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Flashes and Rumbblings Along Social Horizon That Presage The Sort of Peace That the Immediate Future Has in Store

THE RULING class world is swiftly falling into chaos. Ruling class officialdom is rapidly becoming insane with fury. Radical thought along political and economic lines is spreading like wildfire among the enslaved of the earth and the profitmongering brigands of all lands are quaking with terror at the prospects rising before their affrighted eyes. The slaves, the vast majority of whom still have no vision beyond the narrow limits of the wage system, are becoming each day more restless and dissatisfied and are beginning to tug threateningly at their chains and the seed of revolution is afforded a well prepared and fertile soil in which to propagate; a soil that has been tilled and fertilized for the planting by the tyranny and the terrorism of ten thousand years of slavery and the multitude of horrors heaped upon the slaves by ages of class rule and robbery. Swiftly following upon the heels of the week and devastation resulting from the bloodiest ruling class spasm of fury ever recorded in history, comes an era fraught with grave danger to rulers, their infamous rule and its insitutions, an era that is destined to bring that rule to an end and strike from the limbs of slaves the chains that have been their scourge ever since civilization was born and the first of their kind shackled.

From every quarter comes accounts of trouble. Strikes follow each other in swift succession. No part of the civilized world appears to be immune. Demands of the most impossible nature are made by strikers, with an abandon and assurance that presages ill for the master class, although it finds itself absolutely unable to grant them. Demands are being constantly made upon governments and employing concerns that are as impossible to meet as would be the demand that the earth be made to turn the other way upon its axis. By this process the enslaved workers are slowly but surely learning the lesson, that they are now getting and have always gotten all that slavery could give them. Their wages have always been just what they were entitled to under the yoke of slavery, that is barely sufficient upon the average to keep them in a condition physically and mentally to continue working. That they have always received. It is but necessary to inquire into their physical and mental condition at present to corroborate the statement. They are even yet strong enough physically to work and weak enough mentally to have no better sense than to look upon a job as the very seventh heaven of delight. But the jobs are becoming harder to get. There are not nearly enough to go around. The consequence is that the stipend to be allotted to slaves, under the euphonious name of wages, inevitably lessens, just the same as the prices of other things lessen in a falling market. The condi-

tion of the slaves becomes more and more intolerable as it becomes more and more impossible for the masters to employ them all and more and more impossible to allot them the larger wages they perhaps formerly received. And that these are impossibilities is plain to any one who will take the trouble to enquire into the well known facts governing capitalist production and the exchange of its products in the markets of the world.

The big strike at Seattle seems to be over, at least as far as the unions that went out in sympathy with the shipyard workers are concerned. But what a fury of impotent rage and frantic animosity the cheap and vulgar tools of the ruling class were thrown into while it lasted. The striking slaves of Seattle were never entertained, and let us hope instructed, by such a lavish display of police and military threatening and Ole Hansen buffoonery, as was staged for their especial benefit during the last week. Never before did the truthful capitalist press indulge in more grotesque lying and frightful headlines than during those eventful days. City officials from the opera bouffe mayor up, and the dirty sheets from the slums of capitalist iniquity, outvied each other in shouting "I.W.W., Bolsheviki, radicals, revolutionists" and such-like cries of "wolf! wolf!" when there was actually no wolf at all. Every squawk that was emitted from the dirty throats of these pimps and panderers of the ruling class, proclaimed from the housetops as it were, the real fear that lurks in the cowardly bargain-hunting hearts of their owners, rulers and masters; the fear of an awakened and intelligent working class that will bring their long reign of blood and terror to an end. And that is all the fear that haunts them. Strikes for wages and all that that implies can be dealt with by the powers of repression that constitute all there is or ever was to ruling class states. Between those powers and the inexorable though unwritten laws of the market, the rulers know full well that they have the slaves at their mercy, but should the slaves as a class rise in revolution against their rule and robbery, a different story would be told. The rulers are perfectly justified in their fears. Their insane fury is easily understandable. That they make imposing display of their military power and tools and that they will use those instruments to make the gutters of their cities run red with the blood of their rebellious slaves, is quite to be expected. It is and has always been upon those forces that rulers and tyrants have depended to make good their rule and bulwark their tyrannies and brutalities. That is the only means whereby slavery can be maintained and the glorious regime of exploitation, trade and commerce perpetuated. And millions of the slaves of

the earth are becoming wise to that fact and the Ole Hansens and similar reckless ignorants in the service of the ruling class are rapidly spreading the education.

All of the infamous orders-in-council, war time election acts, espionage acts, censorship regulations, conscription acts, orders banning literature, infringements upon free speech and similar reactionary tyrannies forced upon the people by their rulers in these alleged democratic countries, under the specious pretence of war necessity, are still in force. Alleged draft evaders are still being chased and persecuted, public meetings are being broken up and speakers arrested and imprisoned, literature is being seized and labor and socialist headquarters raided and in many cases furniture and archives destroyed or carried off. In some of these countries at least the prisons are still full of conscientious objectors to human butchery and other political prisoners, and more are being daily added to their number although the war is supposed to be over and the atrocious "Hun" no longer a menace to "democracy and peace." Gruesome tales filter through of the awful tortures still inflicted upon imprisoned I.W.W. and other alleged offenders against the established tyrannies of "law and order," in such ruling class educational institutions as the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, and elsewhere. The military is everywhere more and more in evidence than in the days when German militarism terrorized the world and the brutal "autocracy of the Hun" threatened the very life of western "democracy" and the complete destruction of its beneficent civilization. Wicked German militarism has been destroyed or at least placed hors du combat, but the power of oppression and repression was never so brutally exercised in these so-called democratic lands as at present. Never was democracy more completely crucified and denied than right now upon this western continent. Never was

autocracy more impudently seated in the saddle in Germany during the days of the kaiser, than in Canada and the United States today. But even such sitting upon the safety valve will avail nothing, for the unrest, discontent, rebellion, even the disposition to revolution, is continually increasing and is tremendously accelerated by such conduct upon the part of the authorities. In due time there will be an explosion and the fools who sit upon the safety valve will receive a jolt. The old order of slavery and war is doomed to go. Its bloody work has cursed the world altogether too long. The result of its long regime of torture has culminated in what is practically world chaos. There is no sign of peace along the social horizon, nor is there promise of peace until the old order and all it stands for is destroyed. Universal bankruptcy confronts all capitalist nations of the earth, a bankruptcy that is not confined to financial matters, but includes moral and intellectual as well. Even the foremost ruling class statesmen stand like gibbering idiots and senile babblers in the midst of the ruins of their own making, utterly impotent to even suggest means of bringing order out of chaos and confusion that their slave civilization has at last brought to the world. Depression is their only resort. Violence and bloodshed is all they have to offer the slaves who cry out against the miseries thrust upon them.

But in all this world welter of vulgar brutality and ruling class fury at the approach of the inevitable, there is at least one bright spot and that is Russia. There the workers and peasants have risen against the age-long tyrannies and brutalities forced upon them by conscienceless rulers and their allied ruffians of the military and police, and assumed complete control and command over their own lives and fortunes by throwing their erstwhile masters and self-appointed governing authorities into the discard of obnoxious things no longer to be tolerated. And there reigns a true democracy, not a bastard image such as so loudly touted as the real thing by the rulers and masters of this western world. The workers and peasants of Russia are working out their own economic salvation against the opposition of all the ruling class world and in spite of all the hypocritical and preposterous pretences to the contrary notwithstanding, that we are speeded broadcast throughout all lands by the lying agents and avenues of falsehood and misinformation that draw their sustenance and support from the plunder taken from the slaves of this civilization by their rulers and masters. In spite of all the noisy lying about the chaotic conditions existing in Russia and the "awful atrocities" being perpetrated by the much feared and hated

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FEDERATED LABOR PARTY FIRST ANNUAL CONVENTION

THE first annual convention of the Federated Labor Party will be held in Vancouver on Thursday, March 21.

Secretary Trotter is sending out the official "call" to B. C. locals this week.

The basis of representation is two delegates for the first 100 membership and one for each additional 100 or fraction thereof.

Geo. F. Stirling has been commissioned by the F. L. P. provincial executive to conduct a month's organization work in the Okanagan district.

Interpretation of the World Situation

By E. T. KINGSLEY

(This Concludes a Series of Articles Which Will Be Reproduced in Pamphlet Form at an Early Date—Editor Star).

THE SUPREME ILLUSION

THE LAST century and a half has marked far greater strides in the evolution of human slavery than witnessed by all of the preceding centuries since that delectable conception became the cornerstone of the so-called social structure. With the invention of the steam engine, the spinning and weaving machinery, etc., during the latter half of the eighteenth century, a vista of limitless possibilities was opened to the delighted vision of the slave masters of the world, and the realization of an empire of power and magnificence beyond their wildest dreams announced its swift approach. Instead of their previous petty and narrow empires, confined to more or less circumscribed limits, the whole earth was to be speedily laid at their feet and every human being thereon compelled to pay them tribute. The means of accomplishing this had been discovered. The magic key that was to unlock the most gigantic treasure chest of all time had been found. The means whereby an ever increasing number of slaves could be released from the production of essential things of life and turned to the upbuilding of such a ruling class empire as the world never saw before; an empire embellished with pyramids of human achievement alongside of which the stone piles of ancient Egypt would appear like unto the mudhousen of little children in comparison; an empire that would bring production to the very remotest parts of the earth and eventually spread pestilence, death and destruction broadcast by the bloody hand of war, upon a scale of magnificence and prodigality such as the world had never known before. And the splendid possibilities opened to the ruling class of the world by the fortunate discovery of how to harness the forces of nature to do the bidding of slave masters and rulers have been taken advantage of to the utmost. The mightiest and most potent slave of the world has ever known has been brought to its grand culmination in the most prodigious display of blood spilling and human slaughter imaginable. In war as well as in industry the factory process is complete and at least in the noble art of human butchery and devastation it must be acknowledged that the machine has brought about a tremendous economy over the clumsy and primitive tools and methods of the slave civilization of long ago. And no doubt this splendid development has brought great joy to the rulers and masters of all lands. The slaves also appear to take kindly to the improved method of killing each other.

There is no more food produced now per inhabitant of the globe than there was before a mechanical device was introduced into the processes of agriculture. It is doubtful if it is more than doubtful, if any less human labor is required to produce the food, clothing and shelter requisite for the comfort and well-being of all, than was the case before machinery was invented. In fact it is a matter capable of proof that in so far as the actually essential things of life are concerned there has as yet been no discovery whereby they can be more easily obtained by the producers thereof, than by the simple and so-called primitive tools and methods in vogue 500 years ago. As a matter of fact, there has as never cost the producers of the earth so dearly in labor to feed, clothe and shelter themselves as it does now. Never did it require so many days' labor per year upon the part of a workman to provide himself and family with bread as now; never did it cost him so much labor to clothe his family as now; never did he have to work harder and longer in order to make a living than in these glorious days when it is alleged that the productive power of labor has been tremendously increased, because of the introduction of power driven machinery into the productive processes.

It would seem that the first thing that should occur to us would be, that given a civilization based upon the enslavement of the producers, nothing could be introduced into such a civilization and incorporated into its very being, unless it in some manner conserved and furthered the basic principle of that civilization—Civilization as human slavery. The period known as the civilized period is that which began with the introduction of human slavery and has continued down to the present. There has been nothing devised by man and incorporated into this civilization that did not directly conserve the interests and requirements of the ruling class. If it could in any manner be utilized to relieve the slaves' impotence upon whom the whole rule was exercised, it could not, and most certainly would not be tolerated. No improvement of the tools whereby slaves have produced wealth was ever yet devised and adopted, if the slaves thereby could possibly accrue to the slaves thereby. All there is to evolution is growth and development to a higher form of life, for that which is under consideration. The industrial evolution—or revolutionary—since slavery was born, has been put a part of the

evolution of that slavery from its primitive beginnings to its present highly perfected state.

In regard to the essential things of life there is a limit beyond which production cannot go without incurring an expense and waste that soon reaches prohibitive proportions. For instance in the matter of food, the amount grown in one year is only calculated to last until the following year's crop comes in. To produce sufficient in one season to last for several years would only result in loss through deterioration and the expense and risk attendant upon storing and caring for such stocks. The greater the quantity thus stored up for future requirements, the greater the loss and waste. The climate of every country is in providing a quantity that is sufficient to carry over until the next crop comes in. The same rule holds good in regard to clothing, housing, and in fact all of the essential things of life. In the world's yearly output of these essential things of life is never above the requirements of the population for a similar period. As far as the "accumulation of wealth" is concerned it is least of all included in the essential things of life, for no such accumulation is at all possible. It may be classed along with all other similar fables, such, for instance, as that equally absurd yarn about getting rich through saving. To sum it up the production of each year is used up within a corresponding period.

When it comes to the production, however, of those things that measure the wealth and magnificence of the ruling class, it is a different story. To this sort of production there is no limit except the capacity of its army of slaves. And the increasing of the city, or power, of slaves to produce ruling class requirements, is the sole function of the gigantic power driven machinery of industry that has been conjured forth by the capitalists of the modern world. In the ancient chattel slave days it required the labor of a hundred captive Jews for 20 years to build a single pyramid under the banks of the Nile for their brutal rulers. The slaves of these days, armed with the mechanical contrivances that have been designed for the purpose of exploitation, can turn out far greater pyramids in endless profusion, almost in the twinkling of an eye. But one class of the myriad of cities, great cities and cities small, with their miles upon miles of streets lined with shops, warehouses, factories, mills, foundries, banks, sky scraper office buildings, spiritual dope shops, brain numbing institutions, bawdy houses, prisons, barracks, reformatories, court houses, street railways, telephones, water works, sewers, scavenger carts, and all that is implied therein and connected therewith, and at least some idea may be gotten of the magnitude of labor that is expended in these days building pyramids that are no less useful nor more ornamental than the pyramids built by the slaves of ancient Egypt. For let it be known to all men that nothing is done in these cities, these pyramids, these human slavery, that aids in any manner in bringing forth the essential things of life. Not a thing is done in these cities that lessens the burden of toil upon the slaves either of city or country, but on the contrary they are entirely built at the expense of those slaves and they conserve no other purpose than that of rulers and masters. True it is that slaves have busied here the age of machinery arrived, but the building of them was an infinitely slower process. They were built by slaves who had not yet been armed with highly developed and powerful tools devised in the interest of their masters and especially designed to multiply the productivity of their labor. Now these great cities spring up like "a mushroom in the night." Such mighty achievements were never known until down within the last century or so, but all of these great achievements are great to the ruling class alone. To the slaves the building and maintenance of them is but a long drawn out agony, a veritable nightmare of horror. There is no great city that is not a reeking cesspool of moral degradation and vice. They poison and pollute the social atmosphere, so that not even the most remote districts escape the evil results. Their very existence is an unbearable exception to a part of the phenomena of human slavery.

The transportation system, the ramifications of which reach even to the uttermost parts of the earth, affords another striking illustration of the part that machinery plays in the world wide game of plundering slaves and rearing an empire of ruling class magnificence out of that plunder. The pulse of every slave in the land beats the quicker at the sight of a train loaded with rich products of our time rushing with the speed of lightning across the land, or of a mighty ship plowing the seas rich freighted with wares and merchandise of trade. And it never occurs to any one of them that the sole purpose of railways and ships, the sole purpose of the entire world transportation system in fact, is

that of taking away from the producers that which they produce, and never under any circumstances returning anything to them unless it be something that is imperatively necessary so that they can produce still further quantities of wealth to be disposed of. Whether a car or ship is loaded or otherwise always determines which way it is going. If loaded it is going away from the slaves who produced that with which it is loaded; if empty it is always returning for another load.

Another thing might be mentioned that should throw at least some light upon the motive that prompted the introduction of railways and ships into this civilization that many look upon as something delightfully grand and uplifting. All transportation schemes and enterprises originate in the cities. The cities produce practically nothing that the country districts need or can use. The country, however, does produce what the ruling class of the city must have, not only for its own sustenance but for the sustenance of the slaves upon whom it depends for its rearing and maintaining of its empire of plunder and magnificence. City workers almost in their entirety are engaged in ruling class service other than the production of the essential things of life. All such production is purely parasitical, just as the ruling class is parasitical so is all of that vast bunch of slaves in its service, who in no manner aid in the production of the essential things of life, the products of the country districts, the who produce all of the agricultural products, the grain, meat, fruit, vegetables, wool, flax, cotton, leather, building material, ores, etc., that constitute the essential things, are compelled to feed the whole lot. And that they get nothing for it goes without saying. As they produce all the food they surely cannot be paid in food, and everybody knows that they do not get paid in sky scrapers and other city buildings, in railways, rolling mills, canals, battle ships, submarines or any other ruling class junk. As the seat of ruling class power is in the cities and the cities produce nothing in the way of food, etc., it should be easily seen that there is no reason why all kinds of schemes should spring up in the city that would be calculated to bring the products of the country within reach of the city dwellers. Whenever any scheme is sprung it is a safe rule to calculate the schemes of "reconstruction" and adjustment are now being touted in the cities. We may rest assured that whatever may be suggested will not be calculated to militate against those interests that are invariably centered in the cities.

The tonnage of freight handled by the transportation companies runs up into billions of tons, per mile, per annum. The usual method of calculating this tonnage is to reduce it to tons of ton miles, i.e., the numbers of tons handled one mile. The railway and inland water tonnage for 1918 in the U. S. amounted to 490,350,000,000 ton miles. This would be approximately 4,600 tons per head of the population or 23,500 tons per family. In other words the tonnage per family would be nearly equal to the hauling of one ton of goods to the earth at the equator. And no argument is necessary to prove that the average family could not legitimately require that enormous amount of haulage in a generation let alone a year. Can anyone short of a very simple-minded person imagine for a moment that such an enormous amount of tonnage could possibly arise from any legitimate requirements of a people who can only get their sustenance from cultivating the soil and utilizing its products? This enormous tonnage could have nothing to do with the actual requirements of a free people. It could only appear as a part of the process of exploiting slaves and to go away with the plunder it is entirely incidental to the exploitation of slaves and the "trade and commerce" which results therefrom. It might be well to note that the term "trade and commerce" is the polite and conventional way of signifying the getting away with the swag.

The enormous significance of this ruling class production—the production of things that are nonessential to the wealth producers themselves—is little realized by the average person, including even those who pose as authorities upon the matter of economics. And there are none so ignorant as the professional economists of the ruling class. But in all of the statistics of wealth production furnished by and through the official channels of ruling class government, there runs a perfectly plain story of the magnitude of the robbery perpetrated upon the wealth producers under the present regime of gigantic industrial production. And the story is so plainly written that it would seem that even

a school boy ought not fail to understand it. For instance the U. S. government is authority for the statement that there was mined in that country last year nearly seven hundred million tons of coal. Now if that means anything it is that about seven tons per head of population was mined during the year, or close to thirty-five tons per family. At least half, and probably more than half, of the people of that country never use a pound of coal in their lives. And it is a safe presumption that the balance do not use an average of thirty-five tons in each decade and even they who do use coal for fuel purposes only do so because they are principally cooped up in cities and compelled to do so. At any rate we will be safe in assuming that thirty-five tons per family, counting all the families in the land, is not used up in a whole generation. And what is more not one-half of that amount could be used up for really essential purposes. The fact of it is that nearly all of that huge production of coal is used solely for ruling class purposes and not for any purpose that is essential to the comfort and welfare of the producers of wealth. It is used in the building and upkeep of the ruling class establishment of pomp, magnificence and power. The most of that coal production, as well as all the rest of the nonessential production of capitalism, during the last few years has been utilized for the glorious purpose of staging the most gorgeous display of ruling class ferocity and blood lust that the world ever saw, and incidentally the grandest wholesale slaughter of slaves yet recorded in history.

The same authority asserts that the production of iron in the United States for the same year period was seventy-five million tons. This would be approximately three-fourths of a ton for every head of population, or about three tons per family. It would be next to impossible for a family to use up one ton of iron in a whole generation if it were used only for really essential purposes, that is for such tools and utensils as would be required to equip and conduct the family establishment and necessary operations. Yet this enormous amount of iron was produced in one year and, presumably, it was mostly used for the essential, laudable purpose of making the world safe for ruling class democracy by killing several million slaves and other animals. Neither the amount of coal or iron mentioned could have been produced in that length of time had it not been for the machinery that has been brought into existence to serve the interest of the class that rules and robs, and the highest efficiency of which is exemplified in war, slaughter and devastation. In times of peace—only there are no such times under class rule, and that is more there can be none—practical use of this huge production of coal, iron, copper, oil, lumber, chemicals and a thousand other things that contribute to ruling class power and glory, are lavishly poured out for the enlargement of the empire of the ruling class and finance, and in preparing for war. In time of war, which is practically all of the time, a tremendously large part of it goes into the upbuilding of armies, navies and all that that implies against the day when freedom and democracy shall be imperilled at the hands of wicked autocracy and other evil shapes. And now it has become that even the noble art of slaughter is no longer a head against the wall. The art of human butchery has been so brought to a high efficiency that it is carried on almost exclusively by machinery. Being really and truly a ruling class enterprise it is indeed meet and proper that it should keep abreast of, or even ahead of, all other branches or ruling class industry. There is every reason why it should become the most highly developed and powerful part of the great factory system, a distinction that it has long since gained for war, glorious war, is the crowning achievement of the ruling class regime, an achievement beyond which it cannot go. It is the supreme attainment, and to go hear the disciples, the lickspittles, the apologists, the pimps, the defenders and the hypocrites of ruling class blood-lust and ferocity prate about "last wars" and "war to end war" is enough to make a mule laugh, and to make a horse. A slave civilization inevitably breeds the war, for the enslavement of one man or set of men by another or others, is in itself an act of war. It is a war of masters against slaves, and no matter whether such a civilization exists for one year or ten thousand it must inevitably express itself in continuous turmoil, trouble and conflict. There can be no peace. Liberty cannot exist. Democracy can be nothing but a joke.

For the twelve months ending with June, 1918, the agricultural products of the United States turned into the market \$22,200,000,000 of farm products. This is according to the U. S. Official Bulletin. This vast sum constitutes the amount the farmers are supposed to have received.

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posed to have received for the grain, fruit, vegetables, wool, cotton, flax, beef, pork, mutton, poultry, butter, cheese, milk, and all other foodstuffs and essentials they produced and sold. In fact what they thus turned in represented all the food, as well as the raw materials for the clothing produced within the U. S. Now, anyone who knows anything about farm life, in that or probably any other country, knows full well that the great majority of the farmers pay practically all their food, and in many localities at least make a part of their clothing, and that all they thus consume does not appear in the market figures. Therefore, whatever that amount might be it does not appear in the figures given by the U. S. government as quoted above. The more than twenty-two billions they turned into the market was outside of what they themselves consumed out of their year's product. The same U. S. government states that during the year referred to, the food was shipped to European foodstuffs to completely and fully ration 65,000,000 people and to afford cereal rations for 23,000,000 more. Now let us see what happened.

During the year in question between two and three million men, women and children of age were conscripted for cannon food, not because either they or their class had received any injury at other hands than those of their masters, but because their respective masters either had a grievance against some other national band of brigands or saw an opportunity to turn a profitable trick upon some other of the precious members of the delectable fraternity of slave masters and slave skinners. Consisting of these millions of young men could not have added anything to the percentage of American sovereigns engaged in agricultural pursuits. Rather it might well have lessened that percentage. Not knowing, however, just what this percentage may have been, it will at least be within the mark to assume that one-half of the population of that country is engaged in agricultural pursuits. This being so, we have a situation something as follows: One-half of the population, after having produced at least their own food, turned into the market a quantity of farm products equivalent to \$229 per head of population in the country, or approximately \$1,200 per family. Out of this vast amount of food and at least the raw materials for clothing, etc., all of the people of the U. S. were fed, clothed, etc., and then enough was left to furnish 65,000,000 and cereal rations 23,000,000 more. Besides feeding themselves, these agricultural workers fed the other half of the population of the country and millions of Europeans besides. Christ with his "loaves and fishes" stunt never had anything on them.

And what did these agricultural workers get for all this? The answer is, they got nothing. That is all that exploited people ever get for what they do. There is a very simple reason for this. The producers of wealth produce all there is, wherever anything like payment is made. As the wealth is taken from them it does not require a set of baby's building blocks to clearly demonstrate that they can receive no payment, for there is nothing to pay with. There being nothing wherewith to make payment, it stands to reason that if the wealth is taken from those who bring it forth by their labor, it can only be taken for nothing. In the olden time it used to be taken away by the persuasive influence of the ruler, it is taken away by the persuasive influence of a promise to pay that which is impossible of payment, because there is nothing on earth nor in the waters under the earth wherewith to make payment.

As has already been said there is no more of the essential things of life produced now, according to the population, than was the case 500 or a thousand years ago. There has been very little if any improvement in the method of production of these essential things. But there has been a very decided improvement in the method of production of the ruling class things of empire and power. The simple and easily acquired hand tools of freedom, have been transformed into the powerful, complicated and costly machinery of a highly developed human slavery, and the task of producing the essential things of life has gradually been forced upon a decreased percentage of the population by compelling them to work all of their time where their primitive and free forebears did not work at all, while another ever increasing percentage of the population has been turned to the production of purely ruling class things, things neither essential or of any use whatever to the weak producers, but the task of producing the vulgar magnificence and unbridled power has accrued to the rulers and masters of slaves. The tools of free men did not and could not serve the interests or satisfy the ambitions of rulers and masters. The mighty industrial machinery of the ruling class, that has so greatly multiplied the productive power of slaves in the production of ruling class requirements, can no more conserve the interests of free men and satisfy their require-

ments, than could the simple tools of freedom satisfy their masters and rulers.

As the great industrial mechanism of the ruling class has been developed it has gradually drawn the one-time free agriculturalists into its fatal net, and just as rapidly as they were led to imagine that the machine for reaping grain, for threshing grain, for planting seed and for cultivating the field was designed for their benefit and they adopted it, just so rapidly were they enmeshed in the gigantic web of slave production of wealth, upon the masters' plan, and all of their one-time liberty was lost. Production for use gave way to production for profit and that profit was always the profit of the masters of the great dominant industrial mechanism of the day. Step by step the diversified agriculture of the olden time has largely given way to the production of some special crop, under the fatal lure that riches might be accumulated more speedily by that route than by any other. The less the variety of products raised by the agriculturist the more does he become compelled to purchase from the market, and the more the machine of that method of getting the things he needs must have or perish, the more completely is he at the mercy of the ruthless masters of exploitation and rapine. The more completely is he enslaved.

When one comes to realize that from a very few acres of decent soil and with but a few simple and easily acquired tools practically all of the essential things of life can be obtained without the expenditure of one cent more than is required by the free country laborer, it becomes difficult to account for the fatal illusion that possesses the minds of men, that the great machinery of production of this slave age marks a tremendous advance over the olden days of fathers and their primitive methods and tools. And yet the fact stares us in the face that the worker now, whether in the country or city, is compelled to work all the time in order to make his living. If the modern achievements of the last century and a half measure any degree of human progress and the producers now have to work all of the time to make a living, how long must the worker of the olden time have been compelled to work in order to live? The fact of it is that he never did work until he was enslaved. The word "work" was not invented until the slave was shackled and then it became necessary to invent some term to describe his state of beatitude. Slaves, either bled or quadrupled, work. Free animals never work. Man is an animal, and probably the most stupid of the lot.

That machinery has lightened the labor of man is the great illusion. It has been the means of perfecting his enslavement and bringing it to its supreme culmination. It need not be inferred from this that no machine could be devised that could serve the purpose of free men. Machines may be of such a simple character as to be easily made and operated by a single person and enable him to gain by their use. But the great machines that have been devised, being by the master class to conserve its interests and enlarge its power, cannot be utilized by wealth producers to secure their freedom and perpetuate it, for the simple reason that such machinery is produced in its entirety is designed for and used only in producing that which is absolutely useful to a ruling class only. It may be readily seen that if 75,000,000 tons of iron were produced for the people of a given country, no stretch of the imagination could such an enormous quantity be used up for any essential purpose, by that people, that all of it above what should be legitimately required must be used on behalf of the ruling class, the ruling class. Now it so happens that 75,000,000 tons of iron, produced in the U. S. last year, as has already been mentioned, would be equivalent to about four-and-a-half tons per family in the country. As it would require no more than one ton of wheat to bread the average family for a year, it would seem an absurdity that four-and-a-half tons of iron would be required to satisfy the family needs in that line for a year. As we may be sure to explain it away we are still forced to the conclusion that at least a very large part of that stupendous iron production must be charged to the account of the ruling class. The displacement of at least 74,000,000 tons of that output could scarce be accounted for in any other manner. And the same is true of all other lines of production outside of that of food, clothing, shelter and the few other essential things of life.

If this useless production could be cut out and the production of the necessary things of life be distributed, as it should be, among all the people, so that all should once more produce their own living, the day of human freedom would have returned. The long dark night of "work" would have ended. But the great illusion that machinery has improved the condition of man, or that it is easier to get a living by means of this huge complicated and enormously costly and cumbersome mechanism than by the simpler, less costly, and less cumbersome tools and methods of the freedom of long ago, must first be removed from the minds of men. It

is painful to note that this fatal illusion is yet as firmly fixed in the minds of those who call themselves Socialists and rate as the most advanced thinkers of our time, as it is in the mind of the dullest wage slave that ever affirmed his freedom by bawling for a job.

CHANGE THE OWNERSHIP

THE STOCK phrase dealing with the ownership of the modern machinery of production indulged in by the average alleged Socialist is "change the ownership so that all may enjoy the benefits of the machine." Of course this change of ownership is to be from the capitalists to the people as a whole. Now that all sounds fairly good, but will it make any difference who owns and controls and operates an industrial machine that has been built from the ground up to conserve the interests of a hand of brigands? If so how? If the purpose for which a certain part of this boasted industrial mechanism has been designed and created has been to bring forth 75,000,000 tons of iron per annum, all but one million tons of which is to be used solely for ruling class purposes, what sort of change of ownership will be required to turn the entire output to the purposes of the new owners, the "people," who having dumped their rulers and masters engaged in running the iron business? As the iron output has previously been used chiefly for the purpose of building railroads, factories, bridges, ships of war and ships of trade, cannon, rifles, bombs, shells, gas masks, cages, skyscrapers, tunnels and the multitude of similar junk useful to the ruling class only, what things other than those already mentioned are the new owners going to turn out for the benefit of themselves and their heirs and assigns forever after? If the new owners come into possession of a coal producing mechanism with a capacity of 700,000,000 tons per annum, of which at least 650,000,000 is consumed in wifing class enterprises, to what purpose are the new owners going to turn this output of black diamonds? And so we might ask in regard to each and every part of this essentially ruling class industrialism. Of course it will be said by some that "we are going to establish production for use and that will settle it. Will it? If production for use should call for only one million tons of iron where ruling class requirements had called for 75,000,000, then it would mean the abandonment of that mighty machine of iron and steel production and the substituting therefore of a number of far smaller units of production so situated as to make it possible to distribute the product by means of some simpler and less costly method of transportation, for let it be known that the huge transportation system of today is part and parcel of that mighty mechanism of exploitation that turns 75,000,000 tons of iron here, 600,000,000 tons of coal there, and a multifarious assortment of ruling class requirements otherwise in similar huge and expensive quantities. Either the industrial establishment of capitalism remains intact and continuing to serve the purpose for which it has been designed and created, or it goes down and out, no matter whether it changes ownership or not.

The only sort of things that can be produced upon a gigantic scale and by the use of the modern machinery is being produced today. And that production implies a ruling class at the top and a slave at the bottom. It means powerful exploiters in the saddle of authority and miserably exploited and tortured workers cowering like outcasts in a narrow existence under the lash of the whip. Either the slaves will rise, seize the reins of power, take charge of the capitalist machine of exploitation and murder, and dismantle it piece by piece and step by step, sloughing off that which is no longer essential and turning the workers hitherto employed in useless ruling class production to the production of their own essential things, or the whole establishment will soon be in collapse and all will go down in one common ruin. There must be an ultimate beyond which human slavery cannot go. Then it must perish. There are many signs upon the social horizon that indicate the end is close at hand.

THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM

IF THERE is a greater pleasure in life than can be found in buying things cheap, it is in selling them for more than they are worth. Especially pleasing to the bourgeois soul, for it is the only way that has ever yet been discovered to get something for nothing and do it honestly. For instance if the labor power of a slave is sold for a dollar per day and the product of that labor power is sold for two dollars, the enterprising purchaser of labor power has cleared a dollar through his business sagacity, the slave has been paid for what he did, no class has been wronged. Then again our enterprising trader may purchase other goods than labor power and sell them for more than he paid and thereby turn more honest dollars or pennies, as the case may be, than he could have made in any satisfactory feature of all of this buying and selling is that everything, apparently, is either paid for on the spot, or arrangements mutually satisfactory are made whereby payment will be forthcoming later on.

As to final payment, however, there seems not the slightest doubt, and because of this there is probably no word in the language of men that hath a more satisfying sound than that very word "payment."

One of the greatest discoveries ever made by man is that of how to pay for things when there is nothing on earth wherewith to make payment, and at the same time make the recipient of such payment actually believe that payment has been rendered. This has happily been provided for by the invention and use of what is termed money. The story of money is a tale of one of the most interesting and widely prevalent superstitions that has ever fastened itself upon the mind of men.

The earliest form of exchange of which we have any knowledge consisted of the direct barter of one thing for another, but as trade spread its tentacles over an ever widening field it became more and more impossible for the owner of a given commodity who wished to acquire some other specific commodity in exchange therefor, to find an owner of the desired commodity who would be agreeable to such an exchange. It then became necessary to have a specific commodity to function as a sort of go-between in the matter of the exchange of commodities, a commodity that would be of universal acceptance for that particular purpose. Many different commodities have been used at different times and in different countries, but gold has long since become the universally accepted commodity for the purpose of exchange. All other commodities are now compared to gold in order to translate their exchange value into the monetary terms with which the various governments of the earth have endowed that particular metal. In Canada and the United States the term "dollar" is used. A dollar consists of 25.8 grains of gold nine-tenths fine; i. e., nine parts pure gold and one part alloy. The value in exchange of all commodities bought and sold in the market are first translated into the monetary terms of "dollars" and fractions thereof, and exchanges are then made upon that basis. The amount of enslaved labor equipped with the modern appliances for efficiently exploiting slaves, that is embodied in the production of any given commodity, as compared to the amount of enslaved labor, similarly equipped, required to produce 25.8 grains of gold, determines the exchange value of said commodity expressed in terms of money. The amount of enslaved labor required to produce the commodity in question was the same as that required to produce the amount of gold contained in one dollar, the exchange value of such commodity would be expressed in dollars. If more enslaved labor was required to produce the aforesaid commodity than the gold, its exchange value would be more than one dollar, and if less was required its exchange value would be expressed in some fraction of a dollar.

The production of the metal, gold, at no time constitutes in value more than an infinitesimal portion of the total commodity values produced. Such being the case no argument is necessary to clearly show the utter impossibility of the production of gold being used as a means of payment. If a million dollars' worth of commodities were produced and sold, including as much as \$50,000 in gold, it is manifestly apparent that the gold could not pay for the vast bulk of the commodities sold. And it should not be forgotten that the gold is produced by the same enslaved labor that produces the other commodities. In itself the gold is but one commodity in an extended list of commodities. All the function it ever did play, or plays yet, in trade, commerce and exchange, is as a generally accepted means of determining the relative exchange values of commodities. Itself among the number. Every time the exchange value of a commodity is translated into terms of gold, at the same time the exchange value of gold is translated into the terms of that commodity. For instance, if a barrel of flour is quoted in the market as worth \$10, it is equivalent to quoting that amount of gold as worth one barrel of flour.

The products of labor enter the market in endless procession as commodities for sale and they continue to loiter or wander about as commodities until some purchaser lifts them from the market by acquiring possession for the purpose of consuming them. In the market the goods are sold by buying and selling, every one trying to buy cheap and sell dear. There is haggling and trickery and cheating and swindling and every other sinful thing imaginable, but there is no honesty, in fact the market is no place for an honest man. Above the gates of the world market place should be writ large the words "Abandon honesty, all ye who enter here." The reason of it is not far to seek. In the first place goods, merchandise, commodities can not enter the market except they are first produced, and all are produced by labor. And it requires a peculiar type of labor to bring forth commodities, things that can be sold in the market, requires an enslaved, an exploited labor, to do it. The market, the trade and com-

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THE NEW HYMN OF HATE

WE HAVE all heard of the "hymn of hate" invented by the Germans as an expression of their impotent spleen against their special enemies, the English. It was the most childish silly attempt to stir the baser passions of the German people, and thereby make it possible to drive them to still further atrocities against those who had evidently put a vexatious sprag in front of the kaiser's war chariot. The effort fell flat, as such ridiculous and childish performances should, and the silly affair has been by now well nigh forgotten. No worthy cause was ever aided by such execrable means as that of appealing to the baser passions and meaner instincts of human kind. It has always been the practice of the criminal and vulgar elements in human society to instigate quarrels between different sections of the nations or peoples of the earth, whenever such differences and quarrels could promise to bring grist to the mill of the sinister interests involved. Too often have alleged religious differences, political differences and prejudices of nationality been used to stir up strife and contention among the unthinking horde, while unclean and baneful interests got away with their plunder under cover of the fog and confusion they had deliberately stirred up. Another attempt is now being made to stir the base passions that are peculiar to certain stages of human ignorance, and throw this dominion into an internecine infamy in order that the vulgar and brutal interests that rule and rob Canada may evade the keeping of the promise made by their government to those who were sent forth to do the bloody work of the ruling class in Europe.

The new hymn of hate is not of German origin. It is Canadian born. It is being sung by every criminal and vulgar supporter and agent of the present regime and every rogue who has chestnuts in the fire which he hopes to pull out while the row is on. This precious hymn of hate is directed at what is termed the "alien enemy" within the Dominion. This of course means every person born in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey and not to forget the "Bolsheviks," whether born in Russia or any other un-British land. Not that these "enemy aliens" are real enemies or that they have taken part in any enemy activities during the late scrap, but they are to be made the goat for the sins of the precious rulers of this much-bellauded Dominion who find themselves unable to furnish the employment they so lavishly promised the soldiers upon their return from the battlefields of Europe. That there are some hundreds of thousands of these alleged "enemy aliens" in Canada is well known. That they have been induced to come here by the very interests that are now cheerfully prepared to sacrifice them to the vengeance of a riotous mob of their own incitement, is also well known. That they have as a rule come

here in perfect good faith and have made good in every way that constitutes seemly conduct and profitable behaviour, according to the curriculum duly made and provided by the ruling class itself, is beyond question. But that they are to be sacrificed to the mercy of the mob, in order that jobs may be furnished to the returned men who have saved the country for the masters and owners of all jobs, and whose supply of jobs falls far short of the immediate requirements through no fault of the job chasers themselves, is painfully apparent. In other words a ruling class that is and has always been intellectually bankrupt, and which is now bankrupt in every other imaginable way, is evidently inciting those whom it has outraged by the making of promises which it cannot keep, and probably never intended to keep, to vent their spleen upon innocent working people who have never done them any harm, but unfortunately for themselves happen to have been born upon the wrong side of an imaginary line drawn by the ruling class itself. That such incitement is both brutal and cowardly goes without saying, and whether it be incited by the government and the interests whose supine tool that government is, or is pulled off by an irresponsible mob of massed ignorance and cowardice, like unto the mob that pelted the gentle Nazarene with rocks and filth as he toiled up Calvary neath the burden of his cross, matters not, for in either case it will be an infamy that has not to our knowledge been duplicated in the history of German autocracy. And then perhaps it will prove a trap deftly laid by designing rogues to afford excuse for using such drastic measures, against the mob thus incited to unlawful practices, as to relieve both the pension fund and the over-crowded labor market. There are many things in the philosophy of ruling class rascality that is not always apparent to the unsophisticated observer.

The threat now pending of a crusade of brutality against "aliens" who happen to be born in the wrong place, according to the dictum of the ruling class incited mob, is a direct threat against the entire working class. The organized labor forces of this Dominion whether organized in unions or political movements, should take up the challenge at once and let it be known that any attack upon so-called "alien enemies" will be considered as an attack upon the organized labor forces of the country. If there are any persons in Canada, either workers or exploiters, who have been guilty of offense deserving of the cowardly penalty of being excluded from, or more properly speaking driven from the country, let no such penalty be imposed except as a result of a fair and open trial and clearly established guilt. We have heard a lot about "British fair play," but the brutal and cowardly suggestion that any person should be driven from the country without some clearly established reason warranting such expulsion, is equivalent to the placing of all pretence of "fair play" in the long category of blatant hypocrisies that are peculiarly British. We have been fed full of "Hun" atrocities. We have got a fairly ample supply of atrocities to the credit of this Dominion already. There are several hundred thousand alleged human beings in Canada that could be far better spared than the so-called "alien enemies" in question. At least the "aliens" pay their own way through life, but there is an army of ruling class and exploiting ruffians and bargain counter rogues that never yet missed a meal or paid a cent. The "alien enemies" have never yet been accused of either resorting to mob rule and riot or of stooping so low as to incite others to do so. They are evidently too decent for that sort of

uplift work, and too devoid of cowardice to indulge in it. And if mob rule and the cowardly brutality of which it is the legitimate expression is to become the moral and ethical code of Canadian civilization, it will soon become necessary to enforce any deportations, for every decent person will be only too glad to deport himself. When mob rule becomes the order of the day, the civilization of which it is an expression has about reached its end. Its obsequies will speedily follow. It is up to the workers to at once call a halt upon this threatened resort to mob violence, for no other part of present civilization has either the power or the decency to do it. Let the present Canadian hymn of hate meet with the same fate as that of the "Hun". Let it be thrown into the discard and none longer be so vulgar as to attune their cowardly souls to its inhuman notes.

At the time of the armistice the Bethlehem Steel Corporation of the United States employed 135,000 workers in its operations. Since the armistice 15,000 have been discharged. It is not a matter of record that even the greatest slave masters of ancient times ever had such an enormous number of slaves as that. It is stated in history that the building of the Egyptian pyramids required the labor of 100,000 captive Jews for 20 years, but the 135,000 captives of the Bethlehem Corporation built a pyramid of guns, shells, ammunition and similar ruling class precious things totalling \$500,000,000 worth during the year 1918. That old Egyptian slavery was evidently lacking in efficiency as compared to that of this enlightened age of freedom and democracy. Slavery has indeed made great progress since the days of the Pharaohs. The slaves are now so powerful, due to being armed with gigantic mechanical instruments of exploitation, that they can turn stone piles, like those upon the banks of the Nile, "while you wait." And it is a pleasure to record that they are just about as tame and spiritless now as they were 3,000 years ago. Even then they went on strike against making bricks without straw, and they still strike for equally weighty reasons. Thus do they mark progress.

The "kaisers" are not all in Holland.

Having fought for democracy, where is it?

Capitalism knows no national lines. Why should labor?

By the way, who brought the "aliens" and Orientals to this country?

The ruling class, the world over, is working overtime digging its own grave.

Can the man who double-crosses his friends expect to avoid being double-crossed?

Skulking in the background is the same "enemy" of the working class in every country.

Keep your eye on the labor official who is out for a soft government job. There IS a reason.

Why should any man or woman, ready and willing to work, be deprived of the opportunity?

A "general strike" on election day would accomplish more in one day than by the old method in one year.

The accredited "representatives" of labor are generally elected by wage-workers. Others don't wait to be elected.

Uncle Sam succeeded in buying up during war time, most of the A.F. of L. officials by placing them on the payroll.

There is plenty of food, clothing and wealth of every description in the world. What the workers need is access to it.

Peter Wright, a British ruling class propagandist, has been with us. Yes indeed. He kept fitting company for his kind while in Canada.

As even a "reform" government the Farris-Oliver aggregation at Victoria is the most colossal failure on record. It is too dead to skin.

The Union government may possibly solve the unemployed problem by appointing additional commissions "royal" and otherwise, to "investigate," etc., etc.

As soon as a labor "leader" enjoys the confidence of old-party politicians it is about time for the membership to take a hand, under the head of election of officers.

Labor "leaders" the world over are finding it more difficult each day to serve two masters. The membership has decided to take a hand in its own stewardship.

Ontario bankers and business men have decided it would be all right to deport "aliens," but prefer that they be compelled to leave their money behind—preferably on deposit.

The press censorship has been lifted in Canada—at least in Vancouver. The workers did it themselves, despite the "readers" who were considered "safe" by the military and governmental authorities.

What do you mean—"the listening post?" Simply this: There is no guarantee of privacy on B. C. Telephone Co. "stool-pigeons" know, and report, any conversation deemed necessary in the conduct of their business.

When one comes to think of it, it could hardly be expected of Ald. Shelly to advocate the establishment of a municipal bakery. Nor Ald. Kirk to be in favor of municipal laundries. Like the fleas on the dog—that's the way they make their living.

FLASHES AND RUMBLINGS ALONG THE SOCIAL HORIZON

(Continued from Page One)

"Bolsheviki", that is spread broadcast throughout the land, there is more than sufficient evidence leaking through to warrant the assertion that in Russia today there is less of disorder, violence, and brutality to be found than in any other country of the earth. Internal unrest, strikes, inhibitions against free speech, and a free press, police brutality, military terrorism and the many similar blessings with which we are so familiar are not in evidence there, under "Bolsheviki" rule, under the "dictatorship of the proletariat." The only evidence of the blessed civilization that we enjoy and of which we are so eminently proud that is to be found in Russia now is at those points where that glorious civilization is upheld by the bayonets of the United States and their soulful allies. Were it not for the armed cut-throats of other countries now in Russia there would be no disorder and violence there. The remnants of the old and murderous regime of the czars would have long since either have become reconciled to the new order, the order of the proletariat, an order of peace, decency and brotherhood, or have absconded to some other land where they could still fraternize with others of their ilk whom the workers of those lands are still simple enough to tolerate as rulers, robbers and all around nuisances. But even as it is Russia is the only really bright spot upon the map.

Interpretation of the World Situation

(Continued from Page Three)

mercy of the world is but the means whereby the masters of slaves realize on the plunder they take from those slaves, by transmitting it into an ever extending empire of pomp and power throughout the earth. Without trade and commerce to spread their plunder and convert it into continually increasing means and power of further exploitation, even to the uttermost parts of the earth, this capitalist civilization whose boasted grandeur is based solely upon the plunder of slaves, would collapse like a house of cards.

If the workers, the slaves of modern industrialism and of the field and forest, produced all the wealth that is poured into the markets of the world, it is manifestly impossible that the producers, the enslaved workers, can receive any payment therefor. As they produce all exchange value and it is taken from them, it must be taken without payment, there being nothing outside of what they produce wherewith to make such payment. As there is nothing wherewith to make any payment whatsoever for all wealth, by the same token is there nothing wherewith the trading fraternity, whose delectable function it is to dispose of the plunder, can render payment one to another when transferring the wealth from one hand to another. The plain fact is that there is nothing to pay for the wealth produced in the first place, there can be nothing with which to make any payment whatsoever at any subsequent time. The plain fact is that slaves produce wealth for their masters for nothing, and the trade and commerce of those masters is the means whereby that wealth is turned to ruling class purposes, either by being eaten and worn out, or by being sold, or turned into capital for the purpose of extending the empire of exploitation and torture more completely over the earth.

Under the earlier forms of slavery the slaves were shackled and driven under the lash without any other pretense than that of the power to do so. It has been left for this last stage of slave civilization to cover up its loathsome tracks by the invention of the lying and hypocritical pretense of payment. The slaves are taught to believe that they are paid for their misery, and the world of trade, commerce, finance, diplomacy and government seems to be as completely deluded as the slaves themselves. Either that or our statesmen, business magnates, big and little, financiers, professors, preachers, and all that rag-tag and bobtail intellectual host that bores the ruling class and defends its crimes, are the veriest liars and hypocrites that ever went unchallenged. All the pretenses of ruling class civilization are false, but none more completely so than the pretense that the slaves work for nothing, and that the wealth produced by labor is ever paid for except by the sweat and misery of the enslaved workers who bring it forth. This bloody war that has been on for the last four years has been a device for making those who fought it and those whose labor brought forth the wherewith to carry on its glorious work. Millions died upon the battlefield and millions more have been crippled for life. Other millions have been reduced to the bone in order to keep up the murderous game. And still other countless millions have been starved and trampled under foot without mercy by the ravaging host of heretics bent upon murder and devastation at the behest of conscienceless rulers and military ruffians. And half the world or more has been and is still being swept by pestilence, taking deadly toll for the iniquities of ruffianly rulers and their bloody regime. Pay for the war? The bill has already been paid in full in the misery, the agony, the suffering, the death and devastation that has already been inflicted on the sons and daughters of men, and it will be paid again and again by the agonies yet to come to the countless crippled victims of the awful holocaust and the endless train of evils that will follow along in its bloody and devastating wake. And that is all the payment that can ever be made.

Outside of the very limited amount of so-called metal money in existence all money is merely an unpayable promise to pay. Metal money such as gold, silver, copper, etc., carries the commodity value of the metal of which it is made, but even this exchange value in no case functions as payment. It is merely an equivalent in exchange for some other commodity. In spite of all the efforts of rulers and their financial sharps to endow gold and silver with supernatural and mysterious powers, they still remain in the category of simple and ordinary commodities, just like iron, flour, leather or any other. Paper money is nothing but a promise to pay, that can never be redeemed. No matter how many promises to change hands in the process of exchange it still remains as persistently unredeemable as before, and continues serenely upon its way as an immortal falsehood. The

reason that payment can not be made and the promise made good, is the same as that which first called it into being. There is nothing and there can be nothing wherewith payment can be made. Paper money carries no commodity value in exchange, for it costs nothing to produce it. Once issued it remains forever as a demand against such products as the slaves of ruling class production may bring forth, to the amount indicated by the figures upon its face. It functions as a perpetual order upon the ruling class warehouse, the contents of which are as perpetually replenished, for nothing, by the toil and sweat of the enslaved producers of all wealth. It has been wisely ordained by the benign providence that presides over the destinies of the grand game of exploiting slaves and building vulgar and grandiose empires out of the plunder, that only sufficient money (orders on the warehouse) shall be allotted to slaves to enable them to lift therefrom just enough food, etc., to keep them in reasonably good working condition, upon the same principle that a horse, ass or ox is allowed only the amount necessary to enable it to efficiently draw the plow or cart. The mule is also treated in the same judicious and commendable manner.

This immortal falsehood called money, this accumulation of promises to pay that can never be kept, this filamam and subterfuge well calculated to camouflage the coarse and ruffianly art of ruling and robbing slaves was a semblance of decency and freedom, constituting the so-called capital of the world, issued by authority of the masters of the slaves and the warehouse, as rapidly as it is issued and sent forth upon its pretended mission of "investment" it returns with equal rapidity to the source from whence it came, even as a "dog returns to his vomit," there to be recorded to the credit of its individual owners, the industrial, commercial and financial magnates and brutes, the supreme masters of the slave camp of ruling class civilization. All bonds, stocks, debentures, loans, investments, and other paper evidences of so-called property ownership belong to the same category as money. They are all in the nature of orders upon the production of the future, that can never be met and can only be gotten rid of by complete repudiation.

The alleged payment of a note, bond or any other form of debt, pays nothing. It merely transfers an order upon the future from one person or persons to another or others. The debt still remains unpaid. The future still remains unpaid. The promissory note of its way" as an immortal filamam. The so-called payment of a note or bond, or any other obligation always sets up other obligations in its place, so that the result for the sum total of the world debt, capital, investment or money, whichever you prefer to call it, remains nil. Cheques drawn up on banks merely transfer evidence of debt from one account to another. A draws a cheque in favor of Z, in payment for merchandise, let us say. Upon presentation of the cheque at the bank the amount called for is charged to A. and credited to the account of Z. The bank now owes Z, who is formerly owed A. There is neither more nor less wealth in existence than before and the total debt of the world remains unchanged. All financial transactions are of the same character, no matter whether carried out by the exchange of cheques, currency or other means of financial juggling. The raising of the huge "Victory" and "Liberty" loans, even if it be granted either of them, or liberty could be secured up with a pawnshop device, neither increased or decreased the sum total of the world's debt. What the governments borrowed was debt already in existence; promises to pay that could never be met. These figures, either upon bank notes held by individuals or upon bank ledgers to the credit of individuals, were transferred to government account. Instead of the banks then owing the individuals who purchased the bonds, the governments owed such persons. Where the banks were formerly debtors to depositors and note holders, the governments assumed the obligation and the banks were released. The world's debt had not been either increased nor lessened. The governments at once proceeded to turn loose the brave array of figures representing debt that can never be paid, by making payments for supplies in the shape of war materials, cannon food, etc., and lo and behold! these brave figures representing wealth that has been wrung from slaves without recompense or reward, march solemnly back via the exchange and once more perch upon "grave and stern decorum" in orderly column upon the same old roost from which they were sent forth to do battle for "victory" and "liberty," viz., the pages of the bank ledgers. The debt of the world is neither more nor less than before. Not an order upon the future toil and sweat of slaves has been cancelled. The magnitude of the impossible is in statu quo. The greatest lie in all history has been successfully "floated" by the sly financiers whom divine providence hath appointed to finance us and the sacred cause of "victory" and "liberty," and thus been happily advanced, as far at least as it is possible to do so by means of "bonds." The term "floated" is used advisedly, for we are not unmindful of the fact that it is only those things that

happen to be properly ballasted with specific gravity, that can be "floated" at all. The trade of financing being so very simple and so much more easily learned than half-soiling shoes or pressing pants, it is a matter of wonder why many to whom it is especially capable men persist in learning and following those intricate and difficult trades, in preference to the comparative sinecure of merely shuffling figures upon scraps of paper and bankers' profit and then too, the half-crazed men might, through an unlucky slip of his knife, cut his thumb and thus incapacitate himself for a considerable period, or the pants-presser might spoil his trousers' breeches with too hot an iron, thereby causing at least some material loss, but the financier, the juggler of figures, might so mess up the whole lot that they could never be again properly rearranged and sorted out, and not a penny of material loss would occur, not even as much as a cut thumb would result.

If the total capital in the world at a given time amounted to let us say \$1,000,000,000, and the result of the exploitation of the slaves during the next twelve months increased the total capital to \$1,500,000,000, that increment would represent what Marx has termed "surplus value." The following year would register a still further increase, for it is an axiom that "capital" must bring its owners profit and it can not continue to function, and the world would thus be left in a terrible plight. At least that is what we are told by those who are supposed to know all about it, and who are we that dare dispute it? Now as all money, bonds, stocks, debentures, mortgages, investments, titles of ownership and paper evidences of property constituting what is termed capital, happen to all be merely evidences of debt held against the future, and debt that can never be liquidated, as has already been shown, and as all of this heretofore mysterious ruling class junk steadily increases each year in volume, it may readily be seen that the so-called financial world, is not how to provide "capital" sufficient to meet all requirements, but how to prevent the complete bankruptcy of this slave civilization, through the accumulation of such an overwhelming mass of this debt (capital) that ultimately the hoax of its pretended value will expose itself to even the dullest slave that ever worshipped the shrine of his master's gods. The accumulation of debt can not be stopped or even checked, for the more highly developed becomes the art of skinning slaves and converting their hides into "surplus value," the more rapidly does the augmentation of capital, the greater in magnitude becomes the total of the world's debt. Every dollar of capital, of debt expressed by the paper filamams already enumerated, represents wealth that has been wrung from the exploitation of slaves in the past without recompense or reward. The volume of it now in existence, great though it be, measures but a tithe of that which has been squeezed from the slaves of the past, for each dollar of such lying promise, repeats over and over again the process of relieving slaves of their labor power and products, without the rude necessity of first hitting the mover the head with a sun total of this debt, which even great statesmen like Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson often refer to as "our national wealth," is the sum of the accumulated "surplus value" that ruling class cunning and avarice has realized from the vine press of slavery, since the mallet fiat and the jackboot of feudalism gave way to the hypocrisy of "democracy" and the lie of payment. And the sum grows greater each year with regularity that is, fortunately speaking, terrifying to the financiers of the world. And it is nothing but figures. Figures on bankbooks, bonds, stocks, currency, and such artifices and subterfuges that pass for real wealth, in the minds of those who know no better, the statesmen, diplomats, financiers and wise guys generally. There are schoolboys not above the age of ten, who are capable of understanding that a promise to pay a bushel of wheat is not a bushel of wheat, and more especially if the wheat has not even been planted yet. But there are millions of adults running around loose who haven't sense enough to know that a promise to pay, when there never was anything, is nothing now, and can never be anything to pay with, is not payment, but a d—d lie. There are millions who believe the figures representing huge amounts of wealth that have been taken from slaves in the past, without so much as by your leave, and that has long since been consumed and forgotten, are really wealth. Some there are who fancy that an individual accumulates those figures to any considerable extent is guilty of accumulating wealth. But the truth is that if all those figures were wiped off the slate, and could never be resurrected, there would be just as much wealth in existence as before. The whole thing is a swindle, a hoax, a grotesque farce, a clumsy camouflage, that has long done good service in blinding the slave to his slavery and keeping him in a lusty belief in his own freedom. While it is the frailest yoke ever put upon the necks of slaves, the pretense of freedom and the lie of payment has done, and is still doing, better service in holding them docile to the torture chamber and shambles of exploitation, than any previous method known to the owners and rulers of human chattels.

The financial problem is indeed some problem when you once begin to understand it. The world's wealth, measured in figures of debt, is rapidly becoming so great that even the greatest financiers are puzzled to know how to longer successfully administer it. Everybody must admit that they have done an excellent job so far, but it may be easily possible that it will prove to be beyond even the ablest financial brains to make such an enormous mass of figures representing nothing but a material impossibility, forever continue to so comfort themselves as not to disclose the fact that there is nothing behind them but nothing, and that even the reusable value of that is of most doubtful certainty, for no one can look far enough into the future to accurately determine what nothing will be worth then. At any rate it is some financial problem for those brainy financiers of the world whose mission in life is to demonstrate how a ruling class can get everything for nothing, pay everybody for everything they either do or sell when there is nothing to pay with, and at the same time amass hundreds of billions of dollars of wealth although all that is produced is consumed as fast as brought into being. Also how nations, either singly or collectively, can get rich by accumulating figures of what does not exist because it has all been consumed, and if so why are not all of the nations lately engaged in the "Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man" row, actually far richer now than they were before that christian love feast broke loose? They surely never had so much figurative wealth before, but they will later on, no doubt. A great problem, that financial one. The more it is probed into, the greater it becomes. That is, the greater joke it becomes, but the slave is the butt of the joke. There is little doubt about that.

After having lost 9,000,000 tons of shipping through the enemy use of submarines Great Britain is now in favor of placing an international ban upon the future use of that delightfully efficient instrument of high class civilization. Perhaps she does not relish the literal application of the dictum that "they who live by the sword shall perish by the sword." And yet it is not exactly clear why the submarine should be discriminated against and the same fate be administered to the remaining instruments of ruling class brutality, slaughter and destruction. Of course Britain can no longer pose as custodian and defender of the "freedom of the seas" unless the deadly sub is banned. She will lose her proud title of "mistress of the seas," for the use of the submarine during the late unpleasantness has clearly demonstrated the power of that christian weapon of offence and defence to sweep the seas of all surface craft. But the plain fact is that there will be neither freedom of the seas nor freedom upon the land until the ruling class and all of its tools and instruments of slavery, devastation and murder have been put under the ban by the intelligent action of an awakened and revolutionary working class.

Six weeks ago the British relaxed import regulations on a long list of commodities. Following this came an awakening to the fact that there was no money to pay for them, and that buying must be stopped unless a loan from this government (U. S.) was forthcoming. If England can get credits the movement of cotton will be accelerated." The above from Boston News Bureau, a leading financial journal, need not necessarily be taken as an indication that even the greatest financial nations of the earth have been forced to the very brink of complete and irretrievable bankruptcy by the events of the past and their grand culmination of the last four years. If individuals, however, were compelled to borrow in order to longer exist and there was no one from whom to borrow that was not also broke, it certainly would be a situation not altogether calculated to breed a spirit of robust optimism. It would be too powerfully suggestive of universal bankruptcy. But if capitalist civilization itself affords a never ending procession of evidences of swiftly approaching bankruptcy, who shall be justly blamed for harboring serious doubts as to its continued stability and solvency?

A Letter to American Workingmen

By N. LENIN

Moscow, August 20, 1918.

Comrades: A Russian Bolshevik who participated in the Revolution of 1905 and for many years afterwards lived in your country has offered to transmit this letter to you. I have grasped this opportunity joyfully for the revolutionary proletariat of America—insofar as it is the enemy of American imperialism—is destined to perform an important task at this time.

The history of modern civilized America opens with one of those really revolutionary wars of liberation of which there have been so few compared with the enormous number of wars of conquest that were caused, like the present imperialistic war, by squabbles among kings, landholders, and capitalists over the division of ill-gotten lands and profits. It was a war of the American people against the English who despoiled America of its resources and held in colonial subjection, just as their "civilized" descendants are draining the life-blood of hundreds of millions of human beings in India, Egypt and all corners and ends of the world to keep them in subjection.

Since that war 150 years have passed. Bourgeois civilization has born its most luxuriant fruit. By developing the productive forces of organized human labor, by utilizing machines and all the wonders of technique America has taken the first place among free and civilized nations. But at the same time America, like a few other nations, has become characteristic for the depth of the abyss that divide a handful of brutal millionaires who are stagnating in a mire of luxury, and millions of laboring starving men and women who are always starving want in the face.

Four years of imperialistic slaughter have left their trace. Irrefutably and clearly events have shown to the people that both imperialistic groups, the English as well as the German, have been playing false. The four years of war have shown in their effects the great law of capitalism in all wars; that he who is richest and mightiest profits the most, takes the greatest share of the spoils while he who is weakest is exploited, martyred, oppressed and out-raged to the utmost.

In the number of its colonial possessions, English imperialism has always been more powerful than any of the other countries. England has lost not a span of its "acquired" land. On the other hand it has acquired control of all German colonies in Africa, has occupied Mesopotamia and Palestine.

German imperialism was stronger because of the wonderful organization and ruthless discipline of "its" armies, but so far as colonies are concerned is much weaker than its opponent. It has now lost all of its colonies, but has robbed half of Europe and throttled most of the small countries and weaker peoples. What a high conception of "liberation" on either side! How well they have defended their fatherlands, these "gentlemen" of both groups, the Anglo-French and the German capitalists together with their lackeys, the Social-Patriots.

American plutocrats are wealthier than those of any other country partly because they are geographically more favorably situated. They have made the greatest profits. They have made all, even the weakest countries, their debtors. They have amassed gigantic fortunes during the war. And every dollar is stained with the blood that was shed by millions of murdered and crippled men, shed in the high, honorable and holy war of freedom.

Had the Anglo-French and Ameri-

can bourgeoisie accepted the Soviet invitation to participate in peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, instead of leaving Russia to the mercy of brutal Germany a just peace without annexations and indemnities, a peace based upon complete equality could have been forced upon Germany, and millions of lives might have been saved. Because they hoped to re-establish the eastern front by once more drawing us into the whirlpool of warfare, they refused to attend peace negotiations and gave Germany a free hand to cram its shameful terms down the throat of the Russian people. It lay in the power of the Allied countries to make the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the forerunner of a general peace. It becomes them to throw the blame for the Russo-German peace upon our shoulders!

The workers of the whole world, in whatever country they may live, rejoice with us and sympathize with us, applaud us for having burst the iron ring of imperialistic agreements and treaties, for having dared no sacrifice, however great, to free ourselves, for having established ourselves as a Socialist republic, even so rent asunder and plundered by German imperialists, for having raised the banner of peace, the banner of Socialism over the world. What wonder that we are hated by the capitalist class the world over. But this hatred of imperialism and the sympathy of the class-conscious workers of all countries give us assurance of the righteousness of our cause.

He is no Socialist who cannot understand that one cannot and must not hesitate to bring even that greatest of sacrifices, the sacrifice of territory, that one must be ready to accept even military defeat at the hands of imperialism in the interests of victory over the bourgeoisie, in the interests of a transfer of power to the working class. For the sake of "their" cause, that is for the conquest of world-power, the imperialists of England and Germany have not hesitated to rain a whole row of nations, from Belgium and Serbia to Palestine and Mesopotamia. Shall we then hesitate to act in the name of the liberation of the workers from the yoke of capitalism, in the name of a general honorable peace; shall we wait until we can find a way that entails no sacrifice; shall we be afraid to begin the fight until an easy victory is assured; shall we place the integrity and safety of this "fatherland" created by the bourgeoisie over the interests of the international socialist revolution?

We have been attacked for coming to terms with German militarism. Is there no difference between a pact entered upon by Socialists and a bourgeoisie (native or foreign) against the working class, against labor, and an agreement that is made between a working class that has overthrown its own bourgeoisie and a bourgeoisie of one side against a bourgeoisie of another nationality for the protection of the proletariat? Shall we not exploit the antagonism that exists between the various groups of the bourgeoisie. In reality every European understands this difference, and the American people, as I will presently show, have had a very similar experience in its own history. There are agreements and agreements, fagots et fagots, as the Frenchman says.

When the robber-barons of German imperialism threw their armies into defenseless, demobilized Russia in February 1918, when Russia had staked its hopes upon the international solidarity of the proletariat before the international revolution had completely ripened, I did not hesitate for a moment to come to certain agree-

ments with French monarchists. The French Captain Sadoul, who sympathized in words with the Bolsheviks while in deeds he was the faithful servant of French imperialism, brought the French officer de Lubersac to me. "I am a monarchist. My only purpose is the overthrow of Germany," de Lubersac declared to me. "That is self understood (cela va sans dire)," I replied. But this by no means prevented me from coming to an understanding with de Lubersac concerning services that French experts in explosives were ready to render in order to hold up the German advance by the destruction of railroad lines. This is an example of the kind of agreement that every class-conscious worker must be ready to adopt, an agreement in the interests of Socialism. We shook hands with the French monarchists although we knew that each one of us would rather have seen the other hang. But temporarily our interests were identical. To throw back the rapacious advancing German army we made use of the equally greedy interests of their opponents, thereby serving the interests of the Russian and the international socialist revolution.

In this way we furthered the cause of the working class of Russia and of other countries; in this way we strengthened the proletariat and weakened the bourgeoisie of the world by making use of the usual and absolutely legal practice of manoeuvring, shifting and waiting for the moment the rapidly growing proletarian revolution in the more highly developed nations had ripened.

Long ago the American people used these tactics to the advantage of its revolution. When America waged its great war of liberation against the English oppressors, it likewise entered into negotiations with other oppressors, with the French and the Spaniards who at that time owned a considerable portion of what is now the United States. In its desperate struggle for freedom the American people made "agreements" with one group of oppressors against the other for the purpose of weakening all oppressors and strengthening those who were struggling against tyranny. The American people utilized the antagonism that existed between the English and the French, at times even fighting side by side with the armies of one group of oppressors, the French and the Spanish against the others, the English. Thus it vanquished first the English and then freed itself (partly by purchase) from the dangerous proximity of the French and Spanish possessions.

The great Russian revolutionist Tchernychevski once said: Political activity is not as smooth as the pavement of the Neskii Prospect. He is no revolutionist who would have the revolution of the proletariat only under the "condition" that it proceed smoothly and in an orderly manner, that guarantees against defeat be given beforehand, that the revolution go forward along the broad, free, straight path to victory, that there shall not be here and there the heaviest sacrifices, that we shall not have to lie in wait in besieged fortresses, shall not have to climb up along the narrowest path, the most impassible, winding, dangerous mountain roads. He is no revolutionist, he has not yet freed himself from the pendency of bourgeois intellectualism, he will fall back, again and again, into the camp of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

They are little more than imitators of the bourgeoisie, these gentlemen who delight in holding up to us the "chaos" of revolution, the "destruction" of industry, the unemployment, the lack of food. Can there be anything

more hypocritical than such accusations from people who greeted and supported the imperialistic war and made common cause with Kerensky when he continued the war? Is not this imperialistic war the cause of all our misfortune? The revolution that was born by the war must necessarily go on through the terrible difficulties and sufferings that war created, through this heritage of destruction and reactionary mass murder. To accuse us of "destruction" of industries and "terror" is hypocrisy or clumsy pederasty, shows an incapability of understanding the most elemental fundamentals of the raging, climatic force of the class struggle, called revolution.

In words our accusers "recognize" this kind of class struggle, in deeds they revert again and again to the middle class utopia of "class-harmony" and the mutual "interdependence" of classes upon one another. In reality the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably taken on the form of civil war, and civil war is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations of form of democracy in the interests of the war. One must be a sickly sentimentalist not to be able to see, to understand and appreciate this necessity. Only the Techevov type of the lifeless "Man in the Box" can denounce the revolution for this reason instead of throwing himself into the fight with the whole vehemence and decision of his soul at a moment when history demands that the highest problems of humanity be solved by struggle and war.

The best representatives of the American proletariat—those representatives who have repeatedly given expression to their full solidarity with us, the Bolsheviks, are the expression of this revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English in the 18th and the Civil War in the 19th century. Industry and commerce in 1870 were in a much worse position than in 1860. But where can you find an American so pendantic, so absolutely idiotic who would deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American Civil War of 1860-1865?

The representatives of the bourgeoisie understand very well that the overthrow of slavery was well worth the three years of Civil War, the depth of destruction, devastation and terror that were its accompaniment. But these same gentlemen and the reform socialists who have allowed themselves to be cowed by the bourgeoisie and tremble at the thought of a revolution, cannot, nay will not, see the necessity and righteousness of a civil war in Russia, though it is facing a far greater task, the work of abolishing capitalist wage slavery and overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The American working class will not follow the lead of its bourgeoisie. It will go with us against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the American people gives me this confidence, this conviction. I recall with pride the words of one of the best loved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene V. Debs, who said in the "Appeal to Reason" at the end of 1915, when it was still a socialist paper, in an article entitled "Why Should I Fight?" that he would rather be shot than vote for war credits to support the present criminal and reactionary war, that he knows only one war that is sanctified and justified from the standpoint of the proletariat; the war against the capitalist class, the war for the liberation of mankind from wage slavery. I am not surprised that this fearless man

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was thrown into prison by the American bourgeoisie. Let them brutalize true internationalists, the real representatives of the revolutionary proletariat. The greater the bitterness and brutality they sow, the nearer is the day of the victorious proletarian revolution.

We are accused of having brought devastation upon Russia. Who is it that makes these accusations? The train-bearers of the bourgeoisie, of that same bourgeoisie that almost completely destroyed the culture of Europe, that has dragged the whole continent back to barbarism, that has brought hunger and destruction to the world. This bourgeoisie now demands that we find a different basis for our revolution than that of destruction, that we shall not build it up from the ruins of war, with human beings degraded and brutalized by years of warfare. O, how human, how just is this bourgeoisie!

Its servants charge us with the use of terroristic methods.—Have the English forgotten their 1649, the French their 1793? Terror was just and justified when it was employed by the bourgeoisie for its own purposes against feudal domination. But terror becomes criminal when workmen and poverty stricken peasants dare to use it against the bourgeoisie. Terror was just and justified when it was used to put one exploiting minority in the place of another. But terror becomes horrible and criminal when it is used to abolish all exploiting minorities, when it is employed in the cause of the actual majority, in the cause of the proletariat, of the working class and the poor peasantry.

The bourgeoisie of international imperialism has succeeded in slaughtering 10 millions, in crippling 20 millions in its war. Should our war, the war of the oppressed and the exploited, against oppressors and exploiters cost a half or a whole million victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie would still maintain that the victims of the world war died a righteous death, that those of the civil war sacrificed for a criminal cause.

But the proletariat, even now, in the midst of the horrors of war, is learning the great truth that all revolutions teach, the truth that has been handed down to us by our best teachers, the founders of modern Socialism. From them we have learned that a successful revolution is inconceivable unless it breaks the resistance of the exploiting class. When the workers and the laboring peasants took hold of the powers of state, it became our duty to quell the resistance of the exploiting class. We are proud that we have done it, that we are doing it. We only regret that we did not do it, at the beginning, with sufficient firmness and decision.

We realize that the mad resistance of the bourgeoisie against the socialist revolution in all countries is unavoidable. We know too, that with the development of this revolution, this resistance will grow. But the proletariat will break down this resistance and in the course of its struggle against the bourgeoisie the proletariat will finally become ripe for victory and power.

Let the corrupt bourgeois press trumpet every mistake that is made by our revolution out into the world. We are not afraid of our mistakes. The beginning of the revolution has not sanctified humanity. It is not to be expected that the working classes who have been exploited and forcibly held down by the clutches of want, of ignorance and degradation for centuries should conduct its revolution without mistakes. The dead body of bourgeois society cannot simply be put into a coffin and buried. It rots in our midst, poisons the air we breathe, pollutes our lives, clings to the new, the fresh, the living with a thousand threads and tendrils of old customs, of death

and decay.

But for every hundred of our mistakes that are heralded into the world by the bourgeoisie and its sycophants, there are ten thousand great deeds of heroism, greater and more heroic because they seem so simple and unpretentious, because they take place in the everyday life of the factory districts or in secluded villages, because they are the deeds of people who are not in the habit of proclaiming their every success to the world, who have no opportunity to do so.

But even if the contrary were true—I know, of course, that this is not so—but even if we had committed 10,000 mistakes to every 100 wise and righteous deeds, yes, even then our revolution would be great and invincible. And it will go down in the history of the world as unconquerable. For the first time in the history of the world not the minority, not alone the rich and the educated, but the real masses, the huge majority of the working class itself, are building up a new world, are deciding the most difficult questions of social organization from out of their own experience.

Every mistake that is made in this work, in this honestly conscientious co-operation of ten million plain workmen and peasants in the re-creation of their entire lives—every such mistake is worth thousands and millions of "failures" successes of the exploiting minority, in outwitting and taking advantage of the laboring masses. For only through these mistakes can the workers and peasants learn to organize their new existence, to get along without the capitalist class. Only thus will they be able to blaze their way through thousands of hindrances to victorious socialism.

Mistakes are being made by our peasants who, at one stroke in the night from October 25 to October 26, (Russian Calendar) 1917, did away with all private ownership of land, and are now struggling, from month to month, under the greatest difficulties, to correct their own mistakes, trying to solve in practice the most difficult problems of organizing a new social state, fighting against profiteers to secure the possession of the land for the worker instead of for the speculator, to carry on agricultural production under a system of communist farming on a large scale.

Mistakes are being made by our workmen in their revolutionary activity, who, in a few short months, have placed practically all of the larger factories and workers under state ownership, and are now learning, from day to day, under the greatest difficulties, to conduct the management of entire industries, to reorganize industries already organized, to overcome the deadly resistance of laziness and middle-class reaction and egotism. Stone upon stone they are building the foundation for a new social community, the self-discipline of labor, the new rule of the labor organizations of the working class over their members.

Mistakes are being made in their revolutionary activity by the Soviets, which were first created in 1905 by the gigantic upheaval of the masses. The Workers' and Peasants' Soviets are a new type of state, a new highest form of democracy, a particular form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a mode of conducting the business of the state without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie. For the first time democracy is placed at the service of the masses, of the workers, and ceases to be a democracy for the rich, as it is, in the last analysis, in all capitalist, yes, in all democratic republics. For the first time the masses of the people, in a nation of hundreds of millions, are fulfilling the task of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, without which socialism is not to be thought of.

Let incurable pedants, crammed full

of bourgeois democratic and parliamentary prejudices, shake their heads gravely over our Soviets, let them deplore the fact that we have no direct elections. These people have forgotten nothing, have learned nothing in the great upheaval of 1914-1918. The combination of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the new democracy of the proletariat, of civil war with the wildest application of the masses to political problems, such a combination cannot be achieved in a day, cannot be forced into the battered forms of formal parliamentary democracy. In the Soviet republic there arises before us a new world, the world of socialism. Such a world cannot be materialized as if by magic, complete in every detail, as Minerva sprang from Jupiter's head.

While the old bourgeois democratic constitutions, for instance, proclaimed formal equality and the right of free assemblage, the constitution of the Soviet republic repudiates the hypocrisy of a formal equality of all human beings. When the bourgeois republics overturned feudal thrones, they did not recognize the rules of formal equality of monarchists. Since we here are concerned with the task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, only fools or traitors will insist on the formal equality of the bourgeoisie. The right of free assemblage is not worth an iota to the workman and to the peasant when all better meeting places are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Our Soviets have taken over all usable buildings in the cities and towns out of the hands of the rich and have placed them at the disposal of the workmen and peasants for meeting and organization purposes. That is how our right of assemblage looks—for the workers. That is the meaning and content of our Soviet, of our socialist constitution.

And for this reason we are all firmly convinced that the Soviet Republic, whatever misfortune may still lie in store for it, is unconquerable.

It is unconquerable because every blow that comes from the powers of unadvisedly raging imperialism, every new attack by the international bourgeoisie will bring new, and hitherto unaffected strata of workmen and peasants into the fight, will educate them at the cost of the greatest sacrifice, making them hard as steel, awakening a new heroism in the masses.

We know that it may take a long time before help can come from you, comrades, American Workmen, for the development of the revolution in the different countries proceeds along various paths, with varying rapidity (how could it be otherwise!) We know fullwell that the outbreak of the European proletarian revolution may take many weeks to come, quickly as it is ripening in these days. We are counting on the inevitability of the international revolution. But that does not mean that we count upon its coming at some definite, nearby date. We have experienced two great revolutions in our own country, that of 1905 and that of 1917, and we know that revolutions cannot come neither at a word of command nor according to pre-arranged plans. We know that circumstances alone have pushed us, the proletariat of Russia, forward, that we have reached this new stage in the social life of the world not because of our superiority but because of the peculiarly reactionary character of Russia. But until the outbreak of the international revolution, revolutions in individual countries may still meet with a number of serious setbacks and overthrows.

And yet we are certain that we are invincible, for if humanity will not emerge from this imperialistic massacre broken in spirit, it will triumph. Ours was the first country to break the chains of imperialistic warfare. We broke them with the greatest sacrifice, but they are broken. We stand

outside of imperialistic duties and considerations, we have raised the banner of the fight for the complete overthrow of imperialism for the world.

We are in a beleaguered fortress, so long as no other international socialist revolution comes to our assistance with its armies. But these armies exist, they are stronger than ours, they grow, they strive, they become more invincible the longer imperialism with its brutalities continues. Workmen the world over are breaking with their betrayers, with their Gompers and their Scheide-manns. Inevitably labor is approaching communist Bolshevik tactics, is preparing for the proletarian revolution that alone is capable of preserving culture and humanity from destruction.

We are invincible, for invincible is the Proletarian Revolution.

PARM'S PERTINENT PARAGRAPHS

German militarism in any other country and by any other name is about the same.

The reason most men in British Columbia have acquired land is—so they could sell it.

As the labor unrest of the world becomes more general what is poor old (capital going to do for a living)?

Business consists of making working men earn their own wages and paying all above that for the privilege.

It begins to look as though all the democracy "we" were fighting for has fell to the lot of Russia and Germany.

U. S. President Wilson has exercised more power during the past two years than ever fell to the lot of any king, czar or kaiser.

There is enough wealth in this good old world for all—if only those who produced it were not sent home without it when the whistle blows.

Are the newly-made millionaires of Canada getting ready to saddle the country with all the horrors of militarism? Who said freedom?

All the values contained in any commodity were placed there by labor. All the values in any community is contained in the presence of its working class.

Every organized strike or protest on the part of the working class is but a growing pain. This will be followed by birth pangs ever coming closer. Then the social revolution! Speed the day!

The mourning wives, mothers and friends of those who fell in Flanders should take comfort out of the fact that the war created one hundred and thirty-five new millionaires in Canada.

It is simply criminal that any man or set of men should be permitted to monopolize foodstuffs and essentials to life. The profiteer should be made to give the kaiser—or the czar. They all belong in hell.

An increasing number of industrial pirates are occasionally being given an opportunity to "run their own business." But, somehow or other, when the slaves forget to respond to the whistle there isn't any business.

The Ottawa military and other kaisers are a clumsy lot of bunglers. They couldn't even attempt to forbid free speech and right of assembly to the workers without making a mess of it. The returned soldiers simply refused to be used as catspaws. That made it bad—for the new kaisers.

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STARETTES

The "kept" daily press is sure earning its money these days. The old hog's best days are numbered.

How many returned soldiers are being admitted to the "closed town" plantations of British Columbia?

Some of the sitting lip-loyalists of Vancouver would condescend to employ a woman to do the Chinaman's work—at half the money.

There are a whole lot of working men, both in and out of khaki, who have received what may prove to be a very useful training, during the past four years.

The corporations of Canada will have something more than "strikes" to worry about long before the peace conference finishes wrangling over the spoils.

The Associated Press service on this continent is poisoned at the fountain head—by those interested in misrepresenting the world-wide aims and aspirations of Labor.

If the Vancouver Daily Sun manages to avoid being "pied" some of these fine mornings, it bears testimony to the ox-like patience of an aggravated and maligned working class.

Corporations only employ "hands" when there is a profit in it for them to do so. Why not restore the earth and the fullness thereof to those who do the world's work? And then produce wealth for use—not profit!

Worse Than Robbing a Cemetery
In a recent speech on war taxation, published in the United States Congressional Record, Congressman Kitchin of North Carolina presented these figures on war profits of American manufacturers:

"In the pre-war years 1911, 1912 and 1913, the average net income of the corporations of this country were \$4,122,000,000. In 1915 it was \$5,310,000,000, an increase of over \$1,000,000,000. After paying their taxes they had over \$1,000,000,000 clear net profit more than the pre-war year average. In 1916 they had \$3,765,000,000 of net income, over \$4,500,000,000 more than in the pre-war years. After paying all their income taxes and all other taxes they had clear net over 100 per cent. more than they had during the pre-war period. In 1917, according to treasury estimates upon their returns so far tabulated, the net income will reach \$10,500,000,000, about \$6,500,000,000 more than in the pre-war period. After paying all the taxes of that year they then have over 100 per cent. more than the pre-war profits. After paying the taxes levied by this bill, the income tax on corporations and excess profits or war profits tax on corporations, there will be left to the corporations over \$1,700,000,000 more income and profits than their pre-war average net income for 1911, 1912 and 1913."

HOPELESS BLUNDERERS

[The Statesmen, Toronto]

The conference of premiers at Ottawa has resulted in nothing tangible save the revelation it afforded to the visitors of the hopeless muddle into which the Union government has allowed the business of the country to fall. Nothing has been done to meet the problems arising out of the war. The only brilliant idea which the Unionist cabinet conceived was a plan for unloading on the provincial governments the responsibility for meeting the conditions created by the return of peace. Needless to say, the provincial premiers told the Union cabinet to attend to its own business. If the country realized the hopelessness of the situation at Ottawa and the utter incompetence of the men on whom devolve the duty of averting a grave social and economic crisis in the country, there would be an outcry from coast to coast that would drive the government to resign. But the government press keeps the public in the dark.

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How comes it that London daily press despatches can give so much information on what is taking place in the wilds of Russia and so little of what is happening in the British empire?

If the 36,000 striking workmen of Seattle had decided to lay off en masse on election day, to elect every one of their own representatives to law-making positions, think of the possibilities!

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