

EXECUTIVE OF THE STATE IS BUT A FEE FOR MANAGING COMMON AFFAIRS OF WHOLE BOURGEOISE."

WESTERN CLARION

"THE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS MUST BE THE WORK OF THE WORKING CLASS ITSELF."—KARL MARX.

The mission of the Socialist Party of Canada is not to further the efforts of the commodity labor-power to obtain for itself, but to realize the aspirations of enslaved Labor to break the galling chains of wage servitude, and step forth free.

OWNED AND CONTROLLED BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA.

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WAR--ITS CAUSE AND OUTCOME

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE FABRIC OF MODERN SOCIETY IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESENT EUROPEAN WAR

By J. Harrington

(Article II.)

SOCIAL CHANGES.

A.—Ancient.

Following the course of social evolution in retrospect, we find the exchange relation diminishing in importance as we approach the savage state, until it disappears entirely in the middle period of savagery. The idea of property and social organization recedes concurrently.

That a savage, whose sole subsistence was fruit and roots, should have any conception of exchanging these with another savage, whose sole assets consisted of similar foods, all to be had for the taking, is patently absurd. Likewise would be the idea of ownership, or of organized efforts to produce that which lay around abundantly during its season.

With the discovery of the bow and arrow and the art of pottery, however, his grubstake becomes more secure, of greater variety and more abundant. Weapons of the chase and household utensils become personal, and the idea of property arises. Exchange becomes possible, and occurs in the form of direct barter, article for article—"white dog for black monkey." Social organism becomes of distinct advantage, the germ of which appears at this period, i.e. the upper status of savagery.

Weaponless, and without efficient tools, pre-social man was undoubtedly a tree-dweller of the temperate zone; armed, he descended from his arboreal habitat, and fought with other and stronger animals for their hide, flesh and caves. As an unsocial animal he would have perished in such strife. He did not perish; he became social, and spread over the earth, wresting his requirements alike from the frozen barrens of the Arctic and the pestilential carnivore-infected forests of the torrid zones.

THE FIRST FORM OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

An investigation into this low state of society, while alluring, will not advance our enquiry. We therefore forego the pleasure of reviewing the interesting institutions and subsequent development up to that time when human activity finds first record upon the pages of written history, contenting ourselves with a statement of man's primal social institution, the Gens, the principles of which consist chiefly of election and power of deposal of chiefs, mutual defence and help, mutual inheritance of deceased members' property, equal voice of all members (regardless of sex) in council, obligation not to marry within the gens; and other more or less unimportant matters. Blood kinship was the basis of membership, reckoned from the mother.

The Phratry evolved from the Gens as mankind encroached upon his territorial boundaries and enlarged the scope of his pie-counter. This organization consisted of a number of gentes, and concerned itself with higher social activity—religious ceremonies, settling of blood feuds and conducting wars, mainly.

The Phratry grew into the tribe, and the tribe into the nation; each institution, however, preserving distinct individuality right up into civilization.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A POLITICAL STATE.

We now arrive at a point from which we can with understanding trace the constant changes in social life and note the causes and

A Matter of Circumstance

As the infant Hercules strangled the snakes in his cradle, so famous rebels are supposed to have fought the powers of evil from babyhood. They are born to correct the disjointed times, and commence their task at the earliest opportunity. Some unquenchable fire burns within them, sustaining them in a thousand adversities. As they engage the enemy, they find leagued with him, and most active in his service, the very men they seek to save. Undaunted they struggle. No disaster is great enough, no sorrow sufficiently painful to alter their purpose, or allay their righteous wrath. Their life's course is as unalterable as the sun's. Within themselves the divine impulse abides. Times are of no importance, circumstances matter naught. Like gods they raise up on their hind legs and say: Let such things be—and it is so.

So we are taught, and so many believe of those revolutionists, whose names figure so prominently in the history of bourgeois revolution.

It is with no malicious feeling toward these illustrious dead that we call these teachings into question; it is to suggest that among us there be some, silent as yet, perhaps even servile self-seekers, who may one day set the world ablaze.

The name of Tom Paine is synonymous with revolution. The influence of his "Common Sense and The Crisis" during the American Revolution is undeniable, nor can his "Rights of Man" be said to be without effect during the French Revolution. Yet this fiery disrupter of Kingdoms and Trinities was engaged just two years previous to the appearance of "Common Sense" in sending humble petitions to the Excise Board, seeking to be reinstated as an Excise Officer, from which position he had been twice fired. The job was not one which men committed murder to get. An excise officer was considered human enough to be allowed to live, but was in no way an honored member of the community. The labor was considerable, the hours long, and the pay meagre, out of which also a horse had to be found and provided for.

Truly a princely position to evoke the following: "I confess the justice of your Honor's displeasure, and humbly beg to add my thanks for the candor and levity with which you, at that unfortunate time, indulged me. And though the nature of the report, and my own confession cut off all expectations of enjoying your Honor's favor then, yet I humbly hope it has not forever excluded me therefrom, upon which hope I humbly entreat your Honors to restore me."

This runs a part of Paine's humble pleadings, the first time he was fired from a job which carried the opprobrium of the district, and for which he was paid, for himself and horse, five dollars per week.

His second dismissal was the cause of quite as humble solicitations, but the Board was obdurate, and Paine, after settling his affairs, sailed for America with a letter of introduction from Franklin, in 1774, from which time humility cannot be included among Paine's characteristics.

About the time when Paine, according to his biographers, was delivering infant soliloquies on the unrighteousness of God, there resided at the profligate court of France, a poet of exquisite fancy, France, finding herself in danger of being overwhelmed by England and Austria, turned to the crafty Frederic of Prussia for help.

As at all periods of slave-plundering nations' histories, 1744 was one of rank treachery and betrayal. The lickspittle of France, chosen to engage the arms of Prussia on her behalf was none other than the great Voltaire, even then the greatest man of letters in Europe. His reception by Frederic was in accordance with his fame. But the negotiations were "a mere joke," as Prussia's warrior king declared.

Voltaire, however, though making little impression at Potsdam as a diplomat, was considered some "pumpkin" as a poet and philosopher. Therefore, when the French King looked with favor upon another, and Voltaire found his fame threatened, he embraced Frederic's long-standing offer, and repaired to the playground of the warrior at Rheimsberg.

The poet-philosopher was rather inclined to make demands upon the purse of the warrior-philosopher, which the latter was not minded to comply with. Both regarded money with more than ordinary love. A quarrel resulted, and Voltaire was fired, not of course because of the quarrel, but as a result of considerable parsimony on each side, which engendered much bitterness and recrimination.

Driven from Potsdam, in disfavor in Paris, robbed and humiliated, he retired to Ferney, on the shores of Lake Leman, from whence he loosed the lightning of his wit and sarcasm on the falling Feudal system. The lickspittle of two courts became the scourge to whip Kings and Priests, throughout Europe.

The history of these two rebels is by no means singular. The powers latent in any man great

FACTORS IN THE GREAT WAR

An Inquiry into the Depths of the Official French "Yellow Book"
By Moses Baritz.

On previous occasions I pointed out how the evidence is accumulating against a capitalist conspiracy in bringing about the

war. I now appear an article in the "English Review" written by the Londoner, Henry Makers Hyndman, and the freak, Balfour

Brander, who say that materialism has nothing to do with this war, but is not an economic issue, but a "military" one. I don't expect any better from such a capitalist. Hyndman has proved himself a lie.

They are—as also all who attribute the war to other causes—largely given the lie direct by the "Yellow Book" issued by the French Government this week.

SELF-ACCUSING EVIDENCE

It is hardly remarkable with what self-accusation the political master class give the game away. The French Government has issued a volume of irrefutable evidence proving the assertions of your columns. This time we have secret documents and they all show how the grasping greed of our masters has led them to take action in making war to suit their varied interests.

This official case on the part of France may, without doubt, be called the last piece of evidence to prove the Marxian contention that the first dispatch in the "Yellow Book" is dated March 17, 1914. We have not far to go back. Naturally there are letters of similar dates incorporated in the "Yellow Book." One of those is the report of the French Military Attache in Berlin writing on March 14, 1914. He says in transmitting a report to the Minister of War:

"May I recall, in order the better to show the genesis of this military programme, what was written by my predecessor, Colonel Pelle, a year ago, when the law of 1912 made its appearance."

Words cover every day how deep and how lasting are the sentiments of wounded pride and of rancor against us, provoked by the events of last year. The treaty of November 4, 1911, is a profound disappointment.

"The resentment felt in every part of the country is the same. All Germany, even the Socialists, resent our having taken their share in Morocco.

"It appeared, a year or two ago, as if the Germans were setting out to conquer the world. They deemed themselves so strong that they thought no one would dare to enter the lists against them. Boundless possibilities were opened up for German industry, German trade and German expansion.

"Naturally, those ideas and those ambitions have not disappeared today. Germans still require outlets for their commerce, and they still desire economic and colonial expansion. This they consider as their right, as they are growing every day, and the future belongs to them. They look upon us, with our 40,000,000 inhabitants, as a secondary nation.

"That is plain enough. Resentment of the possession of the Morocco market by France! The need of expansion of commerce! That is a report in 1912, after the Agadir incident where Germany got about 273,000 square miles for nothing.

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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A POLITICAL STATE.

We now arrive at a point from which we can with understanding trace the constant changes in social life and note the causes and effects of such changes. Morgan estimates that from man's advent—

“When to feed and swill, to sleep and breed
Were the brute-biped's only life; a perfect life,
sans code or creed”

—to the dawn of civilization constituted seven-eighths of his entire existence. During this immense lapse of time he lived in communism, knowing no master save Fate, and no restriction to his needs save those imposed by nature.

The tremendous influence of these countless years, varying from one hundred thousand to two hundred thousand years—according to geological computation—upon a creature of habit is incalculable; it is felt even to this day, and the urge towards primitive communism is evident in every page of history, as we shall see.

When “that which is Hellas was Pelasgia” a blind poet sang songs of Grecian tribal glory. Homer records the lives of those barbarians who first attempted to establish a political state. African empires, it is true, existed prior to the Grecian, but are, for me at least, hidden in profound learning and Christian apologetics.

The period of the Trojan war is set at 1184 B.C. Theseus, however attempted to usurp supreme power a century earlier in Hellas (Ancient Greece). Legend tells of mighty deeds performed; how he destroyed hideous monsters, the Minotaur for example, a figment of man's imagination, half bull, half man, I think, which annually consumed seven of the finest young men and a like number of the most beautiful maidens. Sufficient for our purpose, however, is the fact that Homer records the Grecian tribes as becoming ever more wealthy and dwelling within walled cities.

CLASS ANTAGONISMS SPRING FROM PROPERTY.

A division of society into classes on the basis of property, and a defensible area are indispensable to the establishment of a political state. These requisites are at hand in the Homeric poems. Civil strife proceeds without intermission from this time down to the First Olympiad (776 B.C.), a term connoting the Grecian year and derived from the periodic Olympic Games. The Gentile institutions were not suited to the new social order. The recently acquired and rapidly increasing private property created new lines of association and new social relations, as well as new official functionaries. The increasing herds of cattle demanded new territory, for instance, which would only benefit those members whose wealth consisted of horses, goats, sheep, etc. A council composed of a vast majority whose interests were in no way advanced by spending blood and treasure in the acquisition of land, and administering affairs to that end is inconceivable. Wars of conquest, however, were prosecuted on one pretext or another, great warriors receiving greater portions of the spoils. Captives were enslaved; members of the gentes became enslaved for various reasons—debt, intrigue, and so on; great agricultural estates arose from their labor, for the disposal of whose products trading merchants sprang into existence, the majority of the nation meanwhile remaining in comparative poverty.

To expect an administrative council of communist tribes to
(Continued on Page Four)

Frederic of Prussia for help.

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The history of these two rebels is by no means singular. The powers latent in any man await circumstances favorable to their development.

It is noteworthy that when real revolutionary activity appears, the agitators who fomented the spirit and fought to institute the change, as a rule, disappear upon the first sign of strife.

The new conditions forge new men, who advance to the front and take up the position guaranteed by their ability. These times are ripe for a change of a far reaching character. There may be some political hireling even now preparing the bomb which will shake the parasite from our backs.

However, should fate so incline to favor mankind, as heretofore, the conditions will have produced the man: the man will not have produced the conditions.

J. H.

OPEN LETTER TO PARTY LOCALS, ETC.

Dec. 30th, 1914.

Dear Comrade:

The special rate for subs to the Clarion expires at the end of this month. Ads in the paper are a negligible quantity and are being discontinued. It is necessary, more so now than ever, that the paper be placed upon a basis which will enable this Executive to go ahead and improve it from time to time, and also make it a revenue producing medium, instead of, as at present, being a drain upon party funds. At the present time, indications—judging from the subs recently received—are such that would lead us to believe that the paper will henceforth be self-supporting. This is not enough. Calls all over are being heard for the reissuance of the Manifesto, and other pamphlets. We think that it would not be a hard matter for the party to raise \$1000 in one month, if the comrades would only put their shoulders to the wheel. This amount would ensure publication for six months, without any help coming from any other quarter. It may seem hard, but we hardly think it is as hard as, at first sight, you might imagine. If ten large centres in Canada, say Winnipeg, Vancouver, etc., organized a rustling club of one hundred members, each one pledging himself or herself, to obtain one new yearly reader, the thing would be accomplished.

You might not be able to get a club of a hundred to do this, but you can get some, and thus help out in some measure. To every new subscriber for twelve months to the Clarion we will mail a beautiful photo of Karl Marx. This applies to the months of January, February and March.

As we go to press, a communication from our English correspondent, Moses Baritz, dated the 12th ult., Coffin Forum, Manchester, contains the following interesting news:

“The S. P. G. B. have been compelled to suspend ALL meetings, due to passing of Defense of Realm (Consolidation) Act. The King, by an Order-in-Council, has made it possible to condemn anyone to penal servitude for life, who, by ANY act, subverts the mind of the public, and stops any one recruiting, or joining the army.”

He further states that the S. P. G. B., will hold a meeting in London, on Dec. 20th, 1914, to decide upon a course of action. Many Socialists from the North will be in attendance. The January Socialist Standard will have a long article dealing with this situation, and we recommend our readers to avail themselves of a copy, if possible. Along with this bombshell comes a small dose of strapping. The British Government have sent a Minister to the Vatican.

Ye Gods! It may be a long way to Tipperary, but we think it is merely a cockstridle to the time when the prodigal Protestant will return to the Mother Church. Orangemen and Catholics, Salvationists and Quakers, Liberals and Tories, Bourgeois, Freethinkers and Radical Evangelicals, all unite to sing the praises of Capitalism. All these forces will be lined up against us, sooner or later. Comrades, keep the flag flying. Eush in the Subs.

Now get busy and see if we cannot have organizers travelling the country spreading the propaganda at this time, when it is most needed. W. A. Frichard.

HISTORIC UTTERANCES

“The public be damned! I'm not running this road for the benefit of the public. I'm running it for my own benefit.”—Cornelius Vanderbilt of the New York Central railway.

“The damned fools don't know what is good for them.”—J. Pierpont Morgan speaking of the striking steelworkers in September, 1901.

“The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in his infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of the country.”—George F. Baer, mine owner, during the coal strike of 1902.

“I see no solution for the problem until hunger compels capitulation.”—Charles L. Edlitz, president of the New York Building Trades Employers' Association during the lockout in July, 1903.

“To hell with the Constitution!”—Major McClelland, commanding the State militia (paid by the Mine Owners' Association) during the Colorado miners' strike and lockout in 1904.

“Habeas corpus be damned! We'll give them post mortems instead.”—Adm. Gen. Sherman Hall of the Colorado militia, defying the orders of the civil courts.

“What's the Constitution between friends?”—Timothy Campbell of Tammany Hall.

“I'm working for my own pocket all the time.”—Richard Croker, of Tammany Hall, under whose regime Schmittberger became a power in the police.

“Men who object to what they style ‘government by injunction’ have hearty sympathy with their remote skin-clad ancestors who lived in caves, fought one another with stone-headed axes and ate the mammoth and woolly rhinoceros. . . . They are not in sympathy with men of good minds and good civic morality.”—Theodore Roosevelt.

“God knows, I don't.”—William H. Taft, at Cooper Union, February 1906, when asked, “What is a man to do in a financial panic who is out of work and who is starving?”

“The club is mightier than the Constitution.”—Inspector Schmittberger of the New York police force in the police riot in Union Square on March 28, 1908.

the settlements of wounded pride and of rancour against us, provoked by the events of 1911. The treaty of November 3, 1911 is a profound disappointment.

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PRUSSIAN JUNKERDOM AND WAR

The next document, No. 5, is a report to Mr. Stephen Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, by the French diplomats and Consular agents in Germany. It is dated “Paris, June 30, 1914.”

The information gathered by our agents in Germany from persons in a position to mix in the most varied circles justifies the conclusion that two feelings dominate and irritate the German mind. 1. The treaty of November 4, 1911, is considered to be a defeat for Germany. 2. France—a new France—the existence of which was unsuspected until the summer of 1911, is considered to be bellicose, and is represented as desiring war.

In July, 1911, “the coup d'Agadir” raised really for the first time the Moroccan question as a national matter of importance to the life and to the expansion of the Empire. The revelations and Press law suits which followed it have sufficiently shown how the campaign had been organized, what Pan-German cupidities it had inflamed and what ill-feeling it has left behind. If the Emperor was discussed and the Chancellor unpopular, Herr von Kiderlen was the most hated man in Germany last winter. Nevertheless, he is beginning to be less badly thought of, for he has let it be understood that he would take his revenge.

Some desire war, because it is “inevitable” in consequence of present circumstances, and for Germany, in their opinion, it will come better sooner than later. Others consider it as necessary for economic reasons found in over-population and over-production, the need of markets and outlets, or for social reasons such as that diversion of mind alone can prevent or delay the rising to power of the democratic and Socialist masses. Others again, and infinitely reassured as to the future of the Empire, and believing that time works for France, think that the event should be precipitated.

Others are bellicose “Bismarckian,” if one may use the term. They feel themselves humiliated at having to discuss matters with the French, to speak of right and reason in negotiations or conferences where they have not always easily prevailed, when they have the more decisive force on their side. From their recent past they derive a pride which is constantly fed by living memories, by oral tradition and by books, and which is hurt by the events of the last few years.

Others, finally, want war from spite. It is these last who collect the pretexts for it. These feelings find their concrete expression, in reality, as follows: The Junkers, represented in the Reichstag by the Conservative Party, wish at any price to avoid the succession duties which are inevitable if peace be prolonged. At the last sitting of the session which has just come to an end, the principle of these duties was voted. This is a serious blow to the interests and privileges of the landed nobility. On the other hand this nobility is the military aristocracy, and it is instructive to compare the Army list with the Nobility list. War alone can make its prestige last and serve its family interests. One speaker of the party, in the course of the debate on the Army law, brought forward as an argument in favour of the passing of the law the necessity of promotion for officers.

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A Year of Promise.

AFTER having again completed one of its periodical journeys round the sun, strange though it may seem, the conventional globe upon which "we live and move and have our being" has set gallantly forth to once more repeat the process, as she has been persistently doing even beyond reach of the memory of the oldest inhabitant. The ending of lap 1914 and the beginning of lap 1915, over the stellar speedway, has been duly and properly celebrated according to the time-honored custom of conjuring forth the most hideous racket and infernal din possible. This custom is particularly dear to the soul of the reasoning biped, commonly termed man. It seems that the lower animals, devoid of reasoning powers, and, therefore, guided by instinct alone, are incapable of being lifted to a plane of blissful exhilaration and intellectual intoxication, through infernal din and raucous clamor. Because the Creator has denied them the proud privilege of participating in the pleasing intoxication thus resulting from the exercise of reason and the play of intellect, affords a profound reason why we should pity all created victims of instinct and deal gently with them.

Also that old joke of wishing everybody a "happy new year" has again been perpetrated upon all and sundry. Probably never has this joke been worked upon the long suffering with less justification. In all the annals of human folly it is doubtful if a year was ever ushered in carrying with it a greater assurance of human agony, misery and woe, or a more doubtful promise of happiness for the great majority of human kind. With half the world busily engaged in the most ruthless, desperate and prolific slaughter that the world has ever seen, while the other half stands stupid and semi-paralyzed, tottering upon the brink of collapse induced by the terrific shock to the world's social and industrial life by this European holocaust of hell, it is idle to prattle of a happy year, for anybody outside of the promoters of hell, gun factories, armament works, powder mills, etc., and the war lords, sea lords and lesser lumps that glory in this human misery and blood bath.

Happy New Year has been a ghastly joke for the working class ever since that class was created, by and through the inauguration of human slavery. Ruled, tortured and robbed, first as chattel slaves, then as feudal serfs, and later as wage slaves, the workers have led such a narrow and uncertain existence as to preclude the possibility of happiness, other than as a fitful and little known experience.

With each recurring year down through the ages of slavery the condition of the slaves (workers) has continually grown worse; their hold upon life, with its possibilities of happiness even more precarious and uncertain. Never were so many workers idle as now. Never were so many without means of subsistence as at present. Never were slaves of so little value to their masters as now, in this year of capitalist glory and achievement, 1915. As proof of the worthlessness of slaves at present, one needs but note the utter indifference of the masters of all countries to the wholesale slaughter going on in Europe and the reckless zeal with which they beg, beseech, cajole, bribe and, if need be, force still other millions to come through to the "roll of honor" by way of the "cannon fodder" route to glory. And did not the Czar declare at the outbreak of the war that "I will go to Berlin if it costs me my last moujik"? The moujik is the Russian peasant and there are a good many of them. Such apparently reckless extravagance, however, takes on a flavor of parsimony when we note that "our ally,"

on account of Indian tribes that were at times troublesome on the Western frontier.

Since the Spanish-American War the army has been kept at something like 100,000 men, and this increase has only made necessary as a consequence of the seizure of the Philippines and other territory during that war.

It might be well to note that the chief activities of the United States army during recent years have been engineering and constructive achievements, such as the Panama Canal and various reclamation works, with an occasional strike-breaking episode as in Colorado, or a patriotic blunder stunt as at Vera Cruz.

If we are to judge by its works, the engineering staff of the United States army is an exceedingly valuable national asset. Its efforts, directed along the pathway of useful and productive undertakings, are far more glorious than all of the rapine and slaughter ever directed by all of the military and naval blood-heroes of history. However, come to think of it, the virtue attaching to these achievements of army engineers, in the way of canals, reclamation works, etc., lies in the fact that these things have an economic purpose, a constructive purpose—not a military purpose, a wasteful or destructive purpose.

At any rate, the achievement of the world's useful workers and builders will remain as monuments attesting their virtues and worth long after the monuments erected to commemorate the glorious deeds of captains and admirals of blood and slaughter shall have been converted into an ingredient of concrete sewer-pipe.

In the face of this European bloodfest, the military and naval sealaws and other agents and attorneys of the armament works and powder mills are zealously engaged in trying to work up such a scare as to plunge the United States into the glorious military and naval obsession that has thrown Europe into that delirium tremens of blood lust and slaughter that seems to be beyond the power of prayer to exorcise. The generals and the would-be generals, the admirals and the hope-to-be admirals, arcas one in vociferously and pathetically pointing out the alarming unpreparedness of the nation to defend itself against a powerful foe. It is quite heart-rending to listen to their plaintive wail because the army is so small; the navy so insignificant; guns too few, and powder too scarce. It's terrible; it's positively criminal. That is, it would be if we did not know these scare boosters and designing sealaws to be merely voicing their own aspirations and boosting the interests of the manufacturers of armaments and munitions of war.

Outside of those concerns engaged in producing the things used in war, and the uniformed puppets that draw pay and aspire to glory in its service, there is no part, even of rotten capitalist society, the interest of which is conserved by war. The interest of capital is best conserved by peace, for in times of peace the augmentation of capital proceeds with the maximum rapidity. In times of war capital is depleted, its operations are interrupted, and much of its bulk is thus dissipated by the terrible waste of conflict. It will require many years at the best for European capital to recover from the terrible waste and destruction of the present war. It may never be able to recover. Let us hope that this will be the case.

The workers have no interest that can be conserved by any capitalist military machine. War is absolutely destructive of every working class interest. The chains of slavery are more completely riveted upon the limbs of the workers in the presence of a powerful military establishment. For proof of this make inquiry of the coal miners lately on strike in Colorado.

Above everything else, the working people of the United States should set their faces against this military and naval scheme. In the last analysis it will be used for their own undoing, either by forcing them into sacrificing their lives in wars of conquest on behalf of armament factories, powder mills and other capitalist interests, or by the crushing of their own efforts to lessen the exactions of their industrial employers and masters.

The cry that the United States is in danger of attack should deceive no one. By the time these European national brigands get through with each other in the present festivities, there won't be enough wind left in any of them to put up a good squawk, let alone a scrap across some thousands of miles of briny deep.

We beg to suggest that if the dear capitalists of the States really desire that the country be armed for defensive purposes only, let them use their influence to induce the government to issue to

CANT AND CULTURE

Rhems, Louvain, Statuary and Architecture! Art, Science and Culture! How extremely interested our masters are in the defence of art! And what interest, too, the workers have evinced in these remarkable relics of medieval craft!

Lives are being lost—workers' lives. Blood and tears are being shed—the blood of working men and the tears of working women. Children cry for bread; deep despair numbs the brain of wife and sweetheart; hospitals are filled with the maimed and the crippled, but we must steel our hearts to such things as these, for such is the toll of war.

But "our" churches and "our" cathedrals are being destroyed and desecrated by the unholy hand of the hated Hun. The German has dared to eat his filthy sausage from the sacred altar, and to use the statue of the Holy Virgin as a peg upon which to hang the washing.

This is indeed a matter to call for the immediate attention of the working class. We can stand the loss of life—there are plenty more workers. The bereavement of the husband can be borne (there are others). The loss of a limb—well, there are crutches, and, as in the past, our generous masters will come forward to our aid with a license to sell matches. With calm and philosophic mind we can tighten our belts when we are hungry, but rob us of our art treasures, and live enraged tigers we the working men of Britain; will slay the despoilers, or, as at Deptford recently, break the windows and smash the furniture of peaceful civilians whom the authorities have taken the precaution previously to disarm. The workers are, above all, lovers of art.

There are works of art in London, and it is surprising how few of these lovers of art visit them. Some, it is true, attract attention if well advertised—the crown jewels for instance, the greatest pleasure from which is derived by estimates as to how much they are worth. Certain palatial buildings, too, are visited mainly because they belong to the King, or possibly did belong to some other royal gentleman; and such artistic delights in architecture as the bank of England will hold in awe the twenty-four boba-week toiler because of the gold in its vaults. But of the real art treasures and rare buildings in London, how many are known to the average worker? Of the proletarian visitors to the Abbey, St. Pauls, the Galleries and Museums, how many can appreciate their beauties?

Why should we, and if honest, how can we, generate a feeling of indignation at the destruction of those things that, however beautiful they may have been, we would never have seen, and possibly would not have appreciated if we had seen? Why join in the howl of holy horror at their destruction, while dumb to the greater crime ever being perpetrated upon the toilers by the destruction of their powers of appreciation? Here the toilers time to develop culture?

The German, we are told, lacks cul-

and then it might be interesting to know whether it is round or not. That laborer was wise. The world is not the workers' world, neither are art treasures for the workers. Their domain is the factory and the slum. Their art is the poster boarding and the prints in the 12d. illustrated "Pears Annual." How can we get excited about art treasures?

And as to culture, how is the fobbing as a specimen; this too, in times of peace? It is from the report of Roger Casement, British Consul in the Congo, and relates to the "Domaine de la Couronne," Belgian Congo, published 1904.

"I asked them (the natives) why they had left their homes. . . . All when the question was put—women, as well as men, shouted: 'On account of the rubber tax levied by (the Belgian) Government posted. . . . How much pay did you get? We got no pay. We got nothing. It used to take us ten days to get twenty baskets of rubber (twenty baskets of rubber had to be achieved four times a month). We were always in the forest, and when we were late we were killed. We had to go further and further into the forest to find the rubber vines, to go without food, and our women had to give up cultivating the fields and gardens. . . . Then we starved. . . . When we failed and our rubber was short, the soldiers came up to our towns and were shot us. Many were shot; some had their ears cut off. . . . Our chiefs were hanged. . . . The white men (Brave Belgians) told their soldiers 'You kill only women; you cannot kill men.' So when the soldiers killed us" (he who stopped and hesitated and then, pointing to the private parts of my bull dog—it was lying asleep at my feet) he said, 'then they cut off those things and took them to the white men, who said: 'It is true you have killed men. You mean to tell me that any white man ordered your bodies to be mutilated like that?' (All shouting): 'Yes, many white men.' You say this is true? Were many of you so treated after being shot?' (All shouting): 'Ukoto! Ukoto!' (Very many, very many!)

German, British, and Belgian "culture" are much the same pattern when profits are at stake. Atrocities are denounced when committed by the enemy, but the foul and fiendish slaughter of the worker in the Congo and the equally bloody murder by British capital in Peru; the Russian butchery on the Lena Goldfields in 1912; the outrages of Paris in 1871; the many and heinous deeds of shame and brutality perpetrated by the capitalists of all countries when profit is to be made or territory to be annexed, when property is to be defended or stolen: all these things are to be forgotten, and we, the workers, upon whom fall all the evils and horrors of modern mass murder—we are to cheer and wave our swastika cap, and shake the blood-stained fist of the erstwhile allies of our slaydrivers.

The socialist cannot do it if he would. He remembers that these deeds have been done in the interest of the gov-

"Strike? They (the American workmen) have no jobs now. We do not want to take up work again now. So what can they do? They will have to submit or they will starve." J. Pierpont Morgan, February, 1908.

A good man never makes a good soldier. The worst man always makes the best soldier. The soldier is no thing but a hired, legalized murderer. —Napoleon Bonaparte.

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MANIFESTO OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA.

Fourth (Revised) Edition, with a Preface by D. G. McKeown

possibility of happiness, other than as a fitful and little experience.

With each recurring year down through the ages of slavery the condition of the slaves (workers) has continually grown worse; their hold upon life, with its possibilities of happiness ever more precarious and uncertain. Never were so many workers idle as now. Never were so many without means of subsistence as at present. Never were slaves of so little value to their masters as now, in this year of capitalist glory and achievement, 1915. As proof of the worthlessness of slaves at present, one needs but note the utter indifference of the masters of all countries to the wholesale slaughter going on in Europe and the reckless zeal with which they beg, beseech, cajole, bribe and, if need be, force still other millions to come through for the "roll of honor" by way of the "cannon fodder" route to glory. And did not the Czar declare at the outbreak of the war that "I will go to Berlin if it costs me my last moujik"? The moujik is the Russian peasant and there are a good many of them. Such apparently reckless extravagance, however, takes on a flavor of parsimony when we note that "our ally," the Czar, included neither his own personal fortune or his royal carcass in the proposed expenditure. This may be recorded as another evidence of the cheapness of working-stiffs.

The two "Kaisers" and their allied pirates have some time since set aside a day on which all clerical pimps and other heavenly attorneys prayerfully appealed to Jehovah to throw his military influence to their side of the interesting little squabble and thus enable them to more expeditiously and completely annihilate their wicked enemies. On last Sunday our own clerical pleaders at the Court of the Most High, aided and abetted by all the "holier than thou" counsellors, spiritual, carbo-line slayers and heavenly sea-lawyers, likewise attuned their souls to the infinite beatitudes by poking their impudent noses into the Lord's business with a similar Christian request that his naval and military thunders should be added to the already big noise of Britain and her "allies" for the speedy confusion and undoing of the wicked and ungodly barbarians of middle Europe. The slaves must indeed be cheap, even unto nastiness, when the masters go so far as to bring such pressure upon high heaven to aid in exterminating them.

A Happy New Year! Yes indeed.

A year expressly devoted to human slaughter and rapine.

A year during which the sole occupation of millions of our race is to be the cutting of each other's throats, while still other millions will be engaged in supplying them with the requisites for the bloody business.

A year during which everything that makes for "peace on earth, good will towards all men," shall be sidetracked to make way for the policy of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth."

A year when peace, fraternity and good will shall be banished from among the people of the earth and war, hatred, famine and pestilence shall ravage and destroy.

A year that promises the supreme culmination of the curse of slavery, that has poisoned and polluted the human race for the past ten thousand years; a curse that must be lifted or human society will perish from that poison and pollution.

Working the Big Scare.

THE United States of America has up to the present time been a nation more particularly devoted to the arts of peace than to the art of war. During the past century it has engaged in but two wars against other countries, and these were of no considerable magnitude and left behind them no pronounced and dangerous aftermath of military dreams of empire and "shining armor" bombast.

The Civil War of 1864-65, a terrific struggle and exceedingly costly in both life and property, once brought to its close, was followed by the disbanding of the armies, the soldiers returning to their homes and again taking up the tools of industry. For more than a quarter of a century after the war the standing army of the United States was but 25,000 men, and this army was required only

in capitalist military machine. War is the only method of every working class interest. The chains of slavery are more completely riveted upon the limbs of the workers in the presence of a powerful military establishment. For proof of this make inquiry of the coal miners lately on strike in Colorado.

Above everything else, the working people of the United States should set their faces against this military and naval scheme. In the last analysis it will be used for their own undoing, either by forcing them into sacrificing their lives in wars of conquest on behalf of armament factories, powder mills and other capitalist interests, or by the crushing of their own efforts to lessen the exactions of their industrial employers and masters.

The cry that the United States is in danger of attack should deceive no one. By the time these European national brigands get through with each other in the present festivities, there won't be enough wind left in any of them to put up a good squawk, let alone a scrap across some thousands of miles of briny deep.

We beg to suggest that if the dear capitalists of the States really desire that the country be armed for defensive purposes only, let them use their influence to induce the government to issue to every able-bodied male citizen between 18 and 45 years of age one rifle and 500 cartridges. The rest of the programme might safely be left to the citizens themselves.

SECRETARIAL NOTES

We would draw the attention of Empire, and tracing the changes in readers in general, and party members in particular, to the announcement on the front page of the passing of an "Order-in-Council," making it a penal offence to "subvert the mind of the public," etc., etc., which shows to what lengths the master class are being driven in the attempt to safeguard their own particular interests. At this juncture, it is imperative that we should keep the party organ going. The few ads. we have been carrying are being discontinued, some small locals, especially on the prairie, are feeling the pinch, and cannot pay for the directory. We must rely on sub-

In another column you will notice an open letter to party locals. We desire that not only party members, but readers generally, interested in the spreading of the propaganda of scientific Socialism, should help in the scheme there outlined. With this issue, the special rate of 50c for 25 issues ceases, as it is impossible to cover the cost of producing the paper on that basis. However, if we could get a paid up subscription list of 6000, and maintain same, the publication of the paper would be transferred to easy street, and made a revenue producer, thus enabling us to place organizers around the country.

J. A. McDonald, of Vancouver, who has been sojourning in Victoria for a while, where he was instrumental in commencing economic classes, has now arrived in San Francisco, and met some of the "old guard" from here. Most of them, needless to say, are on the "blink." However, Mac has sent for a small stock of party literature, and Clarions, and the bunch down there are going to start things moving. Keep it up.

In this issue, the second article of the series by J. Harrington, appears, dealing with Social Changes (Ancient). This will be followed by Social Changes (Modern), in the next issue, starting with the founding of the Roman

Empire, and tracing the changes in Society up to the present time, after which the main subject will be entered upon. Personally, we consider that this series would make a fine pamphlet and might be published within the same cover as "The Armageddon," thus making a very valuable publication. Would like to hear what members think of this. Shoot in your ideas, and suggestions, so that we may help one another.

Buttons. Buttons. Buttons. Who says--

Shall we get a thousand new readers in two months? It's up to you. Think it over.

If Local Cumberland No. 70 has any of its members in, or around, the city of Vancouver, they might call and take away a parcel of books of all sorts, shapes and sizes, now in Clarion office, which has been given to it with hearty regards by Com. Ribble.

BREAKING OF TREATIES.

"Russia has broken treaties in the past, so has England. . . . There is not an important treaty of modern Europe but has been partially denounced, revoked or altered in times of peace. The treaty of Utrecht 1713, of Vienna 1814, of Paris 1856, of Prague 1866, of Berlin 1878, have in part or in whole been denounced. The Black Sea clause of the Treaty of Paris and the Helgoland clause of the Treaty of Berlin were openly and frankly denounced and repudiated by Russia in her own sole interest. Let us all admit that Europe is in the hands of the Russian denunciation."—Arnold White in the "Sunday Chronicle," Oct. 14th, 1914.

Rubbing It In

One of the interesting features of the Army and Navy Journal is the advertisements. The December edition, besides the ads for the steel companies, the tankers, the armorers, the tailors, the bankers, and the Salvation Army, has an ad with two pictures of men's legs cut off at the knee, with "\$1.25 per pair," immediately below.

in architecture as the bank of King land will hold in awe the twenty-four-bob-waek toiler because of the gold in its veins. But of the real art treasures and rare buildings in London, how many are known to the average worker? Of the proletarian visitors to the Abbey, St. Pauls, the Galleries and Museums, how many can appreciate their beauties?

Why should we, and if honest, how can we, generate a feeling of indignation at the destruction of those things that, however, beautiful they may have been, we would never have seen, and possibly would not have appreciated if we had seen? Why join in the howl of holy horror at their destruction, while dumb to the greater crime ever being perpetrated upon the toilers by the destruction of their powers of appreciation? Have the toilers time to develop culture?

The German, we are told, lacks culture. Perhaps this is true; but have we "anything to write home about" in that matter? Is the smashing of windows and the looting of shops a sign of culture?

Rolls of toilet paper are being sold in the streets of London, upon each slip of which is a photo of the Kaiser, and the hawk's cry of "Wafat to the Kaiser" raises a grin on the faces of passers-by. Is this culture? or is the cry of "German Kultur" just cant?

The Socialist deprecates the uncultivated mind of the worker, and is conscious of the intellectual satisfaction lost thereby; but who are we to blame for the loss?

The monuments of art and skilled craftsmanship in this country stand untouched by the hands of the destroyer, but they might as well be a heap of ruts as far as the average worker is concerned. Our board-school education stopped at the "three R's," with the possible extension of some technical training that would be of use to our masters. So soon as the child of the toiler is old enough to learn and understand he is hauled off to the field and factory to sweat for an employer. He is "educated" enough to pull a lever so many times a minute, to label jam jars or work a machine to stamp out blacking tins, until he becomes exhausted; or maybe he views London architecture fourteen hours a day while hanging on to a strap behind a carrier's cart. And the magnificent wage of seven shillings per week does not allow him to cultivate his mind by trips to the continent of Europe in search of "old masters."

In short, the horrible grind from morn till night, with occasional intervals of "rest," seeking for a master; the constant petty worries as to how to make ends meet on twenty-four bob a week, banishes for the working man all desire for intellectual advancement and the few standing out from the rest find little encouragement in the surroundings and conditions of a toiler's life.

To talk to the worker of saving art treasures is as intelligent as to expatiate to the deaf on the beauties of music. The laborer who at a meeting held to debate the question of whether the earth is spherical or flat, sized up the situation when he said: "Let us get hold of the world first.

ture" are much the same pattern when profits are at stake. Atrocities are denounced when committed by the enemy, but the foul and fiendish slaughter of the worker in the Congo and the equally bloody murder by British capital in Peru; the Russian butchery on the Lena Goldfields in 1912; the outages of Paris in 1871; the many and various deeds of shame and brutality perpetrated by the capitalists of all countries when profit is to be made or territory to be annexed, when property is to be defended or stolen; all these things are to be forgotten, and we, the workers, upon whom fall all the evils and horrors of modern mass murder—we are to acher and waver our swasty caps, and cheer the blood-stained fist of the erstwhile allies of our slaveholders.

The socialist cannot do it if he would. He remembers that these deeds have been done in the interest of the governments of the various countries, governments representing the interests of the master-class; our enemy. He keeps in mind the class struggle, and is determined to fight it to the bitter end.

—Tweel (in the Socialist Standard, Nov. 1914.)

Turkey accrediting a representative to the Pope is not the least of the war's ironies.—Columbia State.

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PLATFORM

Of the Socialist Party of Canada

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

Labor produces all wealth, and to the producer 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 necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into collective or working-class property.

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

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

1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into the collective property of the working class by the workers.
 2. The democratic organization and management of industry by the workers.
 3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.
- The Socialist Party when in office shall always and everywhere until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: Will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will, the Socialist Party is for it; if it will not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.
- In accordance with this principle the Socialist Party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in its hands in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone.

Outawa (2): Globe News Co., Minn. apolia: Western Utility Co., Calgary. R. M. Webster, Ototoks, Alta.; H. T. Bastable, Brandon, Man.; Thomas Wells, Brandon, Man.; H. Laidlaw, Man. P. E. C.; Local Winnipeg (per J. Watson); Bastable, Brock, Rochester, N. Y.; Rev. Francis Perry, City; G. J. Zink, Klamath Falls, Ore.; Local Cumberland No. 70, B. C.; G. Beattie, Calgary; J. H. Fisher, Calgary; T. S. Cassidy, Seattle; R. C. McCutcheon, Winnipeg; A. Paterson, Winnipeg; H. T. Johnson, Enderby; R. G. Grey, Thoburn, B. C.; M. Baritz, Manchester, Eng.; H. C. Mars, Bartholomew, Gakbarum, Man.; E. Simpson, Victoria; B. C.; E. D. Stewart, V.P.C., Williams, Ont.; Local Victoria, B. C.; Local Ridgway No. 67, Alta.; I. M. Coop, Fernie, B. C.; J. E. B. Rutherford, Pomon, Calif.; J. Sansbury, Arlington, Oregon; H. C. Besant, Red Deer, Alta.; Wm. R. Green, Moose Jaw, Sask.; D. Burge, Calgary, Alta.; "Makura," Gulabghyan, N. S. W.; J. Powe, Winnipeg; J. A. Jackson, Shantchi, China; Local St. Catharines, Ont.; Chas. H. Hill, Guelph, Ont.; Cotton's Weekly; John R. Bennett, Victoria, B. C.; Frans Bostrom, Tacoma; Wm. C. Rave, Tacoma.

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If the amount of value added to a commodity by the working man last employed in it, from the time he produced it out of gold equivalent to \$2.00, then this is the value which is divided into wages and profits, or wages and surplus value. The variable proportions into which it is divided does not alter its magnitude. This being the only value to be divided between the worker and the employer, the more one gets the less the other receives. This is true, however, the fluctuations of wages or of profits, or of the money labor power, does not alter the value of that particular commodity. It is the amount of socially necessary labor, measured by time, that ultimately determines the value of a commodity and not the proportion of paid and unpaid labor into which this social labor is divided. Price is the monetary expression of value and not a social factor in production. The object of capitalist production is the produce-exchange value. The basis of all production is human labor. The price of human labor, under capitalism is called wages. The difference between the sum total of exchange value and the sum total of wages is called surplus value, unpaid labor, or value produced by labor for which he receives no equivalent. The number of hours of socially necessary labor produced at any given time depends upon the productive power of labor.

Local Markerville is already making preparations for a possible election, and has signified the intention of the Socialists in the district to run a candidate.

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Beginning some time after the New Year, Comrade Alf. Budden starts on an extended tour of the Crownstent Pass and district. His routing in this district will be in the hands of Comrade Phillips, of Fernie, and some good work among the miners of the Crow is anticipated.

In the Bijou Theatre, Edmonton, on Sunday, Dec. 27th, Comrade J. R. Knight delivered a very interesting lecture on "Our Christian Civilization."

In his recent northern Alberta trip, Comrade Budden held many successful meetings in the farming districts around Wimbome, Delboure, Erskine and Stettler. At the Wimbome meeting a box social was held, with an attendance of 55, and a good time was enjoyed. Comrade Vincent Frobenius will confer a favor by sending his present address to the Provincial Secretary.

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Comrade Miss Mushkat is making a two-weeks tour of the province during the holiday season. She will take in points between Calgary and Edmonton, finishing at the latter city on Jan. 3rd, after which she returns to Calgary to resume her class work. Comrade Mushkat's subject will be "War and its Effects on Humanity."

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Secretary instructed to write Local Calgary to the effect that reasons for amendments proposed and worked upon by a sub-committee of this Executive, had not been acted upon for the very sufficient reason that the expenditure that would necessarily be entailed was not warranted at the moment, but that amendments proposed to party platform would be put to party referendum right away; further instructed to reply to their criticism of "The Derelict" by Burt E. Anderson, in his own way. On motion, Connor-McLean, it was decided to submit amendments proposed to the Party Platform to referendum of membership immediately. Time allowed to send in results of balloting, Feb. 28th, 1915. Warrants ordered drawn, as per Expenses.

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Literature, Organizer Reid	\$ 8.50
Literature, Local Calgary	3.35
Local Springwater	1.00
Supplies, Local Travers	.25
Supplies, Alberta P. E. C.	2.00
Buttons, Alberta P. E. C.	2.50
	\$17.50
Payments	\$ 2.00
Secretary, wages	10.00
	\$12.00

WESTERN CLARION RECEIPTS

Sals	\$51.00
Directory, Local Edmonton	1.00
Local Calgary	1.00
Local P. E. C.	1.00
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WAR—ITS CAUSE AND OUTCOME

(Continued from page one.)

guide the destinies of a nation so constituted would be similar to exporting as I. W. W. Convention to decide the momentous question as to whether the brass finishers, the candlestick makers or the hod-carriers' union was entitled to make a copper-lined cement drinking fountain for the A. F. of L. Executive Committee

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE GENTES.

The old social institutions became fetters on the new social life; further development was impossible until they were swept away. The legends of Theseus are pregnant with meaning, could we read them aright. He founded Athens, caused all the nation to move into its vicinity, and established a tyranny. Among other changes occurring in the social fabric we find the people no longer divided into gentes, but into classes—the wealthy, the farmers and the shovel stiffs. But the old order did not die overnight, did not die until the Grecian civilization had passed away. A thousand years and more passed ere the political state became permanent. Tradition and custom had to be drowned in blood, new traditions taught, and new habits of life acquired before the glorious old barbaric spirit could submit to the new social organism. Disastrous devastation accomplished the one; written language—a literature of lies—made possible the other. The trading nation of Phoenicia, the Canaanites of the Bible, against whom the Hosses of the Lord could not prevail "BECAUSE THEY HAD IRON CHARIOTS," had presented to mankind the phonetic alphabet.

WOMAN IN CIVILIZATION.

Political society organized on class lines, and government with the consent (!) of the governed was established in Athens, by Cleisthenes, 500 B.C. It became permanent after the Punic Wars in Rome 264 B.C. to 149 B.C. The intervening years we must pass over, albeit reluctantly, but let us note in passing the effect on women. The need of man for an heir to inherit his property and perpetuate his name reduced her to the "less than dust beneath the chariot wheel" attitude of civilization, and especially Christian civilization. "The buckskin mistress and warrior love" of Theseus was vanquished by him in open warfare. Penthesilia and her fellow countrywomen drove the victorious Greeks from before the walls of Troy until she fell a victim to Achilles' all-conquering arm. Women fought in the arena and engaged in the games, as well as taking part in the councils as members of the tribe in barbaric Greece. But civilization set her free (!), and life was poisoned in its very wells."

The legends lore associated with every state and empire during civilization's cradled days is not lacking of Rome. Whatever the date and occasion of its founding we take up her history at about 400 B.C. The same journey through barbaric communism had preceded her rise to civilization with sojournly varied procession, as we noted of Athens. The Gentile organization of the old order of society, Communism, and the political state of the new, chattel slave exploitation, existed side-by-side in the new city. The transition period was shorter but not less free from civil strife. As a democratic commonwealth it engaged in wars of conquest, the success of which and the resultant wealth brought out the inevitable antagonisms. The Gentile associations continued to exercise diminishing influence as Rome's wealth increased until the overthrow of Carthage made possible the World Empire associated with her name.

TARQUINIUS THE TYRANT.

Economic conditions having changed, its usefulness was at an end, and, like the stars of the morning, it faded away.

We have all read how Horatius held the bridge "in the brave days of old."

This poem of Macaulay's marks a period in Roman Society similar to that we observed in Grecian. The office of Rex in Rome, as also that of Baskides in Athens, having no clearly defined limits of power, and being that of military commander and religious high priest, afforded excellent opportunity for a strong ambitious character to usurp the role of tyrant, invested with supreme control. This was attempted by Tarquinius Superbus about 400 B.C.

possession ensued. The wars continued for almost a century, both on sea and land, with varying fortunes.

About 145 B.C. the Carthaginian general, Hannibal, crossed the Alps from Spanish territory, and, descending on the Romans, swept everything before him. So terrible was the onslaught, and so great the havoc wrought that the Roman army was almost entirely destroyed. Hannibal, however, neglected to attack Rome itself, contented to enjoy the fruits of his many victories, before capturing the city. He thus allowed Rome time in which to free and organize her slaves, who, under Fabius, finally defeated the Africans by refraining from risking a pitched battle. Hence the term Fabian tactics.

Having driven the enemy from Italy, Rome carried the war to Carthage, destroying the Carthaginian fleet and burning the town. Carthage was entirely a commercial city, its defences maintained by hired mercenaries. With a new state of social life, Rome itself after these devastating wars was no longer the home of tribal families. Its only rival smashed beyond recovery, Rome turned its arms to conquest, carrying its civilization over the known world. The barbarians of Gaul and the savages of Britain were, overnight, introduced to a social system thousands of years older than their own. Forests were cleared, roads built, mines developed and permanent peace established by Rome's conquering legions.

She transformed the face of the world, and by that same token changed the constitution, the functions and the ideals of her own populace. Plunder in the form of treasure and slaves flowed into her capacious general coffers, until to be a Roman was truly to be a king.

The forces which banded together the members of the communistic tribes were rendered obsolete by the all-powerful State. Where the barbarian depended upon his gens for a guarantee of his security, the State now guarded his rights and privileges under written laws. Even had the fearfully destructive Punic wars not wholly destroyed entire tribes, the economic necessity of tribal confederacies was at an end. Every vestige of power held by these institutions vanished, only the forms remaining. Roman Political Society was now established upon a sound and durable basis.

THE DISSOLUTION OF CHATTEL SLAVERY.

Founded upon the exploitation of chattel slaves, it ruled the world for six centuries. Revolts shook it to the very foundations. The Serviles, as they were called, again and again threatened its existence, but the State was always victorious, until the economic base again changed. Chattel slavery became a fetter upon development. Dissensions from within and barbaric raids from without found the Roman Empire unprepared for the avalanche about to descend, and ere the new property relation could establish itself within the old social form, "the grandeur that was Rome's" was at an end.

How this was accomplished we will learn when we review social changes in modern society.

Ancient mankind developed two complete social changes. From non-social solitary existence to communistic social groups, administering affairs for mutual benefits, with personal relations for a base of action, which in turn evolved into Political Society, with the government by the State of one class in the interest of another class, property being the basis of its activity.

Modern Society, dating from the Christian Era, has also developed two complete social changes, which leaves it "horse and horse."

Can we not go one better than the Savage or Barbarian?

(To be continued.)

Next Article: "Social Changes—Modern."

FACTORS IN THE GREAT WAR

(Continued from Page One.)

Finally, this social class, which forms a hierarchy of which the King of Prussia is the supreme head, sees with terror the demoralization of Germany and the growing force of the Socialist Party, and considers that its days are numbered. Not only are its material interests threatened by a formidable movement against agrarian protection, but

The Purpose of Reform

It is only another support given to that which I have long laid down. It gives us a lesson. It shows that as long as the master class control the political machinery they will consider alone their view. If laws are passed "for" the working class, they are conceived with a purpose for assisting

a typhoid germ located in the blood stream there, an immediate struggle between it and the white corpuscle with which it comes in contact, and it may be several days before the organism afflicted becomes conscious of the fact that a battle royal has been raging in its interior, but that does not make it any less a battle.

The same applies equally to human society. Since the first inception of slavery there has been a struggle on the part of the slaves to emancipate themselves. Several times conscious attempts have been made by the workers to free themselves; the most notable being that headed by Spartacus—in Ancient Rome in the year 73 B. C. Spartacus, a Roman gladiator, broke out of a training school at Capua, accompanied by about seventy fellow gladiators and took refuge on Mt. Vesuvius. Promising emancipation to all who followed him he defied the Roman Empire for two years, at one time holding the whole of southern Italy. Eventually leading a revolt on the Isle of Sicily held the island for a period of seven years against the might of Rome.

During the early period of Feudalism a rising took place under John Ball, Wat Tyler, and others. To quote from the Froissarts Chronicles a part of a speech of John Ball:—

"My good friends, things cannot go on well in England, nor ever will until everything shall be in common; when there shall neither be vassal nor lord, and all distinctions levelled; when lords shall be no more masters than ourselves. How ill have they used us! and for what reason do they hold us in bondage?—"

But these have been foredoomed to failure owing to the fact that the machinery of wealth production at that time was not of the social nature, necessary for society to work harmoniously on a communistic basis. Also before the condition of master and slave can be abolished the rising must be international, world-wide, and capitalism is international and is abolishing national antipathies and characteristics with which the workers have been kept apart, paving the way for an international organization of the workers and its own ultimate downfall.

But to return to our meat; these are by no means the only manifestations of this struggle.

Every attempt on the part of the workers to better their position, or even to maintain that position, is also an expression of that conflict of interests which always exists, and has always existed, between master and slave. Each individual attempt on the part of the worker to gain an increase of wages is an attempt to shorten the ratio of profit of the masters, and as such is an attempt—quite unconscious on the part of the worker—to make the position of the masters more insecure. That the attempt is bound to fail does not make it any less a demonstration of an existing struggle.

As to the 'commodity struggle,' to me at least such a struggle does not exist. Labor power has many peculiarities apart from other commodities chief of which is that it is associated with a human being in such an intimate manner that he cannot be separated

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Is the Interest of the Working Class alone.

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Guaranteed Free AMERICAN Silk Hosiery

We Want You to Know These Hose

They stood the test when all others failed. They give real foot comfort. They have no seams to rip. They never become loose and baggy, as the shape is knit in, not pressed in. They are GUARANTEED for shewness, for style, for superiority of material and workmanship, absolutely stainless, and to wear six months without holes or replaced by new pairs free.

OUR FREE OFFER

To every one sending us 50c to cover shipping charges, we will send subject to duty, absolutely free:

Three pairs of our famous men's AMERICAN SILK HOSE with written guarantee, any color.

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DON'T DELAY—Offer expires when dealer in your locality is selected. Give your name and address.

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This was attempted by Tarquinius Superbus about 400 B.C. Grote speaks of a profound observance by Aristotle to the effect that seditions are created, through grave causes, out of little incidents. Romantic historians attribute the fall of the house of Tarquin to the rape of Lucretia by Tarquinius Sextus, and while this act was doubtless the occasion, the cause of Superbus' overthrow and the abolition of the office of Rex lay in the bitter controversy then raging over the limits of kingly powers. For an example of how great estates were created, let us follow this story a little further. The Etruscan tribe marched on Rome to re-establish the banished Tarquins. The Romans decided to destroy the bridge across the Tiber when the Etruscans arrived before Rome. To gain time for its destruction Horatius and two others held the centre while the job was completed, and for this act—

"They gave him of the corn lands,
That was of public right,
As much as two strong oxen
Could plow from morn till night."

THE GENERAL STRIKE IN ROME.

After the office of Rex was abolished another corresponding one was created. Two consuls were appointed with more defined and less absolute power to carry out the functions of chief military commander. The days of communist liberty, however, had passed, but it required the destruction of vast numbers of the populace to end the continual struggle to maintain them. That the newly created consularship failed to harmonize the conflict engendered by the changes in economic conditions and the class divisions of society is clear. The entire proletariat class went on strike, and left Rome, swearing never to return. After many efforts to pacify them the famous "Belly and Body" parable was successfully tried, so we are told. Menenius, an old orator of great powers, went among them and, anticipating Spencer's "Social Organisms" by over two thousand years, told of a body whose various parts were several and distinct personalities. All of these parts conceived great hatred toward the Belly, which waxed fat with the good things provided by the joint efforts of the Brains, Eyes, Hands, etc., giving no help and wasting its days in idleness. They jointly agreed to supply the idle glutton no more, and proceeded to put their resolution into effect, with the result that they jointly approached starvation, whereupon they recognized the Belly's importance, repented, and, returning to their task, lived happy evermore. The strikers saw the point, we are told, and returned to their toil.

However, whatever the means used to placate the dispossessed, the means were at hand whereby tradition and custom would overwhelm sufficient to allow Imperial Rome to work out her high destiny.

THE RISE OF CARTHAGE.

The new system of production, with its immense increase in wealth, we saw in Athens had caused a trading class to appear. Great trading cities now arose, the greatest of which was Carthage, situated on the African continent. The rising commerce of Rome found itself hemmed in by this great commercial city. The island of Sicily became the strategic point of vantage, and a struggle for its

control being for mutual benefits, with personal relations for a base of action, which in turn evolved into Political Society, with the government by the State of one class in the interest of another class, property being the basis of its activity.

Modern Society, dating from the Christian Era, has also developed two complete social changes, which leaves it "horse and horse."

Can we not go one better than the Savage or Barbarian?

(To be continued.)

Next Article: "Social Changes—Modern."

FACTORS IN THE GREAT WAR

(Continued from Page One)

Finally, this social class, which forms a hierarchy of which the King of Prussia is the supreme head, sees with terror the demoralization of Germany and the growing force of the Socialist Party, and considers that its days are numbered. Not only are its material interests threatened by a formidable movement against agrarian protection, but also its political representation diminishes in every legislature.

Now, had the German Social Democrats been real Socialists, instead of the freaks they are, the war might have had a different aspect. It gives a view that the working class movement, conscious of real power, intelligent enough to act, will destroy all powers of oppression and dominance over it.

The German Bourgeoisie

I pointed out some time back that the propelling force behind the war was the manufacturing class of Germany, who wanted a greater share of the political power. Read the continuation of the above document:

The great bourgeoisie represented by the National Liberal Party, the party of the "contented," has not the same reasons for desiring war. With the exception of its however, belittles. It has its reasons of a social nature. The upper middle-class is no less affected than the nobility by the demoralization of the Empire. In 1871 it had its representatives in the Reichstag, 155 in 1874, 99 in 1887, and in 1912, 45.

Finally, the gun and armour-plating manufacturers, the great merchants who clamor for greater markets, and the bankers who speculate on the Golden Age and the indemnity of war, think that war would be good business. . . . The economists by force of statistics prove the necessity for Germany to have a colonial and commercial empire, corresponding with the industrial output of the Empire. There are financial sociologists who go further. Armed peace, according to them, is a crushing burden to the nations. It prevents the improvement of the lot of the masses, and favours Socialist development. France, in obstinately opposing her revenge, is being led to disarmament. Once and for all, arms must be reduced to a minimum for a century. That is the best and most rapid way of solving the social question. . . .

Do you notice that one object was to improve the lot of the masses, to prevent Socialist development? See the Social Reform is the stick to stave off the Social Revolution.

To my mind, no document so far issued can be compared with this officially accepted view of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs in July, 1913.

The Purpose of Reform
It is only another support given to that which I have long laid down. It gives us a lesson. It shows that as long as the master class control the political machinery they will consider alone their view. If laws are passed for the working class, they are conceived with a purpose for assisting in the domination of our class, by our masters.

This latest "Yellow Book" is monumental in that regard. It shows clearly that the interests of the capitalist class were best served in going to war. Assassinations have nothing to do with the question. Honor has less than all other contentions. Germany, by going to war, endeavored to pacify the manufacturing class, and kill that sloppy, idiotic organization called the Social Democratic Party. Each country in conflict today has the same purpose—to rouse the workers to patriotism and so confuse their minds.

We can well afford to admit the success of the patriotic stunt. We think there was a story of a boy crying "Wolf" once. The patriotic cry will suffer a similar fate. Let's hope it's soon.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Some few weeks ago an article appeared in the "Clarion" entitled "As to the Class Struggle." In which the writer states the following:

"—any struggle that has for its object the ultimate overthrow of capitalism, can be designated a 'socialist movement.'" The 'socialist movement' takes place all the way between the limits of least and most intelligent action, so long as the goal is the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery."

"—the class struggle takes place all the way between the limits of least and most intelligent action, so long as the goal is the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery."

From these two remarks, and indeed from the whole trend of the article, we are led to believe that the class struggle came into existence after, or at the same time that we became conscious of it. In other words, that our consciousness determines that there is such a thing as the class struggle. But if we examine the proposition a little closer we find that we cannot become conscious of a thing which does not exist, and therefore, that the class struggle must have had an existence prior to our knowledge of it.

In any slave society there must be two classes; one of workers and one of masters. It also follows that the masters must be parasitical. Now it is always to the interest of the organism which is afflicted with a parasitical growth to get rid of that growth. The method or even the consciousness of its existence does not alter the fact that there is a conflict. When

Every attempt on the part of the workers to better their position, or even to maintain that position, is also an expression of that conflict of interests which always exists, and has always existed, between master and slave. Each individual attempt on the part of the worker to gain an increase of wages is an attempt to shorten the ratio of profit of the masters, and as such is an attempt—quite unconscious on the part of the worker—to make the position of the masters more insecure. That the attempt is bound to fail does not make it any less a demonstration of an existing struggle.

As to the 'commodity struggle', to me at least such a struggle does not exist. Labor power has many peculiarities apart from other commodities chief of which is that it is associated with a human being in such an intimate manner that he cannot be separated from it. The supply cannot be limited, nor can the surplus be stored in the same manner as with other commodities. Its price is maintained during the periods of "Financial Depression," by a historical standard of living which does not operate on any other commodity we know of.

The slave-peddler of this commodity—in his selling transaction, takes the form, not primarily of a commodity, but of a slave bargaining, for an existence and in this relationship must express the antagonism which exists between two classes, not of buyers and sellers, but of master and slave.

The 'socialist movement' should not be confused with the 'class struggle.' One is the conscious effort of the class conscious proletariat to awaken an intelligent interest in the position of society in the minds of the working class; showing them how capitalism must fall through the contradiction within itself.

—any struggle which has for its object the ultimate overthrow of capitalism, can be designated the 'socialist movement.'" The 'socialist movement' takes place all the way between the limits of least and most intelligent action, so long as the goal is the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery."

The class struggle embraces the socialist movement but is much wider than it; the socialist movement being only that part which consciously studies the sociological phenomena of the past and present, and strives through the means principally of education to put this master class and the possibility of any future master class out of business.

W. B. MITCHELL

We welcome any contribution regarding this subject provided they are kept within the limits of discussion, and do not contain the personalities customary to most controversial points.

A lot can still be learned on this, as on all other things, and—well, we live to learn.—(Ed. Clarion.)

What, go to the wars, where a man may serve seven years for the loss of a leg and not have enough in the end to buy him a wooden one? (Blount in "Pericles.")—William Shakespeare.

"Nations should fight like Christians or at least like gentlemen," says a Glasgow professor

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O God! that whole damned war business is about nine-hundred and ninety-nine parts diarrhoea to one part glory. The people who like the wars should be compelled to fight the wars; they are hellish business, war—all wars. Sherman said "War is hell!" so it is; any honest man says so—hates war, fighting, bloodletting; I was in the midst of it all—saw war where war is worst—not on the battlefields, no—in the hospitals; there war is worst; there I mixed with it; and now I say, God damn the wars—all wars; God damn every war; God damn 'em! God damn 'em!—Walt Whitman.

THE DOWN-AND-OUTER

This strenuous campaign to raise funds for the Belgians isn't a circumstance to the pickhance campaign that will be waged by and by against our own hungry, unemployed fellow citizens. If you really want to rouse the fighting instinct in a capitalistic-minded citizen, just sick him on to a poor, penniless down and outer who hasn't a friend in the world. The fact that a man is penniless is to the capitalistic-minded prima facie evidence that he is worthless and therefore deserves no consideration—Coast Seaman's Journal.

Voluntary (!) Enlistment

"It would be an admirable thing if all unmarried men between 18 and 30 without the manhood to offer themselves were forcibly pressed into the army and put into battalions where the kicks should be far more than the halpence."—"Daily Express," Aug. 20th, 1914.

Changing Fashions in Hostility

A zealous lobby captured a workingman and haled him into court on the charge of being an unregistered German. The man swore he had a Russian birth certificate, and produced it. Then said the magistrate severely.

"But why, then, have you for ten years been masquerading as a German?"

"Because," answered the man apologetically, "when I came to England ten years ago the feeling against Russia was so strong that I was obliged to pass myself off for a German."—Mollie Best in Harper's Weekly.

The military profession is a damnable profession.—The Duke of Wellington.

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