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KARL MARX

By W. W. L.

FOREWORD

Why I, Comrade Editor! Why should you ask me for an article to mark the Centenary of Marx's birth! Apart from an incomplete acquaintance with "Capital," "The Communist Manifesto," and a few other works and pamphlets of this rather extraordinary product of heredity and modern conditions, I am—with the personality—totally unacquainted.

It may be that the tie of a similar conception of life, the bond of a common outlook upon events, the mutual attraction of those who have a common basis for the interpretation of phenomena, will determine a friendship and comradeship—even with the dead; but concerning the personality, the life and the struggles and "kicks against the pricks" I know next to nothing.

But I have an idea. Something occurs to me. I will hire me to the library—seeing that I cannot escape the assignment—and I will call Engels, Liebknecht, Mrs. Aveling (Marx's daughter) and any other slumbering friends of his from the dusty depths. Haply I have more solid expectations of a fruitful search than Hamlet's Father had of his ability to draw spooks from the vasty deep, however much ability he might have had in the summoning line.

And there is need for haste, Comrade Editor. Well, I will away. My mental equiptise and desire for a quiet life bids me in the future to beware the editorial sanctum sanctorum as I would the plague.

Nationality

It seems that Marx was born in the German city of Treves, on the 5th of May in the year of Our Lord 1818. His parents were Jews, his

father a prominent Jewish lawyer and his mother was of Hungarian Jew stock that had immigrated from Holland. In the light of the determinist philosophy we can safely conclude that Marx would have been the first to admit that his chief reason for being what he was, was because of predetermining causes. In other words he had no choice in the matter. I am not seeking to infer that it would have been of any advantage to have come of any other stock. Seeing that he developed into one of the foremost scientists of an age that produced several particularly brilliant intellects, we can only conclude that his environment was not fatal to mental development.

Early Years.

His early years seem to have been much the same as those of most schoolboys. He had a natural sense of humor and also no small ability to attack and defend himself and his friends by writing cutting satirical poetry.

He must have acquired a decidedly unusual character from his earliest youth, for we are told that he went through the universities of Bonn and Berlin, also studied law; having been subject to such handicaps as are afforded the developing mentality by university training and studying law, he was still able to accomplish his great life work of becoming the apostle of the proletariat, the carver—on the rocks of society—of the science of social economy.

The profession of Law had no particular attraction for our Marx and we find him studying History and Philosophy by choice and Law by necessity. He appears to have had at one time the ambition of becoming a professor of philosophy, but his ability as a pamphleteer had already commanded notice and his native energy and inclination led him into journalistic and literary spheres.

With his several journalistic ventures and political adventures I have not the space to deal here. Particulars of these and of his association with the Communist Alliance in Paris, the International Workingmen's Association in London, his expulsion from Brussels at the request of the Prussian Government, his joint work with his friend Engels in the production of the Communist Manifesto, which created such a furor in Europe at the time, and other works and labors preceding his final settling in London, I must refer readers to Liebknecht's "Karl Marx"—Biographical Memoirs—published by Chas. H. Kerr and Co., Chicago.

His Work.

One of his most important contributions to the philosophy of the proletariat was his systemization and clear definition of the Materialist Conception of History. This conception was not entirely original, but it had never before been presented to society in concrete form or simple language, and we cannot do better than repeat the words of his closest

fellow-worker on this subject. Engels writes:

"The first of the important discoveries with which the name of Marx is associated in the history of science, is his conception of the world's history. All conception of history previous to him is founded on the idea 'that the ultimate causes of all historic changes are found in the changing ideas of men,' and again 'that of all historic changes the political are the most important, controlling the whole history.' But whence these ideas are derived by men, and what are the moving causes of political changes nobody had ever inquired. . . . Marx, however, demonstrated that all history has been hitherto a history of class struggles, that all the numerous and intricate political struggles were carried on wholly for the sake of social and political supremacy of different classes in society; for the maintenance of the supremacy by older, for the establishment of supremacy by newer, rising classes.

"Through what agency, now, do these classes rise and exist? Through the pressure of those material and physical conditions under which the society of a given time produces and exchanges its means of subsistence. The feudal reign of the Middle Ages was based on the self-sufficient and almost exchangeless management of small farming communities, producing nearly all their own necessities and receiving from the warlike nobility protection against external foes and national, or at least, political, coherence. When the towns arose and with them a separate branch of skilled industry and a trade first confined to the home market, but later on waxing international, then the civic element of the towns developed and, fighting the nobility, obtained even during the Middle Ages its admission as a likewise privileged class into the feudal order.

"But by the discovery of new lands the bourgeoisie obtained extended territory . . . a new incen-

tive to industry . . . made possible by inventions . . . especially the steam engine.

"Thus the bourgeoisie united more and more the social wealth and the social power in its own hands, though for a long time it still remained excluded from the political power which still rested in the hands of the nobility, and the monarch protected by the nobility. But at a certain stage—in France after the great revolution—it also conquered this power and now became in its turn the ruling class in opposition to the proletariat and the small farmer. Observed from this point of view, all historical transactions are very easily explained—with a sufficient knowledge of the contemporaneous economic state of society, unhappily wholly missing in our professional historians; and in a most simple manner the conceptions and ideas of a given historical period are explained by the economic conditions of existence during that period, and by the social and political conditions dependent on those economic factors. History for the first time was placed on its real foundation; the obvious fact, hitherto totally neglected, that first of all men must eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, and therefore must work, before they can struggle for supremacy and devote themselves to politics, religion, philosophy, etc., this obvious fact at last found historical recognition."

I have quoted Engels rather fully for the simple reason that it would be almost impossible to frame a better synopsis of the interpretation of History known as the Materialist Conception and thereby give the casual reader an idea of the great work that Marx did in this all-important field of historical research.

Regarding his work in the department of science dealing with Economics, it is hardly necessary to call the attention of the student to his monumental work, "Capital." In this work we have a scientific analysis of the laws covering production and exchange. Subjected to

the fiercest scrutiny and most minute analysis by embittered foes and hired defamers in all countries of capitalist development, we find it standing immune from their attacks. Nobody can assail its scientific accuracy. Its message to the proletariat—the most bitter message ever conveyed to the ruling class—is slowly but surely permeating the heads of the world-wide working class. Borne on the wings of the irresistible progress of industry we have the message of the Marxian analysis that **all wealth is produced by labor and by labor alone.**

And ever since this historical pronouncement the flag of the international working class has been flying at the masthead of social economy. Now in full sight, now obscured; sometimes hidden by the horrors of war, sometimes beclouded by the fog of fakirs; at times apparently completely forgotten, it still flies there and none may or can haul it down.

And with this message came another, and this one conveyed the Historical Mission of the Working Class. And in the light of this message we can see the day forthcoming, determined by the irrefutable laws of materialist and evolutionary industrial progress, when the working class will arise and there shall be no more working class; when Master and Slave shall be no more; when poverty and wars shall be as a dream of a forgotten past; when the machine shall be for the benefit of society and we shall have entered upon the next phase in the evolution of the human race.

Marx died as he lived—in the harness of the worker's social and political movement. With a few friends he had stirred Europe. With his own pen he had guided the struggling consciousness of the militant workers into correct channels.

One hundred years ago he was born.

Shall you, and I, who profess to know his message, carry on, or shall we temporise, or compromise? Let us be up and doing.

FROM THE "BOLSHEVIKI AND WORLD PEACE"

By Leon Trotsky

THE revolutionary Marxists have no cause for despair. The epoch into which we are now entering will be our epoch. Marxism is not defeated. On the contrary: the roar of cannon in every quarter of Europe heralds the theoretical victory of Marxism. What is left now of the hopes for "peaceful" development, for a mitigation of capitalist class contrasts, for a regular systematic growth into Socialism!

The Reformists on principle, who hoped to solve the social question by the way of tariff treaties, consumers leagues, and the parliamentary cooperation of the Social Democracy with the bourgeois parties, are now all resting their hopes on the victory of the "national" arms. They are expecting the possessing classes to show greater willingness to meet the needs of the proletariat because it has proved its patriotism.

This expectation would be positively foolish if there were not hidden behind it another, far less "idealistic" hope—that a military victory would create for the bourgeoisie a broader imperialistic field for enriching itself at the expense of the bourgeoisie of other countries, and would enable it to share some of the booty with its own proletariat at the expense of the proletariat of other countries. **Socialist Reformism has actually turned into Socialist imperialism.**

We have witnessed with our own eyes the pathetic bankruptcy of the hopes of a peaceful growth of proletarian well-being. The Reformists, contrary to their own doctrine, were forced to resort to violence in order to find their way out of the political cul-de-sac—and not the violence of the peoples against the ruling classes, but the military violence of the ruling classes against other nations.

Since 1848 the German bourgeoisie has renounced revolutionary methods for solving its problems. They left it to the feudal class to

solve their own bourgeois questions by the method of war. Social development confronted the proletariat with the problem of revolution. Evading revolution, the Reformists were forced to go through the same process of historical decline as the liberal bourgeoisie. The Reformists also left it to their ruling classes; that is the same feudal caste, to solve the proletarian problem by the method of war. But this ends the analogy.

The creation of national states did really solve the bourgeois problem for a long period, and the long series of colonial wars coming after 1871 finished off the period by broadening the arena of the development of the capitalistic forces.

The period of colonial wars carried on by the national states led to the present war of the national states—for colonies. After all the backward portions of the earth had been divided among the capitalist states, there was nothing left for these states except to grab the colonies from each other.

"People ought not to talk," says George Irmner, as though it were self-evident that the German Empire has come too late for rivalry for world economy and world markets, that the world has already been divided. Has not the earth been divided over, and over again in all epochs of history?"

But a redivision of colonies among the capitalist countries does not enlarge the foundations of capitalist development. One country's gain means another country's loss. Accordingly a temporary mitigation of class-conflicts in Germany could only be achieved by an extreme intensification of the class-struggle in France and in England, and vice-versa. An additional factor of decisive importance is the capitalist awakening in the colonies themselves, to which the present war must give a mighty impetus. Whatever the outcome of this war, the imperialistic basis for European capitalism will not be broadened, but narrowed. The war, therefore, does not

solve the labor question on an imperialistic basis, but, on the contrary, it intensifies it, putting this alternative to the capitalist world: **Permanent war or Revolution.**

If the war got beyond the control of the second international, its immediate consequences will get beyond the control of the bourgeoisie of the entire world. We revolutionary Socialists did not want the war. But we do not fear it. We do not give in to despair over the fact that the war broke up the International. History had already disposed of the International.

The revolutionary epoch will create new forms of organization out of the inexhaustible resources of proletarian Socialism, new forms that will be equal to the greatness of the new tasks. To this work we will apply ourselves at once, amid the mad roaring of the machine guns, the crashing of cathedrals and the patriotic howling of the capitalist jackals. We will keep our minds clear amid this hellish death music, our vision undimmed. We feel ourselves to be the only creative force of the future. Already there are many of us, more than it may seem. Tomorrow there will be more of us than today. And the day after tomorrow, millions will rise up under our banner, millions who even now, sixty-seven years after the Communist Manifesto, have nothing to lose but their chains."

Thus Trotsky concludes his book.

A penetrating analysis of the political state of the world leading up to and during the war. It is also a forceful exposition of the wide-spreading spirit of Internationalism which is the heart and soul of Revolutionary Socialism.

This spirit is sweeping over the world. Paradoxical as it may seem, the war has given impetus to the movement.

It has to be reckoned with—some people say it has to be grappled with. In any case, for the workers at least, it has to be understood. And that is all we care about.

EXPLOITATION

The Capitalist system of production resembles the older forms of civilized society in one respect. That is, that it is based upon the exploitation of one class by another, although the form of the exploitation has altered.

Chattel slavery and Feudalism were clearly exploiting systems, but under capitalism it is so obscured that the workers are firmly convinced that they get the value of their labor.

Fortunately for our masters' capitalism is a somewhat complex system and the relation between the employer and his employee, who come in contact with each other as free commodity owners, seems to negate the possibility of the employer getting something for nothing.

The events of the last two or three years, however, have given unmistakable proof to the workers that they only receive a small part of what they produce.

The question then for an intelligent worker is, how am I exploited—and to every one with a spark of manhood in him—is it possible for me to put a stop to it?

This article is chiefly intended as an answer to the first question: How?

It becomes necessary for this purpose, that we first enquire into the nature of a commodity, and as to what gives it its value in exchange; because a proper understanding of the nature of value presents us with the key to the secret of capitalist exploitation.

The Commodity.

A commodity is anything produced for sale and in consequence, must be capable of satisfying some human want,—it must have a use value. In previous modes of production, less productive than the present one, the labors of men were almost wholly devoted to producing things for use and only the surplus was exchanged. But in this age of high productive capacity and specialization in industry, known as capital-

ism, goods are necessarily produced wholly for exchange—for the market.

Under these circumstances, goods, besides having a use value have also an exchange value. The thing of interest to us now is, upon what basis do they exchange: what is the source from which comes this value which we refer to when we say that two chairs are equal to, or, are worth, one table or so much gold.

Source of Exchange Value.

For a detailed examination into this question see Marx's "Value Price and Profit." Suffice it for us to say that examine it how we will we find that human labor, mental and physical, is the sole source of exchange value. But when commodities are exchanged it is not the amount of actual labor which may be in any particular commodity which determines its value, but only the amount of labor which is socially necessary, because the competition on the market rules out all socially un-necessary labor. Hence we say that it is the socially necessary labor time involved in the production of a commodity which determines its value.

We have considered the nature of the value of a commodity because, just as the capitalist lives by selling his commodities, so the working man lives by selling his labor power. Labor power, thus, takes on the nature of a commodity and is subject to the laws that govern commodities when on the market.

The socially necessary labor time involved in its production is the factor which determines its value, or the socially necessary labor time involved in the production of those things which are necessary to the working man to enable him to live and work and reproduce his kind. The competition on the labor market ensures that wages or the price of labor power shall hover around its cost of production. This law holds good even though the worker's productive capacity increased a thousand fold. His share must still re-

main just sufficient to reproduce his labor power.

For thousands of years man has been able to produce more than was necessary to keep him alive and perpetuate his kind and today his power has increased a hundred fold by the aid of science and machinery.

Surplus Values Accrue to the Capitalists.

But the iron laws of the commodity market, i.e., the fundamental law of value and the laws of competition, effectually prevent that increased productive capacity from redounding to the benefit of the working class because of the commodity nature of their labor power. Automatically, the capitalist class become the beneficiaries as monopolizing owners of society's means of wealth production.

Ambrose Tree.

MANITOBA MISCELLANEA

By "Pat."

Our late comrade, Mr. R. A. Riggs, evidently thinks the workers of Winnipeg get too much in the shape of wages. He has been performing on the vaudeville stage of late as a Red Cross turn. The method used is to tell of the sufferings of prisoners of war in Germany, and after getting the audience to appreciate how well off they are, they are then asked to help the indigent capitalist class to conduct this war, by giving them back some of their wages in the form of charity.

There are rumors that another Socialist of the olden days, W. Cummings, also took part in this charitable work, all of which goes to show that, to quote that old Scots saying, "Ye never can ken"—I wonder if I'll be next!

There are signs of an S. L. P. section being formed here—we suppose to show, as their platform has it, "that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of the right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Or mayhap to show the error of the S. P. of C. stand on religion, by pointing out that religion to the S. L. P. is a private matter.

The following is quoted from an old country paper, Horatio Bottomley of "John Bull" fame gave a lecture at Swindon lately purporting to be in aid of "the Soldiers and Sailors Christmas Parcel Fund," and Mr. Alfred Womersley sent the balance sheet to the local papers as follows:

| | |
|--------------------------|----------|
| "Total receipts | £163 2 9 |
| Entertainment Tax | 38 9 5 |
| Paid Mr. Bottomley | 87 12 0 |
| Balance for Fund | 37 10 9" |

Yet, verily! John Horatio Bottomley, your name is Bull!

The following clipping is copied from the "Daily News," Dec. 13th, 1917:—

"Yesterday's parliamentary reports did scanty justice to the remarkable admission extracted by Mr. Anderson from the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions on the "Kamerads" leaflet drawn up by a fertile propagandist in that department.

"It is now established in Mr. Kellaway's own showing, that the leaflet which was printed by a London firm, but bore no printer's name, was ordered by an official of the Ministry of Munitions during the engineering strike of last summer. It purported to convey a message from the Kaiser and Von Hindenburg to British engineers, addressing them as 'Kamrads' and thanking them for the assistance they had rendered to the German arms.

"It appears to have been the official intention that those leaflets should be scattered over engineering areas by aeroplanes—which I suppose were to be assumed to be German. Mr. Kellaway stated that a number of the leaflets were printed. The exact number I believe was 100,000. They were 'forthwith' destroyed. Was the primary reason for their destruction the fact that

the strike ended before they could be used?"

Paste those two clippings in your scrap book, boys. Comment is needless, but they will be useful some day to show to what lengths the ruling class will go in lying and chicanery to hold their right to rule and rob the slave class.

The press is recounting the atrocities of the Bolsheviki in Russia. It is even said that they take boots from the bourgeois in order to have the workers shod while doing useful labor. However, we will soon with the help of the Allies and Germany have the old gang back again (may-be) according to the "Manchester Guardian" of November 28th, 1917, a rebellion arose in Central Asia amongst the nomad population, the Kirghiz in the year 1916. As a result the troops of law and order from Russia massacred 500,000 of the Kirghiz and over a million had to fly to China for safety, and this out of a total population of 2,000,000. The Allied newspapers were so busy recording German atrocities that over one year elapsed before they had room to tell of this Christian treatment by the brave minions of the Czar.

The Manchester "Daily Dispatch" of February 11th, 1918, contains an article which breathes forth Christian love. Allied generosity British fair-play, and finishes up with a sentiment which will make the 'old un' 'ide' 'is' 'ead in shame. It says anti-militarists and socialist agitators should be shot and their cases "heard afterwards."

Oh, how happy we would be now if only the Kaiser would die! Drink gone would mean poverty gone, the Kaiser gone would mean peace and plenty for all!

Like h—!

THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

(Continued from April issue.)
THE feudal system was not one to greatly encourage the growth of industry. The isolation and independence of the communities, together with the necessity of securing permission from the lords for the smallest undertaking, did not favor a rapid development of an industrial class. As we have seen, however, privileges were gradually secured through the financial needs of the lords. Then with the formation of merchant and craft guilds, the towns took on a more thriving character.

Certain towns at that time secured the exclusive right of dealing with the most important commodities produced. Wool, tin, and leather, for example, were the staple products of the country, and the towns chosen to receive and distribute these goods were usually centres of the localities where the goods were produced. This system of having staple towns served several purposes. It facilitated the collection of customs, enabled the merchants to keep a better watch on the extent of production as well as on the quality of the goods. Staple towns also existed in Flanders for the handling of foreign trade.

Wool was by far the most important commodity produced in the country. All taxes were reckoned in wool. The wars with France were almost wholly paid for by grants of wool from the industrial portion of the country. The huge revenues, exacted by the Pope left the kingdom in the form of many thousands of sacks of wool, which were sold in Flanders and the money then sent on to Rome.

The growing importance of the merchant class is seen in the provisions of the Magna Charta which was granted in 1215. Freedom of journeying and trading throughout the realm, the right of each town to regulate its own trade, freedom from

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Editorial Page

The Western Clarion

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History repeats itself! What a senseless assertion! What more convincing evidence of the utter inability of bourgeois historians to interpret the life story of the human race than this oft-repeated, and commonly accepted, statement? History repeats itself! Were this the case, then, all that would be essential to an understanding of human development would lie in the discovery of a starting point in one of those mysterious cycles. The analysis of other ages would be but superfluous repetition.

However, our view of the historical process is somewhat at variance with this conclusion. We find, as we delve into the misty past and follow the movements of mankind into capitalist society, a continuous change in the social structure. That, instead of abruptly terminating its epoch only to resume it in a similar epoch, evolution proceeds from the lower and simpler forms, through well-understood causes, into the higher and more complex organization of today.

In these days of military madness and Christian chicanery, we find it interesting, as well as instructive, to make comparisons with the problems of previous systems. We see how different the solutions must of necessity be, in a society where the welfare of human kind was the first consideration from those in which property rights and interests assume the dominant position. One of such problems let us examine for a moment.

The strenuous efforts now put forward by every belligerent nation to conscript its physically efficient slaves and send them to the scene of action to extinguish themselves for the glorification of their masters, appears more callous, contemptible, and atrocious still, when we revert to other days and view the methods of savage tribes when war was found essential to their existence and progress. In savage society all the members enjoyed equal rights, privileges, and positions. Liberty, equality, and fraternity, so loudly heralded to the world by the rising capitalist class in the prerevolutionary days was the basis of social organization among those primitive peoples who knew not the ways of commodity production, or the trickery and hypocrisy associated with industrial progress. Whatever wealth found its way into this early society became the joint possession of all the members of both sexes. No one wanted so long as food existed. Even the stranger coming into their midst must be looked after, not by law, but, by custom. If fortune frowned upon them and food was hard to obtain, then all equally faced the dangers of privation and want. When the interests of the tribe clashed with those of neighboring tribes and a call to arms was necessary, then, every able bodied member of the tribe understood that it was his duty to defend his freedom.

He required no Victoria Cross to entice him; no white feather to shame him; and no Acts of Parliament to coerce him. If victory perched on their banners and new areas were added to those they already possessed, we see that equally certain was each individual to share in the spoils their arms had won. If they met with reverses, that meant emigration or extinction, then, they all moved, or they all died. There was no reneging or flaking. Even the chiefs and Sachems claimed no exemption, but willingly took their places as units of a common brotherhood bound together by family ties.

How different, indeed, yes, how vastly different we find the state of affairs in modern society. One class in possession of all that is useful to human kind. They own it; they control it, and they reap all the benefits that accrue. On the lower strata of the same social formation is another class comprising numerically nine-tenths of the people. They possess nothing but their mental and physical energy which they are forced to sell for a bare existence. They have no rights, privileges, positions, or aspirations other than what their masters allow them. Yet when wars are declared to settle affairs between those who exploit them, it is they who don the khaki, carry the rifles, and face the music. If not willing they go anyway. Oh happy state!

J. A. McD.

DEMOS AWAKENING

Amazed at the energy and hardihood displayed by the Russian proletariat in their determined fight to make good and secure their control over the economic and political forces of Russia, the bourgeoisie are sparing no effort in desperate attempt to stem the tide of world wide revolutionary feeling.

In particular their news-sheets and periodicals, by open and conscienceless vilification and subtle insinuation seek to discredit the Russian movement and its prominent

personalities. That in pursuance of their foul purpose no blackguardly insinuation is too vile and that no opportunity is lost for a sneering misrepresentation, testifies fully to their fear that revolutionary feeling in other countris, taking courage from example, may translate itself into action with direful consequences to bourgeois dominion in the world.

Cost what it may, the working class must be turned from the path which leads to emancipation.

And so, behold, our bourgeois writers and publicists hobnobbing patronizingly with "labor leaders" and renegade "socialists," and the press giving full publicity and fulsome praise to so-called "National" and "Labor" parties and their insipid, harmless, pseudo socialist policies.

Demos is awakening from his age-long sleep.

And they sing a song of a "New Social Order" where everyone will be a petty bourgeois, a lullaby to hush him to sleep again.

Will they do it?
Socialists! Let us sound the loud alarm.

The social order of the bourgeoisie was established on the downfall of feudalism. It is here now: too well we know it.

It is here now: Plutocracy, with its kept and hireling press and gullible people; with its hand-picked governments and their police and hang-dog spy systems reaching out into and laying polluting hands on the very privacy, the inner sanctums, of the peoples lives.

Plutocracy! Thine other name is Dollar Patriotism; thy methods are cajollary and lies, lies, lies and brute force. But oh, the inevitable arrives always. Broken promises bring bitter disillusionment and shattered faith and hate and retribution, as fowls come home to roost.

Soon, soon, thee and thy hireling crew shall be called to account. Booted and spurred and riding rough-shod though ye be, a little while and the pent up storm shall

burst; a little while, and your pride shall be humbled.

One hundred years ago was born a man who sent forth the clarion call "Workers of the World Unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain." In every land, in every clime, with ever swelling volume the myriad voices of the oppressed reply, 'tis true! 'tis true! we HAVE nothing to lose but our chains! Come, comrades! there is a world to gain.

C. S.

AFTER THE WAR PROBLEMS

By W. A. Pritchard

No. 2—Woman and Motherhood.

In our last article dealing with "The Returned Soldier," we attempted briefly to describe general industrial conditions immediately prior to the war. We saw a world's market glutted with goods, a world's industrial plant almost stagnant. With the advent of war there arose a new market—a war market. Industrial depression gave way to industrial activity, the world's means of production increased quantitatively and qualitatively. And while men left industry and went to war, women left home and went to work.

We further attempted to explain how impossible it would be to satisfactorily "settle" the soldier on the land, or absorb him into industry.

The task we essay in this article is to demonstrate: (a) the desperate need of the masters for re-population after the war, (b) the utter impossibility of attaining such an object without ruthlessly destroying the existing moral fabric of society.

Before proceeding to an attempted proof of the two propositions given above, let us return to the article mentioned in our last, to wit, Spencer Brodney's "Woman's Invention of British Industry," in order to grasp, if possible, the significance of woman's present position

as an industrial factor. Brodney says:

"It is not easy to imagine an able bodied and intelligent young woman who has proved that she is capable of earning a man's wage at a steel lathe or in the driver's seat of a street car relinquishing her position without protest in a country where before the war the EXCESS NUMBER OF WOMEN OVER MEN MADE MARRIAGE NOT THE CERTAINTY IT OUGHT TO BE. AFTER THE WAR THE NUMBER OF MARRIAGEABLE MEN WILL BE STILL SMALLER BY REASON OF THOSE LOST IN THE WAR OR CRIPPLED AND INVALIDATED BY SERVICE AT THE FRONT. At the same time the men able to marry will be less likely to do so WHEN GOOD EMPLOYMENT IS SCARCER AND THE COST OF LIVING HIGHER"—(Emphasis mine.)

It is interesting to note Brodney's implication as to the economic basis of marriage. However, continuing his theme, he goes on to state:

"In a world in which everything harmonised as prettily as in a fairy tale, the returning soldier would no doubt solve the problem by marrying the girl whose job he wanted, (the new orders-in-council compel us to refrain from here adorning a tale and pointing a moral—W.A.P.) and she would go home to fulfil the functions of wife and mother for which nature intended her. BUT ENGLAND AFTER THE WAR IS GOING TO BE NO LAND OF FAIRY, BUT ONE WHERE ILLUSIONS WILL BE STRIPPED ASIDE BY DISCONCERTING REALITIES. The war has shown that there is apparently nothing a woman cannot do. In fact, it is conceivable that, apart from THE NECESSITY OF HAVING FATHERS FOR THE SUCCESSOR GENERATION, women could get along quite easily without men."

We pass on without comment at present, to the following which appears further on in the same article.

"The factories making munitions will of course, close down as soon as the war is over, AND THE WOMEN, as well as the men, who have been drawn on for the labor will no longer be required. But there will still be the women in the other professional, commercial, and industrial occupations in which there will be

no closing down. IT IS THERE THAT THE GREAT STRUGGLE WILL TAKE PLACE. The readjustment to normal conditions will withdraw part of the women, but the outstanding fact will be that THE NUMBER OF FEMALE WAGE EARNERS WILL BE ENORMOUSLY GREATER THAN BEFORE THE WAR, that many will have learned the meaning of economic independence, and in so learning will have acquired new ways of life and thought.

"The problem of unemployment among men will, as we have seen, BE ACUTE THAN IT HAS EVER BEEN. IT WILL NOT BE THE ONLY PROBLEM. THERE WILL BE ANOTHER. Great Britain, like the other belligerent countries IS SUFFERING FROM A TERRIBLE WASTAGE OF MANHOOD. The loss cannot be made good in less than a generation. But even then the nation's supply of men will not be fully replenished UNLESS IT BE POSSIBLE FOR THE WOMEN OF THIS GENERATION TO BECOME MOTHERS. In some quarters it is urged that EVERY WOMAN ABLE TO FULFILL HER NATURAL FUNCTION SHOULD, AS A DUTY, BECOME A MOTHER; and so, for this FIRST time in Christendom, we get a hint that PARTIAL POLYGYAMY IS TO BE PARDONED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE STATE, and more boldly the demand that the UNMARRIED MOTHER should no longer be regarded as a stammer."

Space forbids greater quotation from this superbly penned article. Those interested may with profit read it for themselves in "Current History" for April, 1916, but craving the reader's indulgence, we give the following:

"The solution, then, that is now being suggested is that the State should offer women an inducement to become mothers so that they can afford to abandon their wage-earning activities."

These quotations are given from the pen of Spencer Brodneyn, not because the sentiments expressed are the product of one brain, but because he, better than the other writers who have dealt with this matter, has reviewed the situation with rare candor and refreshing clarity. He has, in fact, ably summed up all that

has been propounded regarding the matter.

The propositions we set out to prove are, furthermore, proven to the hilt, by these same quotations. All that now suffices is for us to sum up, and be done.

Man power has been wasted. The need for its making good becomes, for our masters, a question of primary importance. Since the number of marriageable women exceeded that of men before the war; since also, the ratio has increased; since, furthermore, because of low wages and the high cost of living which will inevitably appear after the war, the observant wage-workers, both male and female, are entitled to ask themselves this question: How can the country, devastated of its manhood, be re-populated without disturbing in most radical fashion the moral concepts as enunciated and perpetuated by the church and maintained and nurtured, up to the present time, by the State?

The pardoning of polygamy in the interests of the State must be followed by the sanction of the church, for if such sanction be withheld, the consequent rupture between the State and her hitherto obedient handmaid would produce the most direful results for both secular and religious institutions.

More could be said, but space forbids and the time is short.

But in contrast to and yet in a measure in agreement with, Spencer Brodneyn, let us give, in closing, the opinion of a woman, an authority in the medical world. The quotation can be found in any of the important newspapers on the North American continent. The paper from which this was taken was the "Winnipeg Free Press," of the date mentioned; 1916:

WOMAN DOCTOR HAS PLAN FOR RE-POPULATION.

Washington, Jan 10.—By adopting recent scientific discoveries, Europe can repopulate itself after the present war is over notwithstanding the lack of able-bodied men, without degrading its women into polygamy, according to Dr. El-

nora Folkmar, head of the Washington Women's Clinic.

Dr. Folkmar not only believes re-population can be brought about by scientific methods, chief of which is artificial fertilization, but she also believes a better race of men and women can be produced through application of these methods than by adoption of polygamy or marriage of physically unfit men with physically fit women."

The situation, no doubt, is grave. Yet we, of The Socialist Party are convinced that this, probably as much as any thing else, will result in the rise of great enquiry, on the part of working class women, into social questions, and the resulting enlightenment can only be further grist to the mill of the revolutionary proletariat. However, we will attempt to prove in our next a further proposition in addition to the two herein given, as follows, that, even should these suggestions find acceptance by society they would not bring the desired results.

Next Issue:

No. 3 "The Nightmare of Universal Syphilis."

THOUGHTS ABOUT THE COMING REACTION

HERE is no doubt, but that great days are ahead of the revolutionary working class movement. The world is getting weary of the war. The reaction is beginning to set in and far-reaching in its effects, will shake the pillars of our most ancient institutions to their foundations.

The working masses, harrowed by the resultant miseries of war, worried by the difficulty of procuring the bare necessities of life, will yet rise in their might.

The average man thinks about things from the standpoint of their forms and structure as against their function and relation. To him the form of a thing, and its structure, is everything. It puzzles his mind and draws forth expressions of wonder. Fixing his attention solely on form he is unable to grasp the idea

of process. Evolution is so much Greek to him. The form of a thing is final, and two things with different forms and structures must be two absolutely different entities with no relationships or functions in common. Consequently, he thinks that by changing the form of an institution, government, for instance, he accomplishes a fundamental change, that is, a social revolution.

Now to the man who thinks scientifically, form and structure, though interesting, are mere matters of outward appearance. The real, vital, fundamental thing about an organism is its function and relation. Indeed, continued existence of an organism is involved in the proper functioning of its organs. When function ceases the organism dies. So, to maintain its proper function an organ very often changes its form and structure, as a change in form usually means a new lease-on life.

These principles can be applied socially without, for all that, saying that there is more than an analogy existing between society and an organism.

It is an easy matter to show from history that the change in the form of a government has not meant a change in its function—which is to protect property and act as a "committee which regulates and manages the affairs of the ruling class." Thus there was a time when the form of the English government was that of an absolute monarchy. This was in the days when the Tudors were supporting the powerful landed aristocracy. The monarch was supreme, ruled without parliament, and generally pleased the landed aristocracy quite well. Then came the year 1688 in which the absolute monarchy was overthrown and a constitutional monarchy substituted; that is, a change in the form of government took place. Historians have lauded this event to the skies. They speak of it as the "Glorious Revolution" and the "Bloodless Revolution." Its crowning act was to make the king a mere figure head.

Yet the function of the English

government endured this constitutional change and remained exactly the same after, as before, the revolution. Indeed, the change had to come so that government could continue to perform its function. For it must be remembered that English society had undergone great economic changes during the 150 years preceding the "Glorious Revolution." Trade had increased and manufacturing developed so that the capitalist class had risen to wealth and influence. This class, while possibly it was not the actual ruling class in England at the time, was yet so powerful that it successfully demanded a share in the direction of the government's activities.

Now the point is that the form of government which could properly function while the landed aristocracy was the undisputed ruling class, could not function so, when this position came to be shared by the capitalist class. So here we have a change in the form of government with a slight change in its relations. But the function of government remained the same. Moreover, the change gave a new lease of life to government as such, and hence also to the ruling class.

It might be well for the working class if some of our enthusiastic labor leaders would consider these things before they rush on with their programme of reforms. For it might occur to them that their suggested reforms are playing right into the hands of the enemy.

Labor leaders and bourgeois pacifists are not the only people who want a change. The more progressive capitalists demand a change too, and so do the Socialists, although the change the latter seek is the annihilation of government. Political organization of today is not in line with economic organization. Governments nationally organized are not in harmony with international economic relationships. Owing to the growing complexity of international trade relationships, and thus the necessity of the national governments taking a hand in the direction

and management of business affairs, there has grown up the idea that we ought to have national government ownership on the one hand, and some form of international government on the other. These are the two tendencies in modern political development.

Owing to the compelling necessity behind these tendencies, the idea of national ownership has, quite naturally, been immensely popularized of late. Labor leaders laud its possibilities from every platform and through the press. There are many working people who regard this achievement as a great step forward. Some even look upon it as the beginning of the end of capitalism. They believe that the capitalists will lose their political power.

But that is where they fool themselves. There is nothing in the programme of national ownership which warrants such a belief. For it must be remembered that the capitalists, at least certain sections, are as anxious for government ownership as the most enthusiastic working man. Capitalists want government ownership because the present form and relation of government does not allow the latter to function properly as government. This seems to me to be the crux of the question. Government ownership means simply a change in the form of government, and to some extent of its relation, but not of its function. Or to put it in other words the present form of government does not allow it to act as a "committee which manages the affairs of the ruling class" efficiently.

If the workers could see this, they would have nothing to do with this movement. But very few can because the average workingman is dazzled and blinded by outward form. He believes that a change in function naturally follows a change in form. For this reason the working class has often erred and blundered greatly. And a good many more blunders are ahead of this same working class, if it does not acquire the scientific mode of

thought. Indeed its emancipation cannot be achieved until it is acquired. For it must be granted that a fatal blow cannot be given to a social system unless those who deliver it know where and how to strike. So this change in the mode of thought constitutes that mental revolution which must precede the social revolution.

The reaction is coming, and coming fast. Great changes are afoot. Great possibilities are ahead of us. We can turn these changes to our advantage. But an advantage will not be gained haphazardly, nor accidentally, nor by the mere presentation of demands, nor by following the present purblind labor leaders. It can only be gained by a working class that can distinguish the essential difference between changing the form of government and blockading its function.

C. M. C.

FROM THE DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Comrades—

We have received several enquiries as to the bona-fides of an organization in Montreal, styling itself "The Montreal Group of Volunteers Leaving to Help Revolutionary Russia."

The D. E. C. desire to make it known that they do not know anything of such an organization and would advise all and sundry to make careful enquiries before forwarding help. These people should have got the endorsement of an accredited and known working class body before circularising the country.

C. Stephenson,

Secretary, D. E. C.

MINUTES OF THE DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Convened in the office of the Secretary, Sunday, 17th March, at 2 p.m.

Present: J. Kavanagh, J. M. Jenkins, J. Harrington, and the Secretary, Chairman, J. Harrington.

Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

Correspondence—Local Victoria: W. J. W. Lefaux Vancouver; "Ginger" Goodwin, Cumberland; J. G. Randall, Royston Sta.; R. Thomas, Victoria; J. V. Hill, Port Moody; S. McAuley, Blind Channel; N. Lofgren, Anxox, B. C.; Alberta P. E. C.; J. C. Schuneman, Calgary; W. F. Dalton, Stratheona; L. R. Varney, Erskine; A. E. Faulkner, Conjuring Creek; C. M. Christiansen, Reley; G. Beagrie, Swallow; John Marr, Diamond City; J. Kalm, Medicine Hat; F. Hibehek, Nordegg; N. D. Thachuk, Canmore; Frank Dewar, Big Valley, Alberta; C. Stephenson, Swift Current; W. K. Bryce, Riverhurst; John Peacock, Leader; W. (R. Miller) Cabri, Sask.; Man. P. E. C.; Local Brandon; W. W. Craig, Winnipeg, Sask.; Local Ottawa; Local St. Catharines; J. Milne, St. Catharines; S. Major, Toronto; S. P. of N. A., Toronto; R. Tromans, Toronto; F. J. Connett, Kenora, Ontario; A. B. Stewart, South Lochaber, N. S.; R. Gooding, Carleton, Y. T.; Moses Baritz, Seattle; W. H. Harris, Seattle, Wash.; The Jack London School, San Francisco, Cal.; The Radical Review, New York City.

Moved and seconded (Jenkins-Morgan) that Nels Lofgren be admitted to membership at large.

Mover and seconded (Mitchell-Kavanagh) that correspondence from S. P. of N. A. be filed.

Special meeting convened in the office of the Secretary, Friday, 5th April, at 8 p.m.

Present: J. Kavanagh, J. M. Jenkins, J. G. Morgan, J. Harrington, W. B. Mitchell, C. Stephenson. Chairman, J. Kavanagh.

Correspondence read from Local Calgary; Alberta P. E. C.; Manitoba P. E. C. Moved and seconded (Harrington-Morgan) that the Secretary write to Local Calgary explaining our position on Unionism and giving them full information on the B. C. F. L. P.—Carried.

Moved and seconded (Morgan-Harrington) that we ask the Alberta P. E. C. to forward information on the Socialist Propaganda League, and reminding them that the D. E. C. under section 1 (b) Article 4 of the constitution have supervision of the propaganda in the Dominion.—Carried.

Mover and seconded, that charter be granted Wimborne comrades.—Carried.

Moved and seconded (Harrington-Jenkins) that in case of the language organizations of their district wishing to amalgamate the Manitoba P. E. C. be empowered to enter into negotiations.—Carried.

Convened in office of Secretary, Sunday, April 28th.

Present: Morgan, Pritchard, Kavanagh, Jenkins, Robertson, Harrington, Chairman, Harrington.

Moved and seconded (Harrington-Pritchard) that printer's request to increased rate on "Clarion" be accepted to and that his attention be called to the unsatisfactory press work.

Financial Report

| Receipts— | |
|---|----------|
| Subs. | \$30.25 |
| Directory and Bundles | 17.75 |
| Current; W. K. Bryce | 35.50 |
| Literature | 55.50 |
| Stamps and Supply | — |
| | \$129.00 |
| Expenditure— | |
| Wages | 55.00 |
| Printing for April & May | 131.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 14.45 |
| | \$200.45 |
| Cash in hand 1st April | \$288.47 |
| Receipts | 139.05 |
| | \$427.52 |
| Expenditure | \$200.45 |
| | \$227.07 |
| Cash in hand 28th April | \$227.07 |
| Moved and seconded (Kavanagh-Jenkins) that financial report be received.—Carried. | |

C. Stephenson, Secretary.

HERE AND NOW

| | \$ | 50c | 25c |
|--|-----|-----|-----|
| Local No. 1, Vancouver | 7 | 1 | 0 |
| Local Victoria, No. 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Parry and Sim | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| H. E. Mills | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| L. A. Hunt | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| J. Mather | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| H. Kraig | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Ed. Fulcher | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Alberta P. E. C. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Singles, S. M. Bruce, W. Read, J. Rivers, L. Acres, O. Nord, C. M. O'Brien | 60c | — | — |
| 60c—W. Moriarty | — | — | — |
| 50c—W. H. Pearson | — | — | — |
| A. P. McCabe, P. Doyen, O. Duvalap | 25c | — | — |
| 25c—Pat. | — | — | — |

Total of thirty-nine new readers. That's a big falling off from one hundred and thirty-two in January.

Hustle after the subs. Comrades, and do not forget the "Clarion" Maintenance Fund. The Military Service Act is hitting us pretty hard, so it is up to the rest not to let the old paper fall down.

THIS PAGE RESERVED FOR

"The Workers' Socialist Party of the United States"

L. M. BEARDSLEY, Secy. Ex. Committee, 132 Linden St., Detroit, Mich.

SOCIALISM AND UNIONISM

Much ink has been shed, much wordy warfare engendered, over what should be the attitude of the Socialist towards labor unions, but not in the columns of the "Clarion," therefore, no apology is made for introducing the subject, especially as many self-styled "Socialists" are nowadays declaring political action to be a failure and are urging all and sundry to turn to the "economic field."

Needless to say, they do not understand what political action is, as advocated by the Socialists, namely: "Any action necessary to be taken to deprive the capitalist class of their political supremacy and their property rights in the means of wealth production" (manifesto of Workers' Socialist Party of U. S.). Their misunderstanding is increased, rather than lessened by such vote-catching organizations as the S. P. of America and the S. D. P. of Canada.

The attitude of these individuals ranges all the way from that of the L. W. W., who maintain that the workers should rely entirely on their "economic power," though what economic power we workers have, who can neither work when we need to, or decline to work when our masters need us—they have never yet explained, to those, who looking only at the repeated shortcomings of the unions; the toadying and misleading of the Sam Gompers and Jimmie Simpons, et al, say that the Socialist must oppose labor unions.

Then there is the attitude of the S. L. P., by its very nature contradictory, which declares itself to be a political party and yet in its 1916 platform says that the economic organization is the force which will

ultimately lock out the capitalist class from all industry.

The S. P. of A. and the S. D. P. of C., true to their usual opportunist manner, are all things to all men, so that if they have an audience leaning to industrial unionism, they proclaim that form of union to be essential to the workers, and if they have an A. F. of L. audience, they naturally dilate against "direct action" and "sabotage" and proceed to advocate the A. F. of L. brand, and say that all Socialists must belong to the union of their trade.

It is always well, when so much confusion abounds in relation to a movement of today, to look a little into its history and also a brief survey of the growth of unions may not be out of place.

We find, that while there were occasional outbursts on the part of journeymen artisans all through the feudal period, there are no unions formed of a permanent nature with the purpose of increasing wages, or bettering conditions, till about the early part of the 18th century in England. At this period, several are formed and the constitutions of over one hundred, which were offsprings of fraternal societies, are preserved in the British Museum. There were other organizations from which unions arose, such as the tramping fraternities for the relief of those workers who had to travel from place to place in search of jobs which were even then elusive. Some arose from the meetings together of many workers in ale houses, where they discussed wages and conditions of work.

It does not require much study for those who know a little of the history of capitalism to understand why unions arose at this time, for it was at this period that the serf was forced from the land, and the

handicraftsman deprived of his tools. Serf and freeman were now socially equal, each divorced from their means of livelihood and consequently obliged to seek a living from the owners of the new means of production, the factories and mines.

With this large amount of labor-power forced on the market for sale, wages, in accordance with the law of supply and demand, fell very low, and the owners of the means of production, being anxious to reap as large a surplus as possible from the workers, prolonged the working day to lengths unheard of under feudalism.

The wealth of the masters was excessive, and the corresponding misery of the workers grew more intense; but it is written, "even a worm will turn," and so the workers formed themselves into unions with the object of resisting the encroachments of capitalism.

It was a difficult job: the masters were entrenched in the political state and when ever the workers presented any petitions to the legislatures, they were thrown out in contempt, and their authors punished. Strikes were forbidden until the 19th century, and even then, strikes were of little use any more than they are today, for the capitalist owning all, and rolling in wealth, could then—as today—stand a strike much longer than the workers, who receive on the average only sufficient to keep them from day to day.

They were, of course, beaten time after time, while the masters solidified their power and by the application of steam in industrial machinery, increased the amount of wealth accruing to them, while at the same time still further lessening the workers' security of livelihood.

This took place about the end of

the 18th century and in the early part of the 19th century, we find the press full of reports of a new form of union, and in 1837 is formed the National Association for the Protection of Labor, what would be called today an industrial union, i.e., an organization of many trades in one union.

This soon died but was followed by others, and in 1834 the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union was formed, and in a few months had a membership of half a million workers in all manner of occupations. Its object was, by means of a general strike, to raise wages and shorten hours "to such an extent which, at no distant time, would give them the whole proceeds of their labor." (Crise's, Oct. 12, 1834.)

This was no more successful than other forms and soon it too died out as did the other industrial unions formed from time to time; in fact, the whole of the history of unions in any country shows defeat after defeat. These illustrations have only been given to show that the S. L. P. and the I. W. W. advocate nothing new.

The whole history of unionism presents a record of inconsistencies. There was formed the International Workingmen's Association, which advocated a collective state of society and yet supported peasant proprietorship of land, and even today the policy of the A. F. of L. is one of free competition between buyers and sellers of labor power, while they are at the same time calling for minimum wages to be guaranteed by the State.

However, in spite of all these inconsistencies, it cannot be denied that the unions are organizations of workers engaged in the class struggle. True, it is in the main an unintelligent struggle, many of them not even knowing they are engaged in the class struggle, but every time demands are made, it is an endeavor to obtain for the workers a larger share of the wealth produced or, as is nearly always the case, to try and prevent the capitalist class from in-

creasing the surplus accruing to them as owners of the means of production.

Such being the case, the Socialist cannot be antagonistic to unions, for in any phase of the class struggle, he must be on the side of the workers. This does not mean that we must support the unions in any action they may take; on the contrary, it is our duty to expose the fallacy of the doctrine of the identity of interest between capital and labor, the fallacy of any nostrum such as the sufficiency of unionism to emancipate the workers and all the numerous shortcomings of labor unions. We must also oppose and expose the labor fakirs and lackeys of the master class in these organizations.

To sum up we would say—that the Socialist must support the workers engaged in the class struggle, and that being so, they must support the unions when they act on sound lines, but oppose them when they act on unsound lines, while at all times pointing out to them, as Marx has shown in "Value, Price and Profit," that they are but centres of resistance to the encroachments of capital, and are only fighting an effect of the system of private ownership of the means of wealth production; that they cannot hope to accomplish any permanent benefits while this condition of ownership remains, so that it is essential that they, along with the rest of the slaves of today, educate themselves to a knowledge of their class position, with a view to their organization into a political party, having for its working platform, immediate aim and ultimate aim, the abolition of the present system of society, and the substitution of a system of society based on the collective ownership and democratic management of the machinery of production and distribution; which, by removing the cause of class struggles, will put an end to them, and to the misery and slaughter of the workers arising from a slave system of society.

W. H. Camfield.

A REVOLTING PROTEST

A mass meeting was held recently in San Francisco under the auspices of a new political organization, calling themselves the Bolshevik Local of the Socialist Party.

This new organization, fully intending to live up to the standard of the S. P. A., by dabbling into everything that does not concern the worker, hit on the brilliant idea of protesting against the Japanese invasion of Siberia and sending a telegram of protest to President Wilson regarding the action of Japan. Such an action on the part of anyone calling themselves Socialists, and, above all, qualifying the term Socialist by the addition of Bolshevik, speaks volumes for their lack of knowledge of Socialism, and their powers of analysis of the events occurring at the present time.

In spite of the fact that the leaders of this demonstration are interested in selling the copy of the Secret Treaties, as revealed by Leon Trotsky, it is a safe bet that they have never read them, or if reading them, they have done so only as one would expect from a dime novel reader, and displayed the same amount of intelligence as one could only associate with a novel-devouring, gum-chewing, forlorn, love-sick maiden of some fifteen or sixteen summers. Had they cared to study the third Instalment of Book of Treaties, they would have seen there the publication of a secret telegram dealing with the meeting at Bern, Switzerland, of an international group of bankers of the Allied and Central powers. During this meeting, the German policy towards Russia was discussed, and an influential Anglo-Jewish financier stated that Germany's aim was to promote separatism in Russia so far as possible, so as to split her up into small states, proving that even Germany believes in the liberation of small nations, especially when the economic question is involved, and the Master Class of Germany see the advantages accruing to them from such an al-

truistic deed. For England, the splitting up of Russia is more of an advantage than a disadvantage, she being more occupied with her colonies and sea trade. Not only that, but it means the elimination of America as a dangerous competitor, for it is to the interest of the American capitalist to keep the Russian empire as it was, as America is also looking for a market wherein to deposit her surplus, and her eyes are not shut to the possibilities of Russia. So while Germany and America are competing for the Russian market, England has a free hand in other directions. And so into the plucking of such a fat bird enters our old and trusted ally, Japan, who has a covetous eye on the "parson's nose" of the aforementioned bird, i.e., Siberia, and so the capitalists of the "home of the flea and the land of the slave" find themselves in a fine quandary; what with being at war openly with Germany, and consequently an open ally of Japan, it must be nauseating in the extreme to know that your "ally and friend" has gone through your poke and stolen the biggest nugget of the lot.

Of course, it is superfluous to point out that Japan is a very dangerous rival of America, and is beating her to it in the Pacific trade, for anyone who cares to take a walk around the sea-ports of the Pacific coast, will see ample evidence of Japan's progress, for her ships can be found in every large port.

Now as capitalism must have markets for the surplus produced at home, it goes without saying that sooner or later an eruption must take place between the U. S. and Japan. This country for years has been busy developing her own resources, and having a ready market at home, has had no need to worry about foreign markets; but all that is past. America now finds herself forced to seek a market abroad, and hence her need for a mercantile fleet to ship her commodities abroad, and also her need of a huge navy and army to protect her shipping

and force her "democracy" on any recalcitrant country who feels like opposing her.

And so we see a very material basis for her universal training scheme, instead of the idealistic one of "making democracy safe," the "right of small nations," etc., of which she is ever prating about.

Reviewing these few facts, and there are several more which could be mentioned, it is very plain to see that the capitalists of our glorious republic are much more vitally concerned over Japan's action than are the workers, and yet we have what are supposed to be "socialists," protesting against the invasion, and by so doing, helping the real enemy of the proletariat by playing the very game that the master class want; that is, by sowing the germs of national hatred towards the yellow race, which will be useful at some future date when our masters are forced either to throw down the gauntlet, or accept the gauntlet thrown to them from the Japanese. When such a time arrives, the masters can say, "Your Socialists asked us to protest, and therefore, it is up to you workers to help us by going out to fight these yellow devils and help to make the world safe for Democracy." What then in answer to such a statement could this American brand of Bolshevism say? Verily, Lenin and Trotsky and those they represent must feel anything but elated when they hear of such an action taken by a party under the name of Bolshevik.

But still if there are a few workers of such a limited amount of intelligence, and to whom the works of Marx and Engels are so much Greek, we must not despair, for hope springs eternal in the human breast, we are told; and I am optimistic enough to think that there are sufficient in the ranks of the workers, who when they become acquainted with the teachings of Marx, will be fully capable of absorbing them, and carry on the work of propagating a class-conscious knowledge to their fellow-workers, by pointing out to

them that their only way of emancipation from slavery is by seizing political power and raising themselves to the position of a ruling class in order to abolish all oppression, exploitation and class distinction. This is the historical mission of the working class, and any worker who advocates less than the complete overthrow of the capitalist system is either an unconscious or a conscious traitor to his class.

For the revolutionary Socialist, this is the only stand, and we must be prepared at all times to keep this before the proletariat; for only by education can we break down the barrier of mental enslavement which stands between the workers and emancipation. By such education, we can equip the mind of the worker with a weapon of such power that all the forces of capitalism will vanish, and in its place will arise a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means of wealth production and distribution, by and in the interests of the whole community. Workers of the world, unite!

Jas. Conlan, W. S. P. of U. S.

NOTICE TO OUR READERS!

We beg to inform our readers that the Dominion Executive Committee has made arrangements with "The Workers' Socialist Party of the United States" for two pages of the "Clarion" to be reserved for the contributions of their membership.

This decision was only reached after a thorough investigation into the principles and policies of the above organization and with the understanding that the Editorial Board of the "Clarion" still hold the power of censorship.

Our readers, we are sure, will welcome this new accession to the ranks of "Clarion" writers.

The paper will now be unable to publish all the articles sent in. To overcome this wastage of good material, it will have to be increased in size or be issued oftener. In either case, the means to that end is more subscribers: Ergo! Every Socialist get out and hustle.

THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

(Continued from page 5)
arbitrary taxation, the exclusion of a merchant's wares from confiscation, uniformity of weights and measures—these were some of the concessions demanded and granted.

Up to the 14th century, weaving in England was confined to a limited home production of coarse cloths. All fine cloths came from Flanders. In order to encourage the growth of the weaving industry in England, the export of wool and the import of woven cloths were stopped during the reign of Edward III. Flemish weavers were induced to settle in England, and after the 14th century, manufactured cloth, instead of wool, became the basis of industrial wealth.

The Great Plague of 1348 paralyzed industry for a time, and the heavy taxation occasioned by the wars with France also drained heavily on the resources of the merchants. But after this setback, industry once more took on a prosperous hue. So great indeed was the development by the latter part of the 15th century, that the prevailing institutions were found to seriously cramp and hold back further progress. It was to avoid the vexatious restrictions of the guilds that master craftsmen and artisans left the towns and sought the open country, where they might be free to carry on production as they chose. The guilds' cardinal tenet was to limit production and to this end placed restraints on both masters and workmen. The number of workmen that a master could employ was limited. Apprentices were required to serve an increasingly long term of training before being recognized as craftsmen. The standard of workmanship was made higher and higher so as to make it exceedingly difficult for an apprentice to pass the final test of ability.

Altogether, the guilds were doing their utmost to check the industrial expansion that was spreading over the country, but needless to say, their efforts were in vain. Their

day of usefulness had passed. Industry now was no longer a local matter, but a national one. In place of master craftsmen employing a few workers and selling direct to the trade, production was now handled by manufacturers employing as many as a hundred workers and selling to a new class of retail merchants.

It is interesting to note that hardly one of the guild towns is of industrial importance today. But from the little industrial villages that sprang up in opposition to them have grown England's leading centres of industry.

Meanwhile, several important changes were taking place in the social position of the peasants. The practice of commuting labor rents for money payments was becoming more and more general. It was a plan that was advantageous both to the lord and to the villeins. With the increase in population, it had become quite a difficult task for the lords to enforce labor rents. Bailiffs had to be engaged to superintend the task, and they, of course, had to be paid. It was on the whole much more profitable for the lord to accept money payments from the villeins and then to rent part of his demesne to them for additional money rents. To the villeins, the system of rendering services had become more and more onerous, for with the greater intensity of cultivation, it was inconvenient, as well as repellent to their new sense of freedom, to perform labor dues.

As a direct result of the freedom of the villeins, there grew up a new class of wage laborers from the ranks of the cottars. Much lower than the villeins in the social scale,

they were allowed but a few acres of land, and so found it necessary to offer their services to others. As the lords had freed the villeins from service, they necessarily had to employ laborers, and the cottars, with more time on their hands than land, soon became a recognized laboring class.

It was upon this state of affairs that the great famine and plague suddenly descended. Conservative historians estimate that half the population of the country was wiped out at this time. Labor became proportionately scarce, and as a consequence, wages increased from 50 per cent. to 60 per cent. The lords were at a loss to have their lands properly cared for, and made every effort to regain the labor dues from which the villeins had freed themselves. No further exemptions were made, and those that had been granted were cancelled or disputed. If a villein could not prove by documentary evidence that he had paid a remission of his services, he was forced to go back into his old state of villeinage.

Without waiting for Parliament to meet, Edward III. issued a proclamation ordering that no man should either demand or pay the higher rate of wages, and forbidding the people to leave the locality to which they belonged. The next year, Parliament met and ratified the King's proclamation, which was then known as the Statute of Laborers. Parliament was composed of representatives of the clergy and propertied classes, and naturally it was to their interests that the statute be enforced.

But despite frequent legislation with increasingly severe penalties, wages remained high and runaways

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

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LOCAL ALBERA, No. 74 (Alta.)
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LOCAL CALGARY, No. 86 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—Business meeting every second and fourth Friday of the month at 8 p.m. Economic class every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Headquarters, Room 207, Bay Block, 236A 8th Ave. W. Secretary, H. Clifford, Morgan, Suite 49, Thomas Block.

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LOCAL EDMONTON No. 1, S. P. of C.—Free reading room and headquarters Room 5, Bellamy Bldg. Propaganda meeting every Sunday in the Bijou Theatre, First St., at 8 p.m. Business meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. J. Slater, organizer. E. H. Pegg, Secretary, P. O. Box 785.

LOCAL ERSKINE, No. 82 (Alta.), S. P. of C.—A. A. McNeill, Secretary. Erskine, Alta.

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VANCOUVER LETTER LOCAL No. 58,
S. P. of C.—Business meeting every first Sunday of the month and propaganda meeting every third Sunday at 11 a.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, J. Stevenson, 1424 Government St.

LOCAL WINNIPEG, No. 3, S. P. of C.—Headquarters Room 4—328 Smith St. Business meetings Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Propaganda meetings Sundays, 8 p.m. Economic Class, Sundays 2:30 p.m. Leading Library 50 cents per year. Organizers, John Henderson and Stewart. Secretary, Albert Koris, P. O. Box 2025.

LOCAL OTTAWA, No. 8 (Ont.) S. P. of C.—Business meeting 1st Sunday in the month at Monument National, 2nd floor, 5 p.m. Secretary, A. G. McCallum, 175 Slater St.

were numerous. To make matters worse for the lords and merchants, the country was several times again visited by the plague, with the result that each time the supply of labor became smaller.

Prices of food did not rise, and this was because there was an abundance of it, every peasant producing more than enough for himself. The villeins and craftsmen were therefore in an exceedingly comfortable position, too much so for the satisfaction of the lords and masters.

Rents became very low, for on account of the increased cost of labor, many tenants threatened to give up their holdings, and rather than lose them the lords consented to receive lower rents. Thus many of the villeins were able to increase their holdings at small cost, and through the unpaid labor of their families, were able to work them and prosper to a considerable extent. In order to induce the villeins to take more land, many of the lords gave with the land so much stock, which was to be returned in value or kind after a certain lapse of time. This plan was very advantageous to the villeins, and many of them were after a time able out of their profits to buy their own stock.

(Continued in next issue.)

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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 forms.

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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