Unfortunate State Secretaries are to be routed from office for having failed to land the promised vote and organizers carefully catechised for suspected heresies.

The Socialist Party was to be wafted into power, or at least the balance of power, upon the exploitation of the misery of Europe. Because there was war in the old world, people naturally felt that they were

entitled to peace in the U. S. A. It would follow, therefore, that any party who was sufficiently broad and democratic, i.e., sufficiently misty and uncertain of its place in politics to entertain the freakisms with which modern decadent capitalism is surcharged; would naturally scoop the suffrages of these oddities. The Socialist Party managers therefore cast their net for a miraculous draught of fishes, but alas they failed to realise that the net was all torn to shreds, or rather that their skill was not equal to the task of mending the obvious leaks. And after all, it was a pretty hefty job even for those expert herring dangles, Messrs. Hillquit, London and Company, not to mention that prince of tacticians' John Spargo.

Charles Edward Russel had been gassed over, as lacking sufficient education in the delicate art of facing both ways; his frankness in the matter of "being prepared" being a little too raw even for the Milwaukee contingent. Debs was relegated to his own home town, and Benson and Kirkpatrick handed the parti-colored banner which the S. P. of A. still thinks the voting elements admire.

Thus far, so far, but what then? The National Socialist, particularly amongst the German element, loomed large in the public eye. Men and women who hated the old grey wolf of the North Sea as vehemently as they should have hated the master class; men and women who threatened to bolt—were they members of the Party—or, in any case, to vote for Hughes because he stood for neutrality, a phrase which in these days of utter confusion of tongues stood in their minds—for Germany. On the other hand, whole platoons of the "Comrades" while vowing an undying love for the cause of the workers were sworn to vote for Wilson "Because he kept us out of war," and amongst these if I am correctly informed, were Max Eastman and G. A. England. Then there were the farmers. What to

(Continued on page 10.)

The Western Clarion

Published by the Socialist Party of Canada at the office of the Western Clarion, N.E. corner Pender Street and Dunbar Ave., Vancouver, B. C.

Subscription Rates:
Per 20 Issues 1.00
Per 10 Issues 0.50
Single Rates—3 cents per copy per issue.

In making remittance by cheque, exchange must be added. Address all communications to Managing Editor, "Western Clarion" office, N. E. cor. Pender and Dunbar Ave., Vancouver, B. C.

Readers advising us of change of address can only insure correct and prompt delivery by sending the old address along with the new.

If the number before your name on the yellow label of your paper reads 794 your subscription expires with the next issue.

In bourgeois history practically every great event has been attributed to the genius of some great leader of men. The idea that all military, religious or legislative leaders have merely been the instruments for registering the force of public opinion, which, itself, only reflects the changes in the economic structure, has not even yet permeated, to any great extent, the ranks of capitalist writers. Even in those instances where they do refer to industrial development forming the basis of political changes, the reference, in most cases, has been the result of accident rather than of design. In the next line, paragraph or chapter, they revert to their favorite theory by asserting that such a change could never have taken place had some Cromwell, Napoleon or Lincoln been stationed at the wheel. As Luther nailed his theses on the doors of Wittenberg, challenging the self-appointed custodians of all heavenly and earthly dominion, and eventually succeeding in freeing Germany from the influence of papal rule, so we are told was Henry VIII, the Nat Goodwin of the 16th century, directly responsi-

Editorial Page

ble for accomplishing that important event in English history known as the "Great Reformation." To properly illustrate the emptiness of such an assertion, a brief explanation of the economic conditions of preceding centuries is very essential.

For many decades before the overthrow of papal power in England, influences were at work in the social system slowly but surely undermining the prevailing institutions and nurturing the ideas that were yet to become firmly implanted in the minds of the people. Indeed, to find examples of struggles between church and state we could go back to an early period in the feudal system—to the days of the Norman conquest. The quarrel at this time, however, was relatively mild, the dissension springing from causes different to that which marked a later stage. As time passed on the quarrel grew. The furious conflicts that occurred between the various claimants for the English crown had considerable bearing on the growing power of the church. Those kings who were not in the proper line of succession naturally allied themselves closely with Rome, promising important concessions to the church in return for assistance to secure the throne against the individual regarded as the rightful heir. The church, always a business institution more concerned with the accumulation of wealth than the salvation of souls, lost no opportunity to advance its interests. So rapidly had its wealth and power expanded, through the Norman and Plantagenet periods that at the death of Edward IV. in the latter part of the 14th century more than one-third of the land of England was church property, while its revenues from tithes, fees, and offerings were double that of the crown. But land and money were not the only treasures held in control by the church. The minds

of the people were completely enslaved. Any attempt at scientific investigation, which would of necessity come into conflict with religious conceptions, were immediately frowned upon and ruthlessly suppressed. At an earlier period the refusal on the part of the church to permit a scientific study of nature's objects and forces would have such far-reaching or serious results. As a matter of fact such a study was not warranted by the conditions of an earlier age. It was the changing methods of producing and distributing wealth that now demanded greater knowledge of the universe. The discovery and growth of mining and manufacturing obviously spelled destruction to the institutions of a feudal age. The mining of tin and iron, the manufacture of woollens introduced from Flanders, and printing from Germany, were a great incentive to the growth of science and the decay of Roman rule. Navigators, builders, and explorers were now becoming numerous, and extending their trades into hitherto undiscovered sections of the world. In 1492 Columbus, while seeking a westerly passage to continue the trade established between Spain, Portugal and the Orient, as the overland route previously used, was captured by the Turkish forces under the leadership of Semlin I, landed on the West India Islands, and gave to the world a new continent. Vasco de Gama made his way to India via the Cape of Good Hope. Magellan sailed around the world for the first time between 1519-21. Cortez conquered Mexico about the same time. Pizarra invaded Peru in 1529, and the empire of the Incas had by 1535 been annexed to the dominions of Charles V. Between England and the continent trade in foodstuffs, clothing, and minerals was continually expanding, while skippers and mer-

Our Bookshelf

CAPITAL TODAY

By Herman Cahn. Publishers: Putnam & Sons, New York. 313 p. \$1.50.

chants were frequenting the markets of all the maritime sections of Europe, carrying besides their freight the news, books and opinions of every land. With this interchange of ideas and expansion of trade great changes in the political machinery was the obvious outcome. The feudal system, holding on by the skin of its teeth, must eventually fall. The introduction of steam driven machines signed its death warrant. With the downfall of the feudal form of society naturally the institutions that had grown under feudal conditions, and could function only in such a social system, must likewise perish. The medieval monasteries, the chivalrous knights, the proud nobility, the despotic sovereigns, and the religious dogma emanating from Rome must either be entirely eliminated or made conform to the requirements of changed conditions. The autoeratic Catholic church, against which Wycliffe, Huss, and Luther, all instruments of economic development, hurled their defiant charges, and encountered the wrath of their erstwhile masters, must now make way for a broader form of superstition, where those sciences that can be utilized by the growing capitalist class in its search for profits can be fully investigated and freely explained by its heralds while those which would tend to portray the birth, growth, and parasitic nature of the dominant class must be discouraged by every institution of the present system.

Briefly then, the "English Reformation," like every important historical event, was the outcome of economic changes, and must have made its appearance in due time even had the corpulent Henry never evinced a desire to exchange the shrivelled and sickly Catharine for the polished, pretty and passionate Anne.

J. A. McD.

omic absolutism would have been omitted.

Before passing to the economic matter, I invite attention to one of the many scientific analogies used by Mr. Cahn. We are told (p. 23) that

"The Monistic mode of thought prefigures the complete disappearance of dualism, along with the fundamental dualism of classes," as the daylight precedes the sunrise.

Monism does not herald a new social order any more than any other of the manifold changes wrought in man's mind by machine production. The ingenious mechanical aids to man's senses, perceptions banished the gods. With the telescope he entered the realms where they were wont to abide, and he found them not. No angels guided the stars in their courses. The stellar worlds moved in obedience to the same laws as the falling apple.

After outlining the theory of value according to Marx, Mr Cahn tells us that while in the pre-capitalist era commodities exchanged at their value, under capitalism

"No longer the quantity of labor incorporated in a commodity but the cost of production determines the price. Hence the tendency of competing capitalists to reduce the cost of production by increasing the labor of the workers."

Just why the capitalist should increase the labor in order to compete, if it does not influence price is mystifying, but that is not all. In industries which have passed the competing state, price is not even determined by the cost of production, but becomes

"Purely arbitrary within the limitation of what the tariff will bear."

This practice of these two phases of capitalist society, evolving

"Their own method of determining price, both in disregard of value is a negation but not an annulment of the theory of value, precisely as the optic fact of the bent stick in the brook, . . . fails to disprove the rigidity of the stick." (p. 39.)

Now, while it is true that the optic

THIS book, the author states, is written "with special reference to the present economic situation in the United States." As all countries have the same economic system it therefore embraces civilization.

The object is to make clear the recent development of capitalism (that is since the American Civil War) in the light of Marxian economics. No Socialist will deny the value of such an undertaking, and, unfortunately, there is but little reason to congratulate the author upon the results of his labors. But if he fails to clear up the mystery of money and its relation to the aviating proclivities of pork and beans, he does bring forward a mass of data which is interesting and of educational value.

Mr. Cahn suggests that the opening chapters make difficult reading. This is true; and for the obvious reason that he does not quite grasp the nature of his subject himself. He states that:

"Every student of Marx knows that there is not a sentence in the whole stupendous work not based, in concrete statements, on sense perceptions, not a single abstract statement which is not a generalization of these same sense perceptions. This is all that any disciple can be required to prove in demanding a charter as a true science."

As a humble student of Marx I protest against such extravagant assertion, and I am inclined to require more of Marxism than a mere meticulous adherence to sense perceptions and generalizations therefrom. I would require something less extraordinary. To wit, that these generalizations explain all the facts of the field they cover. This is what makes a science of the system of Karl Marx. Had our author proceeded upon this basis his book would have been more understandable, and some econ-

sense denies the rigidity of the stick an appeal to the sense of touch will re-affirm it. But what re-affirmation have we of the law of values, if, as Mr. Cahn states, price, which is merely the money form of value, is purely arbitrary. Since the function of science is to formulate laws which reveal themselves in phenomena how can we account economics a science when we confess that commodities exchange on a purely arbitrary basis.

However, on page 40, we are told that the basis of exchange

"is not the equivalent of commodities but socially necessary labor."

Consequently the basis of exchange is value after all. Since value is determined by socially necessary labor time. Money being the absolutely social form of wealth according to our author becomes a fetish, which wills every evil upon man, but behind this fetish is the arch fetish, concealed from view, the commodity. When man becomes emancipated from the commodity he becomes master of his own destiny, and

"With that he passes definitely out of the animal kingdom; the free man." (p. 42.)

As this is a scientific enquiry, might we ask how man's social status can differentiate him from other forms of organic life.

Mr. Cahn becomes entangled in the money question.

In early capitalism there was enough money to function. As capitalism developed, tokens and other "imaginary money" comes into use, and so we have financial crisis. He can see nothing but paper money. The real exchange of commodities evades his vision, and as a result we are told of the terrible condition of the Indian Ryot, who, after his entire product has been taken from him we find in a foot note) exports thirty million pounds yearly and in addition supports an army, etc. (p. 63).

Not content with asking us to wade into a money muddle, he drags

in social organism, and seeks to account for an economic puzzle by a "great biological truth" (pp. 65-66). Let us pass that up. We have something even more scientific to ruminate over. The entire visible gold supply on hand in 1912 was not more than nine billion dollars. In these days when billion dollar loans are common we realize that these loans are almost entirely made on a credit basis.

Mr. Cahn delivers himself as follows:

"If it were possible to translate all credits into the total sum of money by which they are supposed to be reducible, that sum, like the figures in astronomy would transcend human appreciation and a comparison with the nine billions gold, the only absolute value basis, would cause one to marvel how such a highly artificial system can exist for a day."

I suggest that the function of science is to explain, not to marvel at, phenomena; also that gold is the absolute basis of price; the basis of value is the productive capacity of human labor. Gold is merely the exchange medium of the vast amount of commodities produced by human effort and if taken will serve as a substitute. So long as commodities can be exchanged, there is no cause to marvel. We agree with the author when he says that

"A correct understanding of the nature of money is of the greatest importance."

to the working class
"In order to be safe against being led astray by financial will-o'-the-wisps."

But he is not assisting the necessary understanding by constantly insisting that

"The sum of fictitious capital is thus five times as large as the sum of all money in existence, real or imaginary. How is it possible that any excess of fictitious capital over all money can exist?" (p. 231.)

How Was It Paid For?

On page 234 we are told the workers pay for it by long continued labor.

Mr. Cahn asks some more questions.

"What is wealth? A quantity of value. What is the use of rather stiff sheets of paper printed all over? We wait for an answer." (p. 239).

This is almost as scientific as Cockney's query: "What's the use of anyfink? Why, nofink!"

Considering that Europe is obtaining a tremendous amount of commodities through these scrap paper. I assume that they are almost as useful as the sea, with Huns off it, of course.

While there is much that is confusing in this book, there are some plain facts which will repay the reader. The banking statistics which show each family in the United States to possess bank deposits are analysed and shown to be worthless. There is also an analysis of "lemon cutting," or as it is called "watered stock," and here we see although Mr. Cahn does not emphasize it as forcibly as he should, that when a company makes a stock issue, it is merely realizing on the producing capacity of its slaves. Instead of a share originally bought for one dollar being allowed to rise to five dollars, ten shares are issued at the value of one dollar. We are

also shown that the shareholders of many well-known and wealthy properties, really do not own a fraction of these properties, which are actually in the hands of the bondholders. Also that the so-called power of the shareholders is small; that certain capitalists or syndicates control absolutely. This control is rapidly falling into the hands of giant banking institutions.

Capitalism, therefore, appears to be evolving into an oligarchic autocracy. But this is the logical sequel to capitalist development. As Mr. Cahn sees it, he is doubtful of its ultimate fulfillment, for three reasons, of which, by the way, the second one alone can be termed scientific.

First: History does not await rotten ripe conditions "before replacing out-worn social systems by new ones."

Second: The contradiction be-

tween the democratic state and plutocratic powers must be settled. A state which contains a slave class politically powerful, and a master class politically impotent, contains the elements of destruction.

Third: "The financial mechanism already precarious and becoming more so with each year, is subject to the sudden vanishing of the social faith on which alone it rests."

It is upon this last that Mr. Cahn conducts his inquiry. He fails to see that the financial mechanism is as safe as ever it was, and that the real obstacle to long continued capitalist exploitation, is the inability of our masters to dispose of the wealth they obtain from our labor.

Mr. Cahn inverts the problem. It is not because the financial mechanism is inadequate that commodities cannot be exchanged. On the contrary it is because there is no market for commodities that the financial mechanism fails.

This fact and the existing class antagonisms will surely destroy capitalism. A task which, speaking from a purely scientific standpoint, is more to our liking than killing the Kaiser.

J. H.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

(Continued from last issue.)

Now, let us take some real facts as laid down by our master's press, for he supports this institution also in our interest. This clipping, "Eliminating Excess Profits," is from the editorial page of the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin:

"The stockholders of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana will vote at their annual meeting March 1 on a proposition to increase their capital stock from \$30,000,000 to \$100,000,000 more or less of the new issue to be distributed as a stock dividend. When the old Standard Oil of New Jersey was dissolved the Indiana corporation had a capital of only \$1,000,000, but in 1912 a stock dividend of 2,900 per cent.

boosted it to \$30,000,000 and the increase now proposed will make it as big as the parent company at the time of dissolution. Apparently the concern does not intend to be caught with any excess profits on hand when the Federal tax collector comes around with his 8 per cent. levy.

"The difference to the stockholders between 20 per cent on \$30,000,000 and 6 per cent on the same cash investment converted pro rata into \$100,000,000 in certificates is not noticeable, but it will mean a lot when the tax man comes around to look at the books.

"Even the munition makers will find little difficulty in dissembling all profits above 8 per cent. if they see the revenue officer in time. The Bethlehem Steel Company is prompt in announcing an extensive distribution of new stock."

So much for this editorial, Mr. Workingman. Can you read between the lines? They are not fooling the tax collector or the paper, either not even trying to; it is to keep you satisfied with your slavish conditions—get wise. Now, let us take our formula with these per cent figures on one dollar invested, 80c plus 20c plus 120c equals 1300, which means, if we figure correctly, \$29 profit on every dollar invested, or \$29 on every 20 cents paid in wages. Now, if multiply 20 cents in wages by 25, which is \$5 in a day, we must also multiply the \$29 surplus by 25, which equals \$725, in all \$730, and few are the oil workmen who receive \$5 in wages.

How is this for the high cost of living? Figure for yourself how long these slaves work for themselves.

Again, we have a friend of the workman "who believes in high wages," one Mr. Henry Ford, who states 1,200 per cent is his profit. So every time he pays \$5 in wages he pockets \$600. Mr. Schwab of the Bethlehem Steel says 300 per cent or more, and we know not the man behind the screen. It is safe to say these are conserva-

tive figures, and in one case are well assured the average wage is \$5.

How about the high cost of living now with gold depreciated about 50 per cent in the last year? In this case you must work twice as long to equate the former value of gold, so wages have fallen at the same time.

So much for the subject, now for the remedy. What shall we do? The politicians say, "Vote for me. I'll remedy the matter." It is the tariff high or low, or the damn foreigners must be kept out, or we need reform government. The pulpiters answer shortly and solemnly watch and pray. Labor leaders say organize for shorter hours and more pay, which seems most logical and appeals to us, but let us see if it is a fact. The master has us organized far better than any labor union, as we understand them; can ever hope to. We file into the mine, the mill, the factory or workshop precisely on time in order to ring a time-clock, perform a given task and dare not lay down for fear of our bread being cut off, and file out again to the tune of a whistle, and another punch at the time-clock just like industrial convicts or soldiers drilled and disciplined all in the interest of the master class. This is organization, and efficient organization too, but what do we do in our own interest? The best is a cheap cigar a master class newspaper, a cheap moving picture show, the latter produced in the master's interest generally, while we let things slip on. What is necessary is mental organization, "education," knowing things as they really are and understanding the actual social forces at work, for as Frederick Engels wrote in 1878:

"Active social forces work exactly like natural forces—so long as we do not understand them. But when once we understand them, when once we grasp their action, their direction, their effects, it depends only upon ourselves to subject them more and more to our own will and by means of them to reach our own ends. And this holds quite espe-

ially of the mighty productive forces of today as long as we obstinately refuse to understand the nature and the character of these social means of action, and this understanding goes against the grain of the capitalist mode of production and its defenders—so long as these forces are at work in spite of us, in opposition to us, as we have shown above. But once their nature is understood they can, in the hands of the producers working together, be transformed from master demons into willing servants. The difference is as that between the destructive force of lightning in a storm and electricity under command in the telegraph and the voltaic arc; the difference between a conflagration and fire working in the service of man."

Now, if this truism was published at that time with many others of its ilk and to be had for probably the asking our mentality has laid idle long enough. Wake up, Mr. Workingman; organize your mind, eliminate your political/racial, religious and craft prejudice and remember you have an arch-enemy, the Capitalist; remember you are a member of the Working Class, no matter what else you are, and this is a class war; organize your mind and then your brother's mind, to institute a new system of society, in which the worker will be supreme and the shirker will die of starvation. "You have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain."

Charles G. Lemley, in "The Tile Layers and Helpers Journal."

EYE GAME AND PLAYE OF SUEQUER FISHING

(Continued from page 3.)
do for these? Prices were good and Wilson had already put one over with his farm loan law, a sort of hybrid "cheap money" affair beloved of the unthinking rural. Even could these be led to see the light, there were still the small business man and the trade unionist.

Again here, Wilson had been fore-

handed. His dramatic intervention in the railway dispute and apparent championship of the eight hour law put our friends up against it. Just as he had quietly smothered a lot of their rank on the labor problem with the Clayton Law, and be it understood, no one supposes that this puts the economic facts of the case "in wrong," but merely dodges the Anti-Trust law by making labor non-labile for suit under the Sherman Act. Wilson was a puzzle; he had stolen their thunder again and stolen it properly, observe the subtlety of this Prince of Worldmongers. "Labor is not a commodity," quoth he, "but a form of co-operation." True, true all too-true! but who amongst the S. P. of A. would know that it is the labor power which takes the commodity form. The S. P. is democratic and objects to this "Strict dogma stuff," hence its impotency. The Democratic leaders ably seconded Wilson's work and flooded the union halls with his "eight hour" speech, from which the following is quoted. "America is never going to say to any individual: 'You must work whether you want to or not,' and we believe in the Eight Hour Law because a man does better work within the eight hours than he does in a more extended day." To which may aptly be added: "The reasonable thing to do is to grant the eight hour day, not because the men demand it, but because it is Right."

That hooked them and it was all off with the S. P. hopes in that quarter, for fried Gompers advised the thing. "Vote for Wilson," was his cry, although he knew that three weeks after election he would be standing before the Baltimore Convention demanding that it go on record in a fight against the Compulsory Arbitration Act which Wilson fully intended to add to the eight hour affair.

Troubles never come singly, and to make matters worse only the Protestant and non-religious element could vote for Wilson. The B. C. C. thrust another snag into the already

torturous political channel. Wilson's championship of Carranza and the treatment of Huerta raised the ire of the Papal See so that the faithful were told off in no obscure terms just where they were expected to jump a task—by the way—render all he more easy by the intense and blind hatred of Britain which the Irish and German faithful nourish. Men who listened to Jim Connolly and that delightful spell binder, Lebane, and who shrieked with delight when these assailed the "Cursed British Government" or marched behind the "Milwaukee Leader" in its pro-German attitude as the observer expected them to do, forget the name of Benson and voted Hughes. Anyway they received the executive very nicely. Here is the line up:

- WILSON.**
 - Anti-military middle class.
 - Trade unionist, Free Church, etc.
 - Pro-Entente war mongers.
 - Socialists who failed to discredit the S. P.
 - Genius S. P. A. who voted for "a good man."
 - Farmer.
 - Generally interior groups and those upon the Pacific coast farthest from point of attack from Germany.
- HUGHES.**
 - Catholic.
 - "Socialist" German.
 - Jingo-my country right or wrong.
 - Female suffrage element.
 - Mexican invasion.
 - Send Old line pie cutter artist.
 - "Socialist" Irish.
 - Voting mostly in the eastern states where the hand fall first, if at all.
 - Greatly influenced by German marine activity on Atlantic coast just before election.

A cheerful outlook for the S. P. you will agree, but thus do the fate play ducks and drakes with those who hunt votes rather than spread light. Had it been a Socialist Party the matter would not have given them two minutes uneasiness, because the way would have been plain and straight before them, and the Class Struggle more prominent than ever, there would have been no back talk and no defeat, but alas, it was not so; hence this. Guilty, thrice guilty are these tricksters and politi-

cal chameleons, even as they went to the polls they realized that thousands of Socialists who had been expelled from their sacred ranks for being Socialists would not raise a finger to assist in the election, well they knew that thanks to their jobbery, thousands more had drunk the cup of despair and joined the I. W. W. Well they realized that the Party organization had been smothered by an invasion of preachers and professional gangsters, yet still they raised the howl for power. Oklahoma was to be carried for them on a full ticket. Debs and at least 20 more were to be sent in triumph to the Congress or Senate. Noise, noise, noise. Empty bombast.

They tackled the problem in their own original way. First they insinuated into the new national platform a preparedness plank which frankly inferred that the worker was to be prepared to defend "his" country whenever called upon, which it is fair to state brought a storm of protest, Debs in particular being vehement in his denunciation of the move. Nothing daunted, however, they proceeded merrily upon their way striking their next blow with a series of leaflets from the pen of A. L. Benson. Their epistles set the tune for the campaign and it may be stated without fear of contradiction that not one of them made mention of the factors behind the struggle but harped with sickening insistence on the war and that only from the viewpoint of a bourgeois anti-militarist. Benson, however, made a serious error, such was the thirst to face all ways that his scheme for the reduction of the high cost of living by the placing of an embargo on out-going food stuffs brought a sharp rebuke from the heads of the Equity Farmers organizations, for of course, such an act would have sent farm prices tumbling like an avalanche. Many farmer "Comrades" halted and began to reconsider the terms of their allegiance to the S. P.

And thus the election was fought

or rather dabbled in by this gang, the result bringing as we have said, a howl of dismay from the faithful and of joy from all Socialists. It was a glorious victory as the following table shows.

1908	1912	1916
424,483	907,032	590,166

One wonders when they will wake up; that is, not the political artists who have thus been shown to be nothing but political adventurers, lacking even the first principles of working class political activity and determined at all hazards to continue lacking it, but the rank and file, the thrice deluded rank and file.

WHAT IS MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP?
By Moses Baritz.
(Continued from last issue.)

What the worker has to consider is not the maintenance of the present system but its abolition. To advocate any reform is to stand along with the reformer. A reformer is one who wants to deal with the effects of capitalism. Deal with the effects as much as you like, it will NOT alter the cause. The reason for working class poverty is the ownership of the means of life by a non-producing class. The various ways that the workers are exploited, is no matter for us. OUR SOLE REGARD IS FOR THE ENDING OF ALL EXPLOITATION EITHER GOVERNMENTAL, MUNICIPAL, OR PRIVATE. All municipal concerns must be made to pay. There is only one way to make things pay. It is to get a "profit". And the only way profit can be made IS BY TAKING FROM THE PRODUCER ALL THAT HE PRODUCES, EXCEPT HIS REPRODUCTION, IN PLAIN LANGUAGE TO ROB THE WORKER. THAT IS THE ONLY WAY.

As workers it is of no consequence who are the exploiters. Be it a corporation or a municipality. This attitude is the revolutionary one. Any other, no matter who advocates it is for the property owning class. The working class have NO pro-

perty. Consequently, it cannot affect them, what the taxes are. To take over some agency assumed to be owned by the "people" is a fraud from the word go. It is a delusion that is set for advocates political office seekers who are generally out of touch with the working class philosophy. They are of greatest danger to the working class, inasmuch as they confuse the real issue. THE issue is to stop the robbery. Every municipal corporation in Europe has the interest of the property owners at heart. The property owners are interested only in getting as much out of their holdings as is possible.

A city taking over some monopoly is actuated to "save" taxes and reduce the expenses by getting a profit from the service. It is usually put forward that an increase in taxes means an increase of rent. That as the worker pays rent, he pays the taxes too. It is too absurd to answer.

Taxes are paid upon the assessment of property. The workers don't possess any property as a class, so cannot pay the taxes. If it is true that the workers pay the taxes when they pay rent, then where taxes are highest the rents must be highest. The fact is that where there is a decrease of demand for houses, there rents will go down. The writer has in mind the case of the city of Detroit and Highland Park, where all the big automobile plants are. The owners of property in the latter place refused to allow the incorporation of the township of Detroit, for the reason that rates are higher in the city than in the town. If it is true that occupiers paid the taxes would they object to it? By no means.

If you take the city of Portland, where in the past 12 months there has been an exodus of many thousands, RENTS ARE LOWER NOW, YET THE TAXES ARE THE SAME. If it is true that the one who rents the house, is the person who pays the taxes, how is it that the property owners always fight an in-

crease in taxes? Yet if the worker paid them, why should the owner worry?

If everything falls on the consumer, why do the large corporations avoid the payment of taxation. Let us take Oregon again.

One of the features of the last election was the limitation of taxation. The capitalist interests moved heaven and earth to limit taxation to a certain percentage. The labor unions were all in favor of the unlimited tax, and used all their inconsequential energies to increase the tax limit. ONE WOULD LIKE TO ASK THOSE POLITICAL ECONOMISTS, IF IT IS TRUE THAT WORKERS PAY THE TAXES? AND FURTHER, IF SO, WHY THEY WERE AGAINST THE LIMITING OF THE TAX? THE LIMITATION OF TAXATION WOULD CLEARLY BE LESS FOR THE WORKERS TO PAY!!

For a certainty the reason why the big corporations on this continent oppose the increase of taxation is BECAUSE IT COMES OUT OF THEIR POCKETS.

During the campaign in Detroit for the municipal ownership of the street cars the Socialist Party local passed the following resolution. And its logic is such that it need hardly be questioned.

The Socialist Party of Detroit takes this opportunity to set forth its position on the proposed plan, which is as follows:

That Socialists are opposed to private or capitalist class ownership of the means whereby the workers are exploited out of the larger portion of what they produce, no matter in what form that ownership appears, whether it is private corporation stockholders or municipal corporation bond holders. Municipal Ownership is not Socialism. And as the Socialist party is pledged to the entire abolition of the Capitalist System, we are therefore diametrically opposed not only to the exploitation of the D. U. R. employees to make profit for stockholders, but must also be opposed to the exploitation of employees by the city to make profits for bondholders.

We, therefore, call upon all work-

ers in the City of Detroit to ignore aforesaid purchase plan, as under no circumstances can it be beneficial to the working class.

THE SUFFRAGETTES.

THE suffragettes are getting busy again. They have been rather quiet since the European nations began to kill each other off, but now they must be tired of watching the carnage and banqueting at the blood feast, for they are again taking up cudgels with the governments wherever it is necessary. Probably they have already learned the supreme lesson that political combats are not fought according to Hoyle. At all events, in Washington, they are picketing the White House in the hope that a show of force might intimidate the Democratic mule. In Great Britain they are having an easier time of it for the government is willing to give the vote to certain women of 32 years of age and over. In Canada the suffragettes are pretty busy, as yet, sewing socks and shirts for Tommy, so that, on the whole, they are pretty quiet. However, it was only last December that a number of them, headed by Nellie McClung, asked the Dominion Government to grant the vote to all women of Canadian and British birth, to the exclusion of all women of foreign birth. The ostensible excuse for this somewhat strange demand was that foreign women could hardly be entrusted with guiding and helping to preserve British institutions in Canada during these troublous times.

One thing about the suffragette tribe is plain: Peace does not reign within the camp. The suffragettes are not all of one mind. There is the distant murmurings of a war. A portion of their number, the influential portion, those who hold property, are quite willing to make any compromise with the governments just so it gets a vote.

These propertied suffragettes have turned turtle during the last years. Instead of showing the violent, even rabid, opposition to the governments

that they used to; they have become meek, even to the point of befriending the governments. Mrs. Parkhurst, who a couple of years ago was spied upon by the police, and denounced as a public nuisance by every government agent, now holds private conferences with Lloyd George, and reports that she is very well satisfied with the outcome of these conferences. Forthwith the report goes out that the Premier has agreed to grant the vote to certain women of 32 years of age and over.

It makes little difference what particular faction of the suffragettes it is that is to be the recipient of the special favor, although there can be little doubt that it is the propertied faction. For surely it cannot be imagined that working class women would receive a consideration from the British government, which is denied to the wealthy class. However, the important point is that a certain faction of the suffragettes in England are willing and anxious to accept the suffrage to the exclusion of the other faction. And the same thing was manifested in Canada when Nellie McClung, among others, asked the Dominion Government to grant the vote to a special few. This change of front on the part of favored suffragettes is rather interesting in view of the seemingly uncompromising propaganda for universal woman suffrage, which was carried on before the war. It makes the Radicalism of these one-time recalcitrant women look rather foolish when they are so easily silenced by a hand out from the government.

This will be a surprise to many, especially to those, the seat of whose reasoning power is in the breast bone. To those who have properly sized up the suffragette movement it is no surprise at all. For the suffragette movement is, first of all, a propertied woman's movement. It was started by this class and has been pushed by this class ever since. These women wanted political expression for their property ownership. The only way they could get this was by

popular agitation and radicalism.

The remarkable thing about the suffragette movement is the parallelism it has to the radical movement of the middle class of the 18th century. Both have the demand of political expression for their property as a starting point. And with slight exceptions, due of course to the difference in time, their ideas about the state, their stock-in-trade of ideas and their phraseology are the same. The 18th century radicals spoke glibly of equal rights and justice to all men. They said they believed that all men should be free and equal before the law. They had unbounded faith in their power to effect these conditions, and no set of men were ever more eager to establish the democratic state in which their ideas could be materialized.

We all know now what the metaphysical ideas of these radicals amounted to when they were incorporated in the laws of the bourgeois state. And we know too that when they said they believed in liberty and equal rights for all men, they did not really mean the men of a particular nation, not to speak of all the world, but they meant all the men of a particular class—the bourgeoisie. Conceiving ideas abstractly they used general for particular terms, and thought it was all the same. Even so it is with the suffragettes. By universal suffrage they really have meant universal suffrage for the women of a particular class, not for all women of all classes. Of course no particular pains has ever been taken to explain this terminological inexactitude for the reason that the real suffragettes need the support of all women, so that, perchance, by the mere multitude of numbers, they might the more easily overawe the governments, just as the bourgeoisie encouraged the revolutionary tendencies of the 18th century workingmen because they needed their assistance in overthrowing the political power of the feudal nobility.

It does not refute the above point

to say that the women in some states have been enfranchised en masse. It has formerly happened that one class, in order to gain a privilege or reform has called forth another class, which later grew to such power that it would not be quieted before it was also granted the measure, it was ostensibly called forth to gain. Such it is with woman suffrage in the past. These liberal enfranchisements were granted in the days when woman suffrage was still an uncontentious issue, and class feeling among women did not assert itself. But now the franchise is assured for propertied woman. It is only a matter of a short time before they will have the vote. Knowing this, they have become highly conservative. It was only last week that the Women's Council of Calgary, an institution of bourgeois women, voted in favor of a restricted franchise. The Council of Women in other cities are taking the same stand. And thus, the sympathy which these women have now, and have had in the past, for the political enfranchisement of working class women is, at least, meagre.

The enthusiastic suffragettes never tire of talking about the ideal democracy which would result from the enfranchisement of women. No level-headed person has ever seriously considered the possibility of the establishment of this ideal democracy, but it has been flouted before our eyes enough, and the very promise of it has been sponsor to a great deal of sentimental enthusiasm, especially on the part of working class women. There is no doubt, but that a large number of women really believe their enfranchisement would regenerate society. Those supposedly regenerating virtues of love and compassion, which women believe they possess in an extraordinary degree, could then unfold like a flower, and they would have all the elbow space they need to work their miraculous wonder. As one reads the suffragette literature he is half-way convinced that they

would keep an army of poverty-stricken mortals on hand, so that they might have some one on which to practice their deeds of mercy and kindness. For assuredly if mercy is to be practised there must be subjects, especially poverty-stricken ones, on which to practice. This is quite in line with the logic of the whole feminist movement. For the Ely-fingered feminist consider that it would amount to a social regeneration if their mercy could but season the vigor and harshness of capitalist justice. Consequently the feminist democracy could not exist without its quota of poverty-stricken individuals, and neither would this same ideal democracy attempt any class levelling. Society would be based on property relationships, as it is now, but these relationships would be seasoned with feminine mercy. And the interstices of the social fabric would be filled with love, so that anyone could be showered with all the love he wanted, just for the asking. Liberty, justice, equality would be handed out freely, and with love, from the high seats of the mighty. But what is this ideal democracy of the suffragettes but capitalism, done up in the frills and laces of feminine sentimentality? And as it turns out, bourgeois states would not even need to change, only amend, their constitutions, since all the ideology of the suffragettes is already inscribed in the constitution of every bourgeois state. Hence the enfranchisement of women would still leave us in the position that "Humanity never is, but always to be blest."

Nevertheless it is a good thing that the suffragettes have come to this showdown. Seclusion, feminine charms and heated enthusiasm has hitherto made them a matter of speculation, and a subject of poetry. But this, their latest move, is the long tail of the comet across the political sky, which indicates whither the comet is tending. And thus we learn, that is to say, those who have had doubts about it, that the suffrag-

ette movement is flying a straight course into the lap of capitalism from whence it sprang. And we learn further that its mental horizon does not extend beyond the limits of the ordinary, sophisticated progressive—the creature that is the strongest bulwark capitalism has. Moreover, in her spasmodic outbursts against things as they are the suffragette is not actuated by higher motives than those of the trading politician. All the ranting about human rights and justice are but the articulate sounds she makes to get political representation for her property. In no particular is the suffragette movement revolutionary. On the contrary, in that it aligns itself with every reform movement on the calendar it is reactionary to the very core.

Hitherto the suffragettes, and the feminist's movement as a whole, have looked to all liberal minded and radical persons for their moral support. No matter what was said or done by Women's Councils, Mothers' Societies, Women Rate-payers Associations, these people from chivalric considerations were supposed to acquiesce. Socialists especially, because of their extreme opposition to the powers-that-be, have been considered the self-appointed champions of woman's rights. And indeed, in some Socialist circles, so-called it has been considered very fashionable to espouse this cause. The writer will agree that this is probably a very gallant thing to do, and very expedient too, especially during the pairing season.

But the scientific Socialist, and he is the only real Socialist, waives all obligations to this movement. He considers neither gallantry nor expediency when he is dealing with social and political questions, even though he has to face the daggers of feminine indignation for his astuteness. To him, the suffragette, as an aspirant for political privileges, is no more than one of his own sex, and she must expect her ideas to be criticised accordingly. She must not

expect the same caresses in the political arena that she receives on lover's lane. And so the scientific Socialist tells her that the suffragette movement has no connection with the working class movement for the overthrow of capitalism; that she needs to understand capitalist society more than she needs votes; that she needs to think more and, for the time being, talk less; that she needs to study social relationships from the standpoint of Historical Materialism, with the class struggle as a guiding thread, and the Marxian Law of Value as the key. When she has done that, and assimilated what it means, and become willing to act accordingly, she can claim both his respect and assistance. But at the present time she can claim neither.

C. M. Christiansen.

NO CONSCRIPTION

To the Workers of Canada

Customs once formed find a place in the social structure, and long after the conditions which called them into being have disappeared, they are continued.

The few privileges and petty liberties which we now possess and which have been gained by the struggles of those members of our class who have gone before, are about to be taken away. The necessity of our Masters demands that we be stripped of the last vestige of liberty we possess in order that we may be used in whatever capacity they see fit for the furtherance of their interests and to the detriment of ours.

Protesting against the system known as Capitalism, in all its forms, we take particular exception to being forced to take active part in any war between sections of the master class in which we would be compelled to shoot down, and be shot down by, other members of the International Working Class, no matter what flag they may accidentally be living, or happen to be born, under.

The placing of a large proportion of the population under military control means the annulling of those privileges which are generally considered necessary to a peaceful de-

velopment. We realise that when ever these privileges become dangerous to the owners of the giant hoards of wealth production they have power to curtail them. But in doing they must adhere to certain rules. In carrying out their policy certain legal formalities must be observed; and during this period the workers have opportunities to successfully oppose any attempted abridgement of their privileges.

We object to being forced to assist still more firmly the chains of servitude about our limbs; to be forced to aid in the perpetuation of the degradation under which we of the working class suffer. And we hereby declare our uncompromising opposition to any attempt of the master class to curtail any of the liberties we now possess.

Workers of Canada you have but one Enemy. **THE MASTER CLASS.** Your fight is not against your fellow workers, but against the system of exploitation under which we suffer and from which alone springs war with all its attendant horrors.

Workers of the World UNITE. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a World to Gain. Dominion Executive Committee.

NEWS ITEM.

It was unanimously resolved at an Anti-Conscription meeting on last night under the auspices of Local No. 1, Vancouver, that:

"We are opposed to the proposed Conscription Act, and in the event of it being passed will down our tools and join in a general Strike."

The meeting was orderly, and approaching 2,000.

HERE AND NOW.

	\$ 500.
C. M. O'Brien	3 0
A. Harris	0 4
Local Calgary	2 1
Local St. Catharines	2 0
W. B. M.	2 0
Singles, \$—C. Walker, J. Stevenson, Geo. Schott, A. G. McCallum, Kirk, S. A. Dairs, W. F. Welling, R. Lowther, Ambrose Tree	50c.—C. Koon, L. Fourth.

Total of twenty-nine new subscribers.

Socialist Party Directory

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Socialist Party of Canada, meets every alternate Monday, 8 p.m., Socialist Hall, N. E. cor. Pender and Dunlevy Vancouver, B. C.—W. B. Mitchell, Secretary.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada, meets same as above.

ALBERTA AND SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, Mrs. S. I. Johnson Knight, Box 785, Edmonton. Phone 4803.

NEW BRUNSWICK PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—A Taylor, Secretary, East St. John, N. B. For Party literature and information on organization matters, etc., write to above address.

LOCAL ALHAMBRA, No. 74 (Alta.) S. P. of C.—J. D. Peterson, Secretary, Horegards, Alta.

LOCAL CALGARY, No. 86 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—Business meetings every alternate Wednesday, 8 p.m. Economic class every Monday, 8 p.m. Headquarters, 229, 8th Ave. E. Secretary, J. Reid, Box 1436, Calgary.

LOCAL CLAYTON, No. 83 (B.C.), S. P. of C.—John T. D. Dunsper, Secretary, Clayton, B. C.

LOCAL CRAWFORD BAY, No. 72 (B.C.), S. P. of C.—J. E. McGregor, Secretary, Crawford Bay, B. C.

LOCAL CUMBERLAND, N. C., No. 70.—Business meetings every first and third Sunday in the month, at 10:30 a.m. Economic classes every Monday and Friday, at 7 p.m. in the Socialist Hall opposite P. O. Regular Propaganda meetings at every opportunity. C. Walker, Box 212, corresponding and financial secretary.

LOCAL SCHEWILL, No. 58 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—J. F. Knorr, Secretary, Eckville, Alta.

LOCAL SHERBURY, No. 85, S. P. of C.—Business meetings first Sunday in each month at 2:30 p.m. Propaganda third Sunday in each month at 2:30 p.m. in the Theatre, Main St. Everybody welcome. J. Dillingham, Secretary, R. E. No. 4, Armstrong, B. C.

LOCAL EDMONTON, No. 1, S. P. of C.—Free reading room and headquarters Room 5, Bellamy Bldg. Propaganda meeting every Sunday in the Bijou Theatre, First St., at 4 p.m. Business meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. J. Slater, organizer. E. H. Plegg, secretary, P. O. Box 185.

LOCAL HERRIKING, No. 38 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—A. A. McNeill, Secretary, Erskine, Alta.

LOCAL PERMIE, S. P. of C. hold educational meetings in the Socialist Hall every Sunday at 7 p.m. Business meetings third Sunday in each month, 7:30 p.m. Economic class every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 p.m. Oscar Erickson, Secretary, Box 503.

LOCAL HORNBLAND, No. 25, S. P. of C.—Meets in Miners' Hall every other Sunday at 7:30 p.m. Will Jones, Box 125, Secretary.

LOCAL FERGUSON PLATS, No. 85 (Alta.)—O. I. Fuller, Secretary, Ferguson Plats, Alta.

LOCAL KINDERLEY, No. 10 (Sask.) S. P. of C.—W. K. Bryce, Secretary, Calder, Sask.

LOCAL LETHBRIDGE, ALTA., No. 13, S. P. of C. Meets every Sunday at 2:30 p.m. in Miners' Hall. Secretary, W. S. Stewart—14th St., S. Wm. DeJoy, Organizer.

MEDICINE HAT (Lettab) Local S. P. of C. Meets first Sunday in the month at 528 C. Princess Ave., J. R. Kainin, Secretary.

LOCAL MARKERVILLE, No. 31 (Alta.) S. P. of C.—S. E. Baldwin, Secretary, Markerville, Alta.

LOCAL MONTREAL, No. 1, S. P. of C.—Headquarters, 98 City-Councillor St. Open every evening except meetings Wednesdays at 8 p.m. Snoker last Saturday in each month.

LOCAL FLOWERDALE, No. 71 (Alta.) S. P. of C.—Mrs. J. R. Macdonald, Secretary, Biddals, Alta.

LOCAL SUNDIAL, No. 70 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—Mrs. A. Thorburn, Secretary, Sundial, Alta.

LOCAL SILVER LEAF, No. 101 (Alta.) S. P. of C.—Ed. Haugen, Secretary, Baraca, P. O. Alta.

LOCAL ST. CATHERINES, No. 30 (Ont.) S. P. of C.—Economic class at Journal Hall, Market Square, every Sunday, at 2 p.m. D. Thompson, Secretary, 24 William Street.

LOCAL ST. JOHN, N. B., No. 1, S. P. of C.—Visiting Comrades welcomed. Secretary, Stanford E. White, 24 Main St.

LOCAL TRAIL, No. 37 (B.C.), S. P. of C.—D. Wilson, Secretary, Box 531.

LOCAL TRAVERS, No. 55 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—W. A. Brown, Secretary, Travers, P. O. Alta.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, No. 1, S. P. of C.—Business meeting every Tuesday evening. Economic Class every Sunday at 3 p.m. Education Class every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at Headquarters, Socialist Hall, N. E. cor. Pender and Dunlevy. Miss H. Harvey, Secretary.

VANCOUVER LETTER LOCAL No. 64, S. P. of C.—Business meeting every first Sunday in the month and propaganda meeting every third Sunday at 11 a.m. Open to everybody, at Socialist Hall, N. E. cor. Pender and Dunlevy. Secretary, R. Amat, Box 667.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., No. 45, Fin-ish. Meets every second and fourth Wednesday in the month at 2215 Pender St. East, Ovia Lind, Secretary.

LOCAL VICTORIA, No. 2, S. P. of C.—Headquarters and Reading Room, 1424 Government St., Room 8. Business meetings every second and fourth Tuesday in the month. Secretary, Fred Harman, 1424 Government St.

LOCAL WINNIPEG, No. 3, S. P. of C.—Business meetings every Friday 8 p.m. Economic Class every Monday 8 p.m. Headquarters, Room 5—602 Main Street. Secretary, Leo Schoor.

LOCAL OTTAWA, No. 8 (Ont.) S. P. of C.—Secretary, A. G. McCallum, 276 Laurier Ave.

SEND
YOUR
Printing
AND
Multi-
graphing
TO US

Thus You
can help The
Clarion.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada, affirm our allegiance to, and support of, the principles and program of the revolutionary working class.

Labor, applied to natural resources, produces all wealth. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of production, consequently, all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is therefore master; the worker a slave.

So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend its property rights in the means of wealth production and its control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system give to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker, an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The interest of the working class lies in setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which this exploitation, at the point of production, is cloaked. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into socially controlled economic forces.

The irrepressible conflict of interest between the capitalist and the worker necessarily expresses itself as a struggle for political supremacy. This is the Class Struggle.

Therefore, we call all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering the political powers, for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic program of the working class, as follows:

1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into collective means of production.
2. The organization and management of industry by the working class.
3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

VANCOUVER LOCAL NO. 1

LENDING

LIBRARY

HEADQUARTERS

SOCIALIST HALL, N.E. cor.

PENDER & DUNLEVY,

VANCOUVER

Economics, Philosophy, History, Biology, etc., etc.

The best works on the above subjects by the greatest writers of the last century: Marx, Engels, Dietzgen, Labriola, Lafargue, Darwin, Huxley, Benjamin Kidd, and many others.

Most of the works in this Library cannot be found in any other in the city, not even in the Carnegie Library.

Membership per annum: Fifty cents.

Socialist Party of Canada

MANIFESTO

With introduction written specially by the author of the original. Whole work revised and re-cast.

Now Ready.

\$5.00 PER 100, EXPRESSAGE PAID.

PAMPHLETS

Issued by the

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(Prices include Express Charges)

- (3) **WAGE-WORKER AND FARMER**
(Pilkington)

Price—Per 100, \$4.50; Per Dozen, 55 cents; per Copy, 10 cents.

- (6) **WHAT IS SOCIALISM?** (Hardenburg)

Price—Per 100, \$5.50; Per Dozen, 70 cents; per Copy, 10 cents.

Propaganda Meeting

Vancouver Local No. 1

S. P. of C.

EVERY SUNDAY, 8 p.m.

REX THEATRE,
Hastings Street.

Boost the
**Western
Clarion**