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SYNDICALISM AND POLITICAL ACTION

Scientific Education and the Intelligent Use of the Ballot Is the Short Route to Real Freedom.

All Socialists are agreed that before the working class can be emancipated, they must realize that those who say that the system under which we live is the only one possible are talking through their hats. They also agree that the workers must understand what form of society must take the place of the present. To agree that the capitalist system must be abolished, to agree that Socialism is the system which must take its place, is not enough. Some people calling themselves Socialists seem to think, or, at least, act as if it were.

It is one of the easiest things in the world to make a worker see how dependent he is upon the capitalist class and it does not require much thinking on his part to understand that he would be much better if he were independent of bosses, but the question which troubles him most, if he troubles at all, is how to get rid of them.

That is what troubles the working class movement today. That is why it is so divided. It has not yet agreed how to get rid of the bosses.

Syndicalism, say some, is the sword with which the working class will disembowel the capitalist class.

Syndicalism, say others, is a weapon which will act like a tin sword against an armour-clad knight.

Now, what is Syndicalism? To say, as the Syndicalist does (March-April, 1912):—"The essence of Syndicalism is the control by the workers themselves of the conditions of their work," is about as appetizing as the well-worn phrases, "Each for all and all for each," "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," etc., etc., unless we are told how it can be accomplished.

Let us grant that the Syndicalists want the tools of production and distribution for the workers.

How do they propose to get them? "With the workers properly organized there is nothing that they may not successfully demand from the capitalist by means of a general strike."

—Syndicalist, March-April, 1912.

"It is only whilst labour is partially organized that recourse to strikes is necessary; not even the general strike will be necessary when labour is universally organized." — Syndicalist, March-April, 1912.

The way, then, according to the Syndicalist, is via the General Strike. That means, we suppose, that the workers will organize in order to get the tools of production, and when they are thoroughly organized, they'll leave the workshop, declare that every one is on strike, and, by some means or other not yet explained, all will turn out for the best.

How simple! How the capitalists must laugh. Really, one begins to wonder if all the capitalists are not acting consciously in their own interests by arresting a few Syndicalists and by advertising their nostrums.

Of course, we do not forget that the Syndicalist also says the general strike will be unnecessary, and that just throws us into a difficulty in understanding what they do mean.

It seems to be a case of "It is, and it is not," or a "now you see it, now you don't" in fact, a regular side show for the dispensing of moonshine.

Some well-intentioned people who, whilst they disagree with Syndicalists aid and abet them, because, they say, "Syndicalists are making the workers think, and, even if they are making something in the way of progress in getting them to think at all."

Surely, if the difficulty of getting the workers to think can be accomplished by those who make them think wrongly, it could be done as easily by those who would give them the correct information. Have not the workers been deluded often enough, without encouraging the "just another one idea" in the hope that out of the latest delusion some good will come?

The workers are sometimes sneered at because they have been and are guilty of snatching at red-herrings as if they were regular bon-faests, but it appears as if a number of those who sneer are guilty of the same conduct. (Witness upon whose platform the great "I am" stands for proof, and witness also on the literature stands of the weary-and-heavy-at-heart-non-success-at-the-polls what is being sold, and you will notice that the great noble merchant has dumped his wares and is making good use of the

third ones in advertising himself and getting an "honest living."

If there is one thing more than another which will help the workers in their struggles, it is correct understanding of their status in present day society.

The Syndicalists do not deny that the labour-power of the workers is a commodity, bought and sold in the open market like any other commodity.

They do not deny that the value of a commodity is determined by the average amount of socially necessary labour embodied in it, and that its price varies according to the law of supply and demand.

Yet they tell the workers that even upon capitalism they can brush aside these laws by abolishing unemployment.

If the commodity status of labour-power has as its basis the private ownership of the tools of production and distribution, then it is difficult to see how that status can be altered except by the abolition of capitalism.

There is another point on which we of the S. L. P. cross swords with the Syndicalists—that is, the spreading of false information with regard to working class organizations in other countries.

In 1905, at Chicago, the I. W. W. was launched. That organization has had a stiff hill to climb. Its tasks has been made harder still by an anarchist element which refused to conduct the fight in a dignified way; an element which, by rejecting political action, would degrade the working class movement to the level of a conspiracy against society.

This element, in 1908, succeeded so far in their nefarious designs as to float a ship manned by an anarchist crew of direct actionists. Like the Syndicalists of this country, who falsely state that they are Industrial Unionists, this American crew told the workers (and tell them so yet) that they were the I. W. W.

Now, most people know that a sausage is a skin stuffed with an uncertain concoction, but who would dare say that a skin stuffed with beef is a pork sausage? You know nobody would say that except a butcher, and he would have a purpose, that purpose being to deceive.

A very glaring case of deception is the case of T. Mann, who is very fond of referring to the bogus I. W. W. as if it were the organization which was launched at Chicago in 1905.

He has even gone so far as to publish a letter from Eugene V. Debs ("Industrial Syndicalist," Sept., 1910), who is well known as an advocate of Industrial Unionism and political action.

"The publication of the Debs letter is a very dirty piece of work, following, as it does, in the same pamphlet, what is said to be an 'excerpt from the I. W. W. preamble.'"

As a matter of fact, the quotation is from the preamble of the bogus I. W. W. and not from the preamble of the I. W. W. which Eugene V. Debs helped to form in 1905.

The preamble of the I. W. W. formed in 1905 states definitely that the workers must come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, and the "excerpt" quoted by Mann was inserted by the bogus organization in their preamble in order to justify Direct Action only. To mix Debs up with this Direct Actionist crew is just one of the dodges that one could expect who knows the mixer.

Some gentle reader may say "That is only one case, and it may have been ignorance and not one of deliberate misrepresentation," so we will let the High Priest talk again.

When the I. W. W. was formed in 1905, definite action, industrial and political, was decided on. But, as the result of experience, they revised their preamble at the Chicago convention, 1908. A resolution was passed—"That to the end of promoting industrial unity and of securing necessary discipline with the organization, the I. W. W. refuses all alliances, direct or indirect, with existing political parties, or anti-political sects, and disclaims responsibility for any individual opinion or act which may be at variance with the purposes herein expressed." (T. Mann, Syndicalist, Sept. 26th, 1910.)

To those who have not had the opportunity of following the ups and downs of the movement in America, it would seem that the resolution passed

(Continued on page three)

THE STRUGGLE—REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE MAKING.

To the revolutionary Socialist—and also, possibly, to those in the various stages of evolution towards the revolutionary position—the signs of the times are decidedly encouraging. The modern pace, a reflex of modern machine methods of production, is attaining a speed that promises to be big with things before we are very much older; if, indeed, we have not already attained a momentum with its consequent phenomena sufficiently educative for all but the densest products of our modern institutions of learning. Exactly how long the pace that kills will be maintained, before society calls a halt, it is impossible to say; but we know that it will be continued until that portion of society upon which the pace falls the heaviest will stand for such treatment no longer, and, providing they have the power, put an end to the cause of their suffering.

Not many things today are done upon a small scale. On a par with the trustification of industries come our Industrial Union movement and Federations of Labor. Alongside of stupendous machinery of production and almost unlimited speed of distribution and travel we have our accidents with consequent loss of life and suffering without previous parallel in human history. The toll of human life and the story of human suffering will never be compiled and told in full. A big disaster on the seas, such as the loss of the Titanic; coal mine explosions or big railroad accidents may cause us to pause, but only for a moment, soon in the rush of modern conditions we find ourselves traveling the same old way at the same old pace, the only difference being that we find ourselves hitting the trail, impelled by our environment, a little harder than ever.

And why? What is the reason that we are compelled to rush and struggle more and more fiercely, as the days go by? The intensity of human toil and the anxiety over obtaining the necessities of life should surely be modifying somewhat. But we do not find it to be so. Labor saving machinery is introduced, new natural forces are harnessed to serve society, improvements in manufacturing processes are constantly being made. The machine is supplanting human labor even on the farm, and yet for all these things the struggle for existence grows more intense. Society as a whole does not benefit from any of these things. They may be social productions. The labor and the thought of bygone greatness may form the major part of such machinery and processes, but society as a whole derives no benefit from them and has no say in the disposition or use of them.

Private or capitalistic ownership of the necessary machinery and requisite means for producing those things upon which society depends for its existence

THE TIN SOLDIER PASSETH.

As an object of patriotic admiration, the soldier is evidently becoming a back number, and while avowed and definite anti-militarism perhaps does not yet exist among the masses of American workmen, there is little doubt that the military profession is generally regarded with contempt and ridicule among them.

An illustration of this significant fact took place during the military parade yesterday in this city when the remains of General Kearny were being transferred from Trinity Church to the Arlington Cemetery at Washington. As the local national guard and a small body of the regular troops passed down Broadway, opposite the Woolworth building, which is at present in course of construction, some two or three hundred in number, who were resting during the noon hour, gathered on the various floors and hoisted the militia and soldiers most vigorously, Catcalls and whistling greeted the heroes as they marched past, and though the marchers were visibly annoyed thereby, the populace lining both sides of the street seemed on the whole amused at the performance. Needless to say, the press of the city omitted to mention the incident in their descriptions of the parade, though the private soldiers themselves were well aware of the meaning of the demonstration, and the officers, no doubt, took mental notes regarding it.

So far as we know, none of the defenders were Socialists, though probably all were unionists connected with the building trade, workmen who have no great reason to love or admire militarism in general or the militia in particular.

The day when the soldier could command the respect and admiration of what the Philippine "hero" Funston once called "the unwhipped mob" is evidently fast passing, and it is not the direct teaching of Socialism that is responsible for it, either.—New York Call.

Is the one outstanding feature of present day civilization that impresses the student today and will be the point of interest for future historians. As capital grows in bulk the more tribute must we pay to it. As ownership of the means of existence becomes concentrated in the hands of a few the larger becomes the number who must work for a master. As machinery displaces human labor the keener the scramble for the necessary job and the more strenuous the struggle for existence. As conditions of employment become worse the more rebellious we feel and when the state of affairs becomes absolutely unendurable we shall have a sufficient number of revolutionists to revolutionize the ownership of the means of existence.

W. W. L.

MANIFESTO OF EDMONTON SOCIALISTS

Workers of the City of Edmonton.

The babel of political call is now on. Smoking concerts and Old Country rallies are the order of the day; even the "pipes," wild music of the clus—the ancient howl of defiance against slavery—have been introduced; the voice of the seductive vote-catcher is heard on every corner.

Our masters want something of us; they are asking for our vote; they need our support and as usual are fawning at our feet.

Go and examine the past history of the Alberta Legislature, hunt out the bills introduced and PASSED in the interests of labor and you will find none.

Pre-election promises and after-election performances are two different things, so far as they are concerned. Our Liberal and Conservative friends are only our friends at election time.

You are asked, upon the one hand, to help in establishing clean government and non-political civil service. On the other, to return to power the candidate of the railway policy.

A glance at these "issues" will reveal their fraudulent nature, so far as you are concerned.

Are these railroads for you? Will they be built in your interests? Will you OWN them when they are built? Not if you vote the other fellow into ownership.

Clean government or dirty government, it is still owned by the capitalist class and you, Mr. Worker, are not numbered amongst those.

Rest assured whichever of these two enters the legislative hall, Conserva-

tive or Liberal, your interests will not be represented.

Those who to champion the interests of Capital, and Capital—the exploiter—can never be anything but an enemy to labor—the exploited.

Consider also, whoever manipulates the political wires, Labor will do the work.

Our class will build the grade, lay the ties, spike the rails, build and run the trains mentioned in the Liberal Railway Policy.

Whatever expansion is carried on, our hands will supply the means of expansion. However big this city grows, we shall have built it up, ay, even to the topmost brick.

By our labor and that alone will this or any other Province on earth become wealthy.

The slogan of the Capitalist and their political representatives, however sugar coated they appear, is EXPLOIT THE WORKER.

The battle cry of the Socialist Party is THIS PRODUCT OF LABOR TO THE WORKERS.

Our organization exists to carry out this plan. To grasp the machinery of Government is our aim, to the end that we may wrest from their present owners the means of production, mills, mines and factories.

We therefore call upon all workers to support by all legitimate means the political representative of the working class.

A vote for JOE KNIGHT is a vote in your class interests.

It is up to you.

A. BUDDEN.

SOCIAL DEMS. LEAD WORKERS ASTRAY

Old Political Parties Adopt Reforms to Uphold Present System.

The writer recently wrote an article in the B. C. Federationist giving his opinion on the lessons to be learnt from the Socialist vote in the recent Provincial elections. Written in haste and exasperation, it laid him open to the criticism which has come to his ears since it appeared, and much of which he accepts as well taken. But the letter from Ernest Burns that appeared in the B. C. Federationist of May 20 is not in that category, as it evades the point at issue, and, carelessly or deliberately, puts a wholly wrong construction on one part of my article. He deliberately ignores the point taken that the decline in the vote was largely due to the decline in quality of the party membership (judging from my own experience and reports I have received) and twists my words to mean that it was really due to the character of the propaganda of the "last seven or eight years," while the whole tenor of the letter he was criticizing was to the effect that it was due to a falling off in that quality of membership that saw that nothing but Marxian Socialism was handed out from platform. The misrepresentation is so obvious that I will waste no more time refuting it.

The rest of the letter of my critic is devoted to an attack on the Party platform and the methods of propaganda carried on by the accredited Party propagandists, and to that I will devote a little attention.

His plea is, in effect, one for a propaganda of reform measures and "practical suggestions towards the solution of present day problems," as so successful in piling up the large vote in Milwaukee, Los Angeles, et al. With regard to that I would refer him to an article by Debs in a recent number of the International Socialist Review, in which he warns the party membership against placing too much reliance upon that very same large vote, which could not be considered as representing the true growth of Socialist sentiment among the working class, owing to the nature of the bait that attracted it—the very same kind of bait that Mr. Burns would have the Socialist Party of Canada utilize—and which Debs emphatically considered a real danger to the movement. In answering this part of Mr. Burns' letter, I cannot do better than refer him to a recent speech of Prof. H. H. Hanks, of Clark University, Worcester, Mass., in the department of sociology and economics, which was summarized in a recent issue of the Eastern Labor News. After referring to the necessity of a higher wage being paid to the worker to meet the increased cost of living, he advocated the enactment of many of the reforms which are demanded by the Socialist Democratic Party of Canada and some which are not—revision of the tariff, control of immigration in the interest of the wage earner, child labor, employment of women, workmen's compensation, social insurance against sickness, unemployment and old age, better housing, vocational training and guidance, the conservation of life and the equalizing of its opportunities, etc.

These measures, however, he advocates for a totally different reason than that put forward by the Social Democrats. While the latter say that they will be helpful in fitting the workers for the overthrow of the existing order, the professor says that they are desirable as a means to "offset the development of a great mass of misery and ignorance at the bottom of our society which will not only blicken our civilization, but actually endanger our institutions—in other words, he looks upon them, not as a means of emancipating the workers from wage-slavery, but as means for the maintenance of the existing order.

The advocacy of reform cannot be objectionable to the capitalist class, which has endowed the Clark University and many others, or the professor would soon find his occupation gone. One single instance has yet to be produced of one of the gentlemen being fired for advocating anything but that which would tend to the consolidation and perpetuation of the power of his paymasters. Fashionable society flocks to hear itself denounced by a Vaughan—and pays him well for giving it thrills. There are many of the instructors in universities who go a great deal further in their advocacy of reform than the one in ques-

tion, and they are still retained on the payroll of the most class-conscious section of society, which should be enough to convince the most obtuse that their (the capitalists') interests are in no wise threatened, but rather conserved, by such a line of education.

All that the ruling class has to fear from a discussion of social conditions is the truth—and the truth is not served by those who advocate the possibility of permanently or generally ameliorating conditions for the working class by means of reform.

The fact that the dangerous "mass of ignorance and misery" is due to the enslavement and exploitation of labor, and that the former is the product of, and automatically increases with the development of the latter, is the truth for utterance of which many of the world's most talented educators have been relegated to obscurity by the interests that control the dissemination of learning in these institutions.

The job of solving the problem of the high cost of living and the social unrest is one for revolutionists, not for reformers. It entails the overthrow of the present system of commodity production, and the substitution of production for use instead of for profit. It is not the "robbery" of the consumer that is the crux of the whole matter. Social reformers and "socialistic" reformers can line up on any proposition under the sun but this, which is a task wholly outside their ability and vision. To use their own words, "it is not practical politics"—to them.

They overlook the fact that if they devoted the same amount of energy to unearthing the source from which these evils all spring, and to disseminating that knowledge so gained amongst the workers, the intelligent action of the workers would quickly make it a very practical issue indeed.

The policy of the immediate demand and political reform masquerading as a cloak for the most cowardly that shrinks from the bitter opposition and the uphill fight that is the portion of the uncompromising revolutionist. Professing to have the same goal in view as the latter—the conquest of political power by the proletariat as the first indispensable step towards the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth—they make bids for support that attract those whose material interests will not be served by the attainment of that objective, (from their point of view) but who are heartily in favor of the reforms advocated, as a means of enabling them to retain their hold on the wealth produced by labor. It stands to reason that the support so gained is not of the quality that will be of service to the class they profess to be fighting for, but rather the opposite. As soon as the vote attracted by these methods succeeds in capturing noticeable parliamentary strength, the old political parties will be able enough to adopt the very same demands in their platforms, and the vote will swing back to where it came from and where it is right being, on the reasoning that as the reforms they have been advocating are adopted by the dominant political parties, they will obtain their enactment much quicker by giving them their support. The prestige of the Socialist movement will correspondingly suffer amongst the class most necessary to reach—the non-Socialist working people.

The policy of sticking to the truth in propaganda and policy is the slowest (apparently) and less spectacular, inasmuch as it does not show a vote increasing at an abnormal rate, but it is the only way the Socialist movement will gain in actual strength, for the sole reason that the growth will be founded on the increasing intelligence and knowledge of his actual position attained to by the worker.

J. H. B.

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SATURDAY, MAY 25, 1912.

PREPARING FOR DESTRUCTION.

It has been said that "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad." We do not know just what virtue may attach to the saying, but if it is applicable to the case of our capitalist rulers, we sincerely hope that the destruction may prove complete.

And what other term than madness can be applied to the action of the ruling class in dealing with the discontented and often revolting workers in various parts of the earth? Is it the treatment accorded to the workers of San Diego who would voice their disapproval of existing conditions upon the streets of that civilized burg anything short of madness? Was the treatment dealt out to workers and other decent persons not long since in the streets of Vancouver by the local Cossacks and thugs anything better than idiosyncrasy? Has not the exhibition of class bestiality indulged in by the police and kindred ruffians along the line of the C. N. R. strike been sufficiently naked to establish the insanity of those at whose command the exhibition was made? Is not the same true in regard to the unbridled ferocity of the thugs and ruffians of the law—Gad save the mark—in dealing with the recent strike at the lumber mills in the State of Washington? And the same condition of mind is evidenced all along the line whenever the clash of interest between masters and slaves breaks out into open conflict. At each succeeding outbreak the rulers are driven to a greater degree of madness until, losing all restraint, they become frenzied maniacs in their desire to wreak vengeance upon their recalcitrant slaves.

If we are to believe even one-half we hear about the awful brutality perpetrated upon the luckless slaves at the hands of the police, detectives, thugs, vigilantes and other coyotes of capital, we may be convinced that our rulers are closely approaching the madness that degree attained by their French prototypes a century and a quarter ago and which necessitated that generous blood-letting known as the French Revolution.

This ruling class madness is to continue, and it evidently is, no one need be surprised if it results in holocaust of retaliation. The brutalities of the ruffianly tools of the ruling class must eventually cause the slaves to retaliate. Then the Gods will get in their work of destruction. The ruling class can offer no serious objection to such retaliation, for one of their most precious maxims is, "As ye sow, so shall ye reap."

Let no one mistake the brand of Gods that is now ogging the masters to such a frenzy of madness as to make their mastery fit for destruction. These Gods are merely the proletariat—the propertyless workers. They are beginning to think and act together in the common defense. Such conduct is enough to make even a chronically pious master mad, and the most of them are pious. But whether pious or profane, they are doomed to be stripped of their mastery by the proletarian Gods of modern industry. It cannot be done too quickly, in the interest of peace and the common good.

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE.

We are just in receipt of notice from the paper houses of a pronounced advance in the price of paper. The reason given is that the labor cost of production has been increased because of a rise in wages. It is now up to the printing establishments to advance the price of their product in corresponding ratio, and thus pass the increased labor cost on to the consumer of printed matter. If this consumer happens to be a business man or contractor, they in turn must pass it on to their customers. The ultimate consumer of the necessities of life, will, in the last analysis, be called upon to foot the bill.

As the workers, the real wealth producers, constitute the vast majority of the consumers, the increased labor cost of production owing to the rise in wages referred to, will be made good chiefly from the pockets of the members of the working class. Once the vicious circle of advancing prices has been completed, the relative positions occupied by the working class and the master class resumes the status existing before the rise in wages occurred. It has merely been another case of "Pass it along to dear old Dad," and "Dear old Dad" is the working class, in this instance.

This vicious circle of prices has been travelled repeatedly during the last decade in the case of everything entering into living expenses, is known to every one. One thing, however, is often overlooked, and that is that the advance in the prices of all other commodities is more marked than the advance in wages—the price of the commodity, labor-power. Even with the so-called high wages of today, the average workman finds it more difficult to keep even with the game than he did some years ago, when the money wage was less than at present.

In comparing the living conditions of the workers during low wage and high wage periods, little difference is shown. Whether the wage, as expressed in money, be high or low, its purchasing power in either case amounts to about the same thing, that is merely enough to keep the worker and his family in workable condition. Even then the wages of the husband and father require to be supplemented by the wage of wife or children, or both, in order to keep even with the world.

It is a peach of a condition, especially in view of the fact that this is an age of the most prolific wealth production the world has ever known. Let us persist in trotting around this vicious circle of prices with renewed zeal. It is such a satisfying solution of nothing. And then it does not overtax our brain power. In fact, if we were not fit subjects for the home for feeble-minded, we would long since have discovered the folly of it.

WHY WE OPPOSE LABOR LEADERS.

The attitude of the Socialist Party toward leaders and the following of leaders seems to create a deal of mental disturbance, ranging from gentle indignation to double-distilled essence of Satanic malevolence, within those whose peculiar constitution demands a leader to look up to, and worship, and follow.

Such injured innocents, and such injured people who are far from being innocents, seem to imagine that our opposition to leaders and followers is prompted by sheer madness and spite, and grounded upon anything and everything but logical consideration. But it may be judicial to give, within the limits of a short article, some reasons for our undebatable hostility to all that savors of leadership, which will be sufficiently cogent to modify in some degree the criticism levelled against us, even if they fail to convert immense numbers to our view.

Now in the first place, the movement for working-class emancipation is unique in this respect—it is a movement for the emancipation of the only class in society that remains to be emancipated. The significance of this is easily grasped. So long as, in the struggle of classes, the class immediately seeking emancipation was not the only subject class; so long, that is, as there was a class below them, the achievement of the particular revolution of the period by no means depended upon the class-consciousness of the majority of those fighting for it. On the other hand, in such circumstances there was always a class to be made the tools of those seeking emancipation, and therefore to be kept in ignorance of the true interests of their class.

In such cases, while the success of the revolution depended upon the class-consciousness (or knowledge of their class interests) of the revolutionary section of society, it found either a helpful or a stumbling block in the class below.

For this reason the revolutionary class had much to gain from leading his dupes into battle on their account, but this did not absolve the former from the necessity of themselves attaining class consciousness, as a class, before any very serious effort could be made to attain social domination.

With the modern working-class the thing is entirely different. They have no class below them on whom to foist a fraudulent conception of class interests, and from whom to draw support and assistance in the struggle. All their strength must be of themselves and in themselves. All their militant might must be based upon the knowledge of their class position and the logical course dictated by that position.

Therefore at the very outset it is seen that the need for leaders does not exist. Only those who do not know the way require to be led, and this very fact makes inevitable that those who are led will be entirely in the hands of those who lead.

The working class can only find emancipation through Socialism, which implies the overthrow of the present ruling class and their social system. The only possible human instruments in the prosecution of the struggle for this end are those who understand the working-class position in society, realize that only Socialism can lift them from that position, and who desire that the proletariat shall be so lifted. Broadly speaking, only members of the working class will come in this category.

The class-unconscious mobs, therefore, whom the "leaders" place them at the head of, can never be effective factors in the struggle for working-class deliverance. It is often said that the leaders are in advance of the led, but in the broader sense this is not true. Leading, after all, must be by consent. So it happens that the "leader" can only lead where he is likely to be followed. Hence, so far as the leader from being in advance of the mob, that he is only the reflection of its collective ignorance.

As it is true that men's political actions are, broadly speaking, determined by their conception of their economic interests, it follows that would-be leaders must persuade those they would lead that the interests of the latter lie in the direction they desire to lead them. Here is the crux of the whole business. The political activities of the "leaders" will be determined by their economic interests—and what guarantee is there that these interests will coincide with those of the mob they invite to follow them?

It is not to be supposed that the interests of all members of the working class under all conditions and in all circumstances, are identical. The shipwrights on the Tyne, for instance, are the competitors of those on the Thames, and the interest of every unemployed worker is, up to a certain point, opposed to those who are taking the wages he aspires to take.

In like manner the economic interest of the "labor leader," as such, may be opposed to that of those he "leads." The interest of the latter is certainly their emancipation from wage-slavery by the only road—the institution of the Socialist system of society. The interest of the "labor leader," as such, lies in his maintaining his position as a labor "leader."

Granted that these interests have not been shown to be necessarily antagonistic. It is not essential to insist that they are. It is sufficient that they may be, and this no logical person can deny without doing violence to his convictions.

Now what are the facts concerning the economic interests of labor "leaders"? In the first place their bread and butter, in typical cases, depends upon their activities as labor "leaders." It is to their interest, therefore, to remove as far as possible the element of doubt and insecurity concerning their livelihood by constituting themselves the bosses of their mobs, instead of being their servants. This they contrive to do by the simple expedient of dividing their followers against one another. Hence they dare not assist their followers to arrive at a true conception of their class interest, for that, if it did not result in their immediate overthrow by the vast bulk of ignorance on which they bait, would replace confusion with unanimity and knowledge that would never submit to be bossed or "led."

Seen in actual fact the interests of leaders and led are diametrically opposed, inasmuch that the knowledge which is essential to working-class emancipation must inevitably abolish leaders, and establish working-class effort on the faith and confidence in the intellect and ability of the working-class.

It is part of the necessary work of a Socialist organization to point out this divergence between the interests of the workers and those who aspire to lead them, and to seize upon every instance and opportunity of illustrating and proving the contention that labor "leaders" are, and necessarily must be, misleaders.

The Socialist and the true Democrat does not place faith in leaders. He knows that the only hope lies in the intelligence and courage and energy of the working class as a class, and all his hope, all his faith, all his trust, rests in the working class.—E. JACOMB, in the Socialist Standard.

NO WORK, SUICIDES.

Herbert Spence drank strychnine yesterday evening and thirty minutes later had passed into the unknown. Spence poisoned himself in a fit of despondency brought on by his failure to secure work for the last two months. He lived at 4518 Newton street and leaves a wife and four children. Spence is an Englishman, thirty-five years of age and a carpenter by trade. Lured by the fable of "lots of work" here, he came to South Vancouver from the prairie province early in the spring. He tried hard to get work at his trade, for, although there is "lots of work," and hard work at that, there are lots to do it, and so he failed to sell his services and another worker is scribbling the god of profit.

THE REASON.

The reason I am a Socialist is because I know that under the present capitalist system the results of my toil do not belong to me.

I know that I am compelled to live in a miserable shack, while my master lives in a splendid house.

I work hard and have to eat, cheap adulterated food and my master does nothing and eats just what he likes.

I wear overalls and a black shirt; he wears a collar and fine clothes.

I am his slave. He is my master. I am not satisfied. He is.

There are nine times as many in the composition as I am, as there are like my master.

Do I think that Socialism would benefit me? Why, sure. Socialism means that the people shall own the natural resources and all the machines for producing goods.

That every man shall have the chance to work but the certainty of working for all his needs.

No one will wish to avoid work when they are sure of getting all they produce and that no one is living upon their labor.

I do not think that many will be inclined to steal under such conditions.

Just let your imagination go, and think of the things we could have, that are now denied us, in spite of the fact that we make them.

We would all have the best of food, anything we cared for we would have it. There is plenty for all.

We would not wear the cheap, second-hand, shoddy clothes that we now wear, but good clothing and only the best would be made. We would live in houses of our own, not rented two by four shacks. We would have free electric light, heat and water. All such utilities would be publicly owned and for public use only, not exist for private profit.

Yes, Socialism sure would be better for the working class than capitalism.

CAPITAL AND THE APPENDIX.

They think they've got you when they put up the question, "What are you going to do without capital?" (meaning money). Our answers are always to the effect that money capital does not actually produce anything; it only acts as a medium of exchange for articles produced, and the body politic, like the physical body, it has parts which, when the usefulness of any particular organ can no longer serve any useful function, it must of necessity perish or decay or by some method be removed, hence we find today numerous cases where a small organ of the physical body, known to the medical fraternity as the vermiform appendix, which having no known excuse for its existence, we find the surgeons frequently called upon to cut it out, the body can get along without it; so, too, will the body politic, or, to be more expressive, society, will some day in the near future come to the conclusion that it can thrive better without this so-called capital, and we will do as the Doc does with the appendix, cut it out. T. H. E.

MEN CLAMOR TO SELL BLOOD.

More than 15 men of all nationalities, their threadbare clothes betraying their need, besieged Lebanon Hospital yesterday seeking to earn \$25 in exchange for their blood. They came in response to an advertisement in a newspaper.

The blood transfusion is the last hope of saving the life of Mrs. Eastwood Herman, 32 years old, of 523 East 168th Street. Last Wednesday Mrs. Herman fell from the fourth story of the apartment to the yard and fractured her skull.

Socialist Party Directory

- ALBERTA SOCIALIST PARTY: Edmonton, 425 B. C. Street, 8 p.m. Tuesday; Calgary, 425 B. C. Street, 8 p.m. Tuesday; Lethbridge, 425 B. C. Street, 8 p.m. Tuesday; Regina, 425 B. C. Street, 8 p.m. Tuesday.
- BRITISH COLUMBIA: Vancouver, 425 B. C. Street, 8 p.m. Tuesday; Victoria, 425 B. C. Street, 8 p.m. Tuesday; Nanaimo, 425 B. C. Street, 8 p.m. Tuesday.
- ONTARIO: Toronto, 425 B. C. Street, 8 p.m. Tuesday; Ottawa, 425 B. C. Street, 8 p.m. Tuesday; Montreal, 425 B. C. Street, 8 p.m. Tuesday.
- QUEBEC: Quebec, 425 B. C. Street, 8 p.m. Tuesday.
- NEW BRUNSWICK: St. John's, 425 B. C. Street, 8 p.m. Tuesday.
- NEW SCOTLAND: Halifax, 425 B. C. Street, 8 p.m. Tuesday.
- NEWFOUNDLAND: St. John's, 425 B. C. Street, 8 p.m. Tuesday.

PLATFORM Socialist Party of Canada. We, the Socialist Party of Canada, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support of the principles and program 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-swelling 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 the transformation of the means 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 program of the working class, as follows: 1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into the collective property of the working class. 2. The democratic organization and management of the industry by the workers. 3. The expropriation, as speedily as possible, of production for the benefit of the production for profit. The Socialist Party when in office shall always and everywhere call for the abolition of the wage system and the transformation of the means of wealth production into the collective property 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 its public affairs placed in its hands in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone.

SUBSCRIPTION CARDS. 5 Yearlies - \$3.75. 10 1-2 Yearlies - 4.00. 20 Quarterlies - 4.00.

CORRESPONDENCE

HOW THEY DO IT IN TORONTO.

Dear Comrade: Toronto Local is now in good shape. We have elected the following slaves to office: Secretary-treasurer, Harry Kirwin. Recording Secretary, A. Taylor. Literary Secretary, L. Willshaw. Organizer, W. Green. Besides holding our weekly local meetings, we have celebrated the Parla Commem, and May Day. Upon each occasion, Comrade Green dealt intelligently with his subject. Although our membership still stands at our original ten charter members, our local meetings are always attended by about 20 slaves. Several of these are desirous of joining us, but we are rigidly insisting that a slave must understand our position, as well as his own, before we accept him. We know from past experience that if we are to have a live, successful, fighting local, the first 20 members at least must be fearless, class conscious revolutionary slaves. We have installed a house to house distribution of free leaflets. To do this we have mapped out a certain district and every Sunday morning we leave one of the leaflets at each house. We are now on our fifth distribution, and the comrades who are doing this distribution have found eleven discontented slaves, which will result, probably, in the organizing of a local in that district, or the swelling of the membership of our local. Last night (Saturday) we held a special organizing meeting to accommodate some slaves from a local glass works, who were desirous of hearing our exposition of our platform and principles. Nine of them turned up and Organizer Green laid our position before them truthfully and fearlessly. The result of three hours' questioning and discussion being that we advised them to hear the organizer of the S. D. P. compare the platform of each party and act accordingly. If these slaves do not join us, I for one will be surprised. We are meeting with success in our literary department, especially in getting subs. for the Clarion. Enclosed you will find \$2 for 22 stamps. I want 11 for May dues and 11 for June. To sum up, let me say that our local is in a very healthy condition both intellectually and financially. Yours in revolt, HARRY KIRWIN, Secretary.

MEDICINE HAT.

The membership of Medicine Hat local is growing steadily. We have organized a Lettish branch of sixteen members, also a Lithuanian branch. During the last five weeks Medicine Hat has held five propaganda meetings, one addressed by C. M. Davis, two by C. M. O'Brien and three by Alf. Budden. The last drink usually doesn't taste as good as the first, but on this occasion it proved the exception to the rule. In my opinion Comrade Budden is the best speaker in the party today. The local paper said of him: "A Budden, socialist organizer, who than fulfilled all forecasts made of him as a speaker in his lecture last night. He has a clear, ringing voice and held the wrapt attention of his audience from beginning to end. His clear enunciation was greatly appreciated. Mr. Budden as a lecturer ranks among the best. Comrade Budden left here to speak in Taber Saturday night, Lethbridge Sunday and then went on to Edmonton to take part in the bye-election there. JIM THOMSON.

FOR YOUR LIBRARY.

Here is a chance for some Locals to show what they can do in the sub. hustling line besides getting out of the cellar. I have in my possession the two volumes of "The Ancient Lowly," by G. Osborne. Ward complete. These I will present to the Local to whichever of the following Locals that succeeds in coming near to No. 1 from now until the 30th of June next. Every week there is published in this paper a list of Locals and their standing in regards to the number of subs. going to each. No. 1 being the highest and the lowest. These two volumes will make a fine addition to your library or you can sell them for \$2.00 each or \$4.00 for both. Now who gets them? The Locals entitled to compete are: New Westminster, B. C.; Cumberland, B. C.; Nelson, B. C.; South Fort George, B. C.; Sillerton, B. C.; North Battleford, Sask.; Ottawa, Ont.; Regina, Sask.; Bay, N. S.; South Hill, Sask. Notice: Every sub. you send in counts on this one.—Leads.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. T. Medicine Hat: Thanks for copy of 626. Geo. Riley on list O. K. See the postmaster. J. C. G., Glenwood: Thanks for No. 626. L. W., Barons: Thanks for No. 626. W. G., Portland: Sent your bundle. C. M. S., Brooklyn: Thanks for copy 626. A. H., Victoria: Thanks for copy 626. Socialism means a chance for every body and abundance for all who toil.

GOOD NEWS FROM NEW ZEALAND.

Timaru, New Zealand. To The Editor Western Clarion: Comrade—Just a few lines expressing my pleasure on receiving copies of the Clarion. I am a rolling stone and happened to be in Vancouver for a short period a few months ago. Though I have been a revolutionary red since I was able to think for myself and though your (?) fair and prosperous (?) country used me pretty hard, I am not sorry for my sojourn with you. I can sincerely say I learned more about the real Socialist movement (and am still learning per medium of your paper), in the few weeks I spent in Vancouver than in all the other time I have been interested in the movement. Though I am not able to express myself sufficiently I want to congratulate your party on its platform, and official organ. I consider the best half dollar I ever spent was on one Sunday night on coming out of the Empress Theatre I bumped into and almost ran down a little Scotchman who was selling sub cards for the Clarion. I bought a card from him. I believe I did not apologize to him for the rough way I tumbled into him. I now take the opportunity of doing so, and also to congratulate him on a very able lecture I heard him give later on the evolution of the machinery of production. I sincerely hope the Cossacks did not manhandle him during the recent free speech campaign. I wish there were a few able speakers, such as Comrades Gribble, Kingsley, Lester and a few more of you, not forgetting the little Scotchman, over here in New Zealand. The workers over here seem to be contented with their unions and strikes. Though I only arrived in New Zealand a week or so ago, when I arrived here I found an accumulation of Clarions awaiting here for me. I sure find them interesting reading. I pass them on to all my fellow workers and am agreeably surprised at the way in which they are read and passed on again. Why some new converts are even asking me when I expect the next batch, and like myself are eagerly awaiting the next mail. It does a man good to see the seed sown and the crop grow. When will the reaping be? Not long, comrades. Those fine verses of Wilfrid Gribble's, "To a Weary Comrade", will be out of place soon, though to those who have read them they will never be forgotten. We shall be weary no longer, comrades. Stick to the good work. Keep your end up over there. We down here, if we can't lead, will follow. Hoping that I am not wearying you and trusting that you will derive a little satisfaction in knowing your little paper (little only in size) is doing a share in spreading the good word in a far off country. I am yours in revolt. WALTER MOOD.

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WANTED At Ymir General Hospital a duly qualified Physician and Surgeon to take charge June 1, 1912. For further information write W. B. McIsaac, Secretary, P. O. Box 506, Ymir, B.C.

To help the good cause along. Never mind the other fellow do it yourself and do it now. We want one sub. from each reader this week. You are sure to know someone who will go good for at least a three months sub. Can we depend on you? We think so. Don't you? Here are the trail blazers for this week: J. Kinneer, Toronto, Ont. 20 L. Williams, Toronto, Ont. 4 Alf. Budden, Organizer, Alta. 4 W. H. Gilmour, Vernon, B. C. 3 W. Atkinson, Victoria, B. C. 3 A. H. McAllister, Winnipeg, Man. 3 A. Paterson, Winnipeg, Man. 2 Wm. McQuoid, Edmonton, Alta. 2 M. Lightstone, City. 2 S. Lellman, Enderby, B. C. 2 Singles.

A. Stewart, Moose Jaw; H. Baron, Winnipeg; H. Baker, Winnipeg; B. Fulcher, Brandon; G. M., Brandon; D. Diamond, St. Catherine's; D. Thomson, St. Catherine's, Ont.; K. Johnson, Montreal; J. Pilkington, Enderby, B. C.; C. Steen, Janss Rd., E. Campbell, Rossland; H. Sellers, Prince Rupert; A. Manson, Nelson; W. W. Lefaux, City; J. Lamer, Sillerton; W. B. McIsaac, Ymir; H. Stritcher, Skeena River, Thos. Waklem, Coleman, Alta.; S. K. Read, Calgary; G. Braudt, Meeting Creek; N. D. Thuchuk, Canmore; J. B. Bickenseth, Lac La Poudre, Alta.; C. M. Smith, Brooklyn, N. Y.; E. Simpson, Victoria, B. C.; A. E. McNaughton, City.

Bundles. Alex Beaton, Glenora, Sask.; G. C. McMahon, Smith, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Wm. McQuoid, Edmonton, 100; B. Simons, Regina, 25; J. S. Oidegaard, Prince Rupert, 5.

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HERE AND THERE. (By Watts.) The price of leaflets will in future be two dollars per thousand. Another trust busting force is being enacted in the States. The Sugar trust is to be "dissolved". Ticking capitalism with the feather of "immediate demands" may amuse the simple, but there the joke ends. It means very little effort on your part to get on the voters' list. See that you get on right away. You may look smart in a soldier's uniform. But there is no smartness in making widows and orphans. Don't forget the organizers' fund; don't wait till the other fellow sends in his money. What is it that keeps you away from the business meetings week after week? If this should catch the eye of T. S. Faulkner, kindly communicate with D. G. McKenzie, 114 Water St., Vancouver, B. C.

Charlie O'Brien has assisted in 30 meetings since the Alberta legislative assembly prorogued. What effort are you making to keep him in the field? The trial of the Editors of the Appeal to Reason has been postponed till after the Presidential elections. There's a reason. The best and only honest tactics for a working class party is to educate the slave to the necessity of ending slavery; anything else is compromise. Whilst a bunch of fanatics are upholding and opposing Home Rule for Ireland, there is a sturdy band in Ireland working for the "world for the workers". Because you are a selfish Socialist and do not love the working class, is no reason why you should not spend half an hour a week distributing leaflets. Get busy. Three thousand eight hundred weavers of Paterson, N.J., are on strike and the bosses threaten to remove their factories unless the strikers go back to work. Eight undesirables of Bassano, Alberta, signed an application for a charter of the S. P. of C. These comrades will help put the farmers wise to the skin game of the C. P. I. The members of the Socialist party are opposed to wars. If there are to be bloody wars in the future, the wage-earners should not be arrayed against each other. Local Vancouver 69 has started a lending library. If you have any books you don't need, have them put in the library. If you want something good to read, you can get it from our library; there's plenty to select from. Government owned elevators in Manitoba has proved a failure and the government are trying to sell them for \$600,000, and they only recently paid \$1,000,000 for them. Two hundred students of Chicago University held a mass to protest against the action of some of their fellow students who are acting as strike-breakers in the Chicago newspaper strike. The Englishman in his castle (?) may no longer fear the invasion of Great Britain by those bloodthirsty Germans, for the government have wisely (?) initiated a defence of its shores by having 165 destroyers and several cruisers continuously patrolling the coast line. The Socialist Party stands for the ending of slavery—a task stupendous enough for any party. No frills are needed. Don't tell the capitalist beast when or where you are going to land your blows. Keep your tactics secret or he will "cover up." "How to the line, let the chips fall where they may."

W. H. Goodwin, of the Montreal Men and Religion movement, says: "Religion needs more newspaper advertisement. Mr. Goodwin must be taken a knock at, as we hardly know of a newspaper that isn't checked full of religion. Cotton's Weekly with its big (?) circulation is boasting religion of Mr. Goodwin's brand, and what more could he need? On Empire Day, 6,000 youths of Toronto shouldered rifles, proud of their ability to do their part in the defence of the Empire. Thus said Earl Gray in a "defence of the Empire" speech. The practical press and crowned parasites are working overtime these days to keep this patriotic dope before the wage slaves, but it is all in vain; the slave is beginning to realize where his material interest lies.

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The Evolution of Human Society

(Leaflet Number Eight.)

Just how long mankind has inhabited the earth is not known. It is safe to assume, however, that it has been many thousands of years. The most careful research into the history of the human race shows conclusively that man was not always the wonderful creature as we know him to-day, with his highly-developed faculties and his marvelous command over the forces of nature. It is generally conceded that back in remote antiquity he was low down in the scale of being, with ill-developed faculties, and in fact with little to distinguish him in habit and instinct from other animals that roamed the earth at that time. As he emerged from among the lower animals, he did so by taking on one peculiar characteristic or habit, which had proven the distinguishing mark separating him from all other animal kind. That is, he makes and uses tools with which to obtain his living. All others rely solely upon the means with which nature has supplied them—teeth, claws, etc.

Man, then, is a tool-using animal. When he first raised himself above the balance of animal kind, the tools with which he made his living were of necessity primitive and puny. Very likely a sharp stone or stick, by aid of which he dug a root or killed some weaker animal for the purpose of satisfying his appetite was the most primitive tool of ancient man. Having adopted this primitive tool he opened out before himself a career that was destined to eventually make him not only master of all animal kind, but master of the forces of nature as well.

The history of mankind could be written in industrial terms. In fact it cannot be correctly written in any other. The history of the human race is a history of the growth and development of the means and method whereby mankind feeds, clothes and shelters itself.

Human society and its institutions are but a reflex of this economic basis. Social institutions, ethics, morals and religions of any given period are only such as are made possible by the economic development of that time.

As the tool grew from primitive form, with each successive step becoming more powerful, and the method of its operation more complex and far-reaching, it logically follows that changes in social institutions must needs occur from time to time, in order that human society might adapt itself to the ever-increasing pressure of the economic development going on within it. That some of these changes would be sudden and violent goes without saying. A period of such sudden and oftentimes violent change is usually termed a revolutionary epoch. Human society is just now upon the verge of such an epoch, greater and more far-reaching in its consequences to mankind than any that have preceded it. It will be accompanied by less of violence and leave less of misery and sorrow in its wake if every man bestirs himself to understand the nature of the change that has been made necessary by the industrial development of the past. The more wide-spread the knowledge of the impending change and the necessity for it, the less the shock incident to it.

Man as a Savage.

Man, then, emerges from the ranks of the lower animals, adapting himself to the use of tools with which to make his living and protect himself against other animals. The family, the community, the tribe, the nation, government, religion, etc., are unknown quantities to him. His language is as yet but the chatter or speech of an animal; his code of morals and ethics is that of a beast. In other words, he is a savage, very low down in the scale of being. By slow degrees he develops his means of living. He learns how to make fire and obtain fish for food. He begins to gather in communities alongside of ocean, stream or lake, where fish may be obtained. The more fixed abode and the learning of how to store food for times of scarcity, lays the foundation of the family, which begins to form from out of the former promiscuous sex relations. This is still further hastened by the growth of the spear, stone-axe and club into the bow and arrow, thus adding the products of the chase to the food supply. It is needless to say that this development must have been painfully slow, probably covering many thousands of years. But it is beyond question that the basis of our boasted present-day industrial power was in this manner laid by our savage ancestors of remote antiquity.

Man as a Barbarian.

Emerging from savagery, man entered upon his career as a barbarian. The art of making pottery was acquired. The domestication of animals and the cultivation of cereals followed. He learned how to make garments from textile fabrics; how to build of wood and stone; how to smelt ores and fashion implements of iron and copper. The canoe of the savage was improved upon by adding the sail and rudder. The insignificant savage community grew into the powerful tribe, taking on more and more the character of the nation. The family continued to develop towards the monogamous form.

But the achievements of savagery and barbarism can only be hinted at in this article. Suffice it to say that man's power to produce wealth during these periods had been greatly increased. His wants had, no doubt, likewise increased during the same period. It remained for the closing years of barbarism to bring his power of wealth production up to the point where human slavery was possible. So long as it required all of man's time to provide himself with the necessities of life all motive to enslave him would be lacking. When the power of production had passed that point to any appreciable extent, the motive to enslave their fellows would be acted upon by the stronger ones at the first opportunity. That opportunity came at last and out of the tribal wars that arose over possession of territory, as tribe crowded upon tribe, arose the custom of the conqueror enslaving the conquered.

Civilization.

Civilization announced its advent upon the stage of events by the inauguration of slavery. The slave worked for the master. The product of his labor belonged to the master. The master saw that the slave had food, etc., sufficient to enable him to work on the morrow. If he allowed his slave to starve, he might be unable to get another, unless at considerable cost.

With slavery there came the enervating out of works of greater magnitude than formerly. Under the lash of the master the mighty achievements of Egypt, Babylon, Greece, Rome, etc., were accomplished, tasks that were undoubtedly impossible except through forced labor. Slowly and painfully, through some thousands of years were the burdens of civilization borne upon the backs of chattel slaves. The tools of wealth production were by the same token growing more powerful, making the labor of the slave more prolific in wealth production. This continually increasing power to produce wealth eventually surfeited the master class and its institutions, until the civilization of the time, rotten to the core, went to pieces at the touch of the barbarians of a more northern clime; and out of the chaos of its ruins there emerged a slavery wearing a different garb but in essence the same. The feudal slave worked a part of the time for the feudal lord for nothing, being allowed to work the balance of the time for himself upon land set aside for his own use. He kept himself and his family by this latter labor. The amount of time he was allotted to work for himself was as a rule very nicely adjusted to the actual requirements to enable him to work for the feudal lord the balance. His predecessor,

BOTH GOOD AND BAD.

(Translated from Yiddish by N. Nolson.)

To die bravely men were able in all ages. That is why we are not surprised to hear of the heroes of the Titanic disaster.

But the profound grief that it has caused to humanity is really marvelous. The general, sincere sympathy with the rescued, the quick, generous aid to the widows and orphans, is wonderful.

All-rich and poor, aristocrats and common people—were afflicted as one man. All felt like one family. All gave their aid as near relatives. A hundred years ago a thing like this would have been impossible. Never was humanity so magnanimous.

Oh, how good we are already! But why did we have to sorrow? Why did hundreds of women become widows and hundreds of children orphans?

Because ships are built for profit, and human life has no value.

Because on the dry land the Astors and Wideners are not heroes, but mere exploiters and as the owners of the ships don't give a snap for their fellow men.

They only care for the purse. Oh, how bad we are yet!

In no age were women and children so cared for as they are now. There are special societies to protect children and magnificent institutions for women.

Special funds are raised every summer to send small children to some healthy parts of the country or to the seashores.

There are schools for dumb, weak and crippled children.

The law of every civilized country is aiming to protect the child, even in its mother's womb.

Oh, how good we are already! But factories are full of women and children.

Do you remember the strike at Lawrence? Pregnant women forced to work as well as men.

Working women have no spare time to feed their little ones. Women grow old before their time from hard labor.

Children die young because their mothers are too busy to care for them. Thousands of children are being demoralized on the streets of our large cities.

Oh, how bad we are yet!

We sympathize even now with prostitutes.

We have special institutions to save unhappy women.

We prosecute the white slave mongers.

We have societies that look after young, inexperienced girls.

We build special clubs for them.

We protect them on the streets and street cars.

Oh, how good we are already!

the chattel slave, worked for his master all of the time. The feudal slave worked for his master but a part of the time. But in as much as neither got more than the bare necessities of existence, the difference between them was one of appearance only. The very essence of their servitude was the same in either case.

For some hundreds of years the feudal system of slavery held sway. The tools of wealth production were continually being improved upon and the power of production increased. Like their predecessors, the chattel slave masters, the feudal lords became surfeited with wealth and their civilization became a nuisance in the pathway of human progress. The wealth the feudal slave could produce in excess of his own keep could not be consumed by his master. It cried out with ever-increasing insistence to be disposed of. A new master class arose out of the ranks of the slaves. Skilled workers in the towns partially broke loose from feudal rule. Master workmen with their tools ever becoming more powerful under their wares, if the restrictions of feudal rule could be completely broken. The feudal lords could not withstand the pressure of this economic power developed within feudal society, and were forced to give over the sceptre of rule to the master workmen who were speedily to develop into factory lords.

As the feudal system gave way a vista was opened up before the feudal workman that had every appearance of being that freedom of which he had long dreamed. But it proved to be a delusion. The individual workman in the individual shop grew into a collection of workmen in a larger shop, and the sub-division of labor. The worker no longer made an article entire. He performed a certain part of the work only, and passed it along to a fellow workman. The hand tool grew into a machine and the process of production became more complex and the necessary equipment more costly, it became more and more impossible for the individual worker to lift himself from the rank of worker to that of master. Awakened from his dream of freedom he found himself in the grip of a voracious industrial monster, that squeezed the last drop of blood from his quivering body, even more completely than did ever chattel slave master or feudal lord. Though he appeared to be free inasmuch as he might refuse to labor if he so chose, he awakened to the fact that he was compelled to surrender his life to his industrial masters in exchange for the price of that which the chattel slave got at first hand, and the feudal slave was allowed to produce for himself, and that was the bare necessities of existence.

After dreaming of freedom, to be awakened to the stern reality that wage-labor is but another name for slave-labor is a rude awakening, indeed.

The wage slave does precisely for his master what the chattel slave and feudal serf did for theirs. No one would be impudent enough to assert that either of the latter were paid for their work, yet in common parlance the wage-worker gets paid for his. The fact asserts itself with ever increasing emphasis that chattel slave, feudal serf and wage slave worked for practically the same thing—a bare existence, and this has been rendered ever more insecure and uncertain as each of these successive stages of civilization became more highly developed.

But the girls in our stores and factories receive such a low wage that many of them have either to starve or sell their bodies on the streets.

We pay the working men so little that they are unable to keep their daughters.

The poor are so poor that they cannot allow themselves to marry.

The rich are so rich that one wife is not enough for them.

The white slavery business is so profitable that pious and respectable men are not ashamed to go into it.

We save one unhappy woman, but hundreds of them we run down and create thousands of new ones.

Oh, how bad we are yet!

In no age was the poor "brother" cared for so much as he is now.

He is taught how to escape consumption and other deadly diseases.

The trusts promise compensation to workers that reach the age of seventy.

Carnegie is building libraries for workers that have time to read.

Rockefeller erects churches for them and Morgan gives museums.

Each year new hospitals are being put up for them.

Institutions for old, insane, and for those that are crippled by work.

Popular magazines and newspapers are constantly published for the poor workman.

Popular concerts are given for them.

In every large city there are several institutions that provide the penniless toilers with coal in the winter and ice in the summer.

Shoes are being donated to the children of the poor and bread distributed among the hungry.

Care is taken that they shall not stray from the path of temperance.

Savings banks are established to enable them to save their money.

The priests are always busy with the poor.

Reformers invent new laws for them.

The rich keep on giving money to the poor.

It is considered a shame now for one to live to himself and not to care for his poorer brother.

Oh, how good we are already! But the tailors' wages are so low that they are compelled to suffer want and hunger and to live in miserable, filthy dwellings, often full of disease.

They cannot escape consumption.

A small number of us have captured the world, the mines, fields and factories, and the majority are compelled to work for us when they need food or starve when they can get no job.

The workers are forced to work so hard and so long that they have no time to attend Carnegie's libraries and Morgan's museums.

They are crippled up in the factories so badly that they could not escape our hospitals.

They get so dulled from hard labor that they are unable to appreciate our lectures, read our books and enjoy our theatres.

They booze regardless of our preachings.

F. PERRY TAILOR
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They do not save money regardless of our banks and they don't live long enough to get compensation.

We create paupers, we make cripples, we provide drunkards and criminals and after having created thousands of them we try our best to save one or two.

Oh, how bad we are yet!

We have special societies for protecting horses, dogs and cats.

We couldn't bear to see anybody beating his horse.

Our tender hearts would suffer to see a hungry dog or a wounded cat.

We have sympathy even with cattle. We are beginning to condemn hunting.

Oh, how good we are already!

But our prisons are never empty, our scaffolds never at rest.

The women of Lawrence know the taste of a policeman's club.

At every big strike there are workers shot down by police.

Murder of this sort is very common among us.

Oh, how bad we are yet!

But when we are good now we are better than we have been in the past, and when we are bad we are not quite so bad as we used to be.

Our goodness is voluntary; and we are bad because conditions make us bad.

We think better than we feel and feel better than we act.

We are as good as the capitalist system will allow us to be.

We are as bad as it compels us to be.

We desire something better than capitalist rule.

We shall not be happy until we attain it.

From a memorandum of Lord Haldane, the British minister of war, it appears that the British army estimates for 1912-1913 have risen to £27,860,000 (\$139,300,000), an increase of £170,000 (\$850,000) over last year. This increase is due to that provision made for aviation service. Each of the great powers, so-called, seems determined to get ahead of its neighbors in readiness to fling in the air! The absurdity of fear and distrust can certainly go no further.—Advocate of Peace.

A Socialist and labor daily paper has just been launched in London, England, and another one, for which a fund of \$35,000 has already been collected, is about to appear.

British Columbia is seething with Anarchy. Brrrrrrrr!

E. T. KINGSLEY

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A cable dispatch from London brings the good news that the Privy Council has given a decision in favor of Mrs. Krauz, the widow of Mike Krauz, who lost his life in the Michel mines some four years ago. The Crown Nest Pass Coal Co. refused to pay compensation on the grounds that as she and her children were living outside of the province of British Columbia, in Austria, she could not claim the benefits under the Compensation Act.