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THE PRINCIPLE OF AUTHORITY.

BY FREDERICK ENGELS

Translated by Richard Perin

(Reprinted from "Western Clarion" April 25, 1914).

(This article was published in an Italian labor publication in 1873, in the midst of the Bakunin controversy It was recently unearthed by Comrade N. Riasnoff and published in the Neue Zeit, from which ths translation was made.)

Some time ago a number of Socialists commenced a veritable crusade against that which they call the principle of authority. To condemn any action, they believe it to be sufficient to represent it as being authoritative. This summary method leads to so many absurdities that it is necessary to make a closer study of the matter. Authority in the sense in which it is used here means the subjection of the will of another to our will. Hence, authority pre-supposes subordination on the part of the other. Now, from the fact that these two words have an evil sound and that the relationship expressed thereby is displeasing to the subordinated factor, the question arises whether there is any means to abolish this relationship, whether—under the given social condition—we can create another social order in which there will be no occasion for this authority, in which it will consequently vanish. If we study the economic, industrial and agrarian conditions that form the basis of the present bourgeois society, we find that they have a tendency to replace the isolated action of an individual by the combined action of several individuals. For the small enterprises of isolated producers modern industry substitutes the great factories and workshops where hundreds of workers attend complicated machines driven by steam; in place of the wagon and cart we have railroad trains, and steamers in place of rowboats and sailing vessels. Even agriculture is gradually coming under the dominion of the machine and of steam, which slowly but relentlessly is displacing the small farmer by the great capitalist, who cultivates immense estates by the aid of wage-workers.

Wherever we may look, the independent action of separate individuals is being displaced by a combined action, by a complication of processes each of which is dependent upon the other. But when we say combined action we also say organization. Now, is it possible to have an organization without authority?

Let us suppose that a social revolution has dethroned the capitalists, whose authority now conducts the entire production and distribution of wealth. In order to place ourselves squarely upon the standpoint of the anti-authoritarians, let us suppose that the earth and the means of production have become the collective property of the workers who use them. In this case will authority vanish or will it merely alter its form? Let us see.

As an example we shall take a cotton spinning plant. In order that the cotton may be transformed into yarn, it must pass through at least six successive operations, which usually take place in different rooms. In order to drive the machines we need an engineer to care for the engine, some mechanics for daily repairs, and many other unskilled workers to pass the product from one room to another, etc. All these workers, men, women and children, must begin and end their work at an hour that is determined by the authority of the steam, which is little concerned over individual autonomy. Hence from the very beginning it is necessary for the workers to agree upon the hours of labor, and as soon as these hours are fixed they must all keep to them without exception.

Then in every room and at every moment there arises questions of detail relative to the method of production, the distribution of the material, etc., which, if it is not desired to risk a sudden cessation of production, must be settled immediately. Now, whether they are settled by the decision of a delegate conducting one branch of the industry or by the decision of the majority, the will of the individual must comply, that is, these questions are authoritatively settled. The automatic mechanism of a great factory is tyrannical to a higher degree than are the small capitalists who exploit the workers. In regard to the working hours, at least, he might well inscribe over the doors of these factories: Lasciate ogni autonomia, vei che entrate. (All autonomy abandon, ye who

enter here.) When man, by the aid of science and the inventive faculty, subdues the forces of nature, they avenge themselves by subjecting him who exploits them to a real despotism, which is independent of the social conditions. To do away with authority in the great industries would mean to abolish industry itself, to destroy the steam spinning plant in order to return to the spindle.

Let us take another example, a railroad. Here the co-operation of an immense number of men is absolutely necessary, a co-operation that must take place at exactly specified hours if a terrible accident is to be avoided. Here the first necessity of the entire system is a dominating will that decides all subordinate questions, and it is immaterial whether this will is represented by a delegated person or by a committee that is elected to execute the decisions of the majority of the interested parties. We have to deal with an authority in both cases. And more than that. What would happen to the very first train sent out if we were to abolish the authority of the railway officials over the persons travelling on it?

But nowhere is the necessity of authority, and an absolute authority at that, so obvious as on a ship at sea. There the life and death of all on board depend at every moment upon the absolute and instantaneous subjection of all to the will of a single individual.

If I were to use this argument against the most rabid of the anti-authoritarians, they could give me the following reply: "Oh, that is true, but here it is not a question of authority that we confer upon a delegate, but of a commission." These people believe that they can change a thing by altering its name. And thus these deep thinkers make fun of the whole world.

Hence we see that on the one hand a certain authority by whomsoever delegated, and on the other hand a certain subordination are things that, independently of the social organization, are forced upon us simultaneously with the material conditions under which we produce and distribute goods.

We also see that the material conditions of production and distribution are inevitably to an increasing degree subjected to the influence of large industry and agriculture on a large scale, that hence the extent of this authority is becoming greater and greater. Therefore it is ridiculous to represent the principle of authority as absolutely bad and the principle of autonomy as absolutely good. Authority and autonomy are relative conceptions, and their range of validity alters with the various phases of social evolution.

Had the autonomists contented themselves with saying that the social organization of the future will admit of authority only within the unavoidable limits drawn by the conditions of production, then we would have been obliged to agree with them. But they are blind to all facts that make authority necessary, and fight passionately against the word itself.

Why do the anti-authoritarians not confine themselves to declaiming against political authority, against the State? All Socialists are agreed that the State and with it political authority will vanish as the result of the future social revolution; that is to say, that public functions will lose their political character and will be resolved into simple administrative functions supervising the social interests. But the anti-authoritarians demand that the political State shall be abolished at one blow, even before the abolition of the social conditions that created it. They demand that the first act of the social revolution shall be the abolition of authority.

Have you ever witnessed a revolution, gentlemen? A revolution is certainly the most authoritative thing that there is, an act by which a portion of the population forces its will upon the other portion by rifles, bayonets and cannon, all very authoritative means. And the victorious party must maintain its rule by the terror that its weapons inspire in the reactionaries. And if the Paris Commune had not made use of the authority of an armed people against the bourgeoisie, would it have lasted longer than a day. Conversely, can we not reproach it for having used too little of this authority? Hence we face an inevitable alternative: either the anti-authoritarians do not themselves know what they are talking about, and in that case they are only creating confusion, or they do know, and in that case they are betraying the cause of the proletariat. In either case they are only serving the reaction.

THE TOPIC OF THE DAY

A Survey of Current Events in the U. S. A.

THESE are halycon days indeed for the great capitalist interests the world over, but particularly so for that group whose nation is the U. S. A. The expansion of the great basic industries, together with the multiplication of war munition plants and mining activity, clearly show that something must be done to maintain the present scale of prices, if not to boost them still higher. Therefore, lest there be organized opposition from that portion of the employing class who suspect that they may be the tax victims of a stupendous "preparedness" campaign, great haste must be made to forestall the possibility.

The next congress that comes into being on March 4th, 1917, [This article was penned Feb. 28th. —Editor, "Clarion."] unlike the present, is supposed to be somewhat unfavorable to the forces behind the President's policies, so, ere that time comes, Mr. Wilson, on the wave of patriotism, seeks to carry through a gigantic militarist proposition that

under other circumstances would be dfficult if not impossible. Opposition to the programme in part or whole there is, of course, among many not representative of the working class, but outside of the more or less innocuous pacifist societies and sentimental groups, there are really no actively organized capitalist opponents, at least as yet. To the working people, the glorious prospect of steady work at high wages, which, as it appears to them, is consequent on the spending of a "billion" or so, quite outweighs the compulsory features of the blanket laws on military training and service, espionage and the usual suppression of the constitutional privileges, called "rights," that always accompanies war or prospect of war.

Thus, whatever may have been learned from the European conflict becomes obscured or blotted out in the face of the ever present desire, so thoroughly absorbed to the exclusion of all else—regular employment. So reason the majority.

Aware of this, the capitalist interests discern that not only can they kill two birds with one stone,but just as easily a whole tree full. Then in the name of the U. S., their representatives sitting at Washington, D.C., with the common pretence of all such national bodies, institute an era of militarism, greater, as the resources of the country permit, than that of any nation in Europe. So, in the name of "honor" and defense, preparedness and humanity, they launch the movement to gain and hold control of as much of the world's markets as possible, and by any and all means. The controlling forces of the nation see in their scheme the method to offset foreign competition and the means to secure the willingness and docility of the producers of the surplus values. And whether the U. S. remains "neutral," goes into the war on its own hook, or enters as an ally of the powers against Germany, depends upon what is deemed best to cinch their programme—the complete subjection of the mass of the workers to their will.

That portion of the ranks of labor which has for years attempted a semblance of organized effort, more especially along so-called Socialist lines, at this juncture possesses but little influence and presents a similar spectacle to that of their brothers in the old world in August 1914. Even with the best and most thorough Socialist propaganda, the task would have been extremely difficult, because of having to combat a constitutional lack of class feeling, consciousness and co-operation, the result of generations of teaching and environment to which the American working people have been subjected. But with such small attention given to scientific explanation and education in the necessary task of removing that obstacle, efforts have been chiefly directed towards gaining labor union sympathy and capturing political offices, and for years now there has been a decline in its economic and political prestige, never very high.

Perhaps the momentous events of the past few weeks will act as a stimulant to the working class in such a way as to form the basis of a real Socialist Movement in the U. S. A., to act in line with the class conscious in all lands. In conclusion, a perusal of the foregoing should give ample proof of the state of the labor market; the inference is clear.

O. R.

Los Angeles.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

By Man—Ed.

Britain.

The Trades and Labor Council of Newport, So. Wales, recently passed a resolution against industrial conscription. It was left to one of Labor's cabinet ministers, Arthur Henderson to wit, to reply. He attempted to point out that really the government did not intend any such thing as industrial conscription. He hoped the Council would do its utmost to co-operate with the Government by insuring the success of the scheme for securing the required labor by voluntary enrollment.

It is but a short time ago that precisely the same bunk was being peddled regarding military conscription.

* * *

Since July, 1914, the prices of those commodities which constitute the means of working class maintenance have risen, in many cases 87%.

In face of this the much vaunted increase of wages can be better appreciated.

Germany.

Dr. Franz Mehring has been elected to the Prussian Diet as member for Karl Liebknecht's former Berlin seat. It is worthy of note that Dr. Mehring had as one of his opponents a candidate of the Social Democratic Party (majority group).

* * *

However, it appears that Mehring was defeated for the Reichstag seat, formerly held by Liebknecht (Spandau, Potsdam and Ostsavelland constituency) the majority group candidate, Emil Stahl, getting 12,886 votes against 3,930 secured by Mehring. It is stated with a certain amount of authority that Stahl organized a vast house-to-house canvass, while Conservatives yielded him their support. Workmen in large factories in Spandau were granted special leave to go to poll and many civil servants took an active part.

India.

Compulsory Training is to be introduced for all Europeans from 16 to 50 for various military services according to grades based on age. The act dealing with the question is to remain in force for six months after the "outbreak" of peace.

France

Gustave Herve, leaving aside his usual vicious atacks upon Germanophiles, turns his attention to **post-**

bellum conditions. He can see England, Russia and Germany, despite the elimination of the non-German people's now under the latter's control, with vast peoples. This is a problem. Therefore we must have the unification of all Latin races in Europe, even our Rumanian cousins. "This would form a solid Latin block of 100,000,000 men which would irresistibly attract the whole of South and Central America and **which would have as a field for expansion the immensity of Africa, the larger part of which is already under Latin influence.**" (Emphasis ours).

After horrible nightmares of Germanic World Power, society must be inflicted with a Latin one. Of course, Herve "knows" **this is the last war.**

Australia.

The political situation in the "democratic" southern continent is indeed interesting. W. M. Hughes, recently expelled from the Labor Party for his conscription move has formed a new cabinet with five "Hughes" laborites and six Liberals. This, Hughes declares, is really a "Committee of Public Safety," whose first object is the diligent prosecution of the war. He along with Irvine and one other are the intended delegates to the Imperial Conference. To accomplish this an extension of Parliament is necessary and the Labor Party have a slight majority in the Senate, which would undoubtedly resist the parliamentary extension.

Senator Ready (Labor) has already resigned and others are expected. The labor faction charge the Hughes government with corruption and bribery and state that such means have been used to gain their ends in this respect. By thus reducing the labor majority Parliament could be extended and Hughes could proceed undisturbed to London, which seems a favorite haunt for the Australian Welsh "wizard" in these times.

The much vaunted democracy of Australia can be seen to be as thin as that of Britain.

Russia.

Events in this country, as is well known, have followed one another with almost bewildering rapidity. One thing appears certain. The House of Romanoff, with all its concomitant feudal rubbage, has gone, leaving Russia free to work out her industrial problems unhampered by effete fudal forms.

It is interesting to note the development of things in recent days.

First there came those stormy scenes in the Duma during the discussion on "the gravest blunder," i.e., the arrest of members of the workmen's group of The Military Industrial Committee. Then followed the suspension of the Duma, with results now known generally.

To us, one of the most significant points about the new provisional government is the inclusion of Milyukoff and Manuiloff, both Moscow University professors, in the cabinet, and the change of the seat of government from Petrograd to Moscow. Education of the slaves, so necessary to the industrial bourgoeisie, can now be looked forward to in Russia.

MR. FORD—PATRIOT

SOCIALISTS are sometimes accused of being too personal; of making unwarranted attacks upon individuals. We do not desire that such an impression should exist. We have occasion, at various times, to mention certain individuals in connection with certain events, situations or conditions, and to point to such persons as illustrations of the economic position of the capitalist class, but such references should not be mistaken for attacks on the individuals mentioned. Such an erroneous impression would eventually lead to the belief that individuals were the cause of working class ills, and such a belief, in turn, leads directly to anarchism, which, in both philosophy and tactics, is the very antithesis of Socialism.

Henry Ford is one individual who has been much talked of by all clases of people, including Socialists. Mr. Ford offers a good example of the business man who tries to be, or claims to be, a pacifist, and at the same time he offers an illustration of the absurdity of pacifism as a principle. It is not our business to either praise or condemn the actions of Mr. Ford, but it is our business to clear up, in such measure as is possible, the confused ideas existing re-

Mr. Ford's pacifism has been much talked of and he has, at times, even been spoken of as a Socialist. But now that a war crisis has arisen in the United States, those gullible people who have imagined all kinds of foolish things about Mr. Ford, have an opportunty, if they care to use it, to see him in a somewhat clearer light. No sooner did the announcement of a break in diplomatic relations with Germany occur, than Mr. Ford lined up with the full-blooded patriots. This fact was announced in the daily press:

> Washington, Feb. 5.— Henry Ford, manufacturer and pacifist, announced here today that in the event of war, he would place his factory at the disposal of the government and operate it without profit.
>
> "I stand with our president," said Mr. Ford in a formal statement "an in the event of a declaration of war, will place our factory at the disposal of the U. S. government and will operate it without one cent of profit." Detroit Jounral.

Looking over the press comment we find that it has been mostly highly commendatory of Mr. Ford's stand. A few quotations will serve to show its precise color.

"The New York Sun" says:

> "As a pacifist, Henry Ford, of Detroit is an amiable and highly idealistic person, whose willingness to take a sporting chance on a novel and apparently hopeless enterprise, and whose reported utterances, strained through the meshes of many minds friendly and malicious, have at times exposed him to misunderstanding. We salute Henry Ford; and the fact that he chooses to ride hobbies that do not excite our interest in no way mitigates our respect for a man who is obviously grateful for the opportunity to do a good deal more than his legal duty."

"The Chicago Herald," referring to Mr. Ford's offer, exclaims:

> "Good for Henry Ford! There's no mistaking the patriotic ring of that .....
>
> "Like all good Americans, Henry Ford realizes that, at a time like this, all considerations save the honor and safety of the country must be resolutely put aside."

"The Grand Rapids Herald," speaking of Mr. Ford's pacifism, remarks:

> "Yet when the hour strikes, Mr. Ford is the arch patriot, ready to leave no stone unturned in assisting his country to adequate and successful defense."

And "The Port Huron Times-Herald" says:

> "Henry Ford has been accused of many things. He has been charged with being unpatriotic, visionary, crazy and a cheap advertiser .....
>
> "Henry Ford's declaration speaks for itself. It breathes the very essence of patriotism. Henry Ford is a pacifist, but not the kind of a pacifist who deserts his country in the hour of need."

On the whole it appears that the press is willing to overlook any of Mr. Ford's previously expressed ideas in view of his overwhelmingly patriotic stand in offering to make munitions for the government without profit.

But is Mr. Ford's action consistent with his former attitude? There are some who do not think so. For the "Dallas News" reminds us that:

> "Now would be a good time for Mr. Ford to make another start at getting the boys out of the trenches before Christmas."

However, if there is anything illogical about Mr. Ford's sayings or doings, it is his past position that appears illogical rather than his present one. It is logical for business men to be patriotic. War is simply one of the functions of business. And Mr. Ford is a business man. Some of our simple-minded friends seem to forget this at times. Business must have markets. No markets, no business. Home markets are insufficient. Business is too big for home markets. That is to say, trade nowadays is world-wide. Besides, capitalist production is so expansive that it outstrips the market, with a consequent overproducton, resulting in the necessity of each nation trying to gain control of as much of the world market as possible. Hence the rivalry of nations. Hence war. War is one branch of of the sales department of business. The big guns of each nation say: "OUR GOODS SHALL BE SOLD IN THE WORLD'S MARKETS." And the methods are similar. Gas is used in war, also in salesmanship. The selling of goods is the killing of men. Business and war are as closely related as two brothers.

Imagine, then, a business man, or anyone who supports the present system of private business, and at the same time claims to be a pacifist. It is silly to talk of preparedness for defense only. If we endorse the capitalist system of production we must, to be logical, endorse at the same time, the conditions necessary for the working of that system. Under existing conditions, it is just as necessary for a nation to look after its trade as it is to protect its borders. **That is, it is essential to the capitalist class.** To be sure, there may be some capitalists who are more directly interested than others in the "freedom of the seas." But, on the whole, it is their general interest.

Mr. Ford, as a capitalist, has discovered where he ought to stand. No matter what illusions he may have had in the past, regarding himself, it only required a national crisis to set him right. The joke is on those credulous people who imagined that his pacifism was to be a real factor for peace. Of course, Mr. Ford has to explain and justify his present position, which he does by saying:

> "My position and my point of view have been so often misrepresented and twisted that it seems impossible to make myself clear. I never said I would not fight. I never said I would not do all for the country that I was able to."

We might ask, of course, why, if Mr. Ford is willing to fight for his country, he should try to indube Englishmen, Germans, and others who want to fight to "protect" their respective countries, to "get out of the trenches before Christmas?"

Pacifism as a principle, is illogical. It declares against war and preparation for war, but does not make any effort to understand or recognze the underlying cause of war. This underlying cause is the capitalist system of production and exchange, which brings about overproduction and struggle for world markets. The understanding of this cause means the condemnation of the present system of society, that is, if we are sincere in the desire to put an end to war.

How, then, can a capitalist be a sincere and logical advocate of peace? Only by declaring against the system of society which enables him to be a capitalist. Mr. Ford is hardly prepared to do that, even though he has been called a "socialist" by some unthinking people. Mr. Ford says:

> "It is my firm conviction that war would seldom occur if individuals did not make money out of war."

Little does Mr. Ford seem to understand that all profit (including his own enormous profits) is money "made out of war" in the sense that it is made from a system of production under which war is inevitable.

But Mr. Ford knows enough to remain a capitalist in word and action, in a crisis, and we need not be surprised at his present attitude. Mr. Ford is a capitalist, and, as one newspaper (quoted above) puts it, an "arch patriot."

We hope this little incident will serve as one lesson in the education needed by those who expect benefits for the workers from such sources.
—L. B.

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Editorial Page

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Information of the Russian Revolution is too meagre, and comes from a too unreliable source to admit of any definite understanding of its import. We know, however, that after many attempts the House of Romanoff has been overthrown. The Romanoffs coming to the Russian throne over three hundred years ago, at a time of civil war and utter desolation, signalized the unification of the Russian peoples. In those three centuries the many Slav races have been moulded into one nation.

The process has not been a pleasant one. But then, how could the institution of human slavery present a pleasant aspect, save in the honeyed phrases of some sycophant hired to the task. And the Chines do not pay historians to gloss over Russian brutality. A reasonable amount of such in contrast to their own mild yoke might enable these sure slaves to endure servitude. It did not, however, save the Manchu dynasty.

However, we may assume that Russia has cast off a political form which has no place in a nation already heavily handicapped in capitalist production. While its landed territory comprises almost as much as that possessed by the other nations of Europe, its sea area is little more than one-fifth of theirs; and is so situated that those ports available for commerce the year round are dominated by other and hostile nations.

The immense and varied quantity of values obtainable from highly organised slaves under capitalism can only be realized in a country having unrestricted access to the world's markets. Russia has been denied this great commercial requirement.

Nor has this been her only disadvantage in the struggle for commercial and industrial greatness.

The Russian peoples are of the most diverse and antagonistic character. The sixteenth century saw the European nations organized on their present basis, but the Russia of those days, the Russia of Ivan the Terrible, was but a loosely organized mob of warlike, and for the most part, barbarous tribes. No economic bond urged these peoples to seek and maintain a centralized government. The Tartars of the Volga and the Cossacks of the Don, at the north to south east limits of civilization were Mohammdans; south, the Ukranians and Poles were adherents of Rome; north, Swedish influence made for Lutherism, while Russia proper, governed from Moscow, followed the Greek schism. Racially they were just as far apart, and to the east lay the Barbarians, aggressive, restive and pagan.

To mould this diverse mass into a nation was the task of Russia at a time when England, France and Spain were establishing colonies at the ends of the earth. Ivan the Terrible commenced the task in earnest, and some idea of the backward state of his country may be obtained when we remember that Copernicus had been dead ten years when Ivan sent some 400 miles for a miraculous cross to dispell the enchantments of the sorcerers on the walls of Kayan (1552) and Francis Bacon had already taken the scientfiic world as his province when Ivan was nailing the feet of ambassadors to the Red Stair case, and slaying his own son with his famous, or otherwise, iron staff. He did, however, attempt to import German scholars and artizans, but these were captured and held by the Poles and Lithuanians. Finally some English navigators landed at Archangel and established that town and a commercial route; and a Russian envoy after having been plundered by the savages of Inverness landed in London in 1557. England entered into a treaty whereby Russian and English merchants should enjoy the same privileges, but as one historian says with laconic sarcasm "England did not bind herself down to much."

The effort of Russia to stow its shirt inside its pants, as Kipling would have it, (he suggested the Russians were tolerable only so long as they wore their shirts outside, but that was ere the German menace appeared!) resulted in a great handicap. It also made for an absolute and pitiless monarchy. Such progress was made that in 1861 serfdom was abolished formally, but even then actually remained quite the contrary to most other social development.

However, industrial progress has gone on apace and the last great effort to reach an all season port resulted in a humiliating defeat at the hands of an Asiatic power, Japan.

When we consider the effect of that defeat upon the minds and bank accounts of the Russian capitalists we can realize their state, when after the loss of so much treasure they could again visualize a useless and decadent autocrat and his Grand Dukes and satellites about to again baulk a chance to at last gain

this positively necessary requirement. When the working class revolted in 1905, these men were willing that the powers of an autocrat should be used to safeguard life, liberty and the happiness that comes from the pursuit of a of a job. But today they busy themselves to the same old slogan in chasing the Czar off the job. Well let the good work go on. It is too much to expect that the workers will get anything out of what is taking place in Russia. But we do know that with Constantinoule in Russian hands, and the entire useless monarchical machinery cast on the scrap heap, Russia will soon be neck and neck in the industrial field with China, and maybe some other nations, and then we may see the Chinese working mule engaged in the edifying study of learning a new hate song.

However, we take this as a consolation prize, that a band of soldiers trained to protect their monarch and sworn by sacred oaths to do so, when ordered to fire on the people, fired on their masters.

The Cossacks of the interior, lacking other representatives, place money with the Czar's funny features thereon, in their midst and gaily dance around it. The soldiers of the town dance on his Imperial Majesty's face.

Is there any difference in form, mind or color between these people? There is not.

What is the answer?

Education!

Go to it.

J. H.

MARRIAGE NOTICE

Comrade R. Heilingher, member of Local Ottawa, No. 8, married Miss' Irene Wolfe, Brooklyn, New York, Feb. 18, 1917.

Our Bookshelf

POLITICAL PARTIES. A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy. By Robert Michels, Professor of Political Economy and Statictics, Universty of Basle. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. Published by Hearst's International Library, New York, 1915. Pp. 416. Price $3.50.

Reviewed by Moses Baritz

The author of this book died recently, but left a reputation of high standing in the world of sociology. The work undertaken many years ago, was printed in the German language, from which an Italian translation was taken. Before this English edition was written, there had been French and Japanese editions. The book has had a good reception in circles more or less reactionary, for the reason that, while the author scores aristocracy and leadership, in the sense that bares them to the reader, he also shows that as long as there is leadership, and as long as there is democracy, there will be always a tendency to create, if not to actually exist, an oligarchical neucius. To follow that view the author says:

> "In making this assertion it is far from the author's intention to pass a moral judgment upon any political party or any system of government, to level an accussation of hypocrisy. The law that is an essential characteristic of all human aggregates to constitute cliques and subclasses is, like every other sociological law, beyond good or evil."

That contention persists all through the book, and let us say, that it is proven up to the hilt when examining the constitution and personnel of the several parties alluded to. In the main, it is a severe raking of the so-called socialist organisations, and, as we have said, the author exposes their reactionary make-up in splendid style. He admits that the present system renders democracy impossible, and that "this must be admitted without reserve."

He traverses the history of democracy in brilliant manner, and explains the economic origin and political result of the new classes that are born out of the changed mode of production. The old trick of fanning the minds of the working class in obtaining their support for the onslaught on the ruling class of the age, he refers to, is expressed in this way. And does not this war prove it?

> "Every new social class, when it gives the signal for an attack upon the privileges of a class already in possession of economic and political power, inscribes upon its banners the motto: 'The Liberation of the Human Race!' "

Aside from the great French Revolution, we have it repeated in China, where Sun Yat Sen heralded the new Republic in some similar way a couple of years ago. We have the game being played, too, in the "belligerent" countries, where the workers are being made to think that they are fighting for a freedom that is theirs. The influence of the action of the bourgeoisie during the French Revolution was such that some were anxious to go to fight for the emancipation (?) of the rest of the world. Danton's military genius was directed along with Dumouriez for that purpose; more energetically so after the Battle of Valmy. The Decree of November 19th, where the Convention went on record as willing to aid all countries who wanted the abolition of "tyranny," is a case in point. No wonder that the French workers went to fight! The poor fools thought that they were free!

* * *

Chapter II gives us a real insight into the research of the work. It is a chapter that will be read with the greatest care by the student, for it gives us an idea of the tricky workings of the "leaders" of the so-called Socialist Parties.

Every statement made about the clique method of controlling the so-called Socialist Parties by the au-

thor, is, indeed, justified. But that he is right in the cases that he gives, does not prove his case against a revolutionary Socialist Party. The dominating element that he quotes in Germany, France, Italy, England, are only able to domineer because of the ignorance of the rank and file of the organisations. In the United States there is being created a class of mental pervert, educated at the Rand School of Social Science (?), who are being fitted to assume control of the party in the direct interest of a few political "leaders." The United States has so many mental four-flushers, of the Algernon Lee, John Spargo, and Victor Berger type, that unless a new element of real men appears, there is going to be as foul a game of rottenness played as has been played in the S. D. P. of Germany and the S. D. F. of England. Only an enlightenment of the rank and file can destroy the reactionary element just mentioned. The German movement has for years had a party school where men were made competent to "lead" the working class. The leadership sent them right into the hands of the Kaiser, as sure as Berger, Russell and Hillquit will drive the S. P. of America into the hands of the Morgan-Guggenheim gang of financiers.

It is the veneration of these leaders that causes a continuation of this state of affairs. The veneration is due, however, to the invincible ignorance of the rank and file of the party. The creation of caste in the S. P. of A. is on the same lines as that in Germany and Italy, where, if some prominent individual, upon application and acceptance of membership, they are received with hurrahs, bouquets, and other evidences of effeminacy. It was noticeable in the case of H. G. Wells, who was welcomed by the late Harry Quelch in the privately-owned paper, "Justice," as a great accession to the "Socialist" ranks. The latter, however, when he opposed Dan Irving at the North West Manchester Election of 1908, was called all the silly names imaginable.

The undemocratic attitude of the "leaders" is always a result of the lack of information on the part of the members of the organisation. Where there is an organisation that is built upon the basis of a knowledge of the Socialist proposition, there is NO chance of the "leader" getting a foothold. But within a party, recruited from all curios such as the S. P. of A., it is easy to subject such organisation to the dictates of a few individuals. Being opportunist, it derives its sustenance from evry corner of the "radical" world. In it will come every kind of freak that a suffering humanity has to be afflicted with. The author sums them up well in a few lines on page 95, where the following appears:

> "Every vigorous political party which is subversive in its aims is predestined to become for a time an exercise ground for all sorts of innovators and quack salvers, for perons who wish to cure the ills of travailing humanity by the use of their chosen specifics, employed exclusively in smaller or larger doses —the substitution of friction with oil for washing with soap and water, the wearing of all wool underclothing, vegetarianism, Christian Science, Neo-Malthusianism, and other fantasies."

That is correct. The rejected "progressive," the "advanced" parson or priest, is generally considered a great catch for the "Socialist Party."

Again we see the apt allusion of the author. On page 130 he says:

> "The press is the most suitable means of diffusing the fame of the individual leaders among the masses, for popularising their names. The Labor press, and this applies equally to the trade union journals, and to those which devote themselves predominantly to political ends, is full of panegyries concerning the personalities of the leaders, of the references to their 'disinterestedness and self-sacrificingness' to their 'ardent idealism, conjoined with a vigorous force of conviction and with invincible tenacity,' which we are told, have alone made it pos sible for them to create the great working class organizations."

The press that was used by these people to give them a prestige, Michels speaks of in the whole of the chapter VIII. The power of the orator is dealt with severely, and the words he uses are generally correct. The ability to sway audiences, the emotional outbursts at the end of conventions, such as Paul Singer did in Germany and Herbert Burrows did in England, are well explained. The author points, too, to the influence of the speaker over the unenlightened. How they are made to do certain things that the "leader" dare not do.

* * *

Before coming to a general conclusion, it will be advisable to point to page 39, where there is a footnote that is not quite in accord with facts. It deals with Marx, though let it be said that the author has by no means misrepresented Marx in any other respect. In fact, his reference on page 55 about the letter that Marx wrote to J. B. von Schweitzer about the workers in GERMANY being taught to "walk by themselves," is a fine piece of writing.

The author says on page 39, footnote 40:

> "In the works of Karl Marx we find traces, here and there of a theoretical mistrust of the representative system; see specially this writer's Revolution U. Kontre-Revolution in Deutschland, Dietz, Stuttgart, 1896, page 107."

Being in the Congressional Library in Washington, D. C., I have the very edition in front of me, and cannot find the "theoretical mistrust" that Michels speaks of. What I do find is that Marx attacks the ideas of the "Die Linke der Versammlung" (the left of the Assembly), who were accrediting themselves with too much importance as the result of the action of the Assembly in permitting them a certain latitude. The only justification is in the reference, "Eine andere Fraktion der Versammlung von der unheilbaren Krankheit des parliamentarischen Kretinismus." About the best I can make of it is is this, that they are suffering more than "Any other faction of the Assembly with that incurable illness, Parliamentary Cretinism," which Marx says is a disorder that dominates its victims with the idea that the world, its history, and future, are governed and determined by a majority of votes in that particular representative body which has the honor to count them among its members, and so on.

I cannot for the life of men see that Marx was harboring any mistrust in the representative system. What Marx does do in that Chapter XV is to indicate the insignifcance of the "left," who thought—to use a very apt expresson—that they were the whole cheese. And this brings one to the concluding remarks.

* * *

To accomplish our emancipation, we must have political supremacy. That was the position of Marx, and events and history have justified that position. To have political supremacy, pre-supposes an organisation of the working class. That organisation must be essentially democratic. So far as the International movement is concerned, there never has been a democratic party. The control of the political machinery within the so-called Socialist parties, has been maintained by a conspiracy of silence, wherein assent is given by the leaders to refuse to instruct the rank and file as to what Socialism really is.

The whole of the views of Michels about leaders are right, but that criticism is based upon the experience of parties and men, who, to our mind, have not been Socialists.

The book is very interesting from every viewpoint. As a philosophical disquisition it has merit; and the reasoning of the author is exceptionally fine in those parts where he deals with the past. The work has been undertaken by a painstaking, energetic mind, approaching a subject that no one seems to have contemplated. What chance there has been for verification shows implicit quotation. It is one of the good things that the Hearst people have done. It is a good book that should be read, if only from the historical standpoint. The labor fakir and the pseudo-propagandist would have little or no career were this book given the circulation it really should have. It is a splendid contribution to the history of the movement, and is one of the indispensable authorities that the well-informed student should pride himself in possessing.

THE TRICK.

Obiter Dictum.

Well, there may be other sciences —other than Social Economy— that offer success to the seekers after "argument about it and about;" but my aspirations in that regard are fully met in this branch of the "Proletarian Philosophy."

In this City of Vancouver, in the Province of British Columbia, we hold a weekly class in Economics. Therein, we discuss the theory of the expanding Nominal Wage and the shrinking Real Wage; we analyse production and distribution; we mark the course of the nimble and elastic dollar; we search for defects in Marx and Engels; we acquire knowledge, and are not altogether devoid of the ability to evolve a certain amount of humor from the discussions—usually at the expense of the local economists.

By-the-way, there are other classes in Economics in the aforesaid city. But I doubt if there be one where the fate of the unwary culprit of terminological inexactitudes, is quite so severe.

Is it Robbery?

In the course of a few remarks the unwary one stated that the "workers were robbed," and the other fellow immediately appealed to the Chairman to censure the unwary one for that statement "in view of the fact that the workrs never possessed that of which they were assumed to be robbed."

Between you, dear(!) reader, and myself—tell it not in Gath!—we compromised. We were all late for the next meal, but we had gotten our teeth into the matter and letting go did not appear to be quite natural.

Hereto is a tale appended.

It appears that, if I am unloaded upon this phenomenon in time and space—not, mark you, of my own wish and volition—as the offspring of parents who work for a living, I then belong to the class of those who work. In due course—sooner or later (usually sooner)—I am invited to look for a job.

Now "looking for a job" has, by some means or other, acquired a taste in connection therewith that is not "lovely and of good report"; it appears to be not even a desirable condition; there appears to be nothing aesthetic or noble appertaining thereto. The aspirant, who desires to DO, is not always received with open arms, or even with smiles. Verily, 'tis a strange world, wherein those who would serve are made the goats, those who do serve made the sheep, and those "who toil not, neither do they spin" are presented with the milk and honey, the hides and the wool, the fat and the meat; for them the open arms and the smiles.

Lest our dear readers should misunderstand, we would pause to remark that this is by no means a complaint. Were there none of those "who toil not, neither do they spin" we should presumably be at a serious situation in that we would be confronted with the problem of what to do with the milk, honey, etc., and in consequence numbers of us would be denied the privilege of working. Let us thank the Gods for those who toil not, and pray that more such apparently uselss parasites may be added unto us, for then shall we be blessed with more labor!

As for most things, so for the undesirability of "looking for a job" There's a reason.

Of course, to escape this unpleasantness, one should not belong to the working class. If one had only had the sense to be born of the propertied class and become a recipient of rents, interests and profits, then one would escape the ambition of "serving" and would be in a position of being able to bestow the blessed privilege of work upon others. But, as Dooley would put it, "we ain't never had no sense."

However, we have survived. And in the light of the law of biological evolution, we must have proven ourselves not to be adsolutely helpless.

Upon examination we find that we have brains, backbone, muscles, power and many and varied abilities to do things. (Some question the two first named, but we cannot debate that point just now). Also, upon further investigation, we find the world a huge market, and a glimmer of light dawns upon our proletarian minds. WE CAN OFFER OURSELVES, WITH OUR ABILITIES, FOR SALE IN THE MARKET. Just a little more investigation and we find that it is COMPULSORY THAT WE DO SO and COMPULSORY that we FIND A BUYER too.

When we have succeeded in finding a buyer for our abilities—generally known as our power to labor or labor power—we have arranged a commercial transaction in the world market of exchanging commodities, whereby we exchange our power to labor for a stipulated sum of money, generally called WAGES.

This transaction covers certain periods of time such as hours and days. We may not make the transaction cover a lifetime for that would be LIFE SLAVERY and quite illegal. So we must limit ourselves to the uncertainty of stated periods and becomes the beneficiaries (!) of WAGE SLAVERY.

Our deal is subject to the law of exchange that governs all commodity exchanges in the market. Apart from the variations, occasioned by abnormal supply and demand, these commodities will exchange on the basis of equal values being in each parcel.

The contention of some bourgeois economists (?), that profits are made in exchange, is an absurd one. Were that so we should be able, in normal times, to make a profit on the sale of our labor power, which we know we cannot do. History records very few occasions upon which that commodity has been exchangeable above its value.

If all commodities (other than gold, of course) are sold (exchanged) for money (gold) at more than their real value, THEN THIS ONE COMMODITY (GOLD) IS ALWAYS PENALISED, AND EXCHANGED (SOLD) FOR THESE OTHER COMMODITIES AT LESS THAN ITS VALUE! Such a statement is very absurd. If such were the case, no gold would be produced and put into the market. The effort required would be better spent in producing ANY other commodity than this MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE COMMODITY, for which, its real value could not be realised.

So we sell, or exchange, our only commodity "labor power" for so many grains of gold called wages. We consummate this transaction—the sale of our labor power—as we exchange all other commodities, AT ITS VALUE (value being determined by the amount of necessary social labor expended to produce a commodity).

This is a simple commercial transaction consisting of exchanging or selling, one commodity for another of equal value; the basis of exchange being the same as for the exchange of a jack-knife for marbles or an automobile for a boat.

We find herein no particular evidence of what is usually termed "robbery" and will close the case against the use of the term for the present.

Later we will re-open the matter and state the case as it appeared and determined that compromise.

W. W. LEFEAUX.

Farmers' Forum

THE SALVATION OF THE SMALL FARMER

ONCE again our terrestrial sphere has made its revolutionary movement around the sun, leaving behind a path of undulations and great commotion. Human actions since the beginning of the new cycle give every evidence that the earth's journey during 1917 will be on a path rough with upheavals and wild convulsions in human society.

While the world's war monsters are ngaged in their death struggle as to who shall control the commercial world, other elements are busy weaving the web of industrial centralization in other spheres.

The modern capitalist farmers of Canada in recent years have been conscious of the agricultural develoomnt of other countries and the far of those countries conquering the world's market with a cheaper commodity has compelled them to bend their energies in the direction of what they call "Co-operation." The seizure of the profits that have been going into the pockets of private companies engaged in the storage and handling of grain on commission would undoubtedly stave off any immediate danger, and enable the capitalist farming interests to hold their own a little longer in the world's market.

The primary diplomatic move was the launching of the U. F. A. (The United Farmers of Alberta) and the Grain Growers' Grain Company. To prepare the small fry for the melting pot the Provincial Government baited the hook with a few dollars to start the rolling of the ball. Who has ever heard of a labor organization receiving financial assistance from a capitalist government?

By some engineering process two Co-operative Elevator Companies were formed at different periods, one in Saskatchewan and one in Alberta. Shares were offered for subscription to any old Tom, Dick and Harry. Retail merchants and others outside of farming hold shares in those labor loving institutions framed exclusively for farmers. In the case of the Alberta Co-operative (Joint Stock) Company, the government once more joins in conjunction with the G. G. G. Co. until the main feeler of the capitalist farmer begins to redden with the blood of another victim.

At a meeting held at Delburne, Alta., on the 12th January, 1917, to consider the amalgamation of the Alberta Company with the G. G. G. Co., Mr. Carswell, the speaker, was interrogated as to what would be the outcome if the Alberta Co. refused to merge? No reply to the question! The G. G. G. Co. at the critical moment when the ship was steered into the gulf of difficulties refused to render any further assistance financially, and the government declined to come to the rescue leaving the Alberta Co. with the alternative of either amalgamating or going out of business. The speaker was further questioned on the matter of the G. G. G. Co. taking $50,000 of the farmers' money and $50,000 of nominal capital in the name of a fellow called Stempher down into New York to start in the grain exporting business a few weeks after the war broke out. With this $50,000 of real money and $50,000 ofStempher's experience a credit of $7,000,000 was secured in a New York Bank. This purely farmers' institution handled 38,000,000 bushels of U. S. wheat and about 7,000,000 of Canadian wheat, and for the warm and affectionate love of the farmer a small fee was charged amounting to over 1000 per cent. on a $50,000 investment. The speaker refused to acknowledge where this 1000 per cent. came from.

The weeping and wailing of those slick and oily tongued pedlars of farmers' eloquence, stampeding the mob with some metaphorical efflorescence at mothers' meetings and farmers' conventions, shaking the very foundations of the buildings they occupy with the hypocritical cry of the welfare of the public being embodied in their wonderful organizations formed solely for the benefit of farmers, is delicious.

At the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers, for the benefit of the public a motion was passed that an effort be made to encourage the importation of Sikhs from India. The chief argument was that Sikhs were efficient farm laborers, very quiet and peaceable, but to make it more plain I would add, "very cheap." The importation of Japs and Sikhs would be in the interest of the capitalist farmers, but I doubt if they would be to the interest of the "public."

The growing octopus, the United Grain Growers, with the present authorized capital of $2,000,000 is fast riveting the chains of control in the matter of storing and distributing the products of the farm, also the handling of every commodity consumed on the farm.

The growing demands upon this institution for expansion will entail a huge volume of capital which will tax the majority of the individual shareholders beyond their endurance In the face of the warnings of the farmers' official organ that a crisis in the grain market after the war may be expected we cannot but wonder how the average farmer will be able to contribute further to the financing of such a gigantic undertaking.

The small farmer all through history has been placed beneath the lowest possible point of respectability and considered a drag and a nuisance in the development of human society. The introduction of mechanical farm giants into countries adapted to their use with the application of capital wrung from the hides of workers will in the near future relieve the social system of this useless organ.

The strategical move of the capitalist farmer is responsible for the healthy development of the social organism by swelling the ranks of the proletariat with the middleman.

The salvation of the middleman and the rapidly decaying miniature land farmer cannot be secured by cheap money, free wheat, joint stock companies, or Farmers' Partisan Leagues. Free wheat will bind the food manipulators still closer together and with the elimination of the tariff between the U. S. and Canada the natural tendency will be in the direction of concentration. Flour Mills supplying flour to the G. G. G. Co.; mills furnishing lumber; machine manufacturers producing farm machinery; factories belching forth hardware, household furniture, harness and wire, will in the near future be one with the Grain Growers —a hugh combine.

In spite of all the high ideals or the very best intentions of those that believe the United G. G. to be in the interest of the public the modern method of capitalist production and distribution will fan the flames of centralization at the expense of smothering its weaker competitors.

The cheap money bug is the result of the uncertainty of foreign investment and the closing of the last gap of the world for capitalism with a coresponding restlessness of the labro element. A safer method of securing that pound of flesh will be by the farm mortgage with State backing.

It is quite obvious that a universal inclination is in the directian of State purchase of the means of transportation, and probably a few other industries that give rise to labor troubles. A general re-arrangement of police for state protection is now on foot and in the issue of "The Calgary Herald," dated January the 27th, 1916, Frank Oliver is reported to have said in a speech that it might be wise to have a system of compulsory service after the war is over.

If the State purchases the means of transportation and some other industries at the sellers' price, the

burden now upon the shoulders of the workers will be intensified.

With capitalism once hoisted on its highest pedestal, relieved of all rsponsibility by the sale of its industries to the State, nursed and protected by the power invested in the State, all the so-called liberty of protest by industrial workers will be lost. State laws regulating conditions under which men must work, repayment of loans on farms with a stipulated rate of interest buckled with war taxes will form a concrete wall in front with a military machine behind.

The prevailing idea among men ignorant of the laws of historical development, that government ownership will solve the problem, shows that they labor under a delusion. Socialism may irritate the nerves of those fallen by the wayside with the blow dealt by the capitalist machine. The average farmer, the middleman, workers, mental and manual, the world over, are now face to face with State Capitalism, but if you wish to climb another rung in the ladder of human development YOUR salvation will be found in Socialism alone, which means labor control (not State control) of the means of production and distribution, and the abolition of profit.

Geo. Paton.

THAT "ONE ACRE."

We have already received two contributions from farmer comrades on one acre sale of wheat of the 1916 crop.

One Alberta party member who wishes to remain anonymous, turned in Fifty Dollars ($50.00), while Com. W. K. Bryce, secretary of Local Kindersley (No. 10) Sask., tured in Twenty ($20). Next for the Roll of Honor!

THE PLOT AGAINST THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

There were various causes for the break-up of the old International Working-men's Association, but undoubtedly one of the prime reasons was the intriguing of Bakunin and his Secret Alliance.

Affairs within the International had developed to such an extent that at the annual congress held at the Hague in 1872, Bakunin and Guillaume were both expelled, and in order to try to check the confusion already created, a commission was appointed to publish the doings of Bakunin and his Secret Alliance.

For nearly a year this commission gathered reports and evidence, and finally completed its work in July, 1873, when it was published in French.

In 1874 it was translated to German, and not until May, 1915, did it appear in the English language, when Frederick Fellerman of Hartford, Conn., translated it for "The Weekly People."

The personnel of this commission was of the highest repute, containing in its ranks both Marx and Engels, whose names the present working class movement have learned to revere, and whose works are accepted even by the anarchistical followers of the lineal descendants of the Bakunists, i.e., our friends of the I. W. W.

The alliance of the Socialist Democracy was of bourgeois origin, and was an off-shoot of what was kown as "the Peace and Liberty League," a still-born society of bourgeois republicans.

Bakunin found that this organisation was, as he put it, "an impotent farce," and in a circular which he got forwarded through the committee to the "gentlemen" of the league, he expressed himself as follows:

"In order to become a salutary and effective power, our league must become the clear political expression of the great economic and social interests and principles, which at present have been triumphantly developed and diffused by the International Association of the Workingmen of Europe and America."

The congress of this Association, however, turned the proposal down, much to the wrath of Bakunin, who stated "we are indebted to a certain coterie of Germans who detest the Russians." He was (as he privately stated) referring to the Marxist coterie.

This was in 1868, and it was not until the next year that Bakunin managed to have the national sections of his Alliance accepted as members of the International.

It was then stated that the secret organization hidden behind the Public Alliance entered upon its full activity. In September, 1869, at the Basle congress, they were represented by at least ten members and they brought with them blank credentials which luckily they were unable to use to any extent, and, in consequence, Bakunin failed in his attempts to get the leadership of the International and the transfer of the seat of the general council from London to his own place of abode in Geneva.

The fight was continued for years after this, Bakunin being largely backed by James Guillaume, a young schoolmaster and editor of "Progress," by Bastelica of Marseilles, and by the two pillars of the Alliance in Lyons, Albert Richard and Gaspard Blanc.

In September, 1870, shortly after the Republic had been declared in Paris, the time was ripe, in the opinion of the leaders of the Alliance in Lyons, for the greatest revolutionary act the world had ever seen. So Bakunin hastened to the aid of his friends, and on September 28th, 1870, finding the populace of the City of Lyons in possession of the city hall, he declared the abolition of the State. "But," to quote from Fellerman's translation, "the State, in the shape and form of two companies of bourgeois National Guards, entered through a passage which it had been forgotten to secure, and cleared the premises, sending Bakunin hastily on his way to Geneva."

The constant secret work of the Alliance men was having its effect and we find Mazzini making the whole International responsible for the Anarchistic teachings of Bakunin and the grotesque phantasies growing out of those teachings. In France, what was known as the circular Souvillier, was largely circulated and had a great effect. As an instance of what the teachings meant, the following is taken from it:—

"Consequently we must endeavor to shape this organisation as much in accord with our ideals as possible. The International as the embryo of the human society, is ready to be at present a true reflex of our principles of liberty and of the federation and, therefore, must banish from its bosom all principles striving for authority and dictatorship."

This circular was spread broadcast through Europe, and the circulation was even aided by the police in France, in Italy by the Freethinkers, a pestiferous organization which, under the banner of Stefanoni, offered the proposition "to found a universal society of rationalists" with Rome as the obligatory seat, and endow the same with an "authoritative" and "hierarchic" organization, with atheistic monasteries and nunneries, and which offered to place the bust of any bourgeois who donated 10,000 francs, in the hall of congress.

The General Council answered by private circular, dated March 5th, 1873 (this circular of Souvillier) and about the same time Engels wrote his famous treatise on Authority (reprinted in "The Western Clarion" for April 25, 1914).

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te columns of this issue.—Ed. Clarion.].

The circular of the General Council was characterised by Bakunin and other members of the Alliance as a "heap of filth." "However," he said, "I had it reserved for myself to call all my calumniators before a court of honor, which without doubt the next congress will not refuse me. And if the jury oxers an impartial and earnest verdict, I shall place before it all the necessary details, besides explaining the political as well as the personal facts, without fear of trouble or of any danger of an indiscreet publication." Of course, Bakunin was conspicuous only by his absence at the next congress.

In Spain, the work of the Alliance was largely controlled by Sentinion, a doctor of medicine and a personal friend of "Pope" Bakinin" who, when thrown into gaol, publicly disavowed the International.

Another leader was Soriana, a professor of (unknown) sciences, who was opposed to public congresses owing to the fact that they raised the ire of the police; and another named Fraile, was proven after to be in the pay of the police of Sebastian. In short, the Spanish movement was controlled by as infamous a set of crooks as ever cursed the labor movement.

Italy, however, by peculiarly favorable circumstances, had become the provincial land of the Alliance. Bakunin brought this to light in a letter he wrote to Mora, in which he said "There exists in Italy what is missing in other countries; namely, an ardent, energetic young generation, without any position, without a career, which in spite of its bourgeois origin, is not morally and intellectually exhausted as is the young bourgeoisie in other countries. Today they rush head foremost into revolutionary Socialism with our entire program. Mazzini, our inspired and powerful opponent, is dead . . . and Garibaldi allows himself to be carried along more and more by those youths, that bear his name, but who go considerably further than he does.'

He was perfectly right in so far as the Alliance in Italy was concerned. It was not a workers' movement, but like many supposedly Socialist organizations of today, merely a mass of de-classed individuals, lawyers without clients, doctors without patients, and preachers without congregations, ex-priests and shady journalists, all of whom opposed the principle of authority, always, of course, excepting the authority of "Pope" Michael Bakunin.

Fanelli and Caporusso were two of the most prominent of the Italians in the Secret Alliance, Fanelli being a bourgeois member of the Italian Parliament, notwithstanding the fact that the Alliance forbade its members all political activities. Caporusso, who saw in the International only a chance of personal advantage, was finally expelled after it was proven that he had been bought by the capitalists of Naples and also for having kept for his own use certain funds of his section.

Terzaghi of Turin was also a typical Bakunist, and when grave charges were preferred against him, "he threatened that he would burn the books of the section if he was not re-elected secretary-treasurer, or if a vote of censure should be passed against him, or if the section should attempt to deprive him of his authority. In all of these cases, he would revenge himself by becoming a police agent."

At another time he stated that the section "had attempted to fasten upon him a vote of censure, and do you know why? Because I preached war agaist capital." (This war was waged directly against the sections' treasury).

In France, the three main Alliance leaders were Bastelica, Blanc and Richard. After Bakunin's fiasco of abolishing the state in Lyons, the sections were broken up and Bastelica, who had to join his regiment, did not think it worth while to reorgaize when he was not present to lead.

The end of Gaspard Blanc and Albert Richard is well known. In the fall of 1870 they appeared in London, where they jointly published a pamphlet, entitled "L'Empire et la France Mouvelle," in which they

extol themselves as follows:—

"We, who had formed the great army of the French proletariat—we, the influential leaders of the International in France, who have happily not been shot, we are here in sight of these ambitious orators of parliament, of these full-bellied republicans, of those pretended democrats of every shade, to set up the banner in whose shadow we fight, and to hurl against astonished Europe, in spite of calumnies, in spite of intimidation, and in spite of the attacks of all sorts which await us, that cry which emanates from the depth of our conscience, and which soon will reverberate in the hearts of all Frenchmen, the cry, 'Vive L' Empereur.' "

The other most active confederates of Bakunin in France were Walon and Guesde (the latter at that time was very jealous of German domination, a feeling he has evidently never overcome, as evidenced by his actions in the present war).

He it was who was mainly responsible for the arrest of Deutraygues of Toulouse, who was at that time one of the Marxists in the International.

In Marbonne, the most active Alliance men were Goudres, a police spy, and Barcave, an agent of police.

The work of the Alliance in Russia, however, was the blackest record against Bakunin and his agents. It has benn revealed to us under the name of the "Trial of Metschajeff," a well-known political trial before a tribunal at St. Petersburg in July, 1871. For the first time in Russia, the proceedings of a political trial were conducted publicly and before a jury.

All of the accused (over 80 in number), with a few exceptions, belonged to the student youth. They had been arrested in November, 1870, and the confinement had already caused the death of two and made several more insane. They were all found guilty of belonging to a secret society and were sentenced to the mines of Siberia for periods ranging from two to fifteen years.

(To be concluded in next issue.)

PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF ALTA AND SASK.

Balance Sheet from January 1st, 1916, to February 17th, 1917.

Receipts.

Dues from Locals	$139.80
Members at large	42.00
Charter Fees	15.00
Platforms, cards, books, etc.	8.67
Buttons (Party)	6.40
Donations	73.25
Edmonton Local Half P. O. Box Rent	2.00
Total	287.12

Expenses

Deficit from Dec. 31, 1915	$ 58.75
Postage Stamps	16.00
Telegrams, phones	4.75
Edmonton Printing & Pub. Co.	20.50
Dues Stamps from D. E. C.	75.00
Supplies	10.75
Western Clarion Directory	14.00
Miscellaneous	1.90
Post Office Box Rent	5.00
Charter Fees to D. E. C.	3.00
Mailing Supplies	1.74
Stationery Cabinet	2.00
Typewriter (half price)	25.00
Card Filing Cabinet	1.75
Literature	1.15
Balance in hand	45.83
	$287.12

Assets.

Cash on hand	$ 45.83
Due Stamps 39 at 5c each	1.95
Membership cards, 100	.80
Platforms	.25
Typewriter	50.00
Mimeograph	25.00
Card Filing Cabinet	1.75
Stationery Cabinet	2.00
Stationery, Files, etc	4.00
Total Assets	133.23

Liabilities: nil.

Net worth, $133.23

Audited and found correct, Ernest H. Flegg, Mary Johnstone, J. D. Perkins, John F. Maguire.

S. I. Johnson-Knight,
Provincial Financial Secretary.

OBITUARY.

On Saturday, Mar. 17th, the funeral of Mrs. Leavers, wife of Com. Frank Leavers, of North Vancouver, took place.

The deceased passed away on Tuesday, the 13th of March, following an operation. While not a member of the Party she was greatly interested in the work, and was a constant attendant at the propaganda meetings in the Rex Theatre.

It was her wish that the burial should take place without the hypocritical parson, and by request Com. W. A. Prtichard, editor of the "Western Clarion," officiated. The sympathy of all Vancouver "Reds" who know Frank Leavers, will go out to him at this very trying time.

SUBS. RECEIVED.

	$	50c	25c
Local St. Cats.	9	1	5
R. C. McCutcheon	5		
T. B. Roberts	0	29	
W. A. P.	6	2	
R. C. Walker	3	2	
J. H. Greaves	2		
R. A. Fillmore	3		
O. Erickson	2		
J. Albers	3		
S. Smith	2		
W. Thomas	2		
V. Vazza		6	
J. R. Knight		4	
A. Mason		2	
	37	46	5

Singles.—Dollar: A. T. Kirby, J. Todd, J. Bone, W. Jones, A. Abrams, G. Sehott, T. Hanwell, J. Stewart, G. Paton, H. Vosper.

Fifty cents: T. Connor, J. A. McDonald.

Twenty-five cents: S. I. Johnson Knight.

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Socialist Party Directory

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE Socialist Party of Canada, meets every alternate Monday 8 p.m., Socialist Hall, N. E. cor. Pender and DuDnlevy Vancouver, B. C.—W. A. Pritchard, Secretary.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Canada, mets same as above.

ALBERTA AND SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—Secretary, Mrs. S. I. Johnson Knight, Box 785, Edmonton. Phone 4803.

NEW BRUNSWICK PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.—A Taylor, Secretary, East St. John, N. B. For Party literature and information on organization matters, etc., write to above address.

LOCAL ALHAMBRA, No. 74 (Alta.) S. P. of C.—P. O. Peterson, Secretary, Horseguards, Alta.

LOCAL CALGARY, No. 86 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—Business meetings every alternate Wednesday, 8 p.m. Economic class every Monday, 8 p.m. Headquarters, 220, 8th Ave. E. Secretary, J. Reid, Box 1436, Calgary.

LOCAL CLAYTON, No. 83 (B.C.)) S. P. of C.—John T. DDempster, Secretary, Clayton, B. C.

LOCAL CRAWFORD BAY, No. 72 (B.C.), S. P. of C.—J. E. McGregor, Secretary Crawford Bay, B. C.

LOCAL CUMBERLAND, B. C., No. 70.—Business metings every first and third Sunday in the month, at 10:30 a.m., Economic classes every Monday and Friday, at 7 p.m., in the Socialist Hall opposite P. O. Regular Propaganda meetings at every opportunity. C. Walker, Box 312, coresponding and financial secretary.

LOCAL ECKVILLE, No. 58 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—J. E. Lundberg, Secretary, Eckville, Alta.

LOCAL ENDERBY, No. 65, S. P. of C.—Business metings first Sunday in each month at 2:30 p.m. Propaganda third Sunday in each month at 2:30 p.m., in the Theatre, Main St.. Everybody welcome. J. Pilkington, Secretary, R. R. No. 4, Armstrong, B. C.

LOCAL EDMONTON No. 1, S. P. of C.—Free reading room and headquarters at Room 8, Bellamy Block, N. E. cor. Rice and Howard. Propaganda meetings every Sunday in the Bijou Theatre, First St., at 8 p.m. Business meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. J. L. McKenzie, organizer. E. H. Flegg, secretary, P. O. Box 785.

LOCAL ERSKINE, No. 32 (Alta), S. P. of C.—A. A. McNeill, Secretary, Erskine, Alta.

LOCAL FERNIE, S. P. of C., hold eductionl maeetings in the Socialist Hall every Sunday at 7. Business meetings third Sunday in each month, 7:30 p.m. Economic class every Sunday afternoon at 2:30. Oscar Erickson, Secretary, Box 505.

LOCAL FLOWERDALE, No. 71 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—Mrs. J. R. Macdonald, Secretary, Richdale, Alta.

LOCAL FERGUSON FLATS, No. 85 (Alta),—O. L. Fuller, Secretary, Ferguson Flats, Alta.

LOCAL KINDERSLEY, No. 10 (Sask.) S. P. of C.—W. K. Bryce, Secretary, Collins, Sashk.

LOCAL LETHBRIDGE, ALTA., No. 13, S. P. of C.—Meets every Sunday at 3:30 p.m., in Miners' Hall. Secretary, W. Shaw, 624—14th St., S. Wm. Devoy Organiser.

MEDICINE HAT (Lettish) Local S. P. of C. Meets first Sunday in the month at 528 C Princess Ave., J. R. Kalnin, Secretary.

LOCAL MARKERVILLE, No. 31 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—S. E. Baldwin, Secretary, Markerville, Alta.

LOCAL MONTREAL, No. 1, S. P. of C.—Headquarters, 98 City Councillor St. Open every evening. Business meetings Wednesdays at 8 p.m. Smoker last Saturday in each month.

LOCAL ROSSLAND, No. 25, S. P. of C. —Meets in Miners' Hall every change Sunday at 7:30 p.m. Will Jones, Box 125, Secretary.

LOCAL SUNDIAL, No. 70 (Alta), S. P. of C.—Mrs. A. Thorburn, Secretary, Sundial, Alta.

LOCAL SILVER LEAF, No. 101 (Alta.) S. P. of C.—Ed. Haugen, Secretary, Baraca, P. O. Alta.

LOCAL ST. CATHERINES, No. 30 (Ont.) S. P. of C.—Economic class at Carpenter's Hall, Queen St., every Sunday at 2 p.m. D. Thomson, Secretary, 9 Mary Stret .

LOCAL ST. JOHN, N. B., No. 1, S. P. of C.—Visiting Comrades welcomed. Secretary, Stanford E. White, 24 Main St.

LOCAL TRAIL, No. 37 (B.C.(, S. P. of C. —D. Wilson. Secretary, Box 531.

LOCAL TRAVERS, No. 55 (Alta.), S. P. ofC.—W. A. Brown, Secretary, Travers, P. O., Alta.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, No. 1, S. P. of C. —Business meeting every Tuesday evening. Economic Class every Sunday at 3 p.m. Education Class every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at Headquarters, Socialist Hall, N. E. cor. Pender and Dunlevy. Miss H. Harvey, Secretary.

VANCOUVER LETTISH LOCAL No. 58, S. P. of C.—Business meeeting every first Sunday of the month and propaganda meeting every third Sunday at 2 p.m. Open to everybody, at Socialist Hall, N.E. cor. Pender and Dunlevy. Secretary, R. Amat, Box 667.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., No. 45. Finnish. Meets every second and fourth Wednesdays in the month at 2215 Pender St. East, Ovia Lind, Secretary.

LOCAL VICTORIA, No. 2, S. P. of C.—Headquarters and Reading Room, 1424 Government St., Room 8. Business meetings every second and fourth Tuesday in the month. Secretary, Fred Harman, 1424 Government St.

LOCAL WINNIPEG, No. 11., S. P. of C. —Headquarters, Room 7—540 Main St. Secretary, J. Waters.

LOCAL OTTAWA, No. 8 (Ont.) S. P. of C.—Secretary, A. G. McCallum, 276 Laurier Ave.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada, affirm our allegiance to, and support of, the principles and program of the revolutionary working class.

Labor, applied to natural resources, produces all wealth. 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 its property rights in the means of wealth production and its control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system give 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 setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which this exploitation, at the point of production, is cloaked. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into socially controlled economic forces.

The irrepressible conflict of interest between the capitalist and the worker necessarily expresses itself as a struggle for political supremacy. This is the Class Struggle.

Therefore, we call all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering the political 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 collective means of production.
2. The organization and management of industry by the working class.
3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

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Propaganda Meeting

Vancouver Local No. 1
S. P. of C.
EVERY SUNDAY, 8 p m.
REX THEATRE,
Hastings Street.

Boost the

Western Clarion