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MOTIVE BEHIND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

Dr. Sun Yat Sen, Provisional President of Chinese Republic, Gives Utterance to Facts of World-Wide Interest.

(Only confused rumors of the speech have been printed in the capitalist press of the world. The matter printed below is a translation by The Coming Nation from Berlin Vorwaerts).

The republic of China is now established. In resigning my position as provisional president of the republic it does not mean that I have ceased to fight for our cause. On the contrary, in laying down the duties of this office I have gained the liberty and the leisure to apply my strength to far greater tasks. For 270 years China has been under the rule of the Manchus. During this time repeated efforts have been made to obtain independence. The Taiping rebellion, a half century ago, was one such an attempt. But that was only a race war.

Even if that uprising had been successful the country would still have been suffering under an autocratic government.

Not many years ago a few of us came together in Japan and founded a revolutionary party. This was based upon three great principles:

- (1) The freedom of the Chinese race.
- (2) The government of the people by the people.
- (3) Absolute control by the people over the product of the land and their labor.

The first two principles have been realized by the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. The economic transformation remains for us yet to accomplish. It is today a subject of universal discussion, but the majority of the Chinese people do not, as yet, understand its full significance. They take it for granted that the object of the political regeneration could take its place on an equality with the military states of the west. But that was not the goal of our efforts.

There are today no nations that are richer than England and America, and none more highly cultured than France. England is a constitutional monarchy, and America and France are republics. Nevertheless, in all these countries the chasm between the poor and the rich is great, and the idea of revolution flows in the views of its citizens. If a social revolution is not brought about in these countries, then the majority of the people must remain excluded from the well being and joy of life. Today happiness is confined to a few capitalists. The mass of the workers suffer bitterly, and can look forward to no peace.

The revolution of a race, or a political transformation, is easy to accomplish, but the transformation of a society is more difficult. Only a people of great ability is capable of carrying out a social revolution.

Some say to us, "Up to the present your revolution has been a success, why are you not satisfied now and willing to wait? Why do you seek to accomplish what England and America with all their wealth and their knowledge have not attempted to undertake?" To follow the advice that these questions imply would be poor policy, for in England and America civilization and industry have developed intertwined, and a social transformation would therefore be difficult. We in China have not yet progressed so far. A social revolution is for us comparatively easy: it is possible for us to forestall the capitalist stage.

In capitalist countries the existing interests are powerfully defended, and it is difficult to attain to any other foundation. In China there is not up to the present either vested interests or capitalists, and for these reasons a social revolution is comparatively easy.

I am often asked if such a transformation must necessarily be accompanied with violence. For America and England I answer yes; but not in China. The strike of the British coal miners proves my statement. Yet this was no revolution, but simply a desire expressed by an oppressed people, in the direction of the possession of the natural sources of wealth, and it appears as if this desire can be gratified only through force. It may easily be possible that for us also the attain-

ment of a social revolution will be difficult, but we are at least in a position to see toward what the complete process is tending, and it is not necessary for us to speak of those methods of despair or of the danger to the state which their realization might bring.

If at the beginning of the existence of the Chinese republic we neglect to place ourselves on guard against the capitalism that is already at hand, we may expect a new despotism ten times more horrible than that of the Manchus and streams of blood will be necessary to free us from it. Certainly a mournful outlook!

One question especially presses itself on our attention. As soon as our new government is firmly established it will become necessary to deal with the question of real estate. That is a necessary consequence of the revolution. The interests of progress will compel this. Up to the present the land owners have paid a tax on their acreage according as these were divided into one of three classes; best, medium and common land. In the future the basis of taxation will have to be the value of a man's property, for the quality of the soil varies much more than can be described in three classes. It is very hard to say in what degree the value of the real estate in Nanking varies in relation to that within the Bund (the principal European business street) at Shanghai, and with the application of the previous methods it would be impossible to secure justice in taxation. The land with high value belongs to the wealthy. To place a heavier tax on this would not be oppressive. The less valuable land belongs to the poor people living in thinly settled districts. These should be taxed as little as possible. An equal tax is laid on the land owned by farmers. But the value of building sites in Shanghai has increased 10,000 fold in the last century. China is on the verge of a tremendous industrial revolution. Commerce will extend in a gigantic manner, and in 50 years we will have many cities like Shanghai. We need only to make certain that the increasing value of the real estate goes to the profit of the whole people who already have created it, instead of to the private capitalists who through accident have become the possessor of the land.

HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE AN OX.

Tokyo, Sept. 25.—Pensions have been provided from the Mikado's purse for the oxen which drew the burial cart at the late Mikado's funeral. With special attendant each, the oxen will spend the remainder of their lives in luxury in the Imperial pastures. The old custom of giving them the junior fifth grade of court rank was disregarded.

Socialism won't work, is the cry of the ignorant. If they would only stop to consider that the object of the Socialist is to get enough of the workers to change the ownership of the means by which the working class gain its living into the collective property of the working class, they would immediately see that it is the ignorance of that class that prevents the working out of socialism. The working class is getting wise, so naturally Socialism will eventually work.

We do not need to have a plan of a Co-operative Commonwealth. All we need is the power to change the ownership of the machinery of wealth production. Production and transportation will be carried on the same as it is now, probably a little more scientifically. The clerks will fix up the books in almost the same manner that they do now. The only difference will be that there won't be any surplus left over to be divided amongst a useless class. Of course, it may be strange for the worker to be able to go home with enough money to buy the best of everything after only a few hours' labor. He will get used to that, the same as he will get used to living in a real home and living on the best that labor can produce.

MINERS IN POSSESSION OF MINES.

Salt Lake, Utah.—Though the 4,000 striking miners employed in the copper, lead and silver mines in the region of Bingham have thrown up fortifications and are in full possession of the properties, Governor Spry will not call out the State militia until the civil authorities have exhausted all efforts to settle the trouble. The Executive hurried here today on a special train from the southern part of the State, and at once set the machinery in motion for peace. If these efforts fail the State militia probably will be called out.

"The strike is a matter for the civil authorities to handle first of all," the Governor announced on getting into a conference with the various interests. "There is a State Board of Labor, consultation and arbitration, organized by law, and it is up to that board to take the first steps," the Governor said.

George W. Dwyer, superintendent of the Utah Copper mine, and some of the bookkeepers went to the mine and have not been molested. None of the property of the mining company is damaged, and the Utah-Apex Company is working as usual under an agreement with the union.

The miners are on strike against the Utah Copper Company for higher wages and recognition of the union. Before deciding whether State troops shall be called out, the Governor will go over the whole situation, conferring with representatives of both sides.

Bingham today presented the appearance of an armed camp. Nearly all night the strikers, mostly foreigners, had worked digging trenches and throwing up breastworks about the mines. A semi-military organization seems to have been formed, and picket lines are being maintained at all points of vantage. The chief strength of the strikers was concentrated in trenches opposite the entrance to the Utah company's mine. Here a thousand men are located. Although there was some desultory

MINERS IN NOVA SCOTIA.

Moncton, N. B., Sept. 14.—The current issue of the Eastern Labor News, published in this city, carries an article in a recent issue relative to the miners in Nova Scotia, in which the following appears: "It is not generally known, but it is a fact capable of proof, that the average amount received by those dependent on the coal industry of Nova Scotia for a livelihood, is less than it takes to keep paupers in the poorhouses of this country, even less than living expenses of the inmates of semi-penal institutions, and not more than inmates of the forty-six jails in Ontario else out their miserable existence while explaining the crimes of murder, arson, rape, seduction, burglary, etc. It is figured out that each dependent receives \$85 per year to live on, or something like \$3 cents per day. In the government institutions, aside from penal and corrective institutions, the average cost per inmate per day ranges between 23 and 27 cents."

NEW WESTMINSTER PROPAGANDA MEETING.

Comrade E. T. Kingsley will speak in the City Theatre, New Westminster, on Sunday, October 6th. Doors open at 7:30.

Keep on Smiling. The Socialist is the only person that looks on the present system as a huge joke. It surely is, and a cruel one at that.

During the morning, nobody was hit.

Sheriff Sharp is increasing his force of deputies, and at noon it was estimated that fully 250 were in Bingham. Sharp expresses a desire to attack the strikers' position, but it is believed that this will be forbidden by the Governor, who thinks it would merely provoke bloodshed.

There is a strong feeling here that Governor Spry will decide to call out troops. Militiamen have been enlisted unofficially to hold themselves in readiness for an order to move.—New York Call.

"\$20,000 TO SEE HIM HANG"

"I'd give \$20,000 to see A. L. Emerson hang." General Manager Sheffield Bridgewater of the Industrial Lumber Company is reported to have made the foregoing remark. The Association has deposited more than \$100,000 to finance the conviction of Emerson and his imprisoned fellow-workers and has Burns and an able staff of lawyers directing the man-hunt.

Three of our fellow-workers are already dead as a result of the Massacre of Grabow, and Emerson and Sixty-three others have been arrested, charged with killing their own brothers, indicted for murder in the first degree, refused bail and are now in prison at Lake Charles, La., awaiting trial for their lives and liberties, facing death on the gallows or, worse, servitude on the frightful penal farms and levees of Louisiana, than which, except it be the hideous convict mines of Alabama, there is no more horrible fate imaginable. But "blood, blood, blood, and more blood!" this is over the cry of the Southern Lumber Operators' Association, and the braver the working man, the more inconvertible he be, the more fearlessly he champions the interests of his class, the sweeter his blood tastes to this Black Hand Society and the hungrier they are to drink it. For this reason, that they could neither be bought nor intimidated, Emerson, Lehman and their fellow prisoners are in jail today and the stage is being set to send them to the gallows or the levees.

To one fate or the other they will go unless the working class comes as one to the rescue.

Too long already the Lumber Kings of the South and their gunmen have been allowed to outrage the working class with impunity; too long already the reign that rules by divine right of pump guns, rifles and black-snake whips has lasted.

Emerson's only crime is that he led the revolt of the Southern Forest and Lumber Workers against this inhuman system of peonage; for this reason the Association is working day and night to send him to the gallows.

What will you give to see that he does not hang? Stand by Arthur L. Emerson and those imprisoned and endangered boys now as they have always stood by their class.

Act! Act! Act! Act ONCE!
Send all funds for the defense to Jay Smith, Box 78, Alexandria, La.

Toilers of the World, we appeal to you to help us save the lives and liberties of our boys and turn Sheffield Bridgewater's heartless boast into a peon of victory for the men who are blazing freedom's pathway thru the swamps of the South, the fighting Lumberjacks of Dixie! We appeal to you!

COMMITTEE OF DEFENSE,
BROTHERHOOD OF TIMBER WORKERS.
N.B.—Please bring before your meetings and have published in your papers.

IMPENDING FATE OF SMALL FARMER

The Rapid Development of Capitalist Farming Is Compelling the Farmer to Accept the Truths of Socialism.

One of the characteristics of the capitalist mode of production is that it centralizes industry. It does away with the craftsman, the shopman, the petty little business man and even with the "independent" farmer. All the efforts that they make to remain and hold their position as owners, are useless. They must obey the laws of capitalist society and after a hard and desperate struggle they are forced to go out and peddle their labor power. The laws that govern society are stronger than the WILL of individuals. Competition on the one hand and the development of the craft tools into the gigantic machines on the other are effecting this change.

The struggle between the capitalist class and the small bourgeoisie takes different forms in different places and depends upon the stage of industrial development of the particular country. In Europe, therefore, and partly in the United States and Eastern Canada, where capitalism found a highly developed craft production, the struggle was more acute, but in new countries like Western Canada the fight was very limited because the vested interests had not yet grown to any great extent.

Furthermore, the centralization does not appear in all industries at the same time. The capitalist is in business for profit only, and naturally his eye falls first upon those industries from which he can reap the most profit and where machinery—the labor saving and therefore money making machinery—can be applied to the best advantage. The biggest wolves get the largest share and the smaller ones must satisfy themselves by investing in industries that are not so profitable.

Along with the centralization of capitalist production the wealth accumulates into a few hands. Millions and multi-millions are produced. After a certain stage of development is reached these modern curiosities are the owners of all that is worth owning and still have "some money left to invest." Then it is that a crash comes and we have what is known as a financial panic.

Alberta is comparatively a very young country so far as modern production is concerned. Capitalism, however, is becoming better organized here every year and soon we will see the condition hinted at above.

The laws of capitalist production force the owners of wealth to continually improve the machinery of production and now they are reaching a stage when they are forced to improve the farming machinery. With the more extended use of steam and gasoline in the various farming operations there is being rapidly created a farming trust and an agricultural proletariat.

Let us examine Southern Alberta, which is a little older and more settled than the other part. Right from High River to Macleod, a distance of about 65 miles in a straight line extending many miles on each side of this line, the land is level and is used for agriculture. One can hardly find a piece of land there that is not exploited for farming purposes. The same can be said of the Lethbridge district and that south of Macleod. For the last few years the newest machinery has been introduced in these farming districts. The majority of farmers who have more than a section of land operate traction engines. At some places I noticed them running the engines in two shifts day and night. The farmer who keeps an engine has also a threshing machine and the rest of the necessary up-to-date machinery for farming purposes. Now, the farmer who OWNS (?) 100 acres of land cannot afford to buy this machinery. On the other hand, he who owns the machinery needs more land. And so they strike a bargain and the capitalist farmer with his machinery, taking advantage of the state of the market, skins his smaller brother and reaps a rich reward. Thus it is that the small farmer does not make more money than the average worker.

Then there is the company farmer that carries on business on a large scale. A company from Hartford, Conn., bought 5,720 acres of land near

Bassano for agricultural purposes, and this spring put in a crop of flax on 1,700 acres. The work was done by wage labor under the management of Mr. Daniels on a scientific basis, using the latest methods and machinery. The cost was \$1.27 per acre, which included plowing, double discing, drilling, harrowing and seeding.

More examples of the same kind could be brought forward, but space in the Western Clarion is too valuable. However, it would be interesting to have the farmer who does not employ the latest methods and machinery state if he can do the same amount of work at the same cost. His assertion would no doubt be emphatic and negative. He cannot compete with the big farmer capitalist because he cannot introduce the new machinery and must therefore go under.

Add to the above such natural disasters as an early frost, hail, too much moisture or a drought, and it will become clear why we do not have more farmers in Southern Alberta who own even at this stage of her development three, five, ten and more sections of land like the C. P. R., P. Burns, Lord Strathcona and the rest.

On top of all these burdens is the mortgaged home of the small producer, and he begins to see that he is between "Scylla and Charybdis," and that there is little else for him but to become a wage slave proper.

As a result of all this there comes the RED PERIL and the comrades who have eaten of the tree of knowledge cannot rest any longer but are spreading the gospel of Socialism, and the farmer is no longer indifferent to this doctrine, but listens anxiously to the Socialist speaker and reads Socialist literature and then "no less valens" joins the army of the working class that is rapidly marching on to victory. A. B.

A GOOD EXAMPLE.

Cumberland is still in the front of the revolutionary ranks.

The comrades there have been on strike for several weeks, but though drawing no wages, they have dug down to the extent of nearly \$50.00 for the organizing fund.

If the rest of the mining camps, where there is no strike, and where steady wages are being drawn, will do the same, the organizing programme the Provincial Executive has worked out will be an easy matter. One thing I notice about this strike—the "Reds" are the ones who are staying right on the ground, determined to see it through, and to keep up the Greater Fight during and after this fight.

Fitzgerald suits the boys here down to the ground, as he does the writer—he is the real goods.

He is off for Nanaimo today. The writer, who came here strictly for pleasure, is getting it, and is staying a few days longer.

Now, comrades throughout the province, do as well as Cumberland, and enable the Provincial Executive to keep Fitzgerald, and perhaps other speakers, in the field.

W. GRIBBLE.

We have been trying to get an organizer for Ontario, but up to the present we have failed. If there is anyone you know of that is capable of giving out the straight goods, get in touch with him or write us, if you think you are the man for the work, don't be afraid of letting us know. We will pay your expenses and give you enough money to buy something more substantial than coffee and—

Every now and again some bunch of freaks connected with one religious organization or another comes to the conclusion that there is no hell. They claim that people make their own hell on earth. That may be correct, but will the being good with the hope of going to heaven make conditions better down here? We should say not. The ignorance of the workers make the hell on earth, and the church is one of the greatest means of keeping the workers in ignorance. With the increasing intelligence of the masses lies the destruction of the power of the church.

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ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION

What a lot of piffle has been indulged in of recent years over arbitration and conciliation as a means of settling differences that arise from a clash of interests between individuals, concerns, classes and nations. Courts of Arbitration, Conciliation Boards and Hague Tribunals have been set up for the purpose of calming the bellicose and inducing the pugnacious to decorously tread the pathway of peace. In spite of it all, preparations for war between nations still continue upon an ever increasing scale, the relations between capital and labor become daily more strained, and as to peace conditions between individuals and individual concerns they are as absent as disinterested spectators at a "Donnybrook Fair."

All differences, whether arising between individuals, concerns, classes, or nations, can be settled by arbitration, provided there exists outside of the belligerents a third party with the disposition to arbitrate and the power to enforce its decrees. The dispute between two dogs as to the possession of a piece of liver might be speedily arbitrated by a third dog large enough to put the belligerents to flight and appropriate the liver to his own use and satisfaction. A scrap between individual human animals over a piece of property—even though that property consist solely of "a rag, a bone and a hank of hair," can be settled, and is often so settled, by the courts and other parts of the governmental machine. Cases have been known of such quarrels over the "rag, etc.," being settled by a third party acting as arbitrator by running off with "rag, bone and hair."

In quarrels between nations resort is had to the "arbitration of arms." The stronger arbitrates the case by whipping the weaker into acceptance of the award. Another nation or nations may step in and act as arbitrator, and because of greater power compel some settlement of the dispute, but no permanent settlement can be reached until the cause of the quarrel has been removed. So long as the liver remains the dogs will fight over it. Nations quarrel over rights of territory or trade, and such quarrels must continue to arise so long as nations exist upon a basis of territory and trade. As there is no power outside of and greater than that of nations, the only arbitration possible is that of the sword in the hand of the stronger nation. In spite of all the small talk and big about arbitration and conciliation as between nations, the increase of warlike equipment will continue with an ever accelerating speed, because the underlying cause of war—capitalist production and the trade and territorial need incident thereto—remains untouched. In settlement of whatever quarrels arise between nations over these questions of territory and trade, resort must be had to the "arbitration of arms." Even then the final settlement can be reached only when national lines have been completely obliterated, the flags of capitalism pruned to one, and that one the emblem of world-wide class rule, and class solidarity undisturbed by factional strife and differences within its ranks.

Various arbitration and conciliation acts and measures have been put forward during recent years for the purpose of settling the differences that occasionally arise between "brothers Capital and Labor." Although we are assured by tondeas, apologists, and winceas that these two are "brothers," it seems that they find it difficult to dwell together in that sweet unity that so pronouncedly marks the ideal family relations. These brethren are always scrapping and brawling. No sooner is one difference patched up than another breaks out, until we are compelled to acknowledge that if an ordinary family was to conduct its affairs in the same belated, blackguardly and quarrelsome manner the joint would be pulled as a disorderly house, and its inmates put in the chain gang.

Word now comes that the New Zealand labor unions are rapidly cancel-

ling their registration under the Arbitration and Conciliation Act, in order to be able to go on strike or engage in any other activity looking to a betterment of their conditions whenever they deem it advantageous so to do. The Dominion Trades Congress, at its recent convention, adopted a resolution condemning the Conciliation Act and demanding its repeal. The workers are evidently learning that all these efforts to patch up the differences between Capital and Labor are futile. Like Banquo's ghost "they will not down," though arbitration and conciliation acts galore are placed upon the statute books by either political tricksters or gutless but well meaning sapsheads.

Truth is there is no kinship between Capital and Labor. Labor produces all wealth, as measured in terms of exchange. Capital takes all wealth. Labor is the sole productive factor, Capital is the sole appropriator. Labor does not produce by the aid of capital, but by the permission of capital. Labor uncovers the secrets of nature, harnesses her forces to do its bidding, and wrings from her bosom sustenance and comfort for humankind. Capital seizes upon the product and turns this sustenance and comfort into affluence and luxury for capitalists, their henchmen, tondeas, lickspittles, apologists and hangers-on, and penury, misery, and a narrow existence for those who toil.

The working class is a useful class, because it makes the existence of human society possible. It produces all the wealth from which society draws its sustenance. It not only supports itself, but supports all the rest of humankind. It thus pays its own way through life. It is not a class of "dead beats."

The capitalist class—with all its affluence and hangers-on—is a useless class, because it contributes nothing to the sustenance of human society. It neither supports itself or anyone else. It does not pay its own way through life. It is a class of "dead beats," and a terribly expensive one at that, because of its hoglike proclivities.

Between Capital and Labor is "war" can be no peace. Between the irrepressible conflict of interest that is inevitable out of existence only by the death of one or the other, or both. There is no middle ground upon which he can find their interests conserved and defended.

Between Capital and Labor is "war" to the knife, and the knife to the hilt. In the last analysis the "arbitration of the sword," for in that last analysis it is purely a question of power as to which shall survive. If Capital is to survive, Labor must remain enslaved, and sink to ever lower depths, until this capitalist society sinks into oblivion through its own rottenness. If Labor is to survive, the rule of Capital must be cast into oblivion by the conscious act of an awakened working class, so that human society may move onward and upward to a better and loftier plane of civilization.

The only difference between Capital and Labor to be arbitrated is the difference between master and slave, and that can only be dealt with by force of numbers. If the master continues his mastery, he must command the power to hold the slave in chains; if the slave gains his freedom he must be able to command the power to cast them off. That is all the arbitration that is possible or even thinkable.

By virtue of its numerical strength as well as by its usefulness in the great scheme of social growth and development, the working class can set up its own court of arbitration by conquering the public powers, and thus becoming masters of its own economic life. Not only is that the first thing for the workers to do if they would escape the thrall and torture of slavery, but it is the only thing.

THE HUMOROUS HOWL.

Many human institutions there are existing in the great stewpot of civilization. Some of them make no pretence of existing for any other purpose than to conserve the interests of their immediate members. They lay no claim to supernatural origin. Others make pretence of existing for the benefit of people who are in no sense responsible for their existence, and in many cases do not care whether they exist or not.

That capbait of all human institutions—government—pretends to exist for the purpose of conserving the interests of all members of society. It is supposed to be actuated by the motive of human good, and all that sort of stuff. To those who have given this institution any study, this will readily be disclosed as a fallacy. To govern a people is to control their industrial activities; to make and enforce rules and regulations regarding

the production and control of the material things of life. It implies an individual, or individuals, upon the one hand as a governing force, and upon the other hand, the balance of human society, as a body to be governed.

Whether government has been set up by an individual or a class, it is particularly noticeable as its purpose has always been the same, no matter what the pretence. The governing individual, or class, has always wallowed in riches and luxury at the expense of the governed class. This is no less true today under the glorious rule of the capitalist class than it was two thousand years since under the rule of the Roman Caesars. In fact, no previous ruling class has been able to attain to the level of wealth and power now enjoyed by our Christian rulers. This has been due, not to any lack of appetite for wealth, and power upon their part, but because the productive forces at their command were less powerful than those under command of our dearly beloved capitalist brethren of today.

For that reason the wealth and power of ancient ruling classes compared to that of the modern capitalist class in about the same way that a schoolboy's peashooter compares with a 12-inch gun.

Every human institution that meets with the sanction and approval of a ruler or ruling class must in some way conserve the interests of that ruler or class. At least, it can in no way threaten such interests or jeopardize such rule. Any institution that not only meets with approval of government, but is sustained, encouraged and protected by a government of the ruling class must be looked upon as an instrument of that ruling class, and calculated to aid in maintaining its power to rule and rob.

One thing is particularly noticeable. That is that he who is afflicted with these human institutions that make no pretence of existence for anything outside of material purposes, and seldom, if ever, disturbed because of any criticism or attack upon his pet scheme. On the contrary, however, he whose prejudice and leanings are towards some institution that lays claim to supernatural authority for its existence, and which professes a purpose not solely wrapped up in material things, will howl like a wild kicked pup, anyone dares to offer either criticism or an attack upon his pet hobby. The humor of it is rather fine when one fully senses it.

It is really laughable for all it we of the working class were to thoroughly canvass the list of existing institutions and ascertain which are aided, abetted and sustained by that precious ruling class that rules us because it robs us, and robs us by ruling us. We know full well, if we know anything, that no ruling class will uphold any institution, or approve of any human effort that will tend to weaken its hold upon the reins of power, and thus jeopardize its right to rule the affairs of men. Once we do know this, not only will our support be withdrawn, as far as possible, from all institutions that meet with the approval of the capitalist class, but we will also spurn all capitalist teachings as we would spurn a cup of poison, no matter whether such teachings relate to the enjoyment of things here or hereafter.

And now to emphasize the humor of the situation, let every thin skinned, religious devotee let another howl out of himself in the way of confirmation.

And now, altogether, most humorously howl!

A QUESTION FOR TRADES UNIONISTS.

As a member of a craft organization and one who is conversant with the conservatism and reaction of trades unionists, I would like them to follow through the reasoning that will be adduced to the question, "Is organization of the industrial field sufficient to guarantee to the workers the full social equivalent of the wealth which they alone produce?"

After over a century of organization on the industrial field, we find the working class in exactly the same position that it has always occupied, namely, the lowest strata of the social mass.

At no period in the world's history have we been able to produce such an abundance of those things that are essential to the happiness and well-being of the human race, as we are today, and at the same time, never has there been so much poverty and so many people living on the verge of starvation. To be sure, we are better off in some respects than were our ancestors. Tea and coffee were luxuries at one time, as were also carpets, and even kings could not take a penny ride on a street car, let alone luxuriate within the upholstered depths of a motor car.

With the use and development of the machine, the productive power of man has increased, in many cases, two hundred fold within that number of years. The question arises, are we two hundred times better off? It would hardly seem so when we see groups of men in various lines of industry come out on strike for a few

weeks, and then go back like whipped curs to the same, or even worse, conditions, simply because they lacked the necessities of life to maintain themselves as strikers for any length of time. For example, the striking London dockers had been out about ten weeks, and the wives and families of most of the strikers were living upon charity.

During periods of financial depression we see the membership of the various industrial organizations fall off, because the members cannot pay their dues; we see the army of unemployed ever increasing, and the workers are competing with one another for a job, it becomes a case of the man who will do the job for the least wage getting it. In the face of these facts, how is it possible for organization on the industrial field alone to benefit the whole of the working class? It is not sufficient, fellow workers, we must use the same methods in our interest that our masters use in theirs, that is political power, which controls the police dogs and trained murderers. And if we have the political power, how can they call out the troops to shoot us down when we dare demand more of the good things of life?

I am not advocating reforms, because if reforms are of any benefit to the workers, I would not have found it necessary to come to Canada. There are more "reforms" on the statute books of England than any other country, and at the same time the working class of that land live as close, if not closer, to actual starvation, as those of any other civilized country.

One thing is very noticeable, however, and that is that the master class are not engaged in forming anti-union societies, and as long as we remain pure and simple trades unionists they will treat us with the contempt that we deserve. But as soon as we commence to play the political game, the masters are out with all force to put a stop to it, because they recognize the fact that we are learning the use of an instrument that menaces their interests. This is significant, and in itself should be sufficient to arouse the working class to a sense of their position, and once they come to look into the question of the means of their own emancipation, I have no doubt of the result.

The carpenters seem to think that because they get a few cents more per hour than their less fortunate brethren, that their interests are different, but such is not the case. As members of the working class we are all in the same position, and OUR interests are identical in that we, as workers, are exploited by the master class of what we socially produce. It is the mission of the working class to unite upon the political field, capture the reins of government, and sweep these parasites off its back.

No one will dispute that we are living in a world of plenty, that an abundance of wealth—of material things for the enjoyment of life—are stored in the granaries and warehouses. What, then, is the barrier that stands between this wealth and its consumption by the class who produced it? There is only one answer possible, and that is OWNERSHIP.

When the coming change takes place and the present capitalist ownership in the means of wealth production is transformed into the collective property of the working class, there will be plenty of the good things of life for every useful worker.

Most of us know what it is to do without things, and as one of our comrades puts it, "if doing without things means success, then the working class is a howling success." I am of the opinion that the success of all of the members of trades unions will never hurt them, or they would not be in it; they would have a better way of enjoying themselves than coming to meetings to hear the troubles of others, and paying their dues.

One thing I want to make clear, and that is, when I refer to the political phase of the question, I do not pin my faith to the M. P.'s who are elected on the labor ticket, for I fully realize that they are for the most part volleys in sheep's clothing, seekers of the job. The only party that reflects the interests of the working class is the Socialist party, the programme of which is the abolition of the profit system.

In conclusion I would try to persuade the members of trades unions to forget about that "mansion in the sky" for a few Sundays and attend the nearest Socialist meeting. The working class has been looking up in the clouds so long, that the masters have grabbed everything on the earth that is worth having.

The Maritime provinces need organizing badly, and we want to hear from someone down there who will jump into the field and help put the slaves of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick wise.

When you renew your sub, don't leave us to guess what your address is. It is just as easy for you to write it down as it is to renew your sub.

Socialist Party Directory

- DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**
Socialist Party of Canada, meets second and fourth Sundays, 8 p.m., Labor Temple, Dunsmuir St., Vancouver, B.C.
- BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**
Meets second and fourth Sundays, 8 p.m., Labor Temple, Dunsmuir St., Vancouver, B.C.
- ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**
Meets second and fourth Sundays, 8 p.m., Labor Temple, Dunsmuir St., Vancouver, B.C.
- MANITOBA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**
Meets second and fourth Sundays, 8 p.m., Labor Temple, Dunsmuir St., Vancouver, B.C.
- ONTARIO PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**
Meets second and fourth Sundays, 8 p.m., Labor Temple, Dunsmuir St., Vancouver, B.C.
- QUEBEC PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**
Meets second and fourth Sundays, 8 p.m., Labor Temple, Dunsmuir St., Vancouver, B.C.
- NEW BRUNSWICK PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**
Meets second and fourth Sundays, 8 p.m., Labor Temple, Dunsmuir St., Vancouver, B.C.
- NOVA SCOTIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**
Meets second and fourth Sundays, 8 p.m., Labor Temple, Dunsmuir St., Vancouver, B.C.
- PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**
Meets second and fourth Sundays, 8 p.m., Labor Temple, Dunsmuir St., Vancouver, B.C.
- PELHAM LOCAL NO. 56**
S. P. of C. Meets every Sunday, 8 p.m., at the first Sunday of the month and propagandist meetings every second and fourth Sunday. Open to everybody at 518 Cordova St., Vancouver, B.C. Secretary, P. Anderson, Barnet, B. C.
- LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., NO. 45**
Meets every Sunday, 8 p.m., at the first Sunday of the month at 218 Hastings St. East, O'Neil, Van. Secretary, J. A. Smith, 522 First St., Vancouver, B. C.
- LOCAL VANCOUVER NO. 1, S. P. of C.**
Meets every Sunday evening at Headquarters, 215 Hastings St. East, H. Rahim, Secretary.
- LOCAL COLEMAN, ALTA., NO. 5**
Meets every Sunday, 8 p.m., at the first Sunday of the month. Business meetings every second and fourth Sunday. Propaganda meetings at 8 p.m., on Thursdays. Secretary, J. A. Smith, 522 First St., Vancouver, B. C.
- LOCAL EDMONTON, ALTA., NO. 1, S. P. of C.**
Meets every Sunday, 8 p.m., at the first Sunday of the month. Business meetings every second and fourth Sunday. Propaganda meetings at 8 p.m., on Thursdays. Secretary, J. A. Smith, 522 First St., Vancouver, B. C.
- LOCAL CALGARY, ALTA., NO. 4, S. P. of C.**
Meets every Sunday, 8 p.m., at the first Sunday of the month. Business meetings every second and fourth Sunday. Propaganda meetings at 8 p.m., on Thursdays. Secretary, J. A. Smith, 522 First St., Vancouver, B. C.
- LOCAL REGINA, S. S., NAME, MEMBERS**
Meets every Sunday, 8 p.m., at the first Sunday of the month. Business meetings every second and fourth Sunday. Propaganda meetings at 8 p.m., on Thursdays. Secretary, J. A. Smith, 522 First St., Vancouver, B. C.
- LOCAL LETHBRIDGE, ALTA., NO. 12**
Meets every Sunday, 8 p.m., at the first Sunday of the month. Business meetings every second and fourth Sunday. Propaganda meetings at 8 p.m., on Thursdays. Secretary, J. A. Smith, 522 First St., Vancouver, B. C.
- LOCAL MOOSEJAW, SASK., NO. 1, S. P. of C.**
Meets every Sunday, 8 p.m., at the first Sunday of the month. Business meetings every second and fourth Sunday. Propaganda meetings at 8 p.m., on Thursdays. Secretary, J. A. Smith, 522 First St., Vancouver, B. C.
- LOCAL S. P. of C. HEADQUARTERS, MANITOBA**
Meets every Sunday, 8 p.m., at the first Sunday of the month. Business meetings every second and fourth Sunday. Propaganda meetings at 8 p.m., on Thursdays. Secretary, J. A. Smith, 522 First St., Vancouver, B. C.
- LOCAL OTTAWA, NO. 5, S. P. of C.**
Meets every Sunday, 8 p.m., at the first Sunday of the month. Business meetings every second and fourth Sunday. Propaganda meetings at 8 p.m., on Thursdays. Secretary, J. A. Smith, 522 First St., Vancouver, B. C.
- LOCAL SEASIDE, NO. 1, S. P. of C.**
Meets every Sunday, 8 p.m., at the first Sunday of the month. Business meetings every second and fourth Sunday. Propaganda meetings at 8 p.m., on Thursdays. Secretary, J. A. Smith, 522 First St., Vancouver, B. C.
- LOCAL SHERBROOKE, QUEBEC, NO. 1**
Meets every Sunday, 8 p.m., at the first Sunday of the month. Business meetings every second and fourth Sunday. Propaganda meetings at 8 p.m., on Thursdays. Secretary, J. A. Smith, 522 First St., Vancouver, B. C.
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FUTURE GENERATIONS.

A few years ago J. Pierpont Morgan stopped in his mad and merry career of acquiring old masters, new issues of desirable bonds, rare books, paying business propitiations, yachts, money and other trifles, to give a very large sum of money to a maternity hospital in this city. Other very rich men have given much money to many institutions, but Morgan's gift to such an institution received an unusual degree of praise. Other men had founded technical schools, endowed colleges and contributed to ordinary hospitals. But here was a case of an institution so furnished with money that future generations, as their members came into the world, could receive a few weeks of expert attention at the start, and those who bore those members of future generations could receive some comfort and attention.

APHORISMS OF SOCIALISM.

When we think of Morgan we do not divide him in two. He may be rough to realize what a good, tender-hearted man, and sometimes coarse and insulting. He may take away from us many things we need. He may have the most utter contempt for the working class. But what of that? His heart does beat in warm sympathy with the coming generation. Morgan, or perhaps we should say Mr. Morgan, has been an investor in certain mineral lands in Virginia and West Virginia. With his associates who are able to allow certain invested sums to lie dormant until they can bring back enormous returns, he is credited with having bought all the workable tin mines in this district, and tin is a restricted mineral in this country. The deposits are infrequent and the yield is scanty. But what there is he and his associates have bought. While he was doing that, he and his associates—invested in West Virginia coal. There are good, quick profits there, and Morgan, and his associates, have pocketed many thousands of dollars from the mines.

BEING AN EXPLANATION OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE S.P.G.B.

As in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex. The Aphorism speaks of "the order of social evolution." The phrase shall be the starting point of this explanation. Society has not always been divided into the same classes that it comprises today. The present class division, as was shown in dealing with our first aphorism, is based entirely on the private ownership of the means of life. On this is created the class distinction, and from it flow the class characteristics. Only this private ownership by a section could, for instance, have developed a wage slave class (not a class who occasionally work for wages, but a class who have no other means of living than by working for wages). But previous to the present social system other social systems have existed, upon other bases, and with other classes ruling and ruled under them. Under the feudal system, for instance, the feudal nobility ruled, basing their power upon a certain qualified control of the land. Under the classic States based upon chattel slavery, a class of slave-owners ruled. But the constant feature of society ever since it has had the class formation—that is ever since classes have existed—has been that the ruling classes have controlled the dominating factor in production. Under chattel slavery it was slaves, against whose labour the free man could not, partly from pride and partly from their liability to military service, compete. The feudal nobility of the middle ages had but partial control of the land, hence their dominion was never very complete. Indeed, in England the serfs managed to throw off the shackles of serfdom and gain a position which, though still subservient, was similar to that of the free Roman citizen of the poorer class, but without the incubus of slave-labour to drag them down to ruin. But against this persistent feature of class society is the constant characteristic of the democratic societies which preceded them—the means of living belonged to no one; they were open to all.

APHORISM V.

This emancipation must be the work of the working class itself. Before the present social system came into existence the feudal nobility were the ruling class. But it was characteristic of the feudal system (as of any system that was incapable of any other ending than ruin and chaos), that the dominant class under it could not prevent the rise to power of a new class. The source of this was largely in the towns, where surplus products of a "non-perishable" nature were produced, which fell into the hands of a class who made commerce their business. The source of the merchants' wealth were capable of much greater extension than those of the nobles, partly because the products of the country districts, being more perishable than those of the towns, did not lend themselves so readily to international commerce, and partly because the serf, having rights in the land, was chiefly producing goods for his own consumption, and only working for a strictly limited time for his feudal superior, while the hand-craftsman of the town was already producing commodities—goods produced for sale. It was quite in the nature of things that with the increasing production of labour the mode of production—the production of commodities by wage-labour—should tend to increase rapidly, and certain geographical discoveries (the way to the East round the Cape of Good Hope and the discovery of America) gave tremendous impetus to this side of industrial development. The laws and restrictions placed upon commerce and production—partly feudal, partly customary to the different trades—pressed heavily upon the rising class, and so it was natural that as their wealth and power increased they should direct their attention toward gaining social supremacy. As the new class rose the serfs gradually rose from servitude also, and long before the merchant forerunners of the modern capitalist class had achieved ruling power, serfdom had

ceased to exist in this country. The serfs had shaken themselves free of most of their feudal shackles and stood now as independent peasant-proprietors. But the rising capitalist class could only elevate themselves on the backs of this class of free peasants. It was from their ranks, chiefly, that they looked to recruit that abundance of cheap laborers they desired for their factories. Already the break-up of the bands of retainers of the feudal nobility had supplied great numbers, and the dissolution of the manor-houses had set free a great many more, but still the factories cried for other workers, and only the class of peasant-proprietors could supply the needed increase. Events, however, proved favorable to the needs of the capitalists. An enormous demand for wool had sprung up, and in consequence the land began to wear a different aspect in the eyes of the aristocracy. It presented a means of keeping sheep, and hence of acquiring great wealth. Unfortunately, the peasant proprietors were in the way. The small agriculturists, whom the capitalists so badly wanted in the factories, and whose fields the aristocrats coveted, were clearly altogether out of place upon the land. That was a matter that the capitalist class and their feudal opponents could agree upon, for all their class antagonism. So the two combined to drive the peasants from the soil. At first they were dispossessed of their fields without troubling about any legal form, but later the classes interested passed, under various pretexts, legislation which made the expropriation of the peasants more swift. They were hunted out by troops, their dwellings were burnt to the ground, and their lands were appropriated by the great landlords and laid down in pasture for sheep. The legislation passed against the dispossessed peasants makes terrible reading. They were expropriated at a rate far too rapid even for the rapidly growing capitalist industry to absorb them, hence their presence on the earth was inconvenient and unwelcome. Laws were passed, therefore, aiming at the wiping out of the serf. Under Henry VIII. (see Karl Marx's "Capital," Chap. XXVIII.) sturdy vagabonds were to be tied to the cart tail and whipped until the blood ran in streams from their bodies. For the second offence of vagabondage the whipping was to be repeated and half the ear sliced off. For the third relapse the offender was to be executed as a hardened criminal. Under Edward VI. it was ordained that if anyone refused to work he was to be condemned in slavery to the person who denounced him as an idler. If he was absent for a fortnight he was to be branded on the forehead or back with a letter S and became a slave for life. If he ran away three times he was to be executed as a felon. Under Elizabeth similar laws were made. For the first offence a whipping and branding, unless someone would take them into service for two years; for the second offence execution unless someone would take them into service for two years; for the third, offence execution without mercy. In the reign of James I. the expropriated peasantry were subjected to like enactments. Hologhed says that 7,200 were executed in the reign of Henry VIII, while Strype records that in Elizabeth's time "rogues (those, for the most part, who had been robbed of their land) were trussed up apace, and that there was not one year commonly wherein three or four hundred were not devaloured and eaten up by the galloves." The same individual states that in Somersetshire alone in one year 40 persons were executed. These laws, and many other which cannot be mentioned here, remained in force even as late as the beginning of the 18th century, while in France for three-quarters of a century later laws as severe were active against the workers. Other periods of history show the same bloody repression of subject classes by ruling classes, even from the dawn of written history. And the savage suppression and avenging of the Paris Commune of 1871, together with numerous examples at Barcelona, Moscow, and elsewhere on the Continent, at Pittsburg and Lawrence in America, and at Featherstone and Tonypandy in England, of recent years, show that the same factor which we see running through all written history still persists. That factor is the life and death struggle between the classes. This teaches us that with classes, however it may be in exceptional, individual cases, economic interests govern actions. Convinced of this, and holding to it as a guiding principle, and knowing, moreover, that the interests of the master class are diametrically opposed to those of the working class, we assert that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself. This, of course, does not preclude the possibility of some few members of the master class rising superior to their environment and their class interests, and rendering good service to

the workers' cause. Capitalists, like workers, are human, which is why, as a class, they are actuated by their class interests. But for the same reason individual capitalists may be moved by any other human emotion, even to the extent of taking up the battle of the oppressed class. The difficulties in the way of their doing so, however, are stupendous. Their outlook upon life is entirely different to that of the workers. No other system of society ever lent itself more to illusion than the present one. No other system ever so effectively concealed the chains of bondage and so artfully surrounded slaves with the atmosphere of freedom. The position of the chattel-slave was always very clear, indeed it appeared that he got nothing for his labor. Yet he, at all events, never starved, and was robbed of a comparatively small proportion of his product. The modern wage slave, on the other hand, appears to be free; nobody owns him and he even has his foot on the social ladder—he may own property; perhaps he does own a bit, or has some money in the teapot. He actually has a vote. It seems that he is robbed of nothing, that he is paid for all he produces. Even the forces of the State seem to be necessary to hold markets abroad for the disposal of his products and to protect the rich cargo of his teapot at home. All this presents difficulty enough even in the case of the worker, as stated as he is by his class interest in seeing through the sham. But it is an almost unsurmountable barrier to those born and bred in the atmosphere of capitalist circles, so much so that the few who DO get some glimmering of the position are shut off from true democracy by class arrogance and class prejudice. They are the superior ones, and MUST lead. It is just here that our aphorism applies with greatest force. Without shutting the door against any who subscribe to our principles and act in accord with them, it is upon the working class that the working class must rely for their emancipation. Valuable work may be done by individuals, and this work may necessarily raise them to prominence, but it is not to individuals, either of the working class or of the capitalist class, that the toilers must look. The movement for freedom must be a working CLASS movement. It must be founded upon the understanding of their class position by the working CLASS. It must depend upon the working CLASS vitality and intelligence and strength. Until the intelligence and knowledge of the working class are equal to the task of revolution there can be no emancipation for them. Hence they must control all individuals in their camp, no matter which class they may belong to, and they must be guided in the conflict by the principle of the class struggle, which is based on the irrefutable fact that all written history is a history of class struggles, and the knowledge that the emancipation of the working class can only be the fruits of a class struggle, and therefore must be the work of the working class itself.—A. E. Jacob, in Socialist Standard.

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