

WESTERN CLARION

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We, who address you, belong to the Working Class, like yourselves, and have neither honeyed words nor meaningless phrases to offer you. Our reason for issuing this Manifesto is that we have a few facts to bring to your attention, verification of which can easily be made by the most casual observer.

Wherever capitalism exists—and its dominance is almost universal—there can be seen the greatest of anomalies. Deepest destitution exists side by side with the most profligate luxury. Workers who produce and Masters who possess stand face to face in all countries in "the piping times of peace." In war times these anomalies are not obliterated. If anything, they are intensified.

The precipitation of the Great War upon the stage of human events called for a statement of our position thereon. Our Manifesto issued in August, 1914, sets this forth and such we desire once more to present to you.

The Working Class of any country produces more wealth than it can consume, more in fact than can be consumed by both workers and masters together. This surplus either remains a drug on the home market or else must be thrown into foreign markets. But since capitalism has produced precisely similar conditions in all countries we find all countries engaged in commercial competition for foreign markets, i.e., a struggle to sell the surplus realized from the labor of the workers.

The impossibility of satisfying the desire of every capitalist nation to

No Conscription To the Workers of Canada

have supreme control of trade routes, coaling stations, naval bases and other perquisites to a full command of foreign markets inevitably must result in war.

The lot of the worker in "peace times" is that of a slave, receiving sufficient only to maintain himself in good working order. Allow us to draw your attention to the words of a prominent military authority.

(Quoted in the House of Commons (British) by Mr. Rowntree, from speech made by Lord Roberts. Recorded in Hansard, February 17th, 1915.)

"The conditions amid which millions of our people are living appear to me to make it natural that they should not care a straw under what rule they may be called upon to dwell."

"Recently unimpeachable evidence makes it clear that to tens of thousands of Englishmen engaged in daily toil the call to sacrifice themselves for THEIR country would seem an insult to their reason, as the conditions, amid which they live, make their lives already an unending sacrifice."

Quite so! A job, meaning enough to maintain existence when times are "good"; a place in the "bread line" when times are "bad"—These are

the alternate positions occupied by the workers during peace.

We, therefore, consider Europe's slaughter house as none of our business. Our masters had quarrelled over the disposal of the surplus taken from us, and we had known the bitterness of "living" for them without attempting to crown our futile efforts by dying for them.

Today, however, the march of events has brought the Workers of Canada face to face with Compulsory Military Service. In such a situation we are compelled to call attention to what it means and place on record, ere too late, our reasons for objecting to it in any way, shape or form.

The ordinary citizen, being a member of the Working Class, working all day, pays but scant attention to anything outside the immediate routine of his everyday life. With literary indulgences confined to the subsidised press and an occasional popular novel, it is scarcely to be marvelled at that thought, outside that sphere, should be extremely limited.

Reviewing all past wars it can readily be seen that master class interests alone were at stake, although working class lives were mostly sacrificed. Certain British capitalists desired greater freedom in South Africa, and the worker fought out the issue (1899-1902). In 1905-1906 Japan desired the forests of Manchuria, while Russia strove for a port more southern than Vladivostok.

Our time is short. We cannot

wary you with quoting the vast number of authorities (all Master Class mouthpieces) who have recognized the economic basis of all wars. The facts stand forth glaringly for all to see. What control have you over the wealth produced in Canada? What difference, tell us, is there really between you and the chattel slaves of Ancient Rome; None at all! You must either sell yourselves to a master or starve.

But we are not masters of our destiny. Capitalism compelled master and slave alike to organise on the best possible basis upon which to circulate the vast bulk of commodities, which are the result of its giant energy. And Compulsory Military Service seems to be the only basis upon which one economic group can be assured of maintaining its supremacy over antagonistic groups.

Therefore, in urging the workers to oppose the contemplated Military Bill now being introduced at Ottawa we do not desire to obscure the real trouble, which is human slavery.

The difference between those who adhere to the position of the Socialist Party of Canada and those who support established customs and traditions lies in the fact that we have developed a consciousness of the whole situation from the workers' point of view. Established precedents and doctrinaire admonitions carry no weight with us. An assertion must stand the test of the light shed by up-to-date thought and also the scrutiny of working class consciousness. Otherwise we will have none of it.

Thus we protest emphatically against the proposed Act to enforce Military Service upon us.

Our master's quarrels do not arouse any enthusiasm in us. Our quarrel has ever been, since we realised our position as slaves, and ever will be, until our status as slaves is abolished, one against the master class the world over. The international Working Class has but one

REAL enemy, the International Capitalist Class.

Dominion Executive Committee
Socialist Party of Canada.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF
CANADA AND CON-
SCRIPTION

Being as correct a report as possible of Com. W. A. Pritchard's address at the Avenue Theatre, Vancouver, B.C., Wednesday, June 6th, 1917.

Comrade Chairman, Men and Women:

We are assembled here tonight for the purpose of discussing from the standpoint of working class interests, the so-called question of Conscription, which, at present, appears to be agitating the minds of most persons.

Let me state at the outset that no real opposition to Conscription, no proper diagnosis of the Act, can be made without first of all obtaining a full appreciation of the Socialist position, which, in turn, implies a comprehension of the workings of our present mode of production and distribution, that is present capitalist society.

In the early days of August 1914, this Party issued a brief manifesto in which its position was concisely yet clearly set forth. That position was that the thieves of Europe, arriving at that point in the history of their development where it became almost impossible for them to carry on trade without trouble, had thrown off the mask, and had launched into bloody conflict thousands of working men, in order that their respective property holdings, particularly in the East, should not be further imperilled. That position has successfully withstood all assault. We have been denounced and ignored, referred to in inelegant terms, dubbed "arrant fools" and "scientific nincompoops," yet the irrefragable facts of our every day experiences have borne out our con-

tention during the war period of the last three years.

What is our position now? Precisely the same as it was three years ago. And referring to the projected conscription measure we want to assert that there are two positions, both of which are correct. That may appear paradoxical yet it is nevertheless, correct, and capable of unquestionable proof. There is a master class position; and there is a working class position; and we have leave to tackle this thing from the latter ground.

The most casual observer, however mentally moribund he may be, must acknowledge that, for human society, there is one question of paramount importance. What is it? Means of livelihood! Means of continuing existence! What is the primary need of all men, whether they be atmosphere-biting sky-pilot, pennant politicians, or cheap and nasty editorial scribes of cheap and nasty publications? Grub! What, at present, is the first thing required by Mr. Nicholas Romanoff, ex-Czar of all The Russias? Grub! Certainly! We at least need grub, some clothes to wear, and a hole to crawl into to escape the storms. Then, if that is so, and there are none can deny it, I submit that the most important things in existence are the means whereby we obtain that necessary food, clothing and shelter. And such being the case, the control and operation of those means and instruments of production and distribution become matters, not only of great, but of first, importance. That is the only real question, could we but grasp the fact, which confronts the working class the world over at the present time.

A survey of conditions in every country where capitalism has placed its indelible imprint reveals the greatest of anomalies. Deepest destitution exists side by side with unbounded luxury; poverty and wealth display their inglorious antagonism; seething misery contrasts with unrestrained debauchery. Why

are these things so? Despite the superficial differences of race, color, etc., existing between various peoples there is one fact glaringly patent.

Basically, there are but two classes in Human Society, however many gradations and divisions freak reformers and senseless confusionists may insist upon. As the illustrious Lord Rosebery once remarked concerning Scotchmen "There are two kinds of Scotchmen—Scots who hae and Scots who haent." And he might have just as correctly stretched his utterance to fit Germans, and Fréchenmen, and Britons and Americans and Canadians.

There exists one class comparatively small, parasitic—the capitalist class, whose members possess but do produce, and one class, large, useful—the working class, whose members produce but do not possess; a class which lives and does not work and a class which works and does not live.

The members of the working class, in the "piping times of peace," only exist so long as they can sell themselves for wages and can only sell themselves when the members of the owning useless class can profitably buy them. And what are wages? Merely the monetary expression of our labor power, representing only that amount required for the purchase of the bare necessities of life. That and that only! The exquisite fatuity of those labor ringleaders and others who shriek hysterically for "conscription of wealth" can thus be clearly demonstrated. What does the conscription of wealth mean to you and I? Nothing, absolutely nothing! But it serves as another of those delightful abstractions which master class hivings, particularly labor skates, are so fond of bandying around. For, as far as we are concerned, wealth is conscribed before we receive our pay envelopes. To talk of the conscription of that which has already been conscribed but only demonstrates shallow patedness—but

possibly something much worse. But to get back to the war. This is the point upon which we differ from all the pacifists, anti-war mongers, humanitarians, etc. To oppose conscription while denouncing Prussian militarism and extolling the virtues of Western democracies is of all positions the most illogical. As a previous speaker remarked our interests are not involved and we are, therefore, not interested. The wealth produced by the workers is greatly in excess of that represented by their wages. This calls for no extended proof. Those wages, consequently, can only buy back a small fraction of the wealth produced. Allowing for the inordinate tastes of the members of the master class there still remains a vast amount of commodities which cannot be sold at home. They must, therefore, be sent abroad, consigned to foreign markets. This is called export trade. Not only must the surplus commodities be unburdened, but the surplus capital, augmenting rapidly as capitalism develops, must also find "fields for investment." And since precisely similar conditions prevail in all intents and purposes throughout the world the impossibility of ALL nations maintaining greater exports than imports can readily be conceived. From this situation arises the mad search for "spheres of influence," the constant increase of armaments, the daily re-organizing of armies and navies, the frenzied rush to establish coaling stations and naval bases so that trade routes shall not be unduly interfered with by competing capitalist pirates belonging to another economic group.

That was the Socialist position three years ago. That is the Socialist position today. And the sinking of Lusitanias and shooting of gargoyles off the turrets of old churches which we have never seen and could never have hoped to see, has not altered that position in the least.

And in the face of all this there are still those, professing speaking in the name of Labor, who deny the

economic basis, not only of this, but of preceding wars.

Kindly permit me to draw your attention to an authority of the highest standing, an authority of unimpeachable integrity, and one whose ability to treat of industrial development none but the most foolish will question.

I have here a copy of "The Industrial History of England," by Prof. H. de B. Gibbins, of Oxford University. And here let me say that you can search in vain to-morrow through all the columns of the prostituted press for any mention of these quotations. I know these gentlemen of great reportorial instincts will leave these excerpts severely alone, because, low though they may be, they are not sufficiently foolish to attempt emasculation of such authorities, and anything they cannot emasculate they invariably ignore.

Now, Mr. Reporter, I am about to quote from chap. vii, part, p. 222, of De Gibbins' "Industrial History of England." This chapter under the heading: "Modern Industrial England," is the final one of the work and this quotation is the summarising, the winding up, of all that has preceded it. It is remarkable insofar as De B. Gibbins, whom no one would ever accuse of being a Socialist, brings endorsement of a high character to the Marxist contention concerning historical development.

Now listen! He says:

"Unfortunately, few historians have thought it worth their while to study seriously the economic factors in the history of nations. They have contented themselves with the intrigues and amusements of courtiers and kings, the actions of individual statesmen, or the destructive feats of military heroes. They have often failed to explain properly the great causes which necessitated the results they claim to investigate. But just as it is impossible to understand the growth of England without a proper appreciation of the social and industrial events which rendered that work possible and which provided the expenses which that growth entailed, so it

in the future without a systematic study of economic and will be impossible to proceed in the great affairs. Many of the great political questions of our day derive most of their difficulty from economic causes; while international politics tend more and more to centre round matters of commercial and industrial importance."

We have heard quite a little lately respecting the present war being a war of democracy against autocracy. We have been regaled with refreshingly interesting stories of this present gigantic world-war as being merely a sharp conflict between opposing political concepts, between the ideal of the state existing for the individual, and its antithesis—the individual existing alone for the state. We have further encountered an idea, which appears prevalent in labor circles, that France overthrew the old "divine right of kings" concept, together with its political counterpart, during the stormy period, which closed the 18th century. We have been told that this was a political revolution, arising only from an ardent desire on the part of an oppressed people to struggle through blood and death to "eternal liberty." While we admit that a straw floating upon the river indicates the general trend of the underlying current, we nevertheless do not attempt to explain the mighty force of the river from the varying positions of the straw; we explain the movements of the straw from the action of the river's current.

Thus we are not disposed to give a primary importance to the incidents, events, and movements which appear as political and institutional changes in human society. These are but the floesam and jetsam floating upon the surface of the now swiftly running river of social progress. It is the basic importance of the economic undercurrents which must be insisted upon.

And in this connection allow me to quote again from "De B. Gibbins." Dealing with the French Revolution

he says: (By the way, if my friends of the press are interested we might tell them that this is chap. ii., "The Epoch of the Great Inventions," par. 1, p. 157). He says:

"But the French Revolution was the result of economic causes that had been operating for centuries, and which had had their effect in England four hundred years before, at the time of the Peasants Revolt. These economic causes have been rather kept in the background by modern historians, and it was hardly to be expected that they should recognise the operations of such causes in England, more especially as their effects were not accentuated by political fireworks, but were even partially hidden by subsequent events resulting from these effects. Men were blinded too by an increase in the wealth of the richer portion of the nation, not even seeing whence that wealth proceeded, and quite ignoring the fact that it was accompanied by serious poverty among the industrial classes. Nor did historians perceive that the world-famous wars of the last century and up to 1815, were necessitated by England's endeavor to gain the commercial supremacy of the world, after she had invented the means of supplying the world's markets to overflowing. Economic causes were at the root of them all."

After dealing with the War of Independence (Britain and the American Colonies, 1773) he throws great illumination upon the manner in which democratic Britain (whose soul has yearned, ever since her own Magna Charta (1215) was conceived, for the struggle of oppressed peoples to obtain democracy!) looked upon this struggling, fighting, bleeding France of 1789.

He says, Mr. Reporter, chap. iii., "Wars, Politics and Industry," par. 4, p. 171:

"But in 1789 the French Revolution broke out and for over twenty years Europe was plunged into a disastrous and exhausting conflict. At the first outbreak of the Revolution, England looked on quietly. Many men were openly glad that the down-trodden masses of the French nation had overthrown the tyranny of an upper class. Statesmen like Fox gloried in it; the younger Pitt was anxious not to interfere. But Pitt was forced into

action by the capitalists, who now were equal with the landowners and the two ruling powers of England." Mr. Reporter, let me repeat that, you men and women here, let it sink in; paste it in your hats, so that you will never forget it. "BUT PITT WAS FORCED INTO ACTION BY THE CAPITALISTS."

Now let us proceed:

"He (Pitt) saw that the conquests which the new French Republic was already beginning to make might help France to secure again her old position as the most formidable rival of English commerce. If now this rival could be finally struck down, England was sure of the control of the world's markets."

Of course, although we calmly and dispassionately proceed to state our position, making the claim—and fully prepared to produce the necessary proof—that such position is absolutely impregnable, this calm and logical reasoning does not protect us from the dirty inventive and misrepresentation of a "bought-and-paid-for" press. We shall be professed Germans, traitors and conspirators. Let me tell you that the only protest of any account concerning such cold-blooded murders as those of Nurse Cavell and Capt Fryatt, come from Socialists who understand their business, because we protest, in season and out of season, in the only scientific manner possible—that of carrying on education among the members of our class—against the system which breeds such foul murders in every country. These atrocities are not necessarily German. Today, however, they are necessarily capitalist. However, those noisy declaimers and ranters who so readily perceive the Teutonic strain in our make-up, might be pleased to know that the four of us upon this platform are British born. I unashamedly confess that I am an Englishman—by accident. My mother happened to be around the city of Manchester in the April days of 1869. And that is all I know about it; that is all I had to do with it.

Of course, if pride still persists in

swelling our chests and heads to the bursting point, concerning the particular patch of earth we made interesting with our advent, it might be as well to recall the heavily satirical lines of Gilbert.

Those of you interested in opera, particularly the light variety, will remember the lines in "H. M. S. Pinafore, which run as follows:

He is an Englishman.
He is an Englishman,
For he himself has said it, and it's greatly to his credit
That he's an Englishman.
He might have been a "Russian,"
A Frenchman, Turk or "Prossian,"
Or even Italian.
But in spite of all temptations
To belong to other nations,
He remains—an Englishman."

And so we all declare! No matter what temptations may be placed in our paths, we will still remain—Englishmen.

But let us see what De B. Gibbins says of English trade and wars. In chap. vii., "Modern Industrial England," par. 7; p. 218, he says:

"No small portion of our home market must consist of the purchases made by the working classes, yet it does not seem to occur to capitalist manufacturers that if they pay a large proportion of the industrial classes the lowest possible wages, and get them to work the longest possible hours, while thus obtaining an ever-increasing production of goods, the question must sooner or later be answered: Who is going to consume the goods thus produced?"

And then in par. 8, same page, under sub-head "The present capitalist system. Foreign markets," he proceeds:

"The answer as far as the capitalist is concerned seems to be: foreign customers in new markets. English manufacturers and capitalists have consistently supported that policy which seemed likely to open up these new markets to their goods. For a long time, as we saw (p. 212) they occupied themselves very wisely in obtaining cheap raw material by passing enactments entitled by Free Trade principles and removing protective restrictions. Cheap raw material having thus been gained, and machinery having now been developed to such an extent as to increase production quite incalculably,

England sends her textile and other products all over the world. She seems to find it necessary to discover fresh markets every generation or so, in order that her vast output of commodities may be sold. This policy naturally receives the approval of those engaged in foreign commerce, and most of our wars with countries like China, Egypt or Burmah, involve commercial interests. But as other foreign nations are also engaging more widely in external trade the international struggle for new markets is liable to assume at any time a dangerous phase. Today, indeed, the industrial history of our country seems to have reached a point when production under a purely capitalist system is over-reaching itself. It must go on and on without ceasing, finding or fighting for an outlet for the wealth produced, lest the whole gigantic system of international commerce should break down by the mere weight of its own immensity. Meanwhile, English manufacturers are complaining of foreign competition in plaintive tones, which merely means that whereas they thought some years ago that they had a complete monopoly in supplying the requirements of the world, they are now perceiving that they have not a monopoly at all, but only a good start, while other nations are already catching them up in the modern race for wealth."

Possibly, that will be enough of De B. Gibbins for one evening.

However, those of you whose only liberty is the pursuit of a job, whose entire universe gyrates around that sacred entity, and whose giant aspirations of preserving intact such liberty for us by sending us to the trenches of Flanders to protect it are so painfully evident; you women here who already are being placed in positions formerly occupied only by members of the so-called sterner sex, and who today are being entreated, wheedled, cajoled, bullied and threatened even as your brothers and sons were, by your masters, just give me your best attention.

I have here a periodical. It is not a Socialist publication; it is not the "Western Clarion" if you please; not even the "B. C. Federationist." It is "Current History," April 1916,

a work published monthly by the "New York Times," an avowedly pro-ally paper. On page 52, Mr. Reporter, in an article on "Woman's Invasion of British Industry.—An Economic Drama and Its Possible Denouement," Mr. Spencer Brodneyn, one of the most noted of present day British publicists, has, among other things, the following grave and weighty statements to offer upon this vital and all absorbing problem:

"Here, then, is the displacement of men called to the duties of the battlefield we have the first act of a great social and economic drama. The second act will be the sloughing of the sexes for the industrial field won by the women, with possession worth its nine points in law. The third act will bring the denouement, perhaps the most startling in the history of man and woman—for there is already more than a hint of a revolutionary solution which Governments may have to adopt to get women back to their proper place in the home."

Just one more quotation. I must hurry for the time is short and another speaker has to follow. In the next column, in continuing his theme, Spencer Brodneyn states:

"The woman who is now economically independent, as she has never been before, will have acquired the skill and training required for her work; she will have a grasp of it, and therefore in many cases she will be kept at it by her employer, who will prefer not to dislocate his business by bringing in a man (returned hero please note!) who has been unfitted for civil life by soldiering. No employer who is competent, whatever he may say in his moments of patriotic enthusiasm about finding a place for the man has served his country at the front. This is no cynical view of human nature; this happened in England after the South African war, and will happen again."

Now do you see why the ruling class of Britain is so graciously condescending in the matter of female suffrage. The astute Asquith recently stated in the Imperial House of Commons, that the "women must be included" in any modification of

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Amidst the many contradictions of capitalist society the spectacle of the victims of that system waging the battles of their masters is the most discouraging.

In slave empires, the slave worked, that was his sole use to the state. Occasionally, when some grave danger threatened the existence of the state, slaves were emancipated and armed in its defence. This occurred several times. At one time indeed, when Hannibal had so devastated Roman territory, the emancipation of the slaves in such great numbers had the effect of breaking down the last clinging privileges of the ancient gens and prepared the way for the establishment of the modern state.

Before engaging in the wars of their masters, however, a complete change in their social status occurred.

The worker of today is presumed to be co-equal with the non-worker, and on the strength of that presumption voluntarily assumes duties his ancient progenitors were never expected to perform.

The feudal system arose out of the needs of small communities to safeguard themselves in times of com-

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plete anarchy. Service was mutual. As time and economic development evolved an orderly system and a central government, the powerful managed to unload their obligations onto others. But even in feudal society compulsory military service for all males was never contemplated. When danger threatened, each individual who had property to defend sprang to its defence. Wars were conducted for immediate and visible plunder.

Capitalism, however, is compelled from time to time in different countries to organize its entire male population into a fighting unit, as its development progresses.

France was the first to do this. The levy system failing to provide a sufficient number of soldiers to withstand the mighty forces brought against her after the toe nails of Louis XVI had been cut just below his ears, she instituted conscription.

In order to establish compulsory military service the States General had to practically wipe out entire communities. La Vendee, a portion of France that had not been visited by the extreme poverty and pitiless extortions which had characterised many rural and most industrial districts of France during the immediate pre-revolutionary era, was bitterly opposed to being forced into fighting for something which offered but little, if any change in their social status.

In fact, it was a matter for astonishment to some of the deputies, that the laboring classes should support the revolution as vigorously as they did, seeing how much they suffered, and how little they could gain.

But with all Europe arrayed against the revolutionary bourgeois, including at least one half of France itself, and with her generals intriguing with the enemy, every effort possible was exerted.

However, it was not during the ominous days of 1793 when the revolution was on its extreme trail, but in 1798 when Republican France had overrun Europe and Napoleon was calling upon his invincible army to remember that forty centuries contemplated their actions from the summit of the pyramids that conscription was invoked. Napoleon could then boast that 30,000 men might be sacrificed each month. Ten years later Prussia was forced to adopt conscription to overthrow the HUNS.

For while Kaiser Bill said to his army "Be ye feared as the Huns were feared," let us not forget that Napoleon said: "I will be an Attilla to Venice," or words to that effect.

Since then capitalism brooking no opposition has gradually engulfed entire civilization in a military maze out of which there can be no road.

Britons were fond of singing a few years ago in the usual dizzy headed doggerel of patriotic song, "There once was a talk in England of conscription."

But the Briton's will not driven. You can lead him by a thread, He so easily is lead, But he won't be driven, no, not half an inch."

And so on, ad inf. And driven they are.

Now Uncle Sammy has his hands in the beautiful muck. All in the name of democracy. And into this maze the workers of Canada are to be dragged as though upon our sum of little effort depended the outcome of Armageddon.

Let us not deceive ourselves. In the ordinary course of events, there is no need to impose upon this country the crowning infamy of all the offsprings of slavery—compulsory military service.

In a country such as this with its upstart politicians and bankrupt

land-shark millionaires, it would press with ten-fold ignominy upon our enslavement. But these are not ordinary times. And ordinary times will perhaps return no more until capitalism and its entire vile brood be banished to the limbo of the slave system which preceded it. We can hasten the journey thither by resisting with what means we possess a degradation which chattel slaves were never called upon to endure. Consciously fighting our master's battles.

Conscription has always read the proscribing of Socialist propaganda and the Lord of Progress knows the way is distant, and dreary and difficult enough.

J. H.

THE PROLETARIAT

THE Proletariat is a hen. Now this is not a Gratuitous insult, deserved as it may seem. It is a Statement of Fact. The Proletariat IS a hen. I named her. Don't know? It is the rarer sad story of her Life which is now about to be related. Wait till I sharpen my pencil.

With her parents I was not personally acquainted. I was assured on Unimpeachable Authority that they belonged to that sturdy Orpington stock whose Domestic Virtues and Sterling Qualities of loyal Industry and Frugal Thriftiness have won them so Envious a Place in the Public Esteem. That she has worthily upheld the Traditions of her Race will presently be manifest.

Her early days were unmarked by any incident worthy of record. It was observed, however, that she displayed a Praiseworthy Disposition to be Content with the Crumb allotted her by the Wisdom of Experience rather than unwisely to essay the Higher Flights attainable only by those whom Nature and Fortune has especially Endowed.

At an early age she went to work in the egg factory, where, by Close Application, she soon attained a Creditable Proficiency at her Task,

gaining thereby the Favorable notice and the Unstinted and Inspiring Commendation of her Master. And even when, owing to the Exigencies of the Situation, the Strictest Economy became a Public Necessity, and her Portion was accordingly somewhat Curtailed, she did not Imperil the National Welfare by Manifestations of Discontent, but, in a spirit of Loyal Co-operation, endeavored to do her Part towards Conserving the National Resources by retrieving from the garbage heap such morsels as had been rejected from her Master's Table. Nor when the price of eggs mounted to sixty cents was she Envious of her Master's Excess Profits, but bethought her that this was only a Temporary Condition, and she would, ere long, be dependent on his Good will for Employment through the Slack Season.

In due course she attained to the hatching department, where, in Generous Recognition of her Trustworthiness, she was placed in charge of four of the finest eggs she had ever seen. Her Task here was admittedly monotonous, but she did not foolishly repine thereat, even though it took a week longer than with ordinary eggs. Her Unwearying Fidelity was at length Rewarded by Gratifying Success. All four of the eggs hatched, proving her to be a Hundred Per Cent. Efficient.

The offspring seemed a trifle peculiar, having flat bills and webbed feet, but who was she, a humble hen, to question the Mysterious Ways of the Maker of All Things? Her's not to reason why, her's but to nurture and to nourish the helpless creatures a Higher Wisdom had Entrusted to her Care. To be to them a Shield and Sentinel by day, and a feather bed, and a fireless stove by night.

A few days later a goose, by some mischance, hatched only two of a dozen eggs. A goose's Time was too Valuable to Waste on the care of two goslings. They were therefore taken from her and offered to the Proletariat. She did not Grumble at her Added Burden, but henfully

shouldered it with a Willing Heart. About the same time a hen of Doubtful Antecedents, who also had four goslings, proved Unworthy of the Trust Reposed in her. One evening, blind to the Duties and Responsibilities of her Position, she took Advantage of the Shortage of Labor, and, in her Master's Absence, Went on Strike, and Strategically Retreated to the limb of a cherry tree, whence she turned a deaf ear to the wails of her frightened brood. Thus treacherously driven from hearth and home, the four little goslings wandered dejectedly through the wet grass until they came to the Proletariat's door, where they pleaded wistfully for admission. Did She tell them it was None of Her Business, or that it was Against the Rules of the Union? No! The Golden-Hearted Proletariat took them to her Generous Bosom and cherished them.

On his return her Master endeavored to Reason with the Recalcitrant hen and bring her to a Realization of the Unwisdom, nay, Treachery, of such conduct in this the Hour of Her Country's Need. She, however, sought justification in those Specious Arguments so Assiduously Circulated among the More Ignorant Classes by Self-seeking Agitators presumably Subsidized by the Enemy. Finding her Deaf to all Appeals to her Better Nature, her Master was Constrained to Compromise, and, despite the Involved Situation this would create, Generously Offered to Meet her Half-way by relieving her of two of her Charges provided she would take care of the other two.

An Agreement was reached on this Basis, and the hen went about Flumming herself on her Victory. But, just to show how Vain such supposed Victories usually are, it may be mentioned that, she being an Utterly Illiterate hen, her Master had no difficulty in Palming Off the four goslings on her without her benig Any the Wiser. The Morality of this Action may be questioned, but seeing that the hen did not Know the Difference, Clearly it made No Dif-

ference to the hen. And whereas the Interests of Society were Served and the Piteful Sufferings of four Innocent, Helpless and Utterly Destitute Orphans were Alleviated thereby, the thoughtful will Readily Admit that the Action was not only Justifiable but Highly Commendable.

Unfortunately this Happy Arrangement did not last. The Faith of the hen in the Bona-fides of her Master was Undermined by the Viperous Whisperings of the Lying Brood of Spies, Traitors and Mischief makers, and she again Absented herself from her Employment, and Stubbornly Refused ether to Compromise or to Arbitrate. Under these Circumstances her Master had no Option but to Formally Dismiss her from his Service.

For a time she went Brazenly About apparently enjoying her Alleged Liberty. But the Swets of such Pictitious Freedom eventually Cloyed upon her Palate, and she was Fain again to seek Employment. Her Kindly Master, freely forgave her and Permitted her to return to her Old Position in the egg factory on no less Favorable terms than before. This Episode will doubtless prove a Salutary Lesson to her, and it is hardly probable that she can ever again be Victimized by the Crudities of Anarchistic Propaganda. For she must now Realize that Self-interest is only to be Served by Self-sacrifice, and that True Liberty is to be Found only in Disciplined Co-operation with those on whose Shoulders Destiny has laid the Heavy Burden of industrial and Commercial Stewardship.

So much for her. As for her Deserted Charges, they were, of course, turned over to the Faithful Proletariat as a fitting tribute to her Fidelity and Worth. She at least Viewed the Matter in its Proper Light, having a Soul Far Above invoking the Absurd Trade Union Limitation of Four Goslings a Day. Her Task was now more than doubled, but if she gave the matter a thought she was

comforted by the Knowledge of Duty Nobly Done, and could rest in the Assurance that her Self-sacrifice would not pass unnoted and would gain Generous Recognition in Due Course.

However, her Burden was soon to be lightened by the Heavy Hand of Fate. The aforementioned goose, in attempting to kidnap one of the goslings, so hurt it that it died subsequently. And another gosling mistook a strange hen for its mother. It also died subsequently. The Proletariat mourned their loss deeply but she did not permit her grief to interfere with her Duty towards her remaining Charges. Indeed she cherished them with redoubled care.

Other hens, with ordinary chicks, Looked Askance at her brood and passed Ribald Remarks and the rooster was Exceeding Wrath and made an Unprovoked Attack upon the gander, which brought him only Well-merited Chastisement. But the Proletariat went on her way, Serene in the Consciousness of Rectitude.

The goslings grew apace and soon were larger than their foster-mother. Even then she continued to Minister to their Wants and made a brave show of covering them at night. It was a Moving Sight, and she was the most moving part of it—tossed hither and thither on the billowy backs of eight ungainly hobgoslings. But, with the Regrettable Ingratitude so Characteristic of the Youth of the Day, the goslings eventually left her and betook themselves to the goose-pasture, where they were barely-tolerated by the gander and a Very Superior Goose with nineteen goslings.

Thus opened the really saddest chapter of her Humble Story. For a time she was overcome by grief and went listlessly about bemoaning her Hard Lot. But soon she was Rallied by the Remembrance of her Duty to Mankind, and she wended her way, without Ostentation, to the dog's kennel, and laid an egg. This she did faithfully every day, with only an occasional day off to tune up the machinery, until forced to Sus-

pend Operations through a lack of Raw Material.

If then she had taken a Well-Earned Holiday, one could hardly have Blamed her. But she was made of Sterner Stuff, and forthwith Manifested her Willingness to again go to work in the hatching department and, for many days, sat hopefully upon one of the China model eggs, with which her Master had provided his Working Force, without cost to themselves.

Unfortunately the dog's kennel had also been selected as a night nursery by a nondescript hen named Ferocity, who, though Unhappily Addicted to Frightfulness, had a Long and Faithful Service gained the Position of a Privileged Character. So, nightly, the Inoffensive Proletariat found herself rudely dragged out of the kennel by the hair of the head to make room for Ferocity and her brood. Nevertheless she indulged in no Useless Recriminations and Harbored no Unbecoming Animosity, but, Strong in the Faith that the Meek Shall Inherit the Earth, crouched humbly at the kennel entrance till morning, and, when Ferocity had taken her departure crept quietly back to her China egg.

It has been well and truly said that the Darkest Hour is just before the Dawn. And so it fell out. One eventful day the Proletariat was presented with four more beautiful large eggs, this time on the verge of hatching, and Ferocity was debarred from entering the kennel. The very next day they hatched. True, they were again goslings, but it was unquestionably a Gratifying Mark of the Trust reposed in her by her Master. And yet the next day she received three more which had been hatched by a hen who was deemed Unworthy. But the following day came the Climax. A goose who had hatched eight proved to be Incapable, and these eight goslings also were placed in the Reliable Proletariat's Charge.

Happy Proletariat. When, as has been related, she took in the four

lenighted goslings, secure in the Assurance of Due Recognition, little did she dream that the Recognition would be on so Unstintedly Magnificent a Scale. Fifteen goslings to tend and care for. Never had a hen been so Highly Honored.

All of which goes to show that it is such lives of Earnest Endeavor, Unremitting Industry and Serene Acceptance of the Situation allotted us by a Higher Power, which are the surest of Reward and the most Worth While when judged by the Proper Standard; that it is by such means, and not by Vain Strivings after Illusory Wealth and Fortune or by hearkening to the Plausible Mouthing of Unprincipled Demagogues that True Happiness is to be Attained.

Happy Proletariat! Who would deny that a yet Greater Reward awaits her! In our Heart of Hearts we must all know that, when she shall have Shuffled Off this Mortal Coil, High Place and Honor shall be hers. She who was once but an humble egg, which had Fate not otherwise Deceesed, might easily have been eaten for breakfast—shall Rise before us, Glorified and Transfigured, and the Savor of her Goodness shall fill the Nostrils of Appetite, and Men will call her Blessed—provided she is not TOO tough.

Mc.

P.S.—Yes, there's no denying it, the Proletariat is a Hen.

Talking of the miners strike, *Mar. Gen. Sir. Alfred E. Turner* wrote in the "Saturday Review" of August 7, 1915:—"The strikers gained their ends, and with them an everlasting stain on their reputation which not all the rain of heaven can wash out, the stain of showing themselves perfectly ready to sell their country for filthy lucre. Compulsory service might not produce loyalty, but it would produce a sense of duty and discipline that would prevent such disgraceful and damaging incidents."

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA AND CONSCRIPTION

the franchise. He further stated that his previous antagonism against the granting of the vote to women was on the grounds of expediency. And tell me, pray, what grounds did he take for changing his mind but those of expediency? From the butchery of working men at Featherstone to his graceful descent from the Treasury benches, his record, like those of all other master class political pimps, has been one of expediency and expediency alone.

To those of you who imagine that your master's promises carry any more meaning respecting those who have fought and bled for what they considered worth fighting for than they have in times past let me refer you to the words of an individual of whom I have already made mention. Dealing with after-the-war problems in the early part of last year, in an address before the Rotary Club of the city of Edinburgh, Lord Rosebery said:

"At the rate at which we are spending money to-day, however, the war may end, it will leave us gravely crippled, half paralysed financially for long years to come, and our enemies, I hope, utterly ruined."
 "The point I wish to urge upon you is this, that we shall be victorious but almost bleeding to death, because at the rate of sixteen hundred millions a year of expenditure it is obvious that we must be saddled with a debt such as the world has never seen."

"Well, in these circumstances, can you expect any material help from the government? I think that would be vain."

Remember, he was not speaking to workingmen, who are only addressed by his kind in order that they may be deceived. He was addressing hard-headed business men, who want only the facts.

And that is our position. Tell me what there is in all this affair that we should fight about. Tell me, if you can, what particular dif-

ference it makes to us, who produce all the wealth yet possess none of it, which gang of business buccaneers finally gets away with the loot.

But they talk to me of my grandmother! Ah, yes! I have strong reminiscences of my old grandmother. She lived—and died, at the age of 78, a member of the working class. A life of unceasing toil and constant care! I have even stronger reminiscences of my mother, who has faithfully followed her mother's example concerning work and worry. And throughout the vast circle of my family connections I see men and women, members of the working class, passing through their lives without respite, incessantly toiling, toiling, toiling.

Then, if some savage brute were to violate your grandmother would you fight? they serenely enquire, while drawing fat dividends from the sale of war munitions, of coal and of sugar. To which we emphatically respond: "You bet your life we would."

But just a minute! If they imagine that the violation of my grandmother can be twisted into a parallel of going out to Flanders, and with a piece of red hot scrap iron tearing the face off some working man whom we have never seen and against whom we have no particular grievance then we say their geometry is all askew. No such parallel exists. They talk glibly of "we" and the "enemy." If they mean by "we" 99 point 9 repeater per cent. of this audience, then they mean the working class. If by the "enemy" they mean those responsible for murders and atrocities, for destruction and chaos, if they mean those who engineered the horrible Ludlow massacre, in which women and children were ruthlessly slaughtered, then soaked in kerosene and burned; if they mean the exterminators of the Paris Commune, the butchers of Bormah and Afghanistan, the vultures whose vile outrages make a stinking record from Peterloo to Llanelly, from Ivan the Terrible to

Bloody Sunday, from the Babouf suppression to the 71 Commune, from '48 to the Bismarckian Iron Laws, then we heartily agree. "All right," we say, "leave us alone. We are working on the job now. We are proceeding to educate as well as possible the members of the only useful class in human society to an understanding of their position and when, in the fulness of time, with the power that arises from knowledge as our weapon, with the interests of the working class ever before us, we shall proceed at once to the complete and final avenging of the violation of our grandmothers, our mothers, our sisters, our brothers and the members of our class everywhere today upon the industrial field, and order things to our own desires until a class-less society appears and war, together with all other horrors resulting from present day capitalism shall be done away with and the day when "happiness and peace shall cover the earth like the waters of the great deep" shall have arrived. I thank you!

TRADES UNIONISM

IN man's development from primitive tribal groups to the present complex social order, the one characteristic which, more than any other, made this development possible is that of association with his fellowman.

The basis of this association is self interest; the preservation of life being the strongest and most enduring impulse of all forms of animal life: we must except some insects.

Food, clothing and shelter are the necessary factors for continued existence. With all social animals, the higher and more complex the social order becomes, the more closely does the relation between the individual members of society grow. As these relations are forced upon them by the need to produce the means of livelihood, all other relations are necessarily affected by the method of production. Accordingly, with

each change in the productive system, the social order undergoes, a corresponding change. The tribal interests give way to national, which in turn are lost in imperial, though never in either case entirely. From different causes the old interests occasionally project themselves within the new order. So also the individual's interests frequently assume greater importance than those of the group. The group interests lie always in the future, the individual interests always in the present. The greater and more complex the group, the more do its interests extend into time, and the more profitably can it sacrifice its present welfare for its future; the more willingly also does it sacrifice the well-being of its individual members.

The various organizations which arise in the course of social evolution, will be found upon analysis to be rooted in the endeavor on the part of its members to safeguard life. It will also be found that a faithfulness to the organization develops, that regards no sacrifice too great which maintains or promotes its integrity; individuals gladly suffer in the interests of the group. That members of a group should suffer and die to preserve an organization promoted to protect them seems contradictory. Yet from this contradiction comes our moral code. The old men of some primitive tribes cheerfully resign themselves to death. It is the law; the tribe cannot live if burdened. As youths they slew or deserted their old men; it is now their turn to go.

Such was customary in non-slave communities, in a state of culture too low to admit accumulations of foodstuffs. In our civilization such a course would be immoral, yet the dictator of our moral conduct is the same. Preservation of life and comfort while living.

In discussing working class problems we will avoid confusion by keeping these facts in view.

When in the latter part of the

18th century the discovery of steam power and its application to industry, found the "division of labor" already well developed the conditions were ripe for divorcing the worker from his tools, from that day individual production was at an end. No longer working in his own home, or with a few of his fellows on a small job outside, he now toils with hundreds of others in some factory hell under conditions almost hopeless. The primitive protective impulse prompts him to act and gradually combination of workmen arose. The modern trade union appears.

At first these were without form and void like the earth before Jehovah got busy, but as the needs of the moment became clear, they took on such forms as these needs dictated. As the factory system developed the Trade Union grew in experience and gained a knowledge of its mission from the facts of life.

Assailed with fury by the owners of capital, with the aid of State powers, it had a precarious existence until well on in the 19th century, and it is only a few years since that its legal status has been settled. The necessity for collective bargaining being forced upon the factory worker, and finding his efforts thwarted by governmental machinery, he early turned his attention to politics, and side by side with his attempts to better his conditions by strikes we find an endeavor to secure greater political rights. While we can set down this development in a few words, and in a definite manner, in actual fact the process went on over a century, and most indefinitely.

Numberless organizations come into existence and flourished only to prove their inability to protect their members, and, as a consequence, speedily decayed. In some instances they were hopelessly Utopian and were doomed to failure by social development, as the communal settlements of Fourier and

Owen; in others they threatened too closely master class profits, and were suppressed by the State with force and fraud, as the Chartist movement of the seventies in England, and the eight hour movement of the eighties in the United States.

And out of all this turmoil, partial successes and bitter defeats, Botany Bay transportations, Peterloo massacres, Hay Market tragedies, and bourgeois republican uprisings, the workers finally succeeded in effecting a trade organization which enabled them to take advantage of conditions, by collective action and so maintain in a measure a definite standard of living.

In the early days of the movement, when the machine was developing the skilled trades called for a greater degree of skill than they do in our day, nor were the means to acquire that special skill at hand outside of regular apprenticeship.

The skilled tradesman had protection from too serious competition by the wiles of his craft, they were protected also against competition from within the craft by the undeveloped state of the country. The prosperity, yes, even the very success of their union depended upon their procuring as many members as possible. It was among the skilled trades therefore, that unionism made most headway.

As capitalism developed and its machine became more and more perfected, these skilled trades lost considerable in complexity, the machine taking over delicate and intricate work and turning the skilled trade into an occupation which most handy men could acquire in a few months practice. Technical schools also turned out finished mechanics at an increasing rate; the means of transportation afforded opportunity to import strangers who had no standing to maintain in the district, and so the skilled tradesman comes to depend more and more on his organization for protection. His immediate interests as a craftsman under these conditions compel him

To fight for all those restrictions which were formerly the result of conditions; thus the seven years of apprenticeship are maintained, and strict rules concerning non-artisans handling their tools are enforced. Restrictive rules are leveled against applicants for membership; and high initiation fees are imposed. In adopting this course he is merely obeying the dictate which caused him to combine in the first place, and to appeal to him on sentimental or ethical grounds to act otherwise is a mere waste of time. He knows from experience that scarcity of labor guarantees him security of employment, and relatively good wages.

However, occasionally there comes in the course of social development conditions over which he has no control, and then all his privileges go by the board, as the machine is perfected which performs his work automatically, and he is thrown into the ranks of unskilled labor. Or as the Owen machine is doing for the glass-blowers. Or a world war breaks out, and all his trade union rules representing years of struggle are lost. These are the factors which will force the working class into "One Big Union," and not the rhetoric and bombast of industrial unionists.

The union of unskilled labor has been more eloquent. Having no skill to sell, he has had to protect himself by making trouble, destroying property and generally making stability of production worth a consideration in wages to the master. And we consequently see the unskilled union with its long time contract appear. It will be noticed that some of these organizations in certain localities have had a long and successful existence, but it is only sectional. Such occupations as long shoring, or bricklayers laborers have certain disagreeable features, which afford them protection against unlimited competition, and therefore attain to international organizations. The same may be said

of metal and coal mining, although here a certain degree of skill, knowledge and experience is required, which can, however, be obtained in a few months.

Rather than have a constant threat of strike and disruption of business, the master class finds that it is to its interest to treat with an organization which can guarantee a certain security in production. It will some times even collect the union dues through the office, and turn them over to the union officials. The union at this stage becomes not only necessary to the slaves, but is also recognised as a benefit by the master and is incorporated into the capitalist system. And to this stage trade unionism has to a large extent advanced. During the last twenty years, however, a change has come over this field. An old form of trade organization has been making increasing demands upon the attention of the working class. New unionism, syndicalism, and revolutionary unionism are some of the names by which it goes. It is not new by any means. It is as old as craft unionism against which it launches scornful rhetoric and bitter invective, to say nothing of even more weighty arguments.

The development of the trust with all which that implies rendered the armed truce between master and slave a doubtful blessing for the master. The great and increasing amount of casual workers also complicated the situation. Men without home or dependants, travelling from one end of the country to the other, and from one country to another are prompted to organize in a union which would protect their working conditions. Such an organization would necessarily ignore crafts or occupations, seeing that the slave who during summer is digging subways in New York City may in the fall be harvesting wheat or hops in the west, and in the winter slaving in a steel mill or pine forest in the United States. These conditions make possible and invite

the organization of "One Big Union." But the idea itself is old enough. Even the revolutionary character which proclaims that no longer "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay" is its ideal, but "the abolition of the wage system" is not new, though the manner of expressing it may be. Robert Owen organized the General Union of Production with a membership well up to half a million; which embraced practically all those ideas which the S. L. E. attributes to the monumental geniuses of De Leon. This union took in farm laborers and women, and embraced the principle of producing for use through the medium of its various branches, the miners union taking charge of the mining industry, the Farm Laborers' Union of Agriculture, the Textile Union operating the factories, etc., all centralized in one "Grand Lodge." This in 1833.

In the United States in 1868 a National Labor Union was formed. Each branch had local autonomy in so far as it observed the welfare of the organization as a whole.

While holding money monopoly to be the root of the trouble, they never-the-less set down in their manifesto a distinct class object, declared that present political parties were in the hands of "the non-producing classes, who depend on public plunder for sustenance and wealth, and have no sympathy with the working millions beyond the use they can make of them for their political and pecuniary aggrandisement, therefore, the highest interest of our colored citizens is with the working men who like themselves are slaves of capital and politicians." It had a brief career.

In 1875 Hillmann published in Germany his "The organization of the Masses," in which he points out that the guilds of the middle ages were the reliable key to the offices of the municipality and the council chambers," and he declares a similar task awaits the trade union. He is convinced that even with

the greatest geniuses, political officials could not effect the social transformation. But by calling in the Trade Unions they would so function that the free states would be saved from becoming a tyranny. They would take charge of production and distribution.

These ideas are in a concise form, those advanced by De Leon in the preamble to the I. W. W. in 1905. These attempts to form industrial unions were doomed to failure because the development of the machine was fast creating new crafts, and thus creating within the ranks of the slaves conditions which divided them into groups with immediate interests to conserve. For instance carpentry developed into bench, house, bridge, ships, joinery, cabinet making and pattern making and the technical problems which arose, over which craft should perform certain classes of work taxed the legal acumen of the capitalist courts, and shift the wood working craft into warring factions.

The smaller the groups into which the workers were split, the more pressing these immediate interests became. To appeal in such a condition of the labor world for an organization which embraced all the workers was " . . . enormous folly and labor to no purpose." And just so long as there remains a vestige of craft skill, from which advantage in the struggle for wages is derived, the craft organization will find and fill a function, charm the industrialist never so wisely. However, capitalism is constantly displacing manual skill as a factor in production; countless newspaper advertisements announce that a house complete in every detail will be set down in your own town which can be put together by yourself in your spare time.

"Let the machine do it," is what they say.

The trade union as a weapon is useful because it enables the worker to move en masse. That it can only aid the worker in maintaining

a decent standard of living, needs no demonstration. Its chief value, however, lies in resisting encroachment upon individual liberty, and petty tyranny on the part of hired superintendents of the master class.

It could be of greater value in financing and organizing a revolutionary movement, but by so doing it would negate the cause of its existence. These Industrial Unions which include revolutionary propaganda in their activity are found to put the immediate interests of the workers to the front, and when appealing to the workers for support point to the failure of other organizations to effect any betterment in their conditions. The class view point is lost or disregarded. They become opportunist. Indeed their struggles become more and more between sections of the workers, just as with the pure and simple craft union. This action expresses the official view point. The workers themselves are being rendered class-conscious by the machine. Let the machine do it. The same forces which organize the workers into crafts, will organize them as a class. Our task as Socialists is to facilitate and advance that organization by destroying master class philosophy and spreading working class philosophy. There is no reason to believe that the class which supplied the myriads who died at Gallipoli and Verdun in the interest of "their country" will hesitate to perform a like service for their class, if it be necessary. A working class conscious of its mission will render that needless.

J. H.

"Trade unionism—that shelter for slinking shirkers—is imperilling OUR existence, and by its action a rot of OUR national soul has set in. One remedy, and one alone, can eradicate this state or rot—martial law will cure it."—Lt. Col. W. H. Maxwell, in the "Outlook," September, 1915.

THE CONFUSION CONCERNING OUR POSITION

THERE is perhaps no philosophic term which has been put to more diversified and unwarranted usage than the term "Socialism." It has been used to represent every modification of idea, from anarchism to bourgeois reform, from unorganized revolt to parlor colonies, from utopian co-operative ethics to religious idealism.

Historically, at least, the men who first used the term were justified in applying it to the doctrines which they advocated and which were, at the time, the most advanced ideas existing, and, to that extent, revolutionary. But since the term has become connected with the evolutionary theory of Marx and Engels, known as Scientific Socialism, its use in any other manner is no longer warranted. At any rate the use to which it has been put have resulted in endless confusion, so that now the mere fact of a man declaring himself a socialist means absolutely nothing. The same applies to a political party or to a publication.

The basis of our claim as to the legitimate use of the term is the fact that Marx and Engels put Socialism upon a scientific basis. Prior to that time no one had been able to offer a satisfactory explanation of what was wrong with society. Therefore their efforts to remedy existing evils were little better than guess work and were foredoomed to failure. Engels sums up the situation thus:

"The Socialism of earlier days certainly criticized the existing capitalist mode of production and its consequences. But it could not explain them, and therefore, could not get the mastery of them. It could only simply reject them as bad. The more strongly this earlier Socialism denounced the exploitation of the working class, inevitable under Capitalism, the less able was it clearly to show in what this exploitation consisted and how it arose."

After pointing out that Marx worked out these problems and gave to the workers a scientific explanation

of capitalist society, Engels concludes:

"These two great discoveries, the materialistic conception of history and the revelation of the secret of capitalist production through surplus value, we owe to Marx. With these discoveries Socialism became a science."—(Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, C. H. Kerr & Co., 1914, pp. 92-93.)

Henceforth "Marxism" or "Scientific Socialism" formed the theoretical basis of the organized socialist movement. However, as the movement grew, and especially since the death of Marx and Engels, various individuals, groups, and parties have gradually drifted away from the Marxian position, though in most cases they still make a pretense of being "scientific." There were various factors that caused this, which it would be a digression to deal with here. Suffice to say that there are some who claim that Marxism requires revision or complete abandonment and that it cannot longer serve as the theoretical basis of Socialism. Nevertheless, Marxism has successfully withstood the criticisms levelled against it and has widened its influence among the class of working men who are the keenest students of their economic position, as well as amongst the sociologists and economists of the universities.

To come to the point with which we are particularly concerned, we find a good example of the effect of the present confusion in an editorial appearing in the "Detroit (Mich.) Journal," of April 18. We might think, at first, that misrepresentations of Socialism in the Capitalist press are always deliberate, but we are obliged to note that, in this case, the "Journal" pretty clearly reflects the ideas which are inflicted upon the poor defenceless workers of the United States by the so-called Socialist press of that unhappy land. That the reader may the better understand the comments here submitted, we quote the editorial nearly in full:

"In the more or less clearly de-

fined creed of the Socialists are the doctrines of internationalism, universal disarmament, and the abolition of private industry.

"The league of nations now being created under the hammer blows of war, is the beginning of an internationalism which embraces more than half of all the world. In form now, it is vague, crude, like the first lumps of metal out of which the artisan makes his blade. But raw and theoretical internationalism advocated before the war, simply because it is something real where the other was merely a dream. . . . We have had untold numbers of proposals for international peace, but never one that promised the ideal of universal peace so nearly as this developing league of nations.

"In making war, Europe has had to commandeer industry. It has fixed prices and wages by government. It has limited profits, confiscated lands and bank accounts and factories. The old individualism has broken down and its own servants have put state socialism in force. The state has assumed the mastery over matters it once refused to touch, taken up duties it once considered sacred to private interests and ownership.

"The war, in short, has advanced socialistic doctrines. It has done more than all the movements of peace times to rebuff and control and weaken what the Socialists call the capitalist element."

As to internationalism, it must be pointed out that there is a wide difference between the internationalism here referred to and the internationalism of the working class movement. For what is a "league of nations" but an extension of government of the State. The police powers which this international state organization would exercise, would simply be an extension of the police powers now exercised by the government of each nation. Whether such a league would be at all effective in securing peace is a matter for speculation. In any case, it does not involve any apparent means of ending the present cause of war—overproduction and struggle for world markets. And we may be certain that the class war will continue. The internationalism of the working class movement is an entirely differ-

ent sort of thing. What is the object of a real Socialist International? Is its object merely the prevention of war? By no means. Its object is the international organization of the working class for the overthrow of Capitalism. Its slogan is "WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE. YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS. YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN." This does not sound much like a league of the capitalist governments of different nations does it? The distinction should be clear. A league of nations is simply a development of class rule. The abolition of classes is our object.

It is the pseudo-Socialists who are largely responsible for this confusion. In their anxiety to make a good impression on the public, in their efforts to make Socialism "respectable," and as a result of their sentimental idealism and lack of knowledge, they are continually representing Socialism to be what it is not, and making it appear that Socialism rests upon an idealistic basis, instead of upon a scientific materialistic basis, as is the case. For example, take the following expression of Meyer London, the "lone socialist" in the United States Congress, during debate on the question of declaring war:

"Free America had this chance to renounce the ideal of brute force, to cast down the sword, to forego revenge for the wrongs done her by irresponsible imperialism in Germany." (American Socialist, Apr. 21, 1917.)

Could there possibly be a greater exhibition of childlike simplicity than the spectacle of a 'socialist' congressman pleading with the elected representatives of the capitalist class to "cast down the sword" at the expense of their precious export trade?

Undoubtedly the "league of nations" if it succeeded in accomplishing anything at all in the matter of war prevention, would be "an enormous advance over the purely theoretical internationalism" advocat-

ed by our utopian friends of the Socialist Party of America.

On the other hand, while real working class internationalism is largely theoretical at present, we must remember that theory always precedes realization or demonstration, except in accidental cases. Our theory rests on the proposition that an internationally united working class can accomplish its own economic emancipation and the establishment of a society based upon the ownership of the means of production by the producers.

The editorial states that the "old individualism has broken down" and that the war has "advanced socialistic doctrines." Probably this is more or less of an argument against those who complain of the curtailment of "individuality" which it is supposed Socialism would bring, but the point we are interested in showing is that the breaking down of individualism, in this manner, does not necessarily imply the advancement of Socialism. Co-operation in production, division of labor and concentration of management have developed under capitalism, without altering in the least the position of the master class in society. The state is a class institution, and in taking hold of "matters it once refused to touch," it simply does so in the interests of the capitalist class, which it represents. In other words the capitalist finds it advisable, in his various times, to operate certain of their industries on a collective or State basis, through their own agency, the Government. While the State may confiscate the property of an individual capitalist it is none the less the representative of his class. As a capitalist may suffer loss by such a process, this is no more an advance of "socialist doctrines" than is the loss of an individual capitalist through his failure in business. The idea that confiscation of property by the State means a weakening of capitalism is an absurd notion which arises from the erroneous conception

that the State represents the whole people. State ownership is a phase of capitalism which has been developing for some time and the war has merely accelerated it. It is, in no sense, ownership by society for the benefit of society. Yet ownership by the State is frequently termed "State Socialism." As a matter of fact it is State Capitalism.

Here again, we find that the confusion is largely due to the propaganda of so-called socialist parties such as the S. P. of A. In their platform they demand Government ownership of railways and other large industries, and in their publications the terms "government ownership" and "social ownership" are used interchangeably. The inevitable result, of course, is confusion and ignorance among the rank and file of that party.

To conclude, we may remark, that while the development of capitalism into the State form may be a circumstance more favorable to its overthrow, and may mark its final development, nothing that has happened as yet can be considered as socialist in nature. It should be remembered that the governments of all nations are yet in the hands of the capitalists. Will they overthrow capitalism and establish Socialism? We think not.

L. B.

Detroit, Mich.

A Historical Inquiry.

Everybody who is either a professor of political economy or a financial writer or a faithful follower of either of these species of human animalcules, knows that it is better for a country that its exports exceed its imports. But can they tell us at what period in the glorious evolution of civilization, from simplicity to complexity, this all-important fact became true? When did we reach that pregnant moment of transition, when the only way to be happy and prosperous among ourselves was to send more valuable goods out of the country than we brought in?

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50c—J. Grider, Mrs. Susan Lowery, Geo. Hadley.			
Seventy-seven subs. this issue. Gathering speed. Let's go.			

Socialist Party Directory

- DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE** Socialist Party of Canada, meets every alternate Monday 8 p.m., Socialist Hall, N. E. cor. Pender and DuDunlevy 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.—P. O. Peterson, Secretary, Horseguards, Alta.
- LOCAL CALGARY, No. 66 (Alta.), S. P. of C.**—Business meetings every alternate Wednesday, 8 p.m. Economic class every Monday, 8 p.m. Headquarters, Secretary, J. Reid, Box 1438, Calgary.
- LOCAL CLAYTON, No. 63 (B.C.), S. P. of C.**—John T. D'Dempster, 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, B. 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 312, corresponding and financial secretary.
- LOCAL ECKVILLE, No. 56 (Alta.), S. P. of C.**—J. F. Knorr, Secretary, Eckville, Alta.
- LOCAL EDDREY, No. 65, 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. Pilkington, Secretary; R. B. No. 4, Armstrong, B. C.
- LOCAL EDMONTON No. 1, S. P. of C.**—Free reading room and headquarters meeting every Sunday in the Bijou Theatre, First St., at 8 p.m. Business meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. J. Slater, organizer. E. H. Flegg, Secretary, P. O. Box 755.
- LOCAL ESKINE, No. 52 (Alta), S. P. of C.**—A. A. McNeill, Secretary, Eskine, Alta.
- LOCAL FERRIER, S. P. of C.**, hold educational meetings in the Socialist Hall every Sunday at 7. Business meetings third Sunday in each month, 7:30 p.m. Economic class every Sunday afternoons at 2:30. Oscar Erickson, Secretary, Box 503.
- LOCAL HORNLAND, No. 25, S. P. of C.**—Meets in Miners' Hall every change Sunday at 7:30 p.m. Will Jones, Box 418, Secretary.
- LOCAL FERGUSON FLATS, No. 85 (Alta),** G. L. Fuller, Secretary, Ferguson Flats, Alta.
- LOCAL KINDERLEY, No. 10 (Sask.)** S. P. of C.—W. K. Bryce, Secretary, Collins, Sask.
- LOCAL LETHBRIDGE, ALTA., No. 13,** S. P. of C.—Meets every Sunday at 3:30 p.m., in Miners' Hall, Secretary, W. Shaw, 624—14th St., S. Wm. Devoy Organizer.
- MEDICINE HAT (Lethbr.) Local S. P. of C.**—Meets first Sunday in the month at 528 G. Princess Ave., J. H. 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, 28 City Councillor St. Open every evening. Business meetings Wednesdays at 8 p.m. Smoker last Saturday in each month.
- LOCAL FLOWERDALE, No. 71 (Alta.),** S. P. of C.—Mrs. J. R. Macdonald, Secretary, Rickdale, Alta.
- LOCAL SUNDIAL, No. 70 (Alta), S. P. of C.**—Mrs. A. Thorburn, Secretary, Sundial, Alta.
- LOCAL SILVER LEAF, No. 191 (Alta.)** S. P. of C.—Ed. Hanger, Secretary, Baraca, P. O. Alta.
- LOCAL ST. CATHERINES, No. 20 (Ont.)** S. P. of C.—Economic class at Journal Hall, Market Square every Sunday, at 2 p.m. D. Thompson, Secretary, 34 William Street.
- LOCAL ST. JOHN, N. B., No. 1, S. P. of C.**—Visiting comrades welcomed. Secretary, Stanford E. White, 24 Main St.
- LOCAL TEAL, No. 57 (B.C.), S. P. of C.**—D. Wilson, Secretary, Box 331.
- LOCAL TRAVERS, No. 56 (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 HEAD, No. 58,** S. P. of C.—Business meeting every first Sunday of 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. Amst, Box 667.
- LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., No. 66, P. O. High.** Meets every second and fourth Wednesdays in the month at 2215 Pender St. East, Orvis Lind, Secretary.
- LOCAL VICTORIA, No. 3, 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 3 p.m. Headquarters, Room 5—608 Main Street, Secretary, Leo Schor.
- LOCAL OTTAWA, No. 3 (Ont.), S. P. of C.**—Secretary, A. G. McCaffin, 876 Laurier Ave.

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 cleaved. 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.

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