



Vancouver, British Columbia, Saturday, May 28, 1910. Subscription Price Per Year \$1.00

# THE ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE STATE

*Founded Upon Slavery and Continuing but to hold Slaves in Subjection.*

To the average worker the State appears to be an institution which is, always has been, and ever will be. To those who have studied the Socialist Philosophy, however, and delved into "prehistoric" history, the fact is easily apparent that the State is merely a class institution, originated for the purpose of protecting the property of one class from a class possessing nothing. When there were no classes no State existed; when classes are abolished, the State, as it is known today at least, will disappear.

well as between freemen and slaves, which became more pronounced as the power of wealth began to be felt. Here, then, was another troublesome development. Classes within the gens, with a consequent diversity of interests, shaking the very foundations of the genshite organization.

During the periods of savagery and barbarism, before the State existed, society was divided into communities of gens, each formed of persons whose lineage was traceable to one common ancestor. Each gens could elect, and depose at will, its official head during peace, and its leader in war, by vote of both men and women, but the election must be confirmed by all other gentes. The sovereign power was a council consisting of all the adults, male and female. Each member owned every other member in the same group, an obligation to help, protect and assist in revenging an injury. Strangers could come into the gens only by adoption. When a number of gentes united into a separate group, they formed a phratry. Several phratries, formed a tribe. All property belonged to the gens, and was used by the members in common.

Now, the gens had been dependent upon its members being exclusive inhabitants of a certain territory. Here then was another blow to the organization, and another material aid to the introduction of the State.

Looking back, this state of communism appears highly satisfactory in some ways, but the means of existence, the most vital question at all periods, were precarious. If there was a great drought, the supply of fruit and nuts was limited; if there was an exceptionally severe winter, game was scarce, so any means of ensuring a livelihood were warmly welcomed. Gradually it dawned on some that it would be a great deal better to domesticate and raise certain animals, and cultivate certain foods, than go hunting them. Thus we have the first great division of social labor. Some tribes devoted themselves to raising cattle, or the cultivation of food plants, and owing to a more assured subsistence, grew in numbers and waxed powerful.

Still further class divisions followed, viz.: Nobles, tradesmen and farmers, the nobles alone holding the privilege of public office.

This new departure not only slightly eased the struggle for existence, but increased the work in the gens, and enabled one man to produce more than was necessary for his own sustenance. Presto! Enter Mr. Chattel Slave, first in the form of prisoners of war.

It is worth noting that contrary to expectations raised by the surprising calmness of the election campaign, and the activity of the handful of anti-parliamentarians, there has been a considerable increase in the number of votes recorded.

These incidents all assisted materially in making commerce and trade the ruling factors in procuring a living. The wealthy increased in power to the detriment of the old nobility, and in time overthrew them, establishing assemblies in the industrial centers where all public business was transacted, and dividing the people into five classes according to the amount of their wealth, and in such a way that the wealthiest class, although small in numbers, possessed in itself a majority of the votes. Even at this early period, you see, it was property, not people, that ruled.

government founded upon territory and property, the chief function of the State became the protection of property, with the natural sequence—contests for domination of other tribes and nations. This great change in the governing institutions was caused simply by the introduction of the elements of territory and property, making them a power, where before the inauguration of the State, they had been an influence.

## HOW THEY DO IT IN FRANCE

May 2, 1910. Doubtless this May-day letter from the City of Light—and other things—will reach the readers of the Western Clarion at a somewhat unseasonable date, but May-day in Paris had a special significance this year, occurring, as it did, in the midst of a general election. The first ballot for the election of deputies took place on April 23rd, and the final balloting (which were more numerous than usual) will take place on Sunday, May 8th. It is not probable that the final ballot will greatly modify the result of the preliminary voting.

mobilized troops and police in order to crush any attempt at demonstration, even issuing notices to the public to keep away from certain parts of the Bois in order that there might be no "innocent victims." In the face of this the Confederation countermanded the demonstration, and a special number of the *L'Humanite* was published on Sunday, May 1st in the morning urging the public not to go to the Bois de Boulogne to give the government the opportunity for bloodshed that it sought, but to promenade on the grand boulevards.

So far the result, as telegrams have no doubt informed you, is an increase of two hundred thousand votes for the United Socialist party over the figures for the elections of 1907. The bastard "Radical-Socialists" have suffered severely. In the "reactionary" departments the Radical government has gained upon the Clericals, and in what are called the Republican departments the Radicals have lost ground to the reactionaries and especially to the United Socialists. In the large towns the Radicals have also lost somewhat—not always to the Socialists—and in Paris it is remarkable that all the retiring deputies of the right (reactionaries) have, with the exception of one, been elected outright at the first ballot with increased majorities.

The result was a calm May-day honored by a most imposing and unnecessary show of armed force both in the Bois and on the boulevards. It was, indeed, not the proletariat of Paris but the government that demonstrated this First of May. Besides the police some twenty thousand troops were mobilized, and Paris was almost in a state of siege. Some dozen workmen who uttered "sedition" cries in the hearing of the forces of capital were imprisoned, but there were no incidents worth special mention here.

At rather short notice the Union des Syndicats de la Seine (a section of the General Confederation of Labor) asked the government for permission to demonstrate in the Bois de Boulogne. The government refused and immobility

nevertheless the government has done well. It has strengthened the hands of that strong section of the Socialist party which proclaims war of a outrance against all capitalist factions, and it has shown the Parisians how helpless they are in face of the armed forces, and how hopeless is their position so long as the machinery of government is not controlled by the working class.

# KINGS MAY COME AND KINGS MAY GO

*To the Proletariat the Passing of a King is of less Consequence than the Death of one of their own Class.*

Once more the cry has gone forth to the English-speaking world: "The King is dead, long live the King." To the patriotic lovers of their masters' country, it is a cry fraught with meaning, an historical event has occurred—one of the red-letter events in our capitalist histories.

portion and though changes continually occur at the upper end of the social scale, your lot at the bottom remains the same. Ever you have to seek some master to sell him that which you have lost histories.

There will be, as is usual on such great occasions, a stately procession bearing the dead ruler to his last abode and another to inaugurate the new King. Amid much pomp and display will these ceremonies be carried out. State officials, men great in war, kings of industry and delegates of the army of the Lord, will parade their glittering costumes and dignified bearing before the assembled gaze of the vulgar mob, who, as is common to the slave tribe, will take in with both eyes and store up in their otherwise empty craniums the details of these aforesaid pageants, to relate to their admiring auditors on future occasions when with awed looks the company will hear how Edward was buried and George crowned. The press will teem with accounts of the late lamented's goodness, statesmanship, his peaceful character, and all the other attributes common to a monarch, for they have a monopoly of the virtues. For though at the tongue of scandal hath treated forth many stories detrimental to his fair fame, all is forgotten. The clergy who would look askance on any other man who whom the same stories were told, "provided he had no great amount of wealth, or was the possessor of no ancient name," will pray for the repose of his soul, as in the past they asked a blessing on his head.

Not until you see that all the hubbub and comments are made to keep your eyes fixed upon your masters' affairs and away from your own, that the press of your masters is a valuable asset to them in putting forth prominently anything from the death of Edward to the Jeff-Johnson fight, to keep your minds away from your misery. Oh, many and wonderful are their ways to keep you contented. They teach you from early childhood to be ready to fight and die for your King and country. That is patriotism. They promise you immortality in another world if you are content and humble in this life, well knowing that to believe that you will cheerfully consent to be stripped of all you possess. These and many other devices are employed, I say, by our masters, to keep you and I, fellow slaves, in subjection. And, as I said before, until you see these things with the eyes of one who is commencing to think for himself, you will never be better off.

It is evident that Briand, the ex-revolutionary who is now at the helm of state, had his official eye on the political compass, and in order to regain at the second ballot the votes lost by his party to the "reactionaries" he endeavored to restore the confidence of the bourgeoisie in him by outdoing the "reactionaries in repressive measures. This, indeed, is the usual procedure of the renegade. It is sad to relate that in spite of this there are alliances or arrangements of some few quarters between "United Socialists" and these same sanguinary anti-proletarian Radicals, on the ground that the Republic must be preserved at all costs!

And you will rebel; you will become one of us revolutionists to the death. You will say with Jack London: "These are our hands, they are strong hands, and they will unseat you, the mighty from your seats of power." Then, and then only, are you in a real movement for progress, for your own betterment. To win for King or country a battle: what is that to winning a world for yourselves and a warded, not with a broken life and a starvation penance, but the full enjoyment of the fruits of your labor.



# THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

This Page Is Devoted to Reports of Executive Committees, Locals and General Party Matters—Address All Communications to D. G. McKenzie, Sec., Box 836, Vancouver, B. C.

## NEW WESTMINSTER, B. C.

**Dear Mc—**  
We held a fairly good propaganda meeting on Saturday night. Dr. Curry spoke to about one hundred people, and we sold quite a few pamphlets. Conditions seem favorable for a good propaganda season.

On Sunday we held our first picnic and we spent a very jolly time at Brunette Creek. Our first act on arriving at the ground, was the unfurling of the red flag to the gentle breeze. There were about forty people there, ranging in age from six months to seventy years, and if facial expression is any indication of psychic action, everyone suffered from acute agitation of the risible faculties. Only two incidents marred the pleasurable proceedings. One lady's lunch box was thought to be too much like a bomb, but, however, we managed to evade the police at Sapperton. Then again at tea time, we found that we were utterly unable to cope with the good things which had been provided, and after struggling valiantly we were reluctantly compelled to acknowledge ourselves beaten. But in spite of this, it was unanimously voted by infants, old men, youths, and maidens, that these social gatherings should become a regular bi-weekly institution during the summer.

We in Westminister heartily advise all the locals in the party to cultivate the social spirit, as it is necessary a part of propaganda as the study of ultra-scientific theories.

Yours for the revolution,  
**ARCHIBALD HOGG.**

## WAR IN THE CAMP

Editor Western Clarion,—I am beginning to think there is a season of the year in which the average working plug is more easily brought to his senses—and Socialism—than in some other seasons. Maybe I am wrong; usually I am; but will bet the beer I am right this time.

We all know that with the approach of spring come many changes to the things of this earth. The blue grouse throws off his habit of roosting silently to the highest trees, and kicks up all kinds of trouble with his brethren. The wily and elusive garden snake changes his skin for a better one—one more suited to his needs. Likewise a sudden change comes over the wage slave; he begins devising ways and means of wringing from his master a little larger bundle of fodder for the faithful services rendered the aforementioned master. Usually the language, and logic spewed forth by this rebellious hireling is not of the kind to arouse a sympathetic chord in the breast of one who reads and understands such literature as the Western Clarion. Far from it. But that is the time to get extra busy on the creature, as Spring is bringing her annual change, or rather her annual period of fermentation of the brain, to this slave. So to bring him to an understanding of his place in society today, to show him how the trick is done; in fact, to knock some holes in his nut so the light can now shine through, we must be at him now. This mental apoplexy will not last long, and in another 30 days he will be the same meek and docile being he was last winter when he eagerly ate the fill of bread before him, took without a murmur the miserable wage the master held out to him, and in every way showed his servility to the class that takes him on the premises—providing, of course, that he delivers the goods in the shape of profits, to the owners of this particular means of creating wealth—to the owner of these tools of wealth production.

Just after the election of last November I found that if a buyer for my labor-power was not found—and that pretty quick—I would have to seek shelter in a cosy C. P. R. box car of nights, or go without sleep. The problem of food was even more perplexing—if such a thing could be possible—for those days and nights were not warm ones. Steeping under one's own fig tree would not be a pleasant experience at that time of the year. But I competed, very successfully, with other sellers of the commodity labor-power, and secured the market for a time at current prices.

Soon after arriving amongst the other slaves already on the ground, delivering up their energy at so much per day, week or month, I began to seek for the signs that betoken the presence of an understanding as to why we were housed as swine and fed as worse. Nothing doing. All hands perfectly willing to deliver to their masters four-fifths of the wealth created by their labor, aided by the giant tools bought with the profits wrung from the lives of other slaves at some previous time in some other industry.

All agreed on the point that this was a wonderful era, where all could do well fixed, where the law was no re-

spector of persons, and where Britons never will be slaves. Even after the day's work was done; after their stomachs had been tortured with different kinds of animal and vegetable matter in various but advanced stages of decay, when they were about to retire to the miserable bunks that would have done splendid duty in the hands of the Salvation Army, but nowhere else, then would they give vent to their feelings, and the boss would catch several kinds of hell (behind his back) because their living conditions were so intolerable.

Now, Mc, perhaps you would think that a little propaganda plaster applied would bring out the bile and leave the patient clean in mind and body, ready for the injection of the revolutionary serum. So did I. But a sad disappointment was in store for me. Any remarks, suggestions or allusions were greeted with jeers and the guilty one was made very uncomfortable by his impudence. Jim Hawthornthwaite once told me, "Don't get discouraged, old chap; get mad instead." Good goose; I took it. The fight has been on for five months never once showing the least sign of progress being made. Last Sunday night some dust from the tail of the comet blew in this way, and the first whiff drove the cobwebs from the corner of one brain. The shock was awful. Since then the camp has been but turmoil and strife. Socialism is the only topic, and is being fought out in every corner. The landlady says she is saving money as the boarders are too busy talking to eat. Their master's voice in the shape of a steam whistle breaks in on an unfinished meal.

For the first time since my arrival here has the Clarion been in demand. Everybody wants to read it but none will dig up the price, hence 'tis up to Jawn to furnish the ammunition until such time as the mental change goes one step further. Then they can be safely left to fight it out amongst themselves, and the education will be all the more through their own efforts of a more lasting nature.

For the enclosed send me a bundle of five Clarions per week, and when this is eaten up we hope to raise more. More later.

Ever thine,  
**JAWN PICKENSHOVEL.**

## ROBBERY OR WHAT?

In trying to find out whether non-productive wage-earners (so called) are being robbed or not, it might be as well if we had a little more light thrown on us as to what are non-productive wage-earners and what are productive wage earners. And while we are about it, it would not do us any harm to get a good working definition of what a parasite really is. I have known, for instance, gardeners working for both capitalists and also for highly paid wage slaves of the capitalist class, the value of whose production in the market would be equal in value to those of the parasite. And, mind you, some of these are highly skilled horticulturalists. Are such men parasites? Are they socially necessary? The \$10,000 or \$20,000 a year wage slave thinks his gardener necessary for it enables him to centre all his energies on how to further lessen the cost of production of some other commodity.

Have those men no part in the class struggle? Have they not as much to gain as the miner and hod-carrier? In fact, have they not, in common with all wage-workers, yet to attain their manhood? A slave is not a man except to distinguish him from other animals, and what difference is it to him whether he produces surplus value or not? What he does produce does not belong to him and if he did not produce anything he would still be a slave, for wages presupposes slavery and that is the most secured thing ever seen on this planet or any other. Are they robbed? Are we robbed?

A good deal depends on the point of view. If an upholder of the present capitalist system, no; neither non-productive wage-worker nor productive wage-worker. Why? Because, if you consent to either an individual or a class to take away from you that which you have produced and give you back just enough to keep body and soul together you have no legal, moral, nor any other right to any more. If a Socialist, forced to give to the master class that which you have produced and only kept in such servitude by the armies and navies, police, sheriffs, laws, judges, etc. of such class and ever striving to break the bonds that bind you and your class, then I say yes, emphatically yes, you are being robbed whether the robberman or hod-carrier; rob of the opportunity to attain the full stature, morally, physically and intellectually, of a man.

W. H. MOORE.

## SOCIALISM: INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL

Much discussion is taking place among the class-conscious working classes of the industrially developed and "civilized" countries of the earth as to the relative merits of the political organization, and of the revolutionary industrial organization of the workers towards the final emancipation of the workers from the bondage of capitalism; and to the establishment of Socialism, or a system of social ownership of the means of wealth production, instead of the present system of class ownership by a privileged few.

If by a friendly discussion among the various exponents, extreme and otherwise, of these two "weapons"—leaving all personal animosities and "pet hobby-horses" aside for the nonce, since an individual or his individual opinions, no matter how strong his personality may be, can count but little in retarding or accelerating the march of the proletarian army towards its goal; the question at issue being a social question, not an individual one—if, I say, by a friendly discussion we can arrive at the swiftest and surest and safest method of accomplishing our aim, then much suffering, misery and degradation can be saved the oppressed workers.

Let us take, first of all the political issue and inquire into the function of the state and what its capture would mean to us. The state is no "realization of the ethical idea," but arose from economic necessity. The agent of the division of people was by kinship, but as trading relations began to develop along the Mediterranean and members from the various gene began to congregate together at the various trading points, economic necessity demanded a new form of organization, which accordingly arose in the "mark commune" and in the state, which the old "sea pirates" required to retain legal possession of their plunder. Thus arose a public power of coercion divorced from the mass of the people, and causing "policed nations."

Though developed to a somewhat more complicated form, the state, the "policing" power, holds good today, and lends a character of perpetuity to the possessing class, and the "right" to exploit the non-possessors. But, in the meantime, capitalism has developed into a completely international form, having no boundaries except the earth, and no god but gold. (Though but a difference of a letter, still, an "I" of a difference.)

The state is essentially in its character a government of boundaries, a relic of the old "mark commune." Members of parliament are selected and elected from divisions of the nation marked by imaginary boundary lines and including within their precincts miners, farmers, mechanics, lumber-jacks, railroadmen, etc., and the host of petty rascally parasites who fatten on the sweat of their bodies. The representatives sent from these jurisdictions are, in the main, lawyers, the nature of whose calling amply testifies to the "people" who selected them. This form or organization with its three phases, the Legislature, or law-making; the Judiciary, or law-interpreting; and the Executive or law-enforcing; may serve fairly well the needs of the capitalists in so far as the "policing," national or international, is concerned; but that it is incapable of effectively organizing industry in actual form, is only too apparent in the concordance with the growing international necessities for the formation of trusts, combines, etc., on the industrial field for the more effective and economic management of the industries—even though this be to the benefit of the large capitalists alone, and to the detriment of the smaller fry, or petty bourgeoisie, and more so to the workers, as present-day Engels says: "The state is inconceivable as social production." It is inconceivable: "State ownership does not do away with capitalism."

On the accomplishment of Socialism, the state will automatically pass out of existence, being useless. The state is essentially a barricade lying between the increasing misery, degradation and blind rage of the workers on one hand, and the increasing power and smug self-complacency of the "great capitalists of industry" on the other. Tear down the barricade and there still remains the "power behind." This power is an industrial power, though it may also manifest itself in political supremacy. Looking over late the United States, for example, it is quite apparent that it is the huge "combinations" who control the government; which is as it should be, according to capitalist philosophy, vulgar or otherwise. The state being then the capitalist executive police department, controlling relations among themselves in "their" country, and with foreign capitalists in "their" country; holding the army, navy and police departments at their bidding; and the workers, body and soul (whatever soul or part of a soul they may possess); it is only too palpable and plain on the face of it that we must endeavor to build up a sufficiently strong organization to seize control of this "policing" force, and aid the workers in their efforts towards the formation of an industrial organization capable of running the various industries within themselves; of controlling their vari-

ous relations with one another, in accordance with "supply and demand," and of absorbing within their ranks the unemployed of "low and high degree."

In the meantime, however, the political movement can only grow so far; and must then "mark time" for the industrial organization. It isn't within the nature of politics to "take and hold" the industries of the country, since, as before stated, industries are by their nature a more international character; and thus, like "strikes"—the manifestations of the class struggle on the industrial field, as the parliamentary struggle is on the political field—it is merely good propaganda, and serves to discipline the workers, draw the class line tighter and imbue them with the spirit of social ownership.

The politics of any given period are but the reflex of the industrial conditions of that period; and it is absolutely necessary for the industrially dominant class to be politically dominant for the effective and efficient manipulation of the industries to their profit. This was exemplified in the rise of modern capitalism; taking England, its historic field, for an example, where its varied steps were progressed through, one by one, quite in accordance with the conservative and practical nature of the Britisher.

When the rising tide of modern industry broke the power of the old feudal barons, the "captains of industry" were left in control of the industrial field, but being of a modest and unassuming character (for which they are still noted), somewhat rough and unlettered, and having but a slight knowledge of French, the then diplomatic language, they were quite content to allow their "superiors," the old aristocracy, to hold the political control. However, as their industries expanded and the need of a "foreign" market for their surplus product began to make itself felt, they found themselves hampered by the adverse legislation of the aristocracy, and were consequently forced to seize the political control. This they obtained with the aid of the workers (who are always ready and willing to fight anyone's battle but their own), by throwing them a few "crops" in the way of "shorter working hours" and a fair wage, etc.—quite old friends of our still.

The workers must first also, I believe, seize the industrial control, which being itself of an international character, and their being no foreign markets to exploit and oppress by means of army, navy or other "misdeeds," the political state will naturally collapse, being obsolete. Phoenix-like, from its ashes some form of organization for the control of "moral order," etc., may arise, it is hard to foretell.

The workers do not want the reflex or reflection of anything. They want the substance, not the shadow. They want the social ownership of the means of wealth production; and with them the earth. Quite a modest demand.

We will now look at the industrial side of the question. With the rise in capitalism, and its increasing power over the lives of the workers, a crying need for some sort of concerted action on the part of the workers began to make itself felt. Their hours were unbearably long and their wages in exactly inverse ratio. Unions began to appear—craft unions—and they served the purpose fairly well, for a time. But as the isolated industrial plants joined hands under one company, the unions also had to combine in federations and confederations, still, however, retaining their old craft character. These also proved inadequate to meet the increasing concentration of capital in the industries, trusts, etc., and so arose the industrial union which embraces all the workers, male and female, no matter what branch of industry they may work at, even that of legalized man-killing, such as war.

The organization of the industrial union is as follows: 1st, we have the general administration; 2nd, industrial district councils; 3rd, industrial unions; 4th, the branch unions, which again are grouped either according (1) to sub-departments of a given industrial plant, (2) to working-places in same industry closely adjoining each other, (3) or "language" branches, where unavoidable. The industrial plant branch unions are specially adapted for workers under trusts and combines. It will thus be seen that the main idea is a concentration of the workers in one vast army, irrespective of sex, color, religion or politics, thus enabling them to maintain, at present, a constant though undoubtedly unequal struggle against capitalism's tendency to lower their standard of living, and also in this general warfare drawing the class line tighter; but with the ultimate idea of building up within the shell of the present society an organization capable of taking over and running the industries of the world in the interests of the workers alone.

This is the "inductive method," or the method of learning by doing; and it is more easily grasped by the industrial, or educated proletarian, since he is in contact with the struggle in the shop, where he can readily grasp its significance. The realm of abstract or concrete theories is beyond him. Ho

## IS INCAPABLE OF THE CONCENTRATION NECESSARY TO GRASP THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.

In the plan of administration thus offered for the future control of industries, each industry will have its representative who will sit in the executive board, and so do the workers' bidding. In the administration of things, as opposed to the political government of persons.

This organization, however, as an "organization," can recognize no particular politics; but, individually, its members may, and being organized along class-conscious lines the vast majority will through time undoubtedly become adherents of Socialism. It would be utterly impossible to otherwise form a cohesive organization advocating some particular creed, with the workers holding so diverse political opinions. These separate organizations of the workers—the industrial union and the Socialist party—will undoubtedly come together as time ripens, and debate their policies; but as the industrial struggle must, for the present, be fought along national lines, this time will vary in the various countries. The French Syndicalists and Socialists have already met in details.

Summing up, the political movement is purely "constructive," the industrial field alone offers a plan of administration. Political action tends to swing more or less to reform, owing to the legislative nature, and reforms are utterly useless. The contaminating parliamentary atmosphere seems to have a deteriorating effect on revolutionary tendencies, as has been too often noted in the swinging of one-time revolutionaries round to the most conservative of conservatives. The industrial movement aids in counterbalancing this effect. Reforms in any description "only skin and flim the ulcerous place, whilst rank corruption, mingling all within, infects unseen." They but leave us "left voting for Andy Jackson." Leibnecht says, "to parliamentarize is to compromise," and Marx himself laughs at "Parliamentary cretinism, that disorder of parliamentarians, through which they believe the whole world hinges on their decision."

Strikes, too, are clumsy and useless, except as discipline. Whether a strike be won or lost, it is a loss. A win may relatively help in maintaining the standard of living; but as wages rise, so also does the cost of living.

Political action is only the forerunner of the industrial movement. It is "the voice crying in the wilderness." "Political unity" will latterly become the slogan of industrial unity, because political and industrial unity are necessary for our aim. Political success alone, however, would be useless, if industrial power were not ready. The workers must build from the bottom up; not from the top downwards. There will then be no danger of the formation of a bureaucratic state.

The industrial movement appeals to the workers' shop instinct. They are in it themselves and see the workings, and do not leave all the burden on the shoulders of a few parliamentary representatives. The only strike which will ever be of any consequence will be the general strike or lock-out of the entire capitalist class. Some Socialist movements are troubled with a kind of state capitalism, which is the most virulent form of capitalism extant, since it concentrates the political and industrial power in one hand and can exert the power of exploitation and oppression more sharply and intensely than can private capital. Deville defines the state as "a public power of coercion created and maintained in human societies by their division into classes, a power which, being clothed with force, makes laws and levies taxes." "Capital," we all know. Both the state and capital must go, and with them wage slavery, a system so beautifully automatic that only the state is needed to gull the workers and keep them squabbling over the fight of "ins" and "outs," and wasting much precious time.

We must then form the embryo of the new society within the shell of the old. Individuals must unite in their trades, even that of man-killing and clubbing, trades in their industries, and industries in their class. The workers' cause, like their misery and degradation, is a common one; and by united action alone can they hope to free themselves.

"Come what, come may" then. Come Socialism in any form she will; be it political or industrial, neither or both, and I will welcome the jade with open arms, so long as she come "pure and undefiled" from any manner of patch-work reform.

Yours for the Revolution,  
**GOUROCK.**

## Here and Now

By "Smith."

Com. Watts of Winnipeg says they are not coming fast enough. He wants two hundred Clarions a week and means to use them if he can get them. So if you have a dollar to spare, send it in for the purpose of increasing his bundle (ill it buries him).

Reaching after the belt in Comrade W. Anderson of Dewberry, Alta., from the top of a pile of eight.

Com. Peter F. Olsen is again creating a disturbance and sends in a couple from Garden Plain, Alta.

Local Mara's bundle is paid for by Com. H. H. Lake.

A couple more added to the Toronto list by Com. J. Stewart.

Send the Clarion to this wickedly poor wage-slave, says Com. Collingwood of North Battleford, Sask.

Com. Bryce catches a Y. M. C. A. in Moose Jaw, and Com. Wetherill thinks that the distribution of a bundle at Sarnia Tunnel Y. M. C. A. is up to him even if he do swear.

Com. H. H. Stewart renews his bundle from Newcastle, N. B.

Three slaves and the boss of the camp are gathered in by Com. Edwards among the coast loggers.

John Pickenshovel needs a bundle now, as one copy won't go round quick enough.

Renewing Windsor's bundle and sending in a sub, Com. Lorne Wilkie says:

"I have only now started in what I believe to be a systematic way in distributing papers, by having a newspaper call Saturday evenings and get papers, so on Sunday mornings when delivering Sunday papers to leave one at addresses which he furnishes me with, and after leaving copies at same address for three weeks, I will call and try and get them to subscribe."

Com. Drury's soap-box stunt in Brantford brought forth two more subs per Com. Davenport.

"Two more wage-slaves want to learn something," says Com. D. McDougall of Winnipeg.

Com. Wayman is not going to have Montreal run behind Portland, Me., so sends her up four notices at one lick.

Singles.—R. MacLachlan, Allen Brady and F. Schroeder of Vancouver; J. Rutherford, South Wellington; E. E. Walter, Van Andra; A. W. Munro, Nelson; I. A. Austin, Nelson and J. Gallitzky, Hedley; D. C. Hiss, Anahim; McIntosh, Boulderville, N. S.; Wm. McMillan, Bridgeville, N. S.; Hugh McMillan, Teasler, Sask.; Walter Rich, Canada, N.Y.; and Jos. Effler, Grandview, Man.

## TESIER, SASK.

Editor Western Clarion:  
Comrade,—As my subscription expires with No. 579, I'd enclosed \$1.00 for renewal. I have tried hard to get people here to subscribe and read Socialist papers, but unless one pays for their papers they don't seem to want to part with any money for anything but old party organs.

The good times that we have here in this new country won't last always, and then they will perhaps want a change a little more radical than from one of the old parties to the other, for really there are only the two halves of one great capitalist party.

Success to the Clarion and all other Socialist organs.

Yours for the Revolution,  
**WM. NESBITT, SR.**

## NORTH BATTLEFORD, SASK.

Re suspension of J. P. McGuire. On the usual monthly meeting of North Battleford Local the action of the Dominion Executive in dismissing from membership of the S. P. of C. all who do not endorse the class struggle was unanimously passed.

Fraternally,  
**H. COLLINGWOOD.**

OVER 25 YEARS' EXPERIENCE!

# PATENTS

TRADE MARKS  
DESIGNS  
COPYRIGHTS & C.

As your solicitor we will search our files and our records to determine if your invention is probably patentable. Communications confidential. We will advise you free of charge. (Send sketch of your invention, if possible, without charge, in file.)

Scientific American.

A hand-picked illustrated weekly. Largest circulation of any journal. Sent free. Sample copy free. Send for it now. 100 copies, 50¢. 1 year, \$5.00. 2 years, \$9.00. 3 years, \$12.00. All payments in advance.

MUNN & Co. 310 Broadway, New York

Branch Office, 27 F. E. Washington, D. C.

PATENTS PROMPTLY SECURED

We sold the Patent of Manufacturers, Engineers and Architects. We have the right to grant the Patent of Manufacturers, Engineers and Architects. We have the right to grant the Patent of Manufacturers, Engineers and Architects. We have the right to grant the Patent of Manufacturers, Engineers and Architects.

W. J. Houghan, Valley River, says hard cash is scarce..... 2.00

Maud Fairbairn, donates to every fund..... 1.00

Local Calgary, third time..... \$3.00

W. J. Houghan, Valley River, says hard cash is scarce..... 2.00

Maud Fairbairn, donates to every fund..... 1.00

TARIFF REFORM FREE TRADE OR NO TRADE?

The increase in the number of working men rallying to the cry of "Tariff Reform," and the near prospect of another general election during which that cry will be greatly heard, are the reasons that the "fiscal question" is again dealt with in these columns.

The enormous extent of unemployment and misery among the workers after a glorious 60 years of "Free Trade" provides "Tariff Reform" with a ready audience to receive its plausible policy.

The Why and the Wherefore. Why is "Tariff Reform" advocated by various sections of the capitalist class?

The answer is found if we recall that "Free Trade" was adopted when Great Britain was the chief manufacturing nation of the world, but economic development has brought countries, then mainly agricultural, in competition with her for the world market.

To achieve this they are, by means of their "Tariff Reform League," battling for working-class support by saying that Tariff Reform means the end of unemployment and poverty.

Great Britain, they say, is the only Free Trade country. Every other country has "Tariff Walls." And they point to the conditions in these countries to show the effect of Tariff reform. But if we examine the conditions in these countries we find the facts offer us little inducement to favor Tariff Reform.

Is Great Britain solitary in possessing a working class suffering from poverty and unemployment?

Look at Spain, Italy, Portugal, Russia, Austria—countries whose conditions compel the admission that the workers are no better placed than here.

What of France? Mr. Harry Marks, the Tory M.P., for Thanet, gave in the House of Commons (April 28th, 1909), some interesting details of French wages. Tailoring: the men average 4 francs (3s. 4d.) per day; homeworkers get 1s. 3d. to 1s. 8d. for a day of 12 hours. Lace trade: men, 4 francs 75 cent. (about 4s. 1d.) per day; women 2 francs (about 1s. 8d.) per day. Card-board box trade: men 3s. 1d. per day; women 1s. 3d. for a day of 12 hours.

The Fraud of Tariff Reform. When the Trade Boards Bill was before Parliament recently, Tariff Reformers declared that it was useless while goods made under sweating conditions abroad were imported into England, thereby naively showing the fraud of Tariff Reform claims.

But America and Germany are the "trump cards" of the Tariff Reformers. Of American unemployment this may be said: The only States that officially collect and publish figures are New York and Massachusetts. This latter State, after official enquiry issued a return showing in March, 1908, 16,18 per cent, and on December 31st, 1908, 10.95 per cent of trade unionists unemployed.

The Department of Labor of the State of New York reports in the September, 1909 Bulletin 30.2 per cent, and in the September 1909 edition states that 17.6 per cent of the trade unionists reporting were unemployed.

The New York correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" reports in that paper (April 27th, 1908) that after very careful enquiries he put down the number of unemployed in the U.S.A. at 3 millions as a moderate estimate. The same paper for January 21, 1909 states: "In New York this morning 3,000 men applied for work at clearing away snow, and as only 1,000 were needed, the applicants fought among themselves until the police reserves arrived."

Mr. Sam Gompers, speaking for the American Federation of Labor at Washington, February 10th 1909, and basing his remarks upon branch reports, said: "I am sure it is not an exaggeration to say there are now in this country and have been with very little variation since October 1907, nearly 2 million wage-earners unemployed."

In The Land of The Millionaires. "The Times" (October 2nd, 1908) said: "Economic laws have tended to assert their sway until the total number of unemployed, entirely or in part, in the whole country, cannot be less than 3 to 4 millions."

The conditions of life for the workers were recently illustrated by the struggle at the works of the Steel Trust at Pittsburg and the tramwork-ers strike in Philadelphia.

We will now quote from a book written by a prominent Tariff Reform Journalist and politician (the Tariff Reform candidate at Leicester at the recent election) after personal investigation into the industrial life of America, ("America at work," 1903, by John Foster Fraser.)

Regarding poverty he says: "I went into some of the poorer districts. I have seen our slums in English towns, foul and loathsome, but never quite as bad as I saw in Pittsburg. The Pittsburg slums are dreadful; the houses wheezy, unsteady, filthy. In one street I saw a lark stretched half across the way of little

else than sewage. The men were pale, worn, not well set up and they were all anxious faced.

"Chicago has its poor and plenty of them."

"Life is hard, many workmen go to the wall."

"Mr. Davies, the chief factory inspector of Illinois State said 'I can take you to places where life is just a struggle, where if you gave a cent banana to a family of five it would be the greatest treat that they have had for weeks.' In the sweatshops the places were wretched, furniture was lacking, the finger of poverty was there."

Wages in America. As to wages he points out that: "After working out calculations, based on the increased cost of living, I am convinced that the American shopworker is no better off financially than the English."

"The rack of the girls" (in departmental stores) "get badly paid, as low frequently as 10s. 6d. per week, and in a city where living is twice as expensive as in London."

"The average wage for all Chicago—poor women who get a penny for sewing trousers and managers of firms who get £20,000 a year—is about 38s. per week."

The skilled workman is not required. What is required is, firstly, the man who can devise fresh labor-saving machinery, secondly, the laborer who will do one little routine thing year after year, and do it expeditiously.

"Wages can only be reckoned by their purchasing power. Therefore, while the American workman earns more than the British he has to work harder, and he has to pay more for the necessities of life, in the case of rent about 3 times as much."

"I find that in America as a whole, that in the last ten years, wages are on the decrease while the cost of food is on the increase."

The reward of toil in after years is thus indicated: "It is a life of strained nerves. It explained many of the grey hairs I saw on boyish heads. It explained why I saw hardly any grey beards. Where are your elderly workmen? I asked a Philadelphia manufacturer, once, twice, three times. Of the third time he said, 'Have a smoke and we'll take a car ride along to the cemetery.'"

"Practically every railway company refuses to engage a new man if he is over 35 years of age."

"The British working man may think these conditions frightfully hard. So they are. If a man falls out of work at the age of 38, his chances of getting work are practically gone."

"The American workman is soon played out, that is why you seldom see an old man in big industrial concerns."

"Employers, if trade unions are in their way, set about to smash them. The American employer can often snap his fingers at his men because if there is any trouble others can be brought in."

Bleeding the Children. Regarding child labor, he says: "Of recent years the New England manufacturer has been hit hard by the great cotton industry—due to the introduction of Northern capital—which has sprung up in the South, in Georgia and in North and South Carolina. The labor is cheap—men only get about 23s. a week of 65 or 70 hours. In some places there are no regulations as to the age of child workers, and little ones of 8 or 10 are to be found by the hundred in the Southern mills working these long hours for 6s. per week. Child labor is one of the blackest spots on American industrial life."

"There are 40,000 boys employed about the anthracite mines, 1e. one in four of the total employees, and thousands of them are obviously under 14 and 12. The employer evades responsibility by getting an affidavit from the parents that the child has passed the legal age, and the parents, eager for an extra half dollar a week, lie readily. Children of 12 are to be found in a Pennsylvania mine, a cruel thing."

"I had a long talk with Mr. Davies about the employment of children. He told me that there were lots of children under 12 working in Chicago. When I refused to believe him he took me to his office and brought out report after report of inspectors who had found children of 12 earning the poor 4 shillings a week in the horrors of child-labor slaughterhouses. The law of Illinois State is that employers shall not knowingly employ children under 14. Some of the porkpacking firms repudiate responsibility by haunting the signed declaration in Mr. Davies' face. But Mr. Davies told me of the cases of boys obviously under the age of 14 that had been employed into by the inspectors, quite 98 per cent. were found to be under age."

The extracts that we have given above can be supplemented, but enough have been given. Before leaving the case of America it may be as well to state the unemployment in America is said by Tariff Reformers to be due to extensive immigration, but this claim recalls on those who make it, because the majority of the immigrants come from lands where Tariff Reform exists.

Germany is the pet illustration of the Tariff Reformers. We saw by means of the Berlin Sweating Exhibition in

1906, the terrible struggle for existence there. The official Income Tax returns of Prussia show that out of a population of 38 millions, 21 millions have an income of less than 17s. 3d. per week per family.

Official returns state that there are 33 unemployed colonies in Germany. In December 1908 the Official Labor Gazette showed that the applicants for work at the Labor Bureaux were more than four to each vacancy.

"The Daily Telegraph" (17th Feb. '09) states that the census taken by the "Free Trade Unions" showed 101,300 unemployed in Greater Berlin. This was done by a house to house visitation. This paper also points out that in November 1908 the Berlin municipality called upon the unemployed to report themselves on the 17th and they state that 40,000 did so.

"The protectionist" "Morning Post" (20th January, 1908) says: "The unemployed question can and undoubtedly must be discussed in part at least, without reference to fiscal policy, because it results in part at least, from causes unaffected by tariffs or their absence. Unemployment is found in the United Kingdom under Free Trade, and it has not been banished from other industrial nations by their tariffs. Germany is the classic home of experiments for dealing with the unemployed—by labor colonies, labor registries, vagrancy laws and relief works. German official reports recognize a problem indistinguishable in character from those we are familiar with here."

After this comparative survey a more scientific examination is necessary.

The same issue of the "Morning Post" says: "The universality of unemployment makes it necessary to look for its explanation not only to the differences but to the common features of the industrial systems of all countries."

"As far as unemployment is an incident of modern industry it is an incident of individualistic industry. Nor is there any difficulty in showing how individualism in industry leads necessarily to unemployment or the constant fear of unemployment. So long as the workman depends upon a private employer whose business fluctuates or may cease altogether, so long as competition exists to produce strenuous fits of over production followed by stagnation, so long as whole trades may be revolutionized or destroyed by new inventions—the constant possibility and the occasional realization of unemployment must remain. If the solution of the unemployed problem means the guaranteeing of absolute continuity of employment to every man at all times at his own or something like his own trade, it does mean nothing less than the ending of industrial competition; and the superseding of the private capitalist by a single universal employer."

We are constantly told that "the one thing needed" for us is "more work," to obtain which the commerce of the capitalist class must be increased. Thus trying to get the worker to identify his interests with his masters'. But unemployment by itself is not the plight of the worker. If unemployment was the real trouble then the capitalist class would fare badly. Though unemployed, they live sumptuously. This indicates that the real trouble is the lack of the necessities of life already produced by the workers but owned by the masters through their possession of the instruments of production, the workers being only allowed to use these on condition of parting with the wealth they produce. The ever increasing amount of wealth produced by the working class and the attempt of each employing unit to sell to as large a number of buyers as possible, alongside of the workers' wages to sufficiency to buy back their product causes industrial crises, which we see are the result of the workers having done too much work.

It is also erroneous for the Tariff Reformers and Free Traders to claim that an increase of trade means more employment in that trade. Dozens of trades could be named where the output has increased although the number of employed is less or the same as with a smaller output.

This is accomplished by means of wages-saving devices, more perfected machinery, the splitting up of processes and speeding up; also by the merging of several plants under one control, thus eliminating waste and duplication. The "Daily Mail's" Special Commissioner into the "Problem of No Work" said (6. 10. '08): "Constantly, too, I have had labor-saving machinery indicated to me as a cause of much unemployment." "Almost everywhere the tendency is to employ fewer hands and to require less technical ability. I heard an echo of this at Fulham. Local gasworks have been taking men off for some time past. Coke can now be broken and retorts can now be emptied by machinery. Men with 20 and 30 years' references from the Gas company have been applying to the Distress Committee for a few days' digging or dirt shovelling. Anything that will give them a chance to earn something. It is the same with a very large number of men following trades connected with the building."

The policy of Free Trades and Tariff

Reform both show their fallacy and they go to pieces in face of this fact, that no alteration of fiscal methods can prevent the use of the mightiest industrial weapon (the machine) that the capitalist has in rendering workers relatively superfluous, cheap submissive, and in drawing into the vicious circle of modern factory life, the woman and the child. The very development of capitalism itself—whether tariffs exist or not—extends and intensifies this process.

Capitalist society, under Free Trade or Tariff Reform, cannot assure an existence to the makers of its wealth. The private ownership of the instruments, together with the results of production, has shown that if social development is to proceed, Socialism must be instituted, i.e., a system of society wherein all those who labor shall jointly possess and use those things which are necessary to satisfy the wants of all.

Both Free Trade and Tariff Reform involve the sale by the worker and the purchase by the capitalist of value creating energy—the source of the wealth of capitalist society.

Economic development has made trade an anachronism, and the next step in social evolution, that is Socialism, means a system where trade, "free" or "protected" is rendered impossible by the fact of the common ownership of the means of wealth production.

Socialism therefore—a society wherein we have the free and equal association of the wealth producers, operating the means of production that they commonly own, making everything for use and for use alone—is the next stage in the social progress. Onward! Speech the 31st—A. Kohn, in the Socialist Standard.

HOW IT IS IN ALASKA.

As the transportation companies will as per usual endeavor to lure the workers here by the dissemination of untrue reports as to the conditions in this part of Alaska, Local No. 240, W. F. M., takes this opportunity of warning all workers against being deceived by such false reports and asks the co-operation to this end of all organized workmen.

As far as actual conditions are concerned matters were never worse in the history of this camp. All the rich mines are practically worked out and although extensive prospecting is all the time being carried on no new discoveries of value have been made.

On the other hand there are hundreds here out of work; some of them have been idle for twelve months, and some have worked for several months last summer and have not been paid a cent. Wages have been reduced all along the line. The reported new strikes in the Iditarod and Seward River Countries have proved to be the worst kind of fizzes and anyone rushing to these camps will be sure to suffer nothing but hardship for their pains. The majority at present employed are working on "bed rock" which means that the grocer, banker and coal man get the greater share: it is safe to say that not one-fourth of the present working will ever be paid their wages. There are enough men at present here to do all the sumptuous that may be opened up and anyone coming here, apart altogether from the hardships that they are sure to work on the men already here, will be run up against the very toughest kind of a proposition.

Year after year the Nome Miners' Union has sent out similar warnings which have been disregarded with the result that hundreds came here who were obliged to undergo all kinds of sufferings and privations on account of the lack of work; many, in fact, were sent outside at the government expense but many more were compelled to stay here and endure all kinds of misery in this arctic climate during the winter.

Everything herein stated is absolutely true and any and all who may have been inclined to invest their hard-earned money in steamboat tickets to these parts would be far better advised to stay where they are and not allow themselves to be the victims of the imaginative press agents of the transportation companies. Our urgent advice is to stay away.

Yours fraternally, COMMITTEE LOCAL 240, W. F. M. Nome, Alaska.

HOW THEY DO IT IN FRANCE.

(Continued from Page 1) Dismissal. Every reason he gives, however, is an argument for Socialist education rather than for proportional representation. From the Socialist point of view, indeed, it is sheer superstition to attach so much importance to the mere form of election. But of this more anon, or I shall miss the not too frequent post. With the editor's permission, I shall deal in my next with the final results of next Sunday and with the programs and attitudes of the various candidates; not forgetting the part played in the present campaign by the vote of the last Chamber which raised the deputies' remuneration to 15,000 francs each per year.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support of the principles and programme of the revolutionary working class.

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

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

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

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

The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the reins of government—the capitalist to hold, the worker to secure it by political action. This is the class struggle.

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

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

The Socialist Party when in office shall always and everywhere until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: Will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will, the Socialist Party is for it; if it will not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.

In accordance with this principle the Socialist Party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in its hands in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone.

Books of all Kinds
The Mistakes of Moses..... 50c
The Riddle of the Universe..... 50c
Merrie England..... 20c
God and my Neighbor, Blatchford..... 40c
Ayesha, or the Return of She, by Rider Haggard..... 75c
Decameron Boccaccio..... 75c
Maria Monk..... 75c
All books sent postage paid. Send for catalog.
The People's Book Store
152 Cordova St. W.

DENTIST
W. J. CURRY
Room 501
Dominion Trust Bldg.

Attention!
Wanted! All Socialists throughout the Dominion to subscribe for the International Socialist Review through the Manitoba Provincial Executive Com. By so doing you can kill two birds with one stone; we will get a commission for organizing purposes and you a magazine with the following book offer:
\$1.35 gets Review 1 year and 200 book
\$1.50 gets Review 1 year and 400 book
\$1.70 gets Review 1 year and 100 book
\$2.00 gets Review 1 year and 200 book
Catalogue sent on request and books must be sent direct to W. H. Stebbings, 316 Good St. Winnipeg, Man. Prov. Can.

To Canadian Socialists
On account of increased postal rates we are obliged to make the subscription price of the International Socialist Review in Canada \$1.20 a year instead of \$1.00. We can, however, make the following special offers:
For \$2.00 we will mail three copies of the Review to one Canadian address for one year.
For \$3.00 we will mail ten copies of any one issue.
For \$3.00 we will mail the Review one year and the Chicago Daily Socialist for one year.
CHARLES H. KEAR & COMPANY
134 West Kinzie St., Chicago.

A good place to eat THE CAFETERIA
305 Cambie Street
The best of everything properly cooked.
Chas. Mulcahey, Prop.

IF YOU HAVE UKRAINIAN neighbors, send for a bundle of "Robutchy Narod" the organ of the Ukrainian comrades in Canada.
50 cents a year
135 Stephen St. Winnipeg, Man.

Experienced Graduate Nurse
Wishes position in small hospital.
Apply E. JOHNSON, 358 Harris St., Vancouver.

Demand Cigars Bearing this Label
Which Stands for a Living Wage
Vancouver Local 357. 566

TO HOUSEKEEPERS
If you would like to spend less time in your kitchen and woodshed, and have much more time for outdoor life, recreation and pleasure, look into the question of doing your cooking with a Gas Range.
Telephone your address to our office and we will send a man to measure your premises and give you an estimate of cost of installing the gas pipes.
Vancouver Gas Company, Limited.