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WESTERN CLARION

OWNED AND CONTROLLED BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS ALONE

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KEEP TO YOUR TASK

Analyze and Expose the System—Don't Waste Time on Particular Organizations.

Engels, in pursuit of Duhring's scalp, has given what is perhaps the finest exposition of scientific Socialism extant. The kernel of the portentous volume Anti Duhring has been before the reading public these last few years in the form of Socialism Utopian and Scientific and is certainly the best of its kind. Engels with the quiet humor for which he was famous, might have excelled with a companion volume, Socialists Utopian and Scientific, had he not so well understood that the Socialist movement, although composed of units, is in the mass but the expression of the average knowledge of all Socialists.

Here and there we find comrades, walking encyclopedias, men of perfectly amazing knowledge and in the same local, members who have never traversed beyond the simplest expression of value. Between these two is a large body of more or less well informed comrades who make up the average, just, therefore, as the seas advance upon a low lying shore is not measured by the wave flung farthest up the beach, or by the length the receding water rushes back, but by the average advance all along the coast, so the strength of the Socialist Party is just the mean average of its knowledge. Outside the party is a perfect medley of ideas and warcrys, all, nevertheless, heading the way we are going, all moulded by the pressure of environment, all rebellious against a but half understood social condition; the Socialist movement.

Against the forward march of this great army, the "extremist" wing hurl their thunders in vain. The "wiser than thou" attitude makes few Socialists, the Socialist is evolved out of the past even as the tadpole and skyscraper. Thundering upon the Christian Socialist, or the I. L. P. and kindred organizations, is not doing propaganda work, 'tis but an ostentatious display of our own mental sterility. For is not wrong, right? and right, wrong? Are not all activities, mental, moral and physical, (and do not quibble with the classification), all conceptions of human duties and action; but part of the never ending, never beginning, warp and woof of events? Are not all things but the unfolding of the grand panoramic "progress" of the universe. Also are not the reactionists, the revolutionists and vice versa? Wherefore then all this squabble of contending aims? All aims lead to the one goal which is but the gateway of another. The goal reached, 'tis but the opening of another vista. Revolutionary scientific Socialists, forsooth! Naught but a pack of squabbling schoolboys.

In Great Britain we have the spectacle of the S. L. P., through its organ, the Socialist, (otherwise a journal of sound thought) belaboring the S. P. of G. B., claiming that said S. P. of G. B. does not understand or agree with Marx, therefore the position of the S. L. P. toward the retrograde S. P. G. B. is one of antagonism and so forth. The S. P. of G. B. throws down the gauge of battle to all other parties, attacks he S. D. P., flays the I. L. P. In Canada the S. P. of C., the S. D. P. of C., and the Ontario S. P. claim to be expounding the Socialist Hope while the newly formed S. P. of N. A. defies them all, pointing with lingering finger and scornful rage to the reform tactics of our fellow slaves in Parliament. O! Dialectics, art thou indeed a dream! The writer is a member of the S. P. of C., but by no means its champion, far otherwise, having realized that time, the bulletin board of natural selection, will write its merits or demerits larger than pen of mine; trying also to comprehend the utter futility and inconsequence of the individual, himself.

It is after all a matter of knowledge and what is knowledge? How obtained? By what process do we arrive at the understanding of Socialism? Knowledge is knowing; no knowledge is not knowing, hence let us dispense with the "do not know" idea and admit that since we must know enough to keep alive anyway, "do not know" is in and by itself an absurdity. Knowledge is at bottom "sense-impression," and the sensitive plates within our heads, the place where those impressions manifest themselves, the lenses of course, those organs of sense so necessary to our existence as humans, seeing, feeling, hearing, etc. The evolution of the Socialist is then in the last analysis nothing but a continued gathering of and assimilating of sense impressions. The non-Socialist only knows so much; in order that he become a Socialist he must know so much more. Now let there be no howling and denunciation of those who only know so far; as the Christian who knows God and Christ exist, really does; and in order that he come to know God has no existence, his phial of knowledge must become more full, so that then he will know; not that he "did not know," for he always did, but that although he met God as a reality every Sunday, 'twas not his senses played him false—for on the average they are always correct—but simply his want of further knowledge explaining the existence of that God and at the same time explaining it away. Wherefore cease pounding and expound. The Socialist parties of England come in for much scathing comment every once in a while, yet since only the necessary happens, why all the riot? They represent a perfect chain of evolution in thought. Let us examine the I. L. P. for a moment; this is more essentially English than any of the other parties.

About the middle Victorian times a great period of "virtue mongering" was reaching its climax. Born in and around the petty shop keeping class, the race of shop keepers know only shop keeping ethics and morals. The books of that period reflect a turgid and loathsome prudery. Who has not recoiled in disgust from those shining mirrors of virtue, the star performers of Dickens' books and thanked fate for the girls with one or more screws loose, who serve but to counter and render all the more apparent the pennyworth-of-tea virtues of the heroines. Who has not often wondered that the droll performances of these smelling-salts angels could ever have gained a popularity so remarkable? They reflected the times, that was all they could do. Their ideas of morals revolved of course around womankind, who so far as we can judge, were supposed to be composed of a head and feet connected by a solid mass, probably wood, such things as legs and other hidden portions of the female form divine being non-existent at that time. The conception of woman, full blooded, ruddy lipped, sparkling as to eyes and free hearted, as a pal, a comrade, a fellow being, was for the race of crinolined emasculates an impossibility. Peanut commerce begets peanut religion, the majesty of the R. C. C. and A. C. was idolatry; their gummy little counters and bottle window emporiums reflected themselves in the white washed walls and barren sterility of their religious meeting places. The sermons were mostly of hell fire and murder; damnation always held prime place and was flaunted in the face of the damned with a persistence only possible to the huxters of fly paper and pickled onions.

Correctly enough, the damned were in their eyes those who oppressed them most, the already very wealthy and powerful, large capitalist landowners, who were also land owning capitalists, partners in industry and farming; many sided monsters. Now the Catholic Church and the Anglican Church are the natural reflex of the wealthy classes who were destined to destroy our petty traders, hence the ministers of the packet-of-pins tribe denounced the "scarlet whore" with hell-broth fervour. This was the ground from which the I. L. P. was to spring, for be it understood they as a party never got beyond state capitalism, the only conception of "Socialism" small traders as a class are capable of. On the other hand Morris and Bax and Hyndman with the S. D. F. were at work amongst the proletariat, hurling the message of Marx broadcast. So oppressive did virtue become that bourgeoise novelists revolted against it and Meredith and Swinburne, together with Fitzgerald, stand out in bold relief against the drab background of funnel-drawer propriety.

Class distinctions in England were drawn frightfully tight and the shop keeper found it impossible to mix with the laborer even as "business" swept them into the ranks of wage earning. Small business is also a champion of rights and justice, hence we find these grafted whole into the I. L. P. Its leaders gain their knowledge of Socialism from the Bible and kindred sources of light. Blatchford is perhaps a typical example of these conditions. The reaction against an overbearing religious atmosphere manifests itself in his able attack upon this effect of economic conditions. The treatment and attitude toward women finds him frantically explaining why a woman is "better" than a man, and denouncing the brute man for his share in woman's downfall. Because the already decaying small shop keeping ethics produced his mental attitude toward it, he spares no pains to attack it. On the other hand, because he is the product of this class of little Englanders called "small business" he can only see England. He wants cherry gardens in Trafalgar Square and a huge army. During the Transvaal war, his house resounded with Rule Britannia and kindred SocialisTIC matter, its all, alas, in the TIC. Nevertheless Blatchford is not an intellectual Pimp as some dialecticians declare.

As industry evolves the I. L. P. follows, and the younger members are growing more and more revolutionary. The S. D. P. have "erred and strayed" not so much from inherent baseness as from a desire to "do something now" for the frantic poverty confronting them. The red thread runs through them all, and finds its latest expression in the S. P. of G. B., whose position in the midst of so much mental haze is one of sharp edged clarity, as it can not help but be. Because it is girt about with religion, it officially attacks it, how can it do otherwise? Action, reaction, inter-reaction. To explain religion away is to attack it, however we may wriggle. Tired of the length of time political education takes to spread, impatient for the realization of the proletarian victory, the S. L. P. looks toward industrial action as the means toward the long desired end. All are right, all are wrong, for upon that day they shall all be found ready to bring about the consummation. Till then advertise the goods without so much stress upon the brand.

ALFRED BUDDEN.

HERE AND THERE

"Every class struggle is a political struggle."

* * *

Well-fed wageworkers are no less slaves than hungry ones.

* * *

Working class energy that is not directed against capitalist ownership in the means of life is uselessly squandered.

* * *

"The general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages."—Marx.

* * *

Queen Mary has left for India accompanied by her husband. India will have to look pleased in spite of its feelings.

* * *

That the finest achievements of science are to-day turned toward the destruction of human life is the great disgrace of capitalism's contribution to the pages of history.

* * *

General Wu Lu Chen, a Manchu governor in a Chinese province, was a progressive, but not a revolutionist. He did not want a republic, nor yet an absolute monarchy. When the rebels came out for a clean wiping out of the present dynasty, he joined the Manchus, and as a result was chopped to pieces by his friends. This is a warning to all reformers and fence-roosters.

* * *

If the workers are intelligent enough to produce the wealth of society, they are intelligent enough to manage it in their own interest.

* * *

Superstitious and harmful reverence for other people's laws is the curse of the working class.

* * *

It is impossible for a free man to work for wages.

* * *

Between International wars and internal scrapping over peace treaties the world is kept fairly busy.

* * *

A London newsboy was given a month at hard labor for crying: "War declared between England and Germany." This was "good business" according to every modern ethical standard. Its criminality lay in its size.

* * *

The conquest of the air has been the dream of the ages. The genius of the ages culminated in the aeroplane. Only a Christian nation squabbling over profits could use such a masterpiece for purposes of vicious assassination. Witness the Italians at Tripoli.

* * *

Said a French capitalist: "If the bankers want war there will be war. If the bankers do not want war—why, there will be no war." Bankers deal in profits. Profit is the wealth the workers make, but do not get. Get wise, Mr. Wage-earner.

* * *

Society women, hobble skirts and all, are electioneering to defeat Job Harriman, socialist candidate for mayor, at the second ballot, December 5th. They don't work but they campaign in automobiles. The working women are trying hard to elect Job. They work, but they campaign at a walk.

* * *

The giving of charity implies that charity has previously been given.

* * *

Your poverty is not measured by the actual amount you receive but by the amount you receive compared with what you are capable of producing.

* * *

Look out for the people who loudly proclaim sympathy and affection for the working class. They usually want help to further their own peculiar schemes.

* * *

Labor produces all wealth and it will belong to Labor when Labor unitedly decides to take it.

* * *

The population of Canada is about seven millions. A large portion of this number works for foreign capitalists. Let us sing, "O Canada."

* * *

Attend the economic class at Headquarters, 133 Water street every Sunday, 2:30 p.m. Speakers' class Wednesday, 8 p.m.

* * *

Charles Edward Russell has the following to say about compulsory arbitration. This may be applied to our good Canadian efforts at "industrial peace:"

"Under the most favorable conditions that could be expected anywhere, New Zealand has made a thorough trial of compulsory arbitration, and this is the result. The thing does not work, because it is an impossibility, an anomaly and a bootless device. Neither by conciliation commissioners, nor arbitration courts nor fines nor making a strike a crime, nor by injunctions, nor jails, nor militia, nor Pinkertons, nor employers' associations, nor Civic Federation fakes, nor platitudes, nor sloppy talk about bringing labor and capital together, nor slush, nor doughfaces, nor spies, nor kidnappers, nor fake murder charges, nor by any other means under the heavens shall you put a stop to the dissensions of labor and capital so long as you retain the present organization of society.

"If you were to adopt the plan of the manufacturers' associations and drive men to their work with bayonets, that would not do it. And if you could make practical the dreamy ideas of poor old Dr. Abbott and cause every worker to become a stockholder in something, that would not do it.

"You cannot do it with force, and you cannot do it with slathers."

Comrade H. M. Fitzgerald lectured to a large audience on Sunday evening upon the subject of "Social Evolution." The lecturer dealt with his subject in a very interesting manner, giving a brief and rapid sketch of social evolution from primitive communism to the present time. Quite a number of questions were asked and answered at the close. Prior to the lecture, Comrade H. G. Adams favored the audience with a charming solo, Meredith's orchestra supplying the musical items. — Social Democrat (Auckland).

The Tribes of Israel whom the good Lord scattered over the face of the earth for their sins, have done fairly well. The Lord must have had something up his sleeve, for the said earth now belongs mainly to Hebrews.

"Efficient management" of industry is a scientific method of squeezing surplus value out of the workers. It is the modern refinement of industrial slavery.

THE MISLEADING PRESS

The Purpose of Capitalist Newspapers Is to Delude the Working Class.

Without question, the press is today the most valuable asset that the capitalist class possesses. Its uses are chiefly to confuse and mislead the workers by bringing up false and musty issues, and to persuade them that these things concern them more than anything else under the sun. How many workers are there with opinions of their own? Not one in a hundred; the ideas which so many deliver themselves of, with so much sagacity, and a wise look, are simply and solely ideas culled from some capitalist sheet, and then retailed second hand to whoever is to be found foolish enough to listen.

Anyone gifted with intelligence, can speedily confound these would-be wisdom mongers by simply prying into the reasons for the statements made, and finding a complete dearth of personal knowledge and the usual source of their information, to be "The Daily Squeal," or some similar rag. If you have patience enough, you will hear how "panics are caused by tightness of money;" how strikers are roughs and hoodlums, and the use of soldiers justified to keep order, and so on indefinitely, solely because some paper or other said so.

Note the way these papers write so fulsomely of the intelligence of "our readers" and begs them to be heedful of the possibilities of a growing city, with an eye no doubt to the real estate interests. It usually causes our working friends who chance to be struggling to save the monthly payment on the real estate man's lot, to swell their puny chests with pride. It is pathetic, sometimes amusing, and after all so tragic, the way the working class mentally stunts itself, with the editorial wisdom, and cultivates a taste for anything but what their class interests require.

And after all, with common sense used in reading, the readers could not fail to see the class nature of the mental hash they are served. Why not ask themselves the reason for the big space given to any happenings in society, the pictures and picturesque accounts of Miss So and So's marriage, or coming of age, and the obscure corner devoted to the story of how a man falls fainting of hunger on the streets; or some unfortunate slave being crushed to death at his daily toil. Why the glaring black type announcing the looting of a bank, and the brief dismissal of a workingman's holdup and loss of five dollars. Note the difference in these and hundreds of similar cases, and it becomes very plain that some reason is behind the difference of notice accorded to the news. Does the workingman ever ask why, he ought to, it cries aloud for answer, and it really requires but little expenditure of brain power to find out why.

The business interests' automobile parades get a page of description, and the unemployed procession gets the bottom corner of the last page, if it finds its way in at all. Should a brutal police force break up the procession, there will be extra editions got out detailing the riotious nature of the workers, and the orderliness of the police under great provocation.

No need to look for any labor agitators' speeches in our respectable Press. Our masters do not run their papers for that purpose, but you will no doubt see all the latest news of what this or that pugilist or wrestler is going to do to some other artist of the mit or mat.

A recent issue of one of the coast dailies contained an account of some jaded pleasure seeking millionaires having to rouse up some interest in life, by partaking of a hobo dinner. Can anyone imagine the news columns being filled with descriptions of the workers' numerous hobo dinners? God knows, they are common enough and not such nice dinners as these aristocratic hoboes were to get. Dry bread and water is considered too good for workingmen hoboes, and it is certainly too good to mention it in the Press.

And, by the way, as a recent issue of Life has it, "If the idle rich make work for so many dependents, why should the idle toilers be decried so much; for they provide work for untold thousands of parasites in the shape of judges, lawyers, jailors, policemen, reformers and others of that ilk."

It is an ill wind that blows no good.

But why multiply instances, the class nature of the daily and weekly press is but too apparent, its chief aim and purpose is to mislead the workers; if the workers can be made to accept their master's ideas as their own, then a great deal has been accomplished from the capitalist point of view; and this has been done and is being done very successfully today. Should any rebel be bold enough to state in public that between the toilers of the world and their masters there is a ceaseless warfare, which can never cease till the working class wins out, then it is the Press that comes forward, with a maze of contradictions, calumny and abuse, for the bold thinker who dares to speak the truth. This is their time honored attitude, arguments they have none, though at times with most becoming gravity, the editors sound forth most solemn warnings against "Socialistic anarchy" and similar rot, stuff that contains no grain of sense.

Nothing is too out of the way, no weapon of abuse or ridicule, is barred out in the fight waged on the side of the Press. This is ever the case, anything goes, if only the slaves can be made to believe that everything is all right and things are as they are because they always were. It may seem so to them, or it may be that their material interests color their views, as is no doubt the case with a very large percentage of the members of the newspaper business.

The master class control the so-called free Press, all sources of information being owned by them, hence the hostility to the working class. Slaves accepting views from a newspaper, are in reality imbibing their deadliest enemies' ideas. Advertising plays a large part in the life of the newspapers and, it naturally follows, the publishers are going to cater to their advertisers' views or lose their support.

Subsidies from political parties are also a source of much revenue, and the result can be guessed. It is easy to dig up an issue and espouse it for a monetary consideration. And after all, the editorial opinions are scarcely worth salt, they will change sides without the slightest heed to appearances. Nay, they will even have opposition editorials published from the same office, so do they fool the poor duped workers.

What does it matter to them that the workers are so blind; it is the object they are paid to attain, let them take sides against each other, and the master class smiles, and goes confidently on.

It is occasionally the case that a paper is to be found professing a great regard for the "common peoples'" rights, and very much wrath and ink is poured out on paper as a protest against the greedy street car company, or the wicked corner grocer, who will play the game and cheat. Yes; and even some professed rebels may be found who will aver that such a paper does the Socialists' work.

But the only thing for the working class to keep in view, all the time, and they will never get wrong, is that any paper that is not for the common ownership of the earth, and the product of toil to the toiler is not for them but against them. There is the remedy for poverty and its consequences, ignorance, misery, crime.

There is the secret of our slavery to the lords of the earth, because they and not the working class own these things we must use to live.

Boycott their agents all we can, support the workers' Press, and a brighter day will be in store.

F. S. F.

You have your G. T. P. and your C. N. P. and also have you cinched your Union Jack. Don't you think it time you were really going after something for yourself?

The Workers' Students.

"The very fact that a man is a member of an organization which is studying important questions and pressing reforms in matters affecting the whole social fabric compels him to study and think and become informed. As his information is extended, his method of thought and study will be fixed on better and surer lines, and his influence in the community will be greater. Both the membership and the organization will become more influential."—James Johnson, Ohio Supreme Court Judge.

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1911.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

It needed but one rebel victory to set China aflame with revolt from one end to the other. Fanned by the breeze of success, the smoldering fires of revolution burst with startling suddenness into one great conflagration that will purge this great country of every last vestige of the decayed Feudalistic rule of the Manchu.

While the rebellion is primarily a national war upon a foreign conqueror, it is also the dawning in China of a new social order. The programme of the victorious revolutionists is based upon the establishment of a republic with political freedom for all along the same lines as the older republics of Europe and America. While this programme also contains many proposals which are regarded as radical in existing democratic countries, such as the single tax, etc., there is nothing proposed which will prevent the free development of capitalism. We are assured by representatives of the revolutionary party that foreign investments in China will be encouraged. Such investments, however, are to be under the sole supervision of the Chinese.

No foreign investor has any cause to fear the result of this latter arrangement, for in no country is the wise manipulation of capital so assured. A railway has recently been completed between Peking and Kalgan, a distance of 130 miles, in the construction of which no foreigner had any hand whatever. Some of the most difficult feats of engineering were accomplished by Chinese engineers and Chinese labor was employed throughout. The result is that China has the most thoroughly, and at the same time the most cheaply built railway in the world.

What is to happen to the markets of the world when these people with their keen business sense, indomitable perseverance, tireless energy and wonderful powers of endurance swing fully into modern machine production? We are entertained with stories and cartoons of how the other great powers are about to seize China and reap vast fortunes at the expense of her citizens. Any power, however, that in future seeks to meddle with the affairs of China to her detriment, will discover a new race. It will find itself opposed to millions of men with martial spirit and modern military prowess. It would be advisable for countries that desire to invade this new republic to move with extreme caution.

So much for the capitalist side of the situation. What of the workers? The revolutionary party promises many reforms in the interests of the working class. No doubt it earnestly seeks to bring about greatly improved conditions. It will be remembered, however, that these same advantages have been promised at the inception of every republic. However sincere its desire may be to bestow happiness upon the toilers, however great its desire to establish permanent freedom from oppression, the capitalist system must work out according to its own laws.

In its working out it must breed the propertyless proletariat subject to the same conditions of employment that prevail in all capitalist countries. Capitalism operates for the benefit of capitalists and to the detriment of producers, in spite of all well-meaning efforts to the contrary.

In time will appear the revolutionary worker, his revolt not directed against an imperial dynasty, but against capitalism. Political democracy may cause the next revolution to pass off peacefully. But revolution there must be, for, before internal class strife is ended, the producers of wealth must possess the country in which they toil and administer that wealth in their own behalf.

A FRESH START.

The reconverted Clarion starts off under fairly good conditions. Prospects look brighter now than they have for some months. A great many comrades are throwing themselves into the work of getting subs. with considerable success.

We do not wish to take up valuable space appealing for subscriptions. Let us remind you again, however, that this is your paper and it depends largely on your efforts for success. Don't leave the work to a few. Let every comrade do his part and the cause of revolutionary Socialism will be advanced thereby.

Many proposals have been made for the building up of the circulation. One of them is that locals charge an initiation fee sufficient to cover a Clarion sub. for three or six months. It is within the power of any local to do this under the constitution.

In the meantime we have issued sub. cards which we will sell at the following rates:

5 or more yearly cards at 75 cents each.

10 or more 6-month cards at 40 cents each.

20 or more 3-month cards at 20 cents each.

Locals could not do better than secure bundles of these. Handled with a little energy they would be some assistance to local treasuries.

WAGES HAVE NOT ADVANCED SINCE 1900

But Cost of Living Has Gone Up Steadily—Some Deductions From Great Britain.

London, Nov. 1.—Professor A. L. Bowley, of the London School of Economics, as an undoubted authority on statistical matters, has been interviewed regarding the rise which has taken place in the price of food, and he admits being puzzled and doubtful as regards the exact facts of the relation between wholesale and retail prices. According to this authority, no definite expression of opinion can be given, as the data will not be available for some time yet. Professor Bowley, however, is quite clear that the purchasing power of the people has decreased, and that real wages reckoned in terms of food have fallen. Comparing the three years 1898-1901, Professor Bowley makes the fall 3 per cent. The calculation based on the labor department's figures makes the fall 6 per cent. From 1850 to 1900 real wages were rising, and their check is a very serious phenomenon. It means that the working class had been making steady progress up to 1900, when the movement of advance ceased, and has not since been renewed.

WHAT THE PUBLIC WANTS.

"Understand," said the Honest Toiler, as he rose from the banquet, "I don't like your milk."

"You don't," said the Worthy Rich Man.

"No, I don't. It ain't blue—it's white and kind of thick. I ain't accustomed to thick milk and I don't like it."

"I'm sorry."

"And your meat was bad, too."

"Oh, wasn't the steak good?"

"Good! It was about two inches thick and pretty near raw and my knife just slid through it."

"And don't you like it that way?"

"No, I don't. I like good steak—about a quarter of an inch thick and cooked all through and strong enough so it gives you something to chew on."

"Anything else?"

"What was that stuff in the glass?"

"That was whisky."

"Well, it's rotten; I wouldn't have known it was whisky if you hadn't told me."

"They said it was the best on the market."

"They are fooling you then. It don't come nowhere near the stuff that they sell at the saloon for five cents."

"I hope you liked your cigar."

"You ain't joking me, are you?"

"Of course not."

"Well, you don't mean to tell me you think this rope I'm smoking is a good cigar?"

"It's said to be. It cost fifty cents."

"They're robbing you; it ain't nowhere near up to the kind I get—eight for ten."

"You're rather displeased, then, with the whole outfit."

"You bet," assented the Honest Toiler, proudly, throwing out his chest, "blue milk, thin steak, five-cent whisky and eight for a dime cigars—that's me, every day in the week."

"Well," said the Worthy Rich Man, with a sigh of relief, "of course you know your own business best. If that's what you want I'll try to see that you get it."—Exchange.

CIRCULATION.

Comrades:—

There's going to be no coaxing or wheedling about this little screed, but the writer is going to put the matter of circulation up to you straight and let it go at that.

It's like this: The Clarion occupies the unique position on this continent of never having pandered to reform, or any form of unionism in order to attract subscribers, and of never having gone in for flattery or patting on the back those who have got a few subs. It has not been yellow in any way, either in abuse of the capitalist class or in indulging in any kind of sensationalism, nor has it wasted its space by the insertion of a silly, sappy, Socialist (?) serial.

Moreover, the Clarion is owned by the working class, which is probably one of the reasons the workers who call themselves Socialists do not, as a rule, push the circulation of the only working class owned paper in Canada. Take it or leave it as you like, but the writer is convinced that the majority of those in Canada who call themselves Socialists are not really so, and this applies to party membership to a great degree. Such may honestly believe themselves Socialists, but the proof that the majority of those claiming to be Socialists are not, if the fact that they prefer to subscribe to a privately-owned and controlled and incompetently run paper, to such a paper as the Clarion, partly no doubt because their slave-trained minds impel them to appreciate the condescension and patronage, the patting on the back which they get from those running these opportunistic sheets, partly because such papers are "easy to read"—just like other capitalist papers—and partly because they are cheaper than the Clarion, which last mentioned paper cannot afford to be cheap, never having been backed by any but members of the working class.

Anyway, it's up to those who call themselves Socialists to say once and for all what shall be the fate of the Clarion. After years of struggle and financial sacrifice by a few members of the working class who have had a few dollars to spare from time to time, a crisis has been reached and it has been decided that unless the Clarion is put on a self-sustaining basis within a month or two it will be discontinued — to the everlasting shame of the English-speaking Socialists (?) in Canada, and to the extreme gratification of those who are enemies of the Clarion for one reason and another—and many of these enemies are in the Party itself. Some are enemies because they have I. W. W. ism badly, and the Clarion will not pander to them; others because—after signing our revolutionary platform (and lying by doing so) they wish to tack on "midget" demands, instead of getting out of the Party, which would be well rid of them. If the Clarion instead of being a straight Party paper would speak approvingly of all aggregations called Socialist, it would "please" the members of such and get their approval and support. If it would only tickle the susceptibilities of the workers instead of endeavoring to educate them it would "attract" subscribers.

The Clarion, however, is not in the business of "attracting" subscribers, but of making Socialists. Finally, plainly and bluntly, it has come to this: Either there are enough revolutionists in Canada to put the Clarion on a self-sustaining basis or there are not, either the working class of Canada is ready for it or it is not.

The writer believes it is, and believes that the real Socialists in and outside the Party will soon put the Clarion in the position it should be—that it is only necessary to call their attention to the need of action.

This has not been sufficiently done by the Clarion itself in the past, the editor being of the opinion that the Clarion should be its own recommendation, but the editor being sick in the hospital at present, his assistant has given the writer a free hand to express his opinion that readers of the Clarion should be given an energetic jolt from time to time as to the need of putting forth a little energy on their own part to secure new readers.

Is the intimation of the need of action sufficient, or do you want your fads to be deferred to, do you want to be wheedled, coaxed and flattered. We shall soon know.

W. G.

Hard Bump for Teddy.

It is well to keep in mind this fact: No man has a corner on wisdom. "There is no royal road to learning," said a solon of old. The pronoun "I" is obsolete, and he who uses it with emphasis should have a care. Any time a man bobs up with a bit of gush that smathers with "I-am-the-great-I-am" air, just put him down in your note-book as a double-dyed, musty old weinerwurst. Keep an eye on the fellow who punctuates every sentence, written or spoken, with that almost obsolete infinitesimal pronoun "I."—Labor Unit.

Forceful Rumor.

A subscriber sends in this query: "Was Madeline Force-d to marry when the Colonel Ast-er?" Call at the office, dear subscriber, and get your reward. We have the axe behind the door.—Labor Unit.

MODERN GOD, OF TODAY.

By D. A. Anderson.

"Money, O Money" the preachers sing,
Thou art their Savior, their God and their king,
It's for thee they preach and for thee they pray,
And take two collections each Sabbath day.

The preachers are urgent in money demands,
The indolent priests work not with their hands,
The lazy things preach for the coveted stuff,
Greedy things that they are, they get never enough.

They've poor in their parish who need some relief;
They preach to their poverty and pray for their grief.
They send the box 'round to them morning and night;
And suggestively preach of the poor widow's mite.

Some get their knowledge at no little expense,
And all of their Trinity's dimes, dollars and cents;
Money, more Money, is all that they crave
From the pulpit's first step to the brink of the grave.

The preachers and priests, before service commences,
Must tell to the flock all their own great expenses.
He hurries the usher, fearing some may slip out,
To grab up the box and go 'round and about.

Some may be passed with no penny in sight,
And again he reminds 'em of the poor widow's mite.
And while they're singing "Shall we gather at the river,"
He tells how the Lord loveth every "cheerful giver."

And when they're laid low and their bodies at rest,
Place a box on their grave is their latest request;
That their friends may all see, who come for reflection,
That they can't rest in peace without a collection.

Money is their creed, they can't preach without it;
Their heaven is closed to all those who doubt it.
For this is the essence of modern religion:
Come regular to church and be plucked like a pigeon.

Their pay may be hundreds or thousands a year,
Double it, triple it, still they are here,
With their box or their flunkies, collecting your brass,
They can't do as Jesus did—ride on an ass.

They've carriage and car and servants and all,
They're not going to foot it like Peter and Paul;
Neither, like John, live on locusts and honey,
So out with your purses and plank down your money.

Fools sometimes ask what they do with the money,
Just as well ask bees what they do with their honey.
They have a good time and sing with the choir
And threaten to leave if their pay's not raised higher.

In the cold, silent earth they'll soon be laid low,
With the blessed who have left us long, long ago.
They'll sleep there in peace till the great resurrection
And be first on their legs to take up a Collection.

COLLEGE PROFESSOR SEES THE PROBLEM

Professor Bacon of Yale College declares that this government, founded by our forefathers with the idea that they were achieving an approach to the brotherhood of man, has degenerated into a mere plutocracy. Professor Bacon says that capital confers one-tenth of the common product on the toilers and nine-tenths on the idlers, says the "Industrial Worker." It is somewhat strange that professors of our big universities can discover these things, yet the man with the patches on the seat of his pants, his bedraggled hair and empty stomach, can still find an argument in favor of the master class, which means to favor his own misery. One would suppose that the first to rebel against this plutocracy would be the victim of plutocracy, which is the wage worker. There are millions of toilers today, who do know that they are mere slaves used to make others rich, but are yet too cowardly to organize and shake off the parasites. It will have to be done, and delaying the fight only makes matters worse for us, as the cause of our troubles today is still the cause of our troubles tomorrow and so on, and with each succeeding day our masters are more firmly entrenched behind their industrial combines and the task of freeing ourselves becomes harder. The time to fight against this plutocracy is now.

Socialist Party Directory

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday. D. G. McKenzie, Secretary, 579 Homer-Richards Lane, Vancouver, B. C.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday. D. G. McKenzie, Secretary.

ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Committee, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday in Labor Hall, Eighth Ave. East, opposite post-office. Secretary will be pleased to answer any communications regarding the movement in the province. F. Danby, Secretary, Box 647, Calgary.

MANITOBA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Committee: Notice—This card is inserted for the purpose of getting "YOU" interested in the Socialist movement. SOCIALISTS are always members of the Party; so if you are desirous of becoming a member, or wish to get any information, write the secretary, W. H. Stebbings, Address, 316 Good Street, Winnipeg.

SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Committee, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every first and third Saturday in the month, 8:00 p.m., at headquarters, Main Street, North Battleford. Secretary will answer any communications regarding the movement in this Province. L. Budden, Secy., Box 101, North Battleford, Sask.

MARITIME PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Committee, Socialist Party of Canada, meets every second and fourth Sundays in the Cape Breton office of the Party, Commercial Street, Glace Bay, N. S. Dan Cochrane, Secretary, Box 491, Glace Bay, N. S.

LOCAL FERNIE, S. P. of C., HOLDS educational meetings in the Miners' Union Hall, Victoria Ave., Fernie, every Sunday evening at 7:45. Business meeting first Sunday in each month, same place, at 2:30 p.m. David Paton, Secretary, Box 101.

LOCAL GREENWOOD, B. C., NO. 9, S. P. of C., meets every Sunday evening at Miners' Union Hall, Greenwood. Visiting Comrades invited to call. C. Primerose, Secretary.

LOCAL LADYSMITH NO. 10, S. P. of C. Business meetings every Saturday, 7 p.m., in headquarters on First Ave. Parker Williams, Sec., Ladysmith, B.C.

LOCAL ROSSLAND, NO. 25, S. P. of C., meets in Miners' Hall every Sunday at 7:30 p.m. E. Campbell, Secretary, P.O. Box 674. Rossland Finnish Branch meets in Finlanders' Hall, Sundays at 7:30 p.m. A. Sebble, Secretary, P.O. Box 54, Rossland.

LOCAL MICHEL, B. C., NO. 16, S. P. of C. holds propaganda meetings every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 p.m. in Crahan's Hall. A hearty invitation is extended to all wage slaves within reach of us to attend our meetings. Business meetings are held the first and third Sundays of each month at 10:30 a.m. in the same hall. Party organizers take notice. A. S. Julian, Secretary.

LOCAL MOYIE, B. C., NO. 30, MEETS second Sunday, 7:30 p.m., in McGregor Hall (Miners' Hall). Thos. Roberts, Secretary.

LOCAL NELSON, S. P. of C., MEETS every Friday evening at 8 p.m., in Miners' Hall, Nelson, B. C. I. A. Austin, Secretary.

LOCAL NEW WESTMINSTER, B. C., No. 15, S. P. OF C.—Headquarters Room 3, Dupont Block, over Northern Crown Bank. Propaganda meeting every Sunday, Crystal Theatre, 8 p.m. Business meeting every Monday, 8 p. m. B. W. Sparke, Recording Secretary; H. Gilchrist, Organizer; J. C. Williams, Financial Secretary.

LOCAL PRINCE RUPERT, B. C., No. 53, S. P. of C., meets every Sunday in hall in Empress Theatre Block at 2:00 p.m. L. H. Gorham, Secretary.

LOCAL REVELSTOKE, B. C., NO. 7, S. P. of C. Business meetings at Socialist headquarters fourth Thursdays of each month. B. F. Gayman, Secretary.

LOCAL SANDON, B. C., NO. 36, S. P. OF C. Meets every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. in the Sandon Miners' Union Hall. Communications to be addressed Drawer K, Sandon, B. C.

LOCAL SOUTH FORT GEORGE, B.C., No. 61, meets every Friday night at 8 p.m. in Public Library Room. John McInnis, Secretary; Andrew Allen, Organizer.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., NO. 1, S. P. of C. Business meetings every Tuesday evening at headquarters, 133 Water Street. F. Perry, Secretary, 518 Hornby St.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., NO. 45, Finnish. Meets every second and fourth Thursdays in the month at 2237 Main Street. Secretary, Wm. Myntti.

LOCAL VERNON, B. C., NO. 38, S. P. of C. Meets every Tuesday, 8:00 p.m. sharp, at L. O. L. Hall, Tronson St. W. H. Gilmore, Secretary.

LOCAL COLEMAN, ALTA., NO. 9. Miners' Hall and Opera House. Propaganda meetings at 8 p.m. on the first and third Sundays of the month. Business meetings on Thursday evenings following propaganda meetings at 8. Organizer, T. Steele, Coleman, Alta.; Secretary, Jas. Glendenning, Box 63, Coleman, Alta. Visitors may receive information any day at Miners' Hall from Com. W. Graham, Secretary of U. M. W. of A.

LOCAL EDMONTON, ALTA., NO. 1, S. P. of C. Headquarters 622 First St. Business and propaganda meetings every Thursday at 7:30 p.m. sharp. Our reading room is open to the public free, from 10 a.m. to 11 p.m. daily. Secretary, A. Farmilo, 622 First St.; Organizer, W. Stephenson.

LOCAL CALGARY, ALTA., NO. 4, S. P. of C. Meetings every Sunday at 8 p.m. at Room 25, Mackie Block, Eighth avenue and Second street W. Club and reading room same address. Frank Tipping, Secretary, Box 647.

LOCAL REGINA NO. 6, SASK., MEETS every Sunday, Trades Hall, 8 p.m. Business meeting, second Friday, 8 p.m., Trades Hall. B. Simmons, secretary, 1909 Garnet St., P.O. Box 1046.

LOCAL BRANDON, MAN., NO. 7, S. P. of C. Headquarters, No. 10 Nation Block, Rossar Ave. Propaganda meeting, Sunday at 8 p.m.; business meeting, second and fourth Mondays at 8 p.m.; economic class, Friday at 8 p.m. Secretary, T. Mellalieo, 229 First St., Brandon, Man.

LOCAL LETHBRIDGE, ALTA., NO. 13, S. P. of C. Meets first and third Sundays in the month, at 4 p.m., in Miners' Hall. Secretary, Chas. Peacock, Box 1983.

LOCAL MOOSEJAW, SASK., No. 1, S. P. OF C.—Propaganda meetings every Sunday, 7:30 p. m., in the Trades Hall. Economic Class every Sunday, 3 p.m. D. McMillan, Sec. Treas., South Hill P. O., Sask.; A. Stewart, Organizer, South Hill P. O., Sask. All slaves welcome.

LOCAL WINNIPEG, MAN., NO. 1, S. P. of C. Headquarters, 528 1/2 Main St., Room 2, next Dreamland Theatre. Business meeting every alternate Monday evening at 8 p.m.; propaganda meeting every Wednesday at 8 p.m.; economic class every Sunday afternoon, 3 p.m. Organizer, Hugh Laidlow, Room 2, 528 1/2 Main St. Secretary, J. W. Hillings, 270 Young St.

LOCAL OTTAWA, No. 8, S. P. OF C. Business meetings first Sunday in month in open air, followed by a picnic during summer months. Propaganda meetings every Saturday night at 8 p. m., at the corner of McKenzie Ave. and Rideau St. A. G. McCallum, Sec., 140 Augusta Street.

LOCAL GLACE BAY, NO. 1, OF N. S. Business and propaganda meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m. in Macdonald's Hall, Union Street. All are welcome. Alfred Nash, Corresponding Secretary, Glace Bay; Wm. Sutherland, Organizer, New Aberdeen; H. G. Ross, Financial Secretary, office in D. N. Brodie Printing Co. Building, Union Street.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into the collective property of the working class.

2. The democratic organization and management of 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 Part yis 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.

Marx on Unions.

Trades unions work well as centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system.—Karl Marx.

Of the Workers' Own Making.

Nearly every great influence of society is against the worker. Political machines are not designed for his advantage. Industrial institutions are instruments of opposition. The money power is enlisted to oppress him. The courts are operated to prevent him from securing his rights. Even the church is none too friendly—S. A. Cooper.

CORRESPONDENCE

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Meeting held Nov. 6th. Present, Comrades Kreekis, Mengel, Kingsley (chairman), Peterson, Karme and Asst. Secy.

Correspondence dealt with from Alberta Executive and Sigfrid Hansson, Stockholm, Sweden.

Charter granted Local South Raven, Alta.

It was decided to publish the Western Clarion again in weekly form, commencing with Nov. 18th issue.

Warrants ordered drawn for November rent, $15.00; Secretary's August and September salaries, $60.00.

Receipts.

Alberta Executive	$ 47.00
Moose Jaw Literature	7.25
J. W. Dargie, dues	3.00
Maritime Ex. stamps	5.00
Winnipeg buttons	2.00
Ottawa stamps	2.00
Clarion Maintenance	2.00
Clarion Oct. surplus	69.85
Convention surplus	36.00
	$174.10

B. C. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Meeting held Nov. 6th. Correspondence dealt with from H. Gildemeester, Mara.

Evidence being presented showing extreme irregularity of conduct on the part of Gerald Desmond, committee decided to warn all locals against entrusting this man with any funds of, or the performance of any duty for, the party.

Receipts.

Vancouver Lettish constitutions	$ .50
Burnaby, stamps	2.00
T. H. Elliott, dues	1.50
West Burnaby	5.00
Salmon Arm	10.00
Vancouver Lettish stamps	3.00
Port Moody, stamps	5.00
Silver Creek, stamps	2.00
	$29.00
	$29.10

SASKATCHEWAN EXECUTIVE.

Minutes of meeting held at headquarters Saturday, Oct. 14.

Minutes of previous meeting approved. Correspondence from locals, Regina, Fennell Hall, Moose Jaw, Com. Hermann, Rosthern and the Western Clarion.

Report of organizer adopted.

Audit committee to report at next meeting.

Proposed and seconded that organizer arrange a tour to Rosthern and surrounding district.

Proposed and seconded that we make an appeal for funds to aid the Moose Jaw comrades in their efforts to elect their candidate in the coming provincial election.

Proposed and seconded that we issue a monthly bulletin to all locals in the province to enable them to keep in touch with party matters. Copy to be sent to Cottons Weekly.

Financial report adopted.

Proposed and seconded that the effects of the Prov. Ex. Com. be disposed of at once and that we vacate the headquarters by Oct. 20.

Receipts—

Local Regina	$2.00
Fennell Hall	2.00
Local North Battleford	1.00
A. Moon	2.40

Warrants drawn for—

Clarion	$2.00
Clarion Card, July, Aug., Sept...	3.00
A. Moon	5.00
Postage	.75

L. BUDDEN,
Secretary.

OTTAWA, ONT.

Dear Comrade:

Enclosed please find statement of election receipts and expenses, which please publish in the November issue of the Clarion.

Here right in front of this stronghold of Capitalism, and amongst aristocracy, plutocracy, nobility and religious bigotry, in short crasocracy, we have dared respectability, and have placed ourselves in opposition to ignorance, which is due to the economic conditions.

We have impressed upon our proletariat the inevitable outcome of evolution of the economic conditions of society, based upon the materialistic conception of history, with the result that 298 wage slaves have shown their class consciousness by voting for A. S. McCallum.

We have kept up a strictly scientific attitude, and did not allow the heat of the campaign to carry us away in soliciting votes, but directed most of our energies to spread the knowledge of surplus value, which is the keynote of capitalistic production. We distributed leaflets throughout the city, and held about 20 open air meetings.

However, we did not lose sight of practical organization, and managed to fill about 30 out of 90 polling divisions with our comrades.

The campaign has taught us good lessons, and we will be better prepared in the future.

Receipts:

Subscriptions of party members and sympathizers	$230.90
Subscription, H. S. S.	40.00
Subscription, Local Springhill, N. S.	10.00
Subscription, Local Ottawa, Ont.	7.03
	$287.93

Expenditure:

Advertising Journal	$ .32
Advertising Free Press	.40
Advertising, Citizen	43.90
Rent of Committee Room	10.00
Rent of Labor Hall	5.25
Caretaker	1.00
Painting of Signs	3.00
Postage Stamps, etc.	1.46
Literature	22.60
Deposit to Government	200.00
	$287.93

SAM HORWITH,
Financial Agent.

ST. JOHN, N. B.

St. John Local No. 6, New Brunswick, has been coming into the limelight lately, having clashed swords with the chief of police of that city and also succeeded in drawing the then premier of New Brunswick into a controversy with reference to open air meetings and free speech. The police held that the Socialists were a lot of lawless beings and dangerous at that, because they had dared to show the workers that the question of reciprocity was only another red herring and was only being used so as to obscure the real issue.

The chief of police and Mr. Hazen say that the Salvation Army can hold meetings because of the good (sic) they are accomplishing, but presumes that the Socialists can do no good; so issues orders for the mto be dispersed if they attempt to hold open air meetings. It so happened that Borden cast his eyes eastward and recognizing how Hazen had thrown dust into the eyes of the people of New Brunswick, he thought that with his oily tongue and suave manner (we know these lawyers) how he would be an excellent addition from the capitalists' point of view to his glorious cabinet. And so it came about that Dr. Daniels, who had won the election in the city and county of St. John, resigned his seat to make way for Hazen. Up to this time the Liberal press had been going for the late premier for all they were worth, but now a convention of Liberals, recognizing that after all their interests were the same, decided not to oppose Mr. Hazen so that he could walk into the cabinet without any further trouble. But they had reckoned without their host; the comrades here saw the opportunity of winning the free speech fight and nominated the writer to contest the district against J. D. Hazen. After great difficulty the deposit ($200), was secured and the nomination papers made out. When the candidate and his official agent approached the court house between the hours of 12 and 2 on Oct. 27th, the date set for the nomination, to their surprise they found the door locked against them. After banging in a very lusty manner for 25 minutes, during which time heads were poked out of the windows of the court house and the same pin heads indulged in hearty laughter at the frantic efforts made by the workers' representatives to gain admittance, which attracted quite a crowd, some of whom were advising them to break the door in or get through the window, they managed to gain admittance by a back door and at last reached the returning officer, who was surrounded by the money-eyed interests of the town, a host of lawyers and press representatives, some of them with large deportments where the watch chain hangs, which denoted that they belonged to the parasitic leisure class.

After a protest about the locked door the papers were handed in when the chairman of the Conservative association, who happens to be the recorder of the city, advised the retiring officer to reject them on a technicality that there was no such electoral district as St. John city and county, but there was a city and county of St. John. The upshot was that the henchmen of the government refused to accept the deposit or the nomination papers, so after telling the enemy what was thought of them, they departed, having been delayed too long to remedy the so-called error. The press stated (both Liberal and Tory) that Mr. Hazen would be elected by acclamation, and so he was.

It is now the talk of the place, and their treachery will act as a boomerang. After all, will the revolution be peaceful, or will the capitalists refuse to obey the laws and still hold the reins of government, or when they refuse to allow the nomination of the workers, will they be justified to taking up their rifles to defend and force our rights. The answer is, yes.

F. HYATT.

LOCAL BRANTFORD.

SERIES OF LECTURES.

October 29—Fred Flatmon, "The Evolution of the Mob."

October 29—Fred Flatman, "The Destiny of the Mob."

November 12—H. A. Fogal, "Present Day Problems."

November 19—Wm. Smith, "Modern Slavery."

November 26—H. Russell, "Labor's Outlook."

December 3—Wm. Smith, "Who Produces the Wealth and Who Enjoys It?"

December 10—L. M. Gordon, "Why Are the Workers Always Poor?"

December 17—Fred Flatman, "What Socialism is Not."

Preserve this card for future reference.

CAPITALISTIC "SOCIALISM"

By William English Walling.

Suppose things don't happen exactly the way we thought they would ten years ago.

Suppose the trusts decide that instead of swallowing up all the small capitalists it will be safer, after reaching a certain point, to check the extension of the trust principle on the economic field and apply it to politics.

Is it not highly probable that an effort is already being made to apply the "get together" idea to politics, and that the more far-sighted among the regular Republicans and conservative Democrats in private conferences are saying to "insurgents" and "progressives":

"We have the banks, railroads, mines, forests and leading industries; you have the votes and you will soon have the political power. Yet we are all capitalists. Why not get together? The thing to do now is to consolidate the capitalist class. What we need is a new combination wide enough to embrace all capitalists.

"As competitors we have you beaten. You will have to give up your dream of entering into business against us as independent competitors. Yet you may remain capitalists as investors. You may still be landlords whether in the city or country, and have your tenants. As capitalist farmers, store-keepers or business men, in those few branches we leave in your hands (because we are used to higher profits than they will yield), you purchase from us your tools and some of your materials. As small miners, lumber men, or farmers you sell us some of our raw material.

"Why not recognize that we have a monopoly in transportation, banking, smelting, steel-making, etc., etc.? Why should we not appoint special government boards to fix rates, prices, dividends and wages, and control these boards in common. Instead of restoring competition, protect us from competition and just look what we can offer in return.

"You will be protected as capitalist consumers (not ultimate consumers) against high tariffs, monopolistic prices, high transportation rates and high interest.

"When we are united we can trust the government to go into banking without monopolizing it. This means that it will lend us the people's credit at low rates.

"Such a safe and stable government will also use its credit, sovereign power and right of eminent domain to build us canals and roads, improve waterways, undertake billions of dollars worth of investment in reclamation by drainage and irrigation of waste lands, scientific utilization of water power, mines and forests, etc. We may even find it more profitable as they have in Germany to entrust it with the railroads, workingmen's insurance, etc.

"We will be glad to allow such a government to protect your interest as investors. This will insure us a steady stream of capital to build up the new system and will guarantee us your political support. Indeed there is no reason why the government cannot guarantee all the securities of business over which it has such firm control.

"Some of you are well paid professional men and corporation or government employees. We can act together through such a government to see that retail prices also do not rise. This will also protect the recipient's fixed incomes from investments. In other words we are willing to protect all the ultimate consumers from a rise in prices. We can take it out of the wage-earners by lowering wages, but you are protected from excessive competition among yourselves by the increasing need of a higher technical education in your occupations and the increasing cost of obtaining it. We will furnish free schools, but the courses will be so long that it will be utterly impossible for the working people to support their children there until they are 20, 25, or even 30 years old as is sometimes necessary (if we add to the school years the several years of unremunerative experience required in hospitals, laboratories, etc.).

"Then we are all taxpayers. The new government enterprises will be so profitable that we can soon relieve all your taxes altogether. If there is any difficulty the government can take the future increase in the value of city lands—as they already are doing in Germany and England. This will bring in billions every year and will hurt nobody.

"When we are all working together it will be useful to install a little more "democracy"—not industrial, you understand, but political—for example the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. We may even call a constitutional convention and abolish the political power of the Supreme Court.

"Of course, we can't have a majority of the people, but we can easily get a majority of the voters. With negroes and foreigners disfranchised, the poll-tax requirement, the law that the workers must live several months in the place where they vote, and the educational test, 50 per cent. of the adult male workers are already without votes. It is now proposed to make naturalization more difficult while Dr. Lyman Abbott in the progressive Outlook wants the Southern laws disfranchising the negroes turned against the northern whites, and Prof. E. A. Ross in La Follette's insurgent weekly wants workingmen to be required to read before they can vote. We run no danger from labor in a single state of the Union and if they capture a few minor cities we can easily deprive those of such home rule as they now enjoy. By rounding out this kind of democracy we can give you small capitalists the best possible pledge that we will not deceive you. The political power will remain largely in your hands.

"As to the labor policy—are we not already agreed that what we want is a scientific combination of the principles of Civic Federation and the Manufacturers' Association, such as has already been adopted by the railroads and the Harvester Trust?"

Can any close observer doubt that the Insurgents and Regulars, progressives and conservatives are already getting together on the platform of capitalistic "State Socialism"? This combination is now taking place in France and Germany and it will soon take place here—whether under Woodrow Wilson, in 1912, or Roosevelt or La Follette, in 1916, is a secondary question.

The above is not an imaginary conversation. It is very nearly what is actually occurring in the private conferences between Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson and what they call "the good trust magnates." Already they have announced half of the program in their speeches and it is only necessary to read between the lines to see what the other half is.

Now what does this mean to Socialists? It means that while we were formerly fighting individualist Capitalism, competition on one hand and the trusts on the other, we are now fighting collectivist capitalism, "State Socialism," that is the capitalist class for the first time consolidated, and for the first time in complete possession of the government. It means, therefore, that however much we feel that the carrying out of this program will facilitate our own action, it is none of our business. We watched anxiously and with approval the formation of the trusts, but we did nothing and could do nothing to help them along. The same is true of the economic and political consolidation of the capitalist class that is now taking place. Our task is not to bring about capitalist collectivism, but to convert it into Socialist collectivism.

But this is the negative lesson we are taught. There is also a positive one. I have purposely touched only lightly on the State Capitalist (or "State Socialist") Labor program. At this point we have not only a program, but a whole new capitalist philosophy to guide us. The "State Socialist" policy towards Labor is entirely summed up in the "Gospel of Efficiency" of which "Scientific Management" is only one branch.

This "gospel of efficiency" is a representation of the capitalism of the future. Formerly we heard only the gospel of success: let each individual rise from his class and leave nobody except despicable inferiors behind. But the sun of individualism has set, and now even the capitalists are becoming "Socialists." The working people are being advised by their very masters to seek their salvation without endeavoring to leave their class, i.e., they are to look for favors from a benevolent capitalistic government.

It is not the advocates of "Scientific Management" alone that are now preaching the gospel of efficiency and class salvation. All the "Socialistic" reformers are off on the same tack. Workingmen's insurance, a minimum wage, government employment for the unemployed, a shorter working day by law, etc., are all advocated on the ground that it can be shown that though they lead to an increase of wages, they lead to a more rapid increase of profits. The new "Socialistic" Capitalists have made up their minds, aparently, that the time has come to allow wages to rise slowly—faster even than the cost of living. The reason they have reached this conclusion is that a greater efficiency of labor, even if it can be obtained only with a real raise of wages (i. e., faster than prices), is the best remaining way by which profits can be further increased.

Another purpose of this new capitalist doctrine is to shelve all measures that really aim at the redistribution of wealth and democratisation of society by increasing the political and economic power of the masses when compared with that of the capitalists. The reformers argue that any plan that can be devised which will increase real wages 5 per cent. and profits 10 per cent. will surely decrease strikes and bring about relative peace between capital and labor.

"The science of management" is a proposal that labor should be systematically and scientifically studied and directed, like the manufacture of steel or of chemicals. Its advocates say that the new methods are "as revolutionary in increasing output as the introduction of machinery was." And it seems to be a demonstrated fact that, in many instances, the product of each laborer has, by these methods, been increased by two or three fold.

National attention was first called to the matter when the very latest and most fashionable "reformer," Louis Brandeis, argued last year before the Interstate Commerce Commission that by these means the railroads could save a million dollars a day. Perhaps the most enthusiastic advocate of this reform, which it is hoped may weaken labor union agitation and distract attention from the labor question is Mr. Roosevelt's organ, The Outlook.

"With the introduction of scientific management," writes Mr. Ernest Abbott in The Outlook, "the relation between employer and employee is transformed. Their mutual interests become identical."

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that it is really a technical revolution in industry that we are facing. We have already passed through a number of technical revolutions without the interests of the employer and the employee becoming identical or in any way closer than they were before.

Scientific management and the gospel of efficiency do not necessarily imply more speed, overstrain and an earlier death for the laborer. On the contrary, if the labor supply continues to be limited, as it is now by keeping Asiatic labor out of the market, there is no reason to doubt that the whole capitalistic attitude towards labor will soon be revolutionized. While land or coal or labor were cheap the capitalist policy was to use up all of these raw materials without regard to waste. But as soon as the suply is nearly exhausted, a diametrically opposite policy, that of conservation, is pursued: the land or the coal or the labor, as the case may be, begins to be saved. The time has come in nearly every country where not only the saving of labor while in the factory, but the saving of the labor supply, i. e., of the laborer, is a good capitalist policy.

This saving of the laborer is the essential element of the gospel of efficiency. If the laborer becomes at all scarce, the capitalist will take precious pains to save him, just as the slaveholders saved the slaves, not only while he is at work but throughout his whole lifetime. Mr. Hyman Strunsky has pointed out (in his article on Welfare Work in "The Coming Nation") how the factory inspector of Rhode Island and other authorities have shown the capitalists that the time has come when they must save their working people just as they have always saved their "cattle and horses."

One of the leaders of the new movement, E. P. Stimson, guaranteed to show a committee of the House of Representatives that under the new system a four-hour day could be established and still the profits of capital be increased. Most of its advocates favor an eight-hour day on the ground that it would increase the working life of the now valuable laborer. All of them favor workingmen's insurance, since they know that all the government does for the laborer enables them to pay that much less wages (though the decrease is not sufficient entirely to negative the worker's benefit), while it removes innumerable individual grievances which interfere with efficiency. All of them, of course, favor industrial education. As to the taxes required to support such sweeping reforms, the capitalists will not grudge them if they are certain to get the benefit—for which they must wait until the children are grown up or until the time arrives when "conserved" workingmen would have been thrown on the scrap heap—a period that is from ten to twenty years. Mr. Brandeis calls Workingmen's Insurance "The Road to Social Efficiency," i. e., it is simply the principle of industrial efficiency applied by the government. He argues that "if society and industry and the individual were made to pay from day to day the actual cost of sickness, accident, invalidity, premature death, or premature old age consequent upon excessive hours of labor, of unhygeinic conditions of work, of unnecessary risks, and of irregularity of employment those evils would be rapidly reduced"; and he proves his point by showing the rapid decrease of fires where the manufacturers have established mutual fire insurance. In other words the government established a law by which employers are automatically penalized when they try to take advantage of the employing class by wasting the labor supply.

The Civic Federation and reformers all over the country favor the establishment of a minimum wage by law in the sweated industries. In England the law is already in successful operation. It enables the large manufacturers, the owners of power machinery to put their foot-power competitors out of business, as the latter can't afford to pay the minimum wage.

In Great Britain the government also proposes to solve the unemployed problem. Those who can't be used as servants, soldiers or sailors, according to the new Development Bill and other schemes are, with the consent of the Labor Party, to be compelled to work on roads, re-forestration, etc. Thus money will be saved in almshouses, work-houses, jails and hospitals, while the wages paid will not be high enough to raise the general level. There will be not only as many but more scabs furnished by this semi-convict employment as come now from the army of the unemployed. In fact it has been proposed in Hungary that this new army of labor be loaned to the farmers in harvest times. Would this idea not be popular in Kansas and Iowa? Moreover if desertions are common in our regular army, which spends part of its time on parade, would they not be wholesale from any army that works every hour—especially when the prices of strike-breakers ranged high?

But the heart of the whole "benevolent" labor policy is best seen in its effect on wages. There is no more doubt that it will raise them than that the introduction of machinery had this effect. But machinery increased the strength of capitalism ten-fold and scientific management and "labor reforms" will have the same result, unless they are accompanied by the better political and economic organization of labor. The great scientific manager, Frederick W. Taylor, showed the pig-iron handlers how to increase their output of labor 362 per cent. and gave them a 61 per cent. increase in wages. In other words one-sixth of the benefits of the reform went to labor and five-sixths to capital. That is the economic superiority of capital over labor was made five times greater than it was before. Similarly if we figured out the ultimate results of al the labor reforms proposed by the capitalists (say aften ten years' trial) we would probably find similar results. And even if some reform should chance to give a little more to labor than to capital we would find that a dozen others had been enacted at the same time which gave several times more capital and proved the rule.

It is a conflict, a class-struggle. Labor advances sometimes more rapidly, sometimes, less, but Capital is all the time gaining on Labor and will continue to gain more rapidly than ever under the "State Socialist" regime I have been describing—except as the labor unions and the Socialist Party grow stronger. This will not mean that these organizations can win anything of importance now—beyond these reforms that the "State Socialists" will introduce without a struggle (though not without some discussion and polite disagreement). It will mean that the day when a successful revolution is possible has drawn that much nearer.

As a part of the labor reform program, as suggested by both La Follette and Woodrow Wilson, the rights of labor organizations will be somewhat extended. Boycotts will be allowed and injunctions and "conspiracy" practicaly abolished—as in England—where, after all, the unions don't seem to be much freer or more advanced than they are here. At the same time compulsory "investigation" and, if necessary, compulsory arbitration, will be extended from the railways to the mines and all other industries where the stoppage of work would seriously inconvenience the capitalist class as a whole (i. e., including the Progressives and Insurgents). Unions will be permitted among Government employees as Mr. La Follette demands, and as is already the case in France. But, as in France, they will not be permitted to strike. As to the boycott, it can't do much harm to the capitalists as a whole—so much less meat sold, so much more fish and eggs. As a weapon against the meat trust it might do, as a weapon against the capitalist class as a whole it is not very deadly (though it can be very useful against small shopkeepers, professional men, etc., with whom we deal and who must be disciplined when they try to desert our cause). As to labor organizations then there will be no backward step, merely the substitution of a more or less compulsory arbitration for the injunction and the Sherman law—greater freedom in small strikes, less in large ones.

It is difficult to see why Labor should be alarmed at such a revolution in the capitalist attitude as now confronts us. Better conditions gen-

(Continued on page four)

OVER PRODUCTION.

At the present time oats are plentiful, as compared with many years. Although we are not having a capitalist feast yet, we are just a little removed from the dark days when we will be mopping it up inthe soup kitchen supplied by those necessary appendages of capitalism, the Salvation Army, Holy Rollers and the rest of the sloppy ones.

Hard times, in one sense, make one scared, but to Socialists it means one more step to the destruction of capital. As bourgeois society is one big gambling den, with their stakes laid in the stock exchanges, and as this feeling pervades the air which is inhaled to a greater or smaller extent by every one, I am tempted to say, "It is worth while." We know that capitalism will collapse sooner or later, and the quicker the panics, the quicker will be the social revolution.

But why should we put trust in the panics to break up capitalism? The reason is obvious. It is simply because all panics are due to over production and over production demonstrates that the problem of production has been solved and that there is in the world sufficient food, clothing and shelter to satisfy anyone without the anxiety prevalent among the workers as to the possibility of being out of work, or thrown in the scrap heap at 40. Why should a man be anxious to produce more, when there is more than enough? It is ridiculous, and yet capitalism makes the struggle so keen among wage slaves, that they are forced to try to sell their labor power, when there is no market.

Another reason for putting our trust in panics is, that they are the means of crushing out of existence so far as business is concerned, those petty bourgeois who blow out their chests with pride when they go to church on Sunday, (to exchange greeting with their customers) and who work 15 to 16 hours per day to make ends meet.

The cleavage is getting greater and greater, and the panics are doing a good share towards it.

Panics will occur more often as machinery becomes more productive. Before the advent of machinery we had no panics, but with machinery's growth we have had to experience them and as the productive powers have grown, the panics have been more and more acute and the intervening space between has become shorter and shorter.

As some of you know, many persons, especially the I. L. P., say that the "phenomena" of over production is due to under consumption. If this was so, why did we not have "over production" in the early part of last century. The "people" were practically starving and yet there was no over production. No! Under consumption is not the cause of over production. The cause of over production is the large productivity of machinery and social working class labor, combined with fierce competition. As capitalist development gets to a head instead of being able to say that our soup is a little thicker, we will not even be able to distinguish any change, because we shall in the end be precipitated in a panic worse than any, and one that will last until capitalism has been overthrown.

Sometimes we hear of money panics. These are the result of a diminishing exchange of commodities, also resulting from glutted markets or over production. The amount of gold in currency, is determined by experience in the exchange of commodities. There is never the amount of gold on the market that would equal the total prices of commodities. This is due to the fact that a piece of metal may change several times in a very short space of time. So you see the total amount is not needed. The total amount of money needed is the total average prices of commodities, divided by the velocity of currency in money. For an instance, we will say wahuyean CESie4..iusfivromnuntcmff that 52 commodities of 1 unit value are the average on the market every year, and that the average velocity of currency of money in units is 4 every year, then the total of money needed is only 13 unit pieces. Now, if the demand for commodities decrease, then the velocity decreases and consequently it shows itself on the market as a shortage of coin when in reality it is merely over production.

Fellow slaves! Over production is the cause of panics and panics are one of the chief causes that will bring about the Social Revolution. As panics get more acute and frequent, the social revolution gets nearer and as the social revolution gets nearer it is up to us to get all our class wise to it, so that when the time comes there will be no blunders through ignorance, but an intelligent revolution that will sweep the whole world.

T. MEALLALIEU.

TO-MORROW'S MAN.

By Holloway.

Shut in the squalid factory room,
Dusk, in the murky light,
Children are groping in the gloom
From early morn to night.

Like phantoms dumb they go and come
For ever on their way;
Treading the ceaseless mills of toil
All day, all day, all day.

A woman stands there by the loom,
With tearless, leaden eyes,
And in her heavy, aching womb
A quick'ning infant lies.

All day she stands, with flying hands
Feeding the grim machine,
And broods with sad foreboding heart,
Over the dismal scene.

The mother-soul leaps down the years
Along the death-strewn path
Her child must tread, and shrinking fears
Are changed to raging wrath.

A rising flood of burning blood
Sweeps through her swelling veins,
And every pulse-beat bids her child
Rebel, and burst its chains.

And from that mother's blood, distilled
By nature's alchemy,
A cup of bitter hate is filled
And drained unceasingly.

The dawning soul sees fate unroll
His seeming destiny,
And in his wrath-nursed consciousness
He swears it shall not be.

Gaunt spectres whisper in his ear
Old tales of wretchedness,
Ancestral wrongs of countless years,
Unbroken bitterness.

The cutting pangs of hunger's fangs,
The shame of lash and chain,
They beg him to avenge their wrongs,
And beg him not in vain.

Ye human wolves, who would devour
Your kind, e'en in the womb,
Time strikes the black impending hour
When you must meet your doom.

This child but waits to burst the gates
That hold him captive now,
Woe, woe to you, he comes to wreak
The vengeance of his vow.

The smould'ring wrath of centuries,
Born of abysmal woe
And immemorial miseries,
Some day must overflow.

That day is near, and yet you sneer,
In blindness overbold,
Drunk with the poisoned wine of power,
Like fatuous kings of old.

Dumb beasts that live on mountain sides
Know when the craters breath
Foretells the coming of the tides
Of seething, liquid death.

But you, less wise, see not the skies
Grow red with signs of blood,
Nor heed the grumble of the ground
Above the molten flood.

Beware, beware—to-morrow morn,
Dread dawn of destiny—
This child in Labor's travail born,
Shall come to set her free;

And thrones of gold, like thrones of old,
Shall crumble 'neath his heel,
And kings, about their soft white throats,
His knotted hands shall feel.

HIGH TIME TO GET TOGETHER AND CHANGE THE LAWS

(Clarence Darrow.)

Strikes, in the main, are like other wars, largely a question of supplies.

For this reason, under ordinary circumstances, the workingman has little chance to win.

It is only by strategy, choosing an opportune time, or so appealing to the imagination as to catch public opinion, that the striker can hope to win; and even then it is only a poor victory at the best.

An army without ammunition might almost as well expect to win against one fully equipped and possessing unlimited resources as a union could hope to win.

In general, hunger and want must finally settle a hard-fought strike.

The workers of the world have only food and clothing and shelter for a few days.

The world and all its fullness belong to the class that are hostile to the strikers' cause; a very few always intensely patriotic and against the union own all the coal in the earth, and, if necessary, can freeze the workman to win the strike.

They not only can, but do.

If one only remembers that property rights are purely matters of convention, and that the right to own the earth depends simply upon the consent of the community as expressed in law, it is easy to see how wise the workers must be when they place everything in the hands of a few and then depend on brute strength to get back a small portion of what should be theirs.

Both logic and history show that the old-time method of striking has about run its course; it is ineffectual, brutal and mussy in the extrime.

So-called rights of property must be radically modified and changed before much progress toward social justice can come. It is high time that the workers get together to change the laws, if they really hope to accomplish anything for themselves and mankind.

ON THE CORNER

Q. Who develops B. C.?
A. The workers.
Q. Who gets B. C.?
A. Mackenzie, Mann et al.
Q. What do the workers get?
A. Nothing.
Q. Do they not get their wages?
A. No, the wages go into their bodies, which belong to the capitalists.
Q. What is the worker here for, anyway?
A. To work if he thinks so. To enjoy life if he would think with his own brains instead of his master's.
Q. What ticket are you going to vote at the next election?
A. The Socialist.
Q. Why?
A. Because the Socialist Party is the only party of the working class, and is therefore the only party which knows what the working class wants.

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CAPITALISTIC "SOCIALISM"

(Continued from page three)

erally ought immensely to strengthen the labor movement in every way—unless the working people are such slaves at heart that they will not revolt as long as their conditions improve slightly from year to year. Assume that the science of labor management of the gospel of efficiency and capitalistic "Socialistic" reform double real wages and increase profits fourfold. According to the Civic Federation argument and that of Mr. Gompers, this would be sufficient ground why labor and capital should be absolute friends during the whole period while this was being brought about. Such a progress, would, indeed, destroy unions resting on the old basis, for all they demand, as Mr. Gompers has often said, is "more"—and from his actions no one can doubt that what he meant was "a little more." If they get this from year to year he will be satisfied.

Those unions, on the other hand, which ask for a fairer division of the product and aim steadily at the overthrow of capitalism in government will use the new strength they may gain from such reforms and technical revolutions to strengthen their demand for industrial democracy and economic equality. As long as capitalism is getting a larger and larger share of the product, it will be a matter of entirely secondary importance to them that their income also is increasing slightly from year to year. For they will realize that as long as the percentage of the total product going to the capitalists rises, it is their political and economic power that increases and not that of the workers.

The possessors of capital and of an expensive education will continue under capitalistic Socialism as at present as long as this system lasts to enjoy an income many times as great as that of laborers. They will continue, directly or indirectly, to control the government, and though they form less than a third of the population, their children will continue to monopolize 99 per cent. of the better positions in society, to enjoy grossly unequal incomes, to direct the community according to their own interests and ideas, and to pass these powers and privileges on to their children after them.

No revolution in industry, and no revolution in government (even a constitutional convention) can protect us from a constantly hardening caste system unless it is consciously directed to improving the condition and increasing the power of the exploited mass more rapidly than it adds to the wealth and power of the ruling class.

The coming political trust, the consolidation of the capitalist class in politics, will teach the workers far better than would the swallowing up of the small capitalists by the large. Until now many workers have believed that the enemy was not the capitalist clas as a whole but the trusts, or the big employers or those capitalists who happened to be employers. The small capitalists or even the "middle-sized" (merely millionaires, not billionaires), the competitors of the trusts used labor for their purposes. Each group of capitalists persuaded the workers to look for their enemies "higher up." This deception is no longer possible.

As long as the capitalists were divided reforms were delayed. Now that the large and small capitalists have got together in France and England and are getting together in this country under Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, the reforms will be put into execution instead of being held out to the laborers as rewards if they voted "right." No reform has even obtained a public hearing which does not offer more to the capitalists than to the workers, but the workers were afraid they might not get even the little they were offered. The capitalists had not yet agreed on a political policy and all reforms were delayed.

But now that all such reforms as government ownership, workingmen's insurance, the eight-hour law, and government work for the unemployed are being actually carried out, the workers will see that the capitalists are geting the lion's share from every one of them. They will understand that even if the workers were disfranchised, without labor organizations, or in actual slavery it would pay an organized capitalist class to introduce these reforms.

With the economic and political consolidation of the capitalist class the workers are restored to their position under chattel slavery—with the sole difference that they are now slaves of no individual, but of the consolidated capitalist class and government. They have become the most valuable property the capitalists have—more valuable than either their slaves of yesterday or their mines, railroads and mills to-day. They must be better bred, better educated for industry, better managed, less wasted.

Every reform which improves the condition and efficiency of the workers is good capitalist policy provided it does not improve the position of their economic and political organizations.

It might be thought that what aids the worker aids his organization. But this is an illusion. All over the world the workers' condition is being gradually improved. But everywhere his organizations, economic and political, are being more and more restricted—as to their power of achieving results under the present system. This restriction is possible because, though the workers are slowly getting more, they are getting a smaller share of the product, Capitalism is strengthening itself economically at five or ten times the speed.

Here, then, is the benefit of "State Socialism"—as an object lesson!

Every reform that is enacted will teach the workers that while they are moving forward they are losing in the race.

They will take their eyes off their grievances and rivet them on their employers' gains.

They will cease asking the employer to make good their losses and will concentrate their attention on forcing him to divide up his profits.

They will remember that there is no end to the amount of capital a good breeder will invest in his horses or the reforms he will undertake as long as they continue to become more valuable and their working efficiency continues to increase.

They will see that all economic reforms apply equally well to working cattle as to men and that manhood begins with self-government.

They will learn from actual trial that the only measures that advance us towards Socialism are those that take industry and government out of the hands of the capitalists and hand them over to the workers.—International Socialist Review.

Know *Why* Socialism is Coming

Don't be a socialist unless you know *why* you are one. *Know why* Socialism is coming. Trace the economic development of civilization through from slavery to the present and *know why socialism is inevitable.*

Victor L. Berger says:

"A few socialist phrases is not sufficient to make a scientific socialist. In order to know WHY SOCIALISM IS COMING, a socialist should have an idea of evolution, he must know history, he must know something of economic development.

We as socialists are vitally interested in the development of civilization. History for us is not a collection of shallow village tales, the story of coronations, weddings and burials of kings. For us the true lesson of history is the story of progress of mankind by gradual steps from brutal slavery to enlightenment, culture and humanity.

The manner in which one system has grown out of another, feudalism out of slavery and capitalism out of feudalism is most suggestive of the manner by which the Socialist Republic will gradually develop out of the present system.

To show how the Socialist Republic will gradually develop out of the present system, the Library of Original Sources has been published. It is a treasure mine."

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(In the original documents—translated)

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