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## A Letter from Leon Trotzky to Ex-Minister Jules Guesde, France

(This letter was first printed in the French periodical "Demain," of August, 1917.)

Mr. Minister: Before I leave the soil of France, under the escort of a police officer, who personifies the liberties in whose defense you were appointed to the national ministry, I consider it my duty to express to you a few thoughts, not in the vain hope that they may convince you, but that they may at least be useful and of value against you. When my expulsion from France was decided upon, your colleague, Mr. Malvy, the Minister of Justice, did not have the courage to tell me the reasons for this measure. Nor did that other of your colleagues, the Minister of War, consider it proper to enumerate the causes that led to the suppression of the Russian newspaper "Nashe Slovo" (Our Word), of which I was editor, and which had, for two long years, suffered continually the trials of censorship, under the watchful eye and special care of that same Minister of War.

Still I need not conceal from you the fact that the reasons that led to my expulsion are no secret to me. You felt the need of adopting repressive measures against an international Socialist, against one of those who refuse to accept the part of defender or voluntary slave of this imperialistic war.

Moreover, even though the reasons for this action against me have not been communicated to me,

whom they above all concern, these reasons have been stated by Mr. Briand to the deputies and to the journalists.

In Marseilles last August a number of Russian mutineers killed their colonel. A court investigation is alleged to have disclosed that a number of these soldiers were in possession of several numbers of the "Nashe Slovo." At least this is the explanation given by Mr. Briand in an interview with Deputy Longuet and with the president of the Chamber Committee of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Leygues, who, in turn, transmitted this version to the journalists of the Russian bourgeois press. To be sure, Mr. Briand did not possess the audacity to claim that the "Nashe Slovo," which stood subject to his own censorship was directly responsible for the killing of the officer.

It is likely that his thoughts were somewhat along the following lines. In view of the presence of Russian soldiers in France, it is necessary to weed out the "Nashe Slovo" and to banish its editors from the soil of the Republic. For a Socialist newspaper that refuses to spread illusions and lies may, according to the memorable doctrine of Mr. Renaudel, open the eyes of the Russian soldiers to hypocrisies and lead them into dangerous paths of reflection and meditation. Unfortunately, however, for Mr. Briand, this explanation of his is based upon a very vexatious anachronism. A year

ago Gustav Herve, at that time still a member of the permanent administrative committee of your party, wrote that the forcible removal from France of Russian refugees, guilty of revolutionary internationalism would be accepted by public opinion without protest or resistance. Obviously Herve received the inspiration for this prophecy from ministerial sources.

At the end of July this same Herve whispered, officiously, that I would be expelled from France; at about the same time—i.e., still before the killing of the colonel in Marseilles — Professor Durkheim, the President of the Commission for Russian immigrants, established by the Government, informed a representative of these immigrants of the impending suppression of the "Nashe Slovo" and the expulsion of its editors (vide, "Nashe Slovo," July 30, 1916). Everything had been prearranged, even the public opinion of the slaves of Mr. Herve. They waited only for a pretext to strike the final blow. And the pretext was found. The unfortunate Russian soldiers killed their colonel at a moment that was most opportune to the interests of certain people. This happy coincidence invites a suspicion that may, I fear, penetrate the invulnerable skin of even your ministerial shame. Russian journalists who made a special investigation of the case in Marseilles have established the fact that in this case, as in so many similar cases, the lead-

ing role was played by an agent provocateur. . . . What was his aim or rather what were the aims of the well-paid rascals who directed this agent is not difficult to comprehend. An excess of some kind among the Russian soldiers was necessary not only to justify the rule of the knout against them, which was still somewhat offensive to the French authorities, but in order to create a pretext for repressive measures against the Russian immigrants, accused of abusing French hospitality by demoralizing Russian soldiers during the war. To their credit we will assume that the instigators of this project did not themselves believe that the matter would assume such a fatal aspect, that they did not intentionally desire what actually occurred from the very beginning. It is probable that they hoped great gains by small sacrifices. But all undertakings of this sort involve an element of business risk. In this case the provocateur himself went unmolested, but Colonel-Krause and his assassins were the victims. Even the patriotic Russian journalists who are openly hostile to the "Nashe Slovo," expressed the suspicion that copies of our paper were given to the soldiers, at the most auspicious moment, by the agent provocateur.

May I beg of you, Mr. Minister, to institute, through the services of Mr. Malvy . . . an investigation of this matter? You do not see that anything could be gained by such an investigation? Neither do I. Because—let us speak openly—agents provocateur are at least as valuable for "national defense" as Socialist ministers. And you, Jules Guesde, having so generously assumed responsibility for the foreign policy of the Third Republic, for the Franco-Russian alliance and its consequences, for the conquest aims of the Czar, and for all the aims and methods of this war—it remains for you to accept as well the renown for the deeds of these agents provocateur of his Majesty the autocratic ruler of Russia.

At the beginning of the war,

when promises were spread with a lavish hand, your partner, Sembat, enchanted the Russian journalists with the perspective of the most beneficial influence to be exerted by the allied democracies upon the internal regime of autocratic Russia. Moreover, this argument was used persistently by the Social patriots of France and Belgium to reconcile the revolutionary Russians with the French Government, but with little success. Twenty-six months of constant military coalition between the generalissimi, between diplomats and parliamentarians, the visits of Viviani and Thomas to Tsarkoe Selo, in short, twenty-six months of incessant influence exerted by the Western democracies upon the Russian regime have only served to strengthen in our land the boldest and most impudent reaction, softened, to a small extent, by the chaos of the administration; have succeeded, moreover, in transforming the internal regime of England and France until they have become very similar to that of Russia.

The generous promises of Mr. Sembat are obviously less expensive than his "coal." The unfortunate fate of the "right of asylum" is but a conspicuous symptom of materialistic and police rule that are becoming more and more predominant on both sides of the Channel. Lloyd George, of Dublin fame, the imperialist incarnate, with the manners of a drunken clergyman, and Mr. Aristide Briand, for whose characterization I beg to refer you, Mr. Jules Guesde, to your own article of earlier days, these two figures represent, in the highest degree, the spirit of the present war, its justification, its morality based upon the appetites of classes and of individuals. Can there be a better and a more deserving partner for Messrs. Lloyd George and Briand than this Mr. Sturmer, the German, who, like a real Russian, has made a career by pinning himself to the Cossacks of the Metropolitans and to the petticoats of bigoted court damsels? What a splendid, what an incompar-

able trial! Verily, history could have selected no better colleagues and chieftains for Guesde, the minister.

Is it possible for an honest Socialist not to fight against them? You have transformed the Socialist party into a submissive chorus, that servilely imitates the leaders of capitalist highway robbery, at a historical epoch when bourgeois society—whose deadly enemy you, Jules Guesde, have hitherto been—has revealed and demonstrated its true nature to the core. From the events prepared in a period of worldwide depredation and robbery, whose awful consequences we have so often predicted, from the rivers of blood from the awful suffering, and misfortune, from the crimes, from the bloodthirsty ferocity and hypocrisy of the Governments you, Jules Guesde, draw but one lesson for the enlightenment of the French proletariat: that Wilhelm II. and Francis Joseph are two criminals, who, contrary to Nicholas II. and Mr. Poincaré, refused to respect the rules and regulations of international law.

French Socialism, with its glorious past, with its proud line of thinkers, of fighters and martyrs, has at last found (—and what a disgrace to think that it has found!) in Renaudel, a translator, during the most tragic period of the world's history, for the elevating thoughts of the yellow book into the language of yellow journalism.

The Socialism of Babeuf, of Saint-Simon, of Fourier, of Blanqui of the Commune, of Jaures, and of Jules Guesde—yes, of the Jules Guesde of the days of yore—has found its Albert Thomas, who consults with the Russian tyrant concerning the surest and safest method of capturing Constantinople; has found its Marseil Sembat to exercise and display dilettante nonchalance over the corpses and the ruins of French civilization; has found its Jules Guesde, to follow the triumphal chariot of the trumpeter Briand. And you believed and you

hoped that the French proletariat, that has been bled to the point of exhaustion in this endless war for the crime of the ruling classes, will continue to tolerate quietly, to the end, this shameful union between official Socialism and the worst enemies of the proletariat? You are mistaken. The opposition is growing. In spite of martial law, in spite of this mania of nationalism which, whatever its form, be it royalistic, radical, or socialist, always preserves its capitalistic quintessence—revolutionary opposition is marching forward, slowly, but surely. Daily it is gaining ground. "Nashe Slovo," the paper that you have strangled, lived and breathed in the atmosphere of awakening French international Socialism. The group of "Nashe Slovo," expelled from Russia by the counter-revolution, that is gaining in power and strength through the help and support of the French Banking Exchange, the group of the "Nashe Slovo" was privileged to echo, even though it was hindered and hampered by your censor—the voice of the French side of the new International, that raises its head in the midst of the terrors of fratricidal war. In our capacity as "undesirable foreigners" we have identified our cause and our fate with that of the French opposition. We are proud to have received the first blow from the French Government from your government, Jules Guesde!

We have the honor, together with Monatte, Merrheim, Saumoneau, Rosmer, Bourderon, Loriot, Guillebeault, and so many others, to be accused, all of us, of being pro-German, of friendliness toward Germany.

The weekly Paris organ of your friend Pleckhanoff, your partner in honor and glory as well as in your inglorious fall, has denounced us week after week to the police of Mr. Malvy, as being in the service of the German General Staff. Formerly you knew the value of such accusations, for you yourself had the honor

of being subjected to similar accusations. But now, you put your stamp of approval upon Mr. Malvy by collecting, for the government of "National Defense," the reports of Mr. Malvy's police spies. Moreover, my political correspondence box contains a very recent prison sentence pronounced against me, during the war, by a German court, in continuation—as I was not present—for my pamphlet, "The War and the International."

But besides this brutal fact, that can make an impression even upon the police brain-cell of Mr. Malvy, I should, I believe, emphasize that we revolutionary internationalists are more dangerous enemies of German reaction than all the Governments of the allies taken together. Their hostility to Germany is, at the bottom, nothing but the hatred of the competitor; our revolutionary hatred of its ruling class is indestructible. Imperialist competition may again unite the rival enemy brethren of today. When the total destruction of Germany has been realized, England and France, after a decade, would again approach the Kaiserdom of the Hohenzollern in the friendliest spirit, to defend themselves against the superiority of Russia. A future Poincaré will exchange telegrams of congratulations with Wilhelm or with his heirs; Lloyd George, in the peculiar language of the priest and the boxer, will curse and condemn Russia, as the defending wall of barbarism and militarism; Albert Thomas, as the French ambassador to the Kaiser, would be showered with flowers cut by the gentle hands of the court madams of Potsdam; as occurred so recently in Tsarskoe Selo.

All the banalities of present-day speeches and articles would again be unpacked. Mr. Renaudel would have to change, in his article, only the proper names, a task for which his mental faculties and abilities would doubtless suffice. But we will remain the outspoken, sworn enemies of Germany's rulers that we are today, for we hate German

reaction with the same revolutionary hatred that we have sworn against Czarism and against the French moneyed aristocracy.

When you dare, you and your newspaper lackeys, to applaud a Liebknecht, a Mehring, a Luxemburg, a Zetkin, as the inflexible enemies of the Hohenzollerns dare you deny that they are ours, our faithful comrades, our comrades in battle? We are united with them against you and against your chiefs, with the unalterable unity of revolutionary warfare.

Perhaps you console yourself with the thought that we are few in number! We are greater in number than the police souls of every grade believe. In your official myopia you do not see the ghost of rebellion that is arising from all the places of suffering and martyrdom; you do not see it spreading through France, through Europe, in the suburbs, in the workmen's dwellings, in the country places, in the shops and in the trenches.

You imprisoned Louise Saumoneau in one of your jails; but have you thereby diminished the despair and the despondency of this land? You can arrest hundreds of Zimmerwaldists, after having ordered your press agents to besmirch them again and again with police suspicions; but can you return the husbands to their grieving wives? Can you restore the sons to their suffering mothers, the fathers to their children, strength and health to the sick and debilitated? Can you return, to a betrayed, ensanguinated people, the trust in those who have deceived them?

Jules Guesde, get out of your military automobile. Abandon the gilded cage in which the capitalist state has imprisoned you. Look about! Perhaps then fate will have pity, for the last time, upon your enfeebled tragic old age, and let you hear once more the dull noise of approaching events. We expect them, we cause them, we prepare them! The fate of France would be too terrible, if the *vis dolorosa* of its

working masses did not lead to revenge, to our revenge, where there will be no room for you, Jules Guesde, and for yours. Expelled by you, I leave France with the deep certainty of my triumph. Over and above your head I send brotherly greetings to the French proletarian, that is preparing for great actions. Long live, without you and against you, Jules Guesde, Socialist France!

### THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

(Continued from the May issue)

This article left off in the last issue where significant economic changes were taking place in the relations between the class of villeins and the feudal lords, and the general tendency of which, was in some degree, to improve the conditions of life of the former.—Ed.

But the struggle between lord and villein, master and artisan went on continuously. The people were constantly being punished for violating the Statute of Laborers, with the result that there was much resentment among the villeins and frequent strikes among the craftsmen.

The growing power of the manufacturing class must also be noticed. Hitherto they played but a small part in directing the political affairs of the nation. Now, however, with representation in parliament, and a valuable interest in the wealth of the nation, they began to voice their grievances with little reserve. In what is termed the "good" parliament of 1376, we find the legislators of that day protesting against the great expense of the foreign wars; of the financial burdens that were needlessly placed on the shoulders of the English taxpayers; and demanding that a true expense account be given of how "the people's" money was being spent.

It was especially galling to the

lords and merchants to see the clergy succeed in evading taxation since it possessed fully a third of the wealth of the country. A bitter anti-clerical feeling, therefore, was growing up among the propertied classes that was soon to be expressed in the teachings of Wycliff. The general immunity of the ecclesiastics from the law of the land, their growing wealth and control of all important offices within the government caused much irritation and jealousy.

The fact, too, that the Pope was now residing in France (and that revenue sent him would therefore benefit that country, England's commercial rival, created further aggravation among the merchants and lords. The dogmatism of the church was also interfering with the growth of science, a knowledge of which was becoming increasingly essential to the merchants.

On the whole, there was much discontent seething throughout the land. The merchants and lords were pitted against the clergy and the villeins against the lords. Many associations had been formed among the villeins, who were sympathized with by the artisans and by the independent farmer class, for the purpose of defeating the Statute of Laborers, which was constantly being enforced.

John Ball, a priest of Kent, was spreading among the peasants revolutionary doctrines of the natural equality and rights of man. Piers the plowman, teaching general social reform, was another expression of the rebellious mood of the people. Wycliff's "poor priests," clad in rough, homely garments like those of the Apostles of old, had been sent out into every part of the country to further the opposition to the church. Many of them, however, became champions of the rights of the peasants, and urged

them to free themselves not only from the church, but from the yoke of their masters.

The collection of a poll tax, which was to be levied on every person in the kingdom over sixteen years of age, for the purpose of covering further indebtedness incurred in the war with France, was an instant signal for revolt. The word was passed along by the priests, and all over the country the peasants rose up in arms. A great body of them marched on London, and murdered the Archbishop of Sudbury, the Treasurer, and the Chief Commissioner for the levy of the hated poll tax. Taxation rolls, manor rolls containing an account of the services obligations of the villeins, tallies and other documents were burned and charters of emancipation secured from the lords.

Richard II, then a boy of only sixteen years, issued a general charter of freedom and pardon, and with this, the greater part of the peasants disbanded. Two weeks later, the charter was revoked, and the King's forces sent over the country to seek the leaders of the revolt. Over 7,000 people were executed in the days immediately following. The King claimed that he did not have the authority to grant the villeins their freedom, and said, in fact, that if Parliament found it agreeable, he would have no objection. Of course, Parliament did not find it agreeable, and voted to return all villeins to their former state of bondage. However, legislation was futile. The peasants had won their point. The lords had learned their lesson, and despite the efforts of Parliament, villeinage from that time on became gradually extinct.

A review of the opening years of the present system will engage our attention in the next issue.

Adeline Crosetti.

## FARMERS' FORUM

### SOCIALISM VS. THE FARMER

THE social and economic position of the farmer has been and still is a hard nut for the socialist propagandist to crack.

I have listened to many speakers including myself, expounding the gospel of Marxism to a gathering of farmers in an effort to start them on the road to revolution, and while the danger of the speaker being confounded is indeed a remote one, it is largely due to the profound ignorance of his audience rather than to the clearness of the speaker's presentation of his case, so far as the farmer's position is concerned. The philosophy of Socialism is often well presented, also the nature of capital and wage-labor, but the robbery of the farmer, if he is robbed, is not cleared up or explained to the satisfaction of anyone. The question is still to be answered. All that the farmer buys including horses, machinery, labor power, if any, etc., he buys at its value; transportation is also a commodity which he buys at its value. Wheat is a commodity which he sells at its value. Now, where and how is he robbed, if he is robbed?

A backward glance over what has been written in an endeavor to explain the above, reveals the fact that the chief stumbling block in the way of a solution is Idealism. Many of those who most loudly decry idealism themselves sedulously attempt to label, catalogue and classify even to the extent of placing the farmer in the category of capitalist or wage slave, when it is obvious that the farmer who works his own land without employing a slave is neither the one nor the other.

We accept the "Marxian theory of value" and the "Materialistic Conception of History" not because Marx stated them, but because when he gave those statements he

gave us tools. They are not ideals; they are methods.

Is the farmer a slave? He may be, but not a wage-slave. If he is exploited it is not by the wage method in its ordinary form. Hard toil and poverty do not always mean slavery, though the converse is true.

Is the machinery he uses capital? Is it constant or variable? Does the interest on the purchase price explain his poverty? Many industrial capitalists borrow money at as high or a higher rate than the farmer pays and grow wealthy while paying it.

It does not do to say that labor-saving machinery is responsible for the poverty of the farmer, for, as we know, the value of the machine is realized in the finished product, while the ability to produce wealth has multiplied.

Again, does the farmer own the machine, is the ownership vested in the seller? The notes signed by the farmer would indicate the latter answer. If the farmer is merely a nominal owner and permitted to operate the tools of the real owner there must be grounds for the contention that the returns for the wheat is really wages in disguise. In fact the writer once worked out the foregoing "superintendence solution" to his own satisfaction but later saw that the "solution" was only an invention to safeguard and defend cherished notions which had been transformed into ideals. And it would appear that that desire explains many other efforts to explain the farmer's position by ignoring many facts.

In many respects the farmer is a free producer—a social producer in an industry that has not kept pace with other industries. He does not accumulate wealth, 'tis true, but inefficiency and waste are factors to be recognized. In most other industries no profit would be possible

without a division of labor. Agriculture has many feudal characteristics still clinging to it and there must come about a greater intensification, a greater division of labor before it takes its place alongside other industries.

At present the farmer is a jack-of-all-trades without the requisite technical knowledge of the tools he must operate. He loses in the haggling game and is a property owner in a cut throat game with other property owners who have the cards marked because of their proximity to the nerve centre of business and their up-to-the-minute knowledge of the conditions of the markets. To more accurately approximate the farmer's position, we must acquire a greater understanding of property relations and what constitutes real ownership.

The foregoing is merely a stringing together of notes and observations made from time to time with but little enthusiasm, for I have long since become convinced that, generally speaking, the farmer will never be a part of the revolution.

Much energy has been wasted in endeavors to make revolutionists out of farmers, the futility of which is becoming daily more apparent. While not speaking disparagingly of the acquisition of knowledge of any kind, we should at all times consider its relative importance from the standpoint of the revolution.

The farmer's political outlook will be influenced by his economic position and property notions. At best he can only attain to the political stature of the shopkeeper. Let those waste their time on him who expect to bring about the change by sticking bits of paper in a slot.

He will be of little importance to either side, and there never will be any danger from him, for he will always adapt himself to, and reverse, whatever party happens to be in power.

(Continue on page 10)

Editorial Page

The Western Clarion

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In these days of strife and chaos, with thrones trembling; erstwhile imperishable dynasties hanging in the balance; and national boundaries erased or extended, there is no one who can review the whole panorama of events with the same degree of intelligence and complacency as the worker who is equipped with sound Socialist knowledge. To him there is nothing unusual or unlooked for, even in the present embroglio of rapine and murder. He is not of those who wantonly mistake hysteria for history. His conception of capitalist society, taking cognizance of the various factors that caused it to replace the awkward, antiquated, methods of ferdal production, and viewing the forces engendered within itself to cause such a marvellous development in the past two or three centuries, leads him, without surprise, to expect such drastic and far-reaching effects.

Panics, rebellions, famines, and wars are the logical, legitimate offspring of capitalist society. It

deed, did such ugly, sordid features of civilization not make their appearance with becoming frequency.

This view of the historical process is not, we are sorry to relate, the one held by even a fair percentage of those who align themselves with the revolutionary movement. Even though they acquiesce in the correctness of such an analysis yet their every action portrays a lack of understanding concerning the Socialist position.

Haeckel, the famous biologist, contemptuously refers to the "museum zoologists" and "herbarium botanists" as not being advanced far enough in these sciences to do any more than mechanically arrange the representatives of the animal and vegetable kingdoms into species, genera, etc. Such a classification would be quite appropriate in regard to those in the Socialist movement who have not advanced farther than the stage of class consciousness. They are correct so far as they go, in drawing a line between the two factions or sections in human society, but beyond this conclusion remains a wide world that is yet undiscovered. Why this distinction of classes? How comes it that one owns without producing while those who produce everything own nothing? What factors, or influences made themselves felt at the inception of the propertied system that should cause it to evolve from a society of communistic control? Why did the great economic changes of past centuries not suffice to shatter the existence of class ownership in the means of life? These are questions that the simply class conscious Socialist must learn to answer.

For the purpose of disseminating this information among the members of the working class, the Socialist Party of Canada exists. Our policy is one of Socialist education.

One has only to survey our platform and literature to find clearly and emphatically expressed our attitude in regard to the social problem. The student who seriously follows our propaganda for the purpose of understanding his class position will soon find it unnecessary to ask our opinion about "Revolutionary" Industrial Unionism, Federated, or any other kind of, Labor Party, Socialist Propaganda Leagues, Sinn Fein, Bolsheviki, etc. Only those who continuously flounder in the sloughs of opportunism persist in acting as if the law of change was compelled to assert itself from day to day regarding our attitude to the present system.

Undoubtedly, our greatest educational weapon is the party organ, the "Western Clarion." Here we have in every issue a series of articles covering almost every phase of the Socialist philosophy, written by workers, in a manner that workers can understand. We have heard it stated that we are too deep; that the "Clarion" is not simple enough for the common people. To refute such an assertion, and properly bury it, let us refer to the May issue of the paper. Here we have an issue with considerably more than the average number of articles and, yet, there is not a single one that anyone possessing the rudiments of an English education could fail to grasp. We could revert to our most Presbyterian days and unblushingly admit that, even then, while we would not agree we could at least understand.

The fact of the matter is that those who are incessantly howling about greater simplicity are not seeking for clarity of expression, but systematically attempting to change our policy from the strictly uncompromising, revolutionary position, to the advocacy of popular political and industrial reforms. Their efforts are futile. We do not pose as a tower of infallibility that knows no improvement; on the contrary we heartily welcome suggestions and criticism that will enhance our

educational value. Our policy, however, will continue as before to awake our fellow-workers from the hypnotic trance in which they have, for so long, remained, and explain all phases of social and organic phenomena with our usual simplicity and accuracy.

Can it really be that we are in the throes of the final scene in the passing of Capitalism?

Probably, at the present moment, there is no question that appeals to the revolutionary worker, whether he or she be of one or thirty years standing in the Socialist Movement or under whatever name they may be "revolting."

Precedents in this case do not help us very much for there are none. The situation is without precedent. From the strictly economic point of view we are at the culminating point of millions of years of the physical struggle for existence.

In some of the old civilizations we find evidence of social upheavals caused by economic conditions that were somewhat akin in one of two features to the present situation. But the vital factors were different.

We have evidences of slave civilizations that labored under the same economic trouble that we suffer from now. The problem of what to do with the wealth produced by the industrious is no new one. What to do with the industrious when there is no more work for them to do has oftentimes vexed the "better classes."

Under a plain system of slave exploitation such as chattel slavery, with its simple exchange by direct barter, the problem was not by any means insurmountable. Had the slaves produced more than their masters wanted? Give them a holiday or let them build pyramids!

As long as wealth was counted in slaves, cattle, food, raiment and houses the problem of too much wealth was fairly easily disposed of. There was usually no incentive to

kill off the slaves for they were generally fairly well imbued with the "Fear of the Lord," or respect for the Master's whip, and, consequently, sufficiently docile. Wealth in food and clothing was a very simple problem. Was there too much on hand? Then stop producing any more for a time!

But we have progressed far beyond this simple life. Not that the relative position of the slave is different in any essential manner, for it is not. Under a different classification the workers still work. Under a changed form of title that small section of the body politic known as the "employing classes" still "employ" the ability and energy of the productive units.

But the setting of the stage whereon the actors of the drama of life disport themselves has been changed almost beyond recognition. No longer does the slave driver have to stand over—or we should rather say "have to employ a reliable to stand over"—his refractory chattels with a whip. No more is the baying of the bloodhound heard in the land. These crude methods have become obsolete. Today we have refined methods of dealing with the situation—methods that do not offend our aesthetic tastes. As the social methods of dealing with offal and sewerage generally have changed, so have our methods of handling the exploitation of the masses of the people. One would hardly suspect that either existed.

On the other hand, did one fall into a sewer and still retain consciousness upon contact with the contents thereof, one would probably become not comfortably conscious of the fact that sewerage still was extant. Should one be precipitated into the ranks of those who are the subjects of modern methods of exploitation, and achieve the fate of becoming conscious of that muchly camouflaged process, one would undoubtedly be somewhat astounded.

As the means, technique and transpositions in the industrial

realms have become less simple so have the movements in the marts of the world. Where the hand wrought, the four-legged mule and the horse pulled, the barge freighted and the camel carried we have the electrically and steam driven Leviathan ships and the tractor. While merchandise was traded directly for other merchandise we have the general market and the tremendous system of credit, banking and warehouse receipts. Where the workers were sold and bought for a lifetime we now buy and sell their labor-power by the day, week, or month.

As for the conditions of existence among the masses we can note no very far-reaching change. Where their chattel conditions was their warrant for a sufficiency of the means of life to live upon we now have the pay envelope with an order upon the grocer, the butcher, the landlord and the rate collector. What may have been gained by the opportunity to become the slave alternately of a number of different masters has been offset by the uncertainty of the sale.

We have guns that will shoot for forty miles, ships that will travel around the world without stopping, ships to fly over the sea and ships to swim under the sea, hundreds of billions of dollars of wealth in figures upon the books and an industrial machine that has given no indication that there could possibly be any limit to its productivity.

We have wars, poverty, misery, disease and a perpetual accursed uncertainty about everything except anxiety and death. We have the markets of the earth stocked to the attics with every conceivable necessity to comfort. We have the master section rotting in a glut of wealth that appals the mind to contemplate.

Not being able to keep ourselves fully occupied; having filled even the attics with products of industry; having built lunatic asylums for both sections of society, churches, hospitals, barracks and jails for

ourselves; having bridged the oceans, tunneled mountains and rivers, netted the continents with roads and rails; having conquered the elements and harnessed the forces of nature we now turn fifty millions of ourselves loose upon each other and the accustomed wealth with strict instructions to kill, burn and destroy. We toil away to help them on their way; we economise and save in order the better to destroy.

We are a wonderful people. We are! We are! . . . !

If not the final scene in the drama of Capitalism, pray—Your Satanic Majesty—what next?

W. W. L.

Assembled for sale in the market place, from far and near, are commodities of every size and shape, weight and dimension, texture, shade and color.

Each having a separate use from the other, fashioned for a different useful purpose, bearing no similarity in quality, in nature or construction, made in different lands and by the labor of men of different race, language, creed and color, they meet on the exchange mart, reduced to the purchaseable upon a measure of value common to them all, whatever be their nature or purpose—food or cloth, wood or fabric.

And mingled in the throng with those things of his own creation, his energy to sell, stands man himself, shorn of his dignity and stripped of his manhood, his identity gone, bought and sold in the market-place of his own making, as wood or coal, steel or iron, differing only in that while these must needs be taken, he takes himself, to market.

Something for sale wherein there is a profit, man's labor-power or energy, his sole possession, stands side by side with the objects of his own creation in this venue of exchange, the market place, for a price.

In value measurable by the same unit and determined by the same

rule, the energy or labor-power of man, the worker, has a value the same as has this varied company of commodities, side by side with him in the market place.

Divested of all qualitative considerations, bought and sold, the labor-power of the worker together with all other commodities are but quantities in exchange. A price for tea and sugar, and wages for labor-power, each expressing value as a quantity of the essential social labor time required in its making, is the rule of its value, the cost of its production.

Sold to his master, the labor-power of man, the worker, produces in commodities value greater than its own, and to his master that value belongs.

In wage-servitude, producing all things and receiving wages in return, his energy spent, when the day is done, the laborer, being worthy of his hire, like the Arab with his tent, folds up his lunch-basket and steals silently away.

E. M.

### AFTER THE WAR PROBLEMS

#### No. 3.—The Nightmare of Universal Syphilis.

By W. A. Fritchard

IN this, the third of the series of articles appearing under the above heading, we desire to clinch certain arguments made or implied in the two previous rather sketchy essays on "The Returned Soldier," and "Woman and Motherhood."

We have, heretofore, attempted to demonstrate the hopelessness of the soldier's position, providing he does not awaken to a sense of his class status and the problems of his class, and, further, that, from the master class viewpoint the most desperate need for making good the manhood wasted through months of frightful warfare already shows itself and will appear more obvious after the war, when economic rival-

ry between nations will assume a ferocity unimaginable at the present moment, and, also, that to attain this end women capable of becoming mothers will have to be persuaded or coerced into accepting the most distressing departures from our present respectable and highly cherished moral standards.

Our purpose now is to attempt to show that this end, i.e., re-population after the war, even if the healthiest of the women are taken aside as the future mothers, other factors enter the question which not only tend to alter it, but might possibly nullify it. In other words, that venereal diseases have become so far-reaching that the danger to society assumes even now alarming proportions. However, let us state the question as propounded by the editor of "Physical Culture," Bernard MacFadden. He says:

"Physicians, scientists and sociologists the world over are alarmed at an appalling danger that threatens the national life of all the warring countries. The most terrible disease of modern times is spreading its tentacles throughout the world. Great armies of men at the front have been lost to the service through this (syphilis) and its companion diseases. They even threaten the very homes of those who are thousands of miles from the battle fields. Your family—my family—may not escape.

"The situation must be faced openly and honestly. An attempt to cover up an evil does not do away with it. Silence and secrecy, concerning a contagious disease will not lessen its danger, but will increase it. In England newspapers that three years ago would not even print the names of these disorders now mention them boldly and frankly in the headlines. With the United States at war the situation here is becoming ever more serious. Something must be done."

And while we might be trespassing upon space in the "Western Clarion" we would like to take fairly long quotations from an article which recently appeared in several newspapers, etc., in the U. S. Major-General William C. Gorgas, Surgeon-General of American Arm-

ies, states, in an article entitled "The Social Evil":

"When there is an outbreak of measles or of pneumonia or of spinal meningitis the entire country becomes worried about it.

"But there is a constant and more deadly drain on the vitality of our army, and no one becomes excited about it.

"I refer to the plague of sexual diseases. To speak in plain English, I refer to syphilis and gonorrhoea.

"Other diseases take their hundreds. These venereal ailments take their thousands. It is estimated that since the war began the total equivalent of 60 divisions of one of the armies of the world were temporarily withdrawn from the fighting because of these ailments.

"During the first 18 months of the war one of the great powers had more men incapacitated for service by venereal diseases contracted in the mobilization camps than in all the fighting at the front. And there is this difference between those stricken with these diseases. The wounded man transmits no terrible heritage to his children. The poison of the syphilis goes on and on for generations.

"Look at our own army. In the 12-week period ending December 7 last there were reported, from the 31 cantonments, 21,742 new cases of venereal diseases.

"In other words, we had almost an entire division of our army on the sick list.

"The black plague, which has come down the ages, is still taking its terrible toll. With Anglo-Saxon mock modesty we have refused to speak of it.

"But the war has opened many eyes. In English newspapers and magazines you see advertisements calling for contributions to societies which are fighting the spread of syphilis. The name of the disease and its terrible nature are openly discussed, and the names of bishops of the established church are signed to these advertisements.

"In the regular army, figured on the basis of an annual rate for purposes of comparison, 8.5 per cent. per year of the men had venereal diseases, as compared with 1.34 per cent. who had other communicable diseases—such as, pneumonia, diphtheria, typhoid, para-typhoid, malaria, meningitis and scarlet fever, but not including measles.

"In the national army 16.24 per

cent. per year had venereal diseases as against 2.38 who had other ailments."

In addition to the foregoing the following excerpts from different sources showing the effect and extent of venereal disease in the various armies of the belligerent countries are worth noting:

"During the first eighteen months of the war, one of the great powers had more men incapacitated for service by venereal disease contracted in the mobilization camps than all the fighting on the front."—M. J. Exner, M.D., Social Hygiene, vol. 3, No. 2, p. 205.

"Venereal diseases among soldiers (in Germany) have increased greatly since the war began."—Journal of the Amer. Med. Assn., vol. 68, No. 9, p. 715.

"The number of syphilitics in the army must certainly be several hundred thousand. . . . Since the war began a total equivalent of sixty divisions have been temporarily withdrawn from the fighting for venereal diseases." (Vienna report).—Ibid., vol. 68, No. 10, p. 814.

And while to those who are in any way observant the claim that venereal disease grows by leaps and bounds during war time is obviously incontrovertible, still authoritative corroboration is not only welcome but, in these days especially, desirable. Consequently, we submit the following for our reader's perusal. They also give some insight into the effect upon women and the next generation:

"It is well known that the ravages of venereal diseases are always increased by war." (London report)—Journal of the A. M. J. A., vol. 67, No. 21, p. 1137.

"At one hospital clinic in France, syphilis increased almost 50 per cent. during the first sixteen months of the war, and almost 67 per cent. the following eight months (Paris report).—Ibid., vol. 68, No. 5, p. 384.

"Venereal diseases have been causing havoc in France and Italy since the war began.—Ibid., vol. 68, No. 14.

"No disease has such a murderous influence upon the offspring as syphilis; no disease has such a destructive influence upon the health and procreative function of women as gonorrhoea. . . . Inherited

syphilis constitutes a powerful factor in the degeneration of the race."—Prince A. Morrow, M. D., Social Diseases and Marriage, chap. 1.

"It has been computed that about 25 per cent. of all blindness in this country is caused by gonococcal infection. . . . Competent authorities on diseases of women state that gonococcal infection is the cause of 80 per cent. of all the inflammatory diseases peculiar to women."—Ibid.

"The spread of venereal diseases has occurred after other wars, and it is anticipated in Europe after this war."—(London report) Journal of the A. M. J. A., vol. 67, No. 24, p. 1771.

"All previous war experiences shows an increase of venereal disease. . . . When peace comes there is the danger of grave and widespread dissemination of these diseases. It is for that that we must prepare, and there is no time to be lost."—Report of National Conference for Combating Venereal Diseases. (London) Social Hygiene, vol. 3, No. 2, p. 235.

Dr. John H. Quayle, M.D., of Cleveland, Ohio, author of the bill for the establishment of Reclamation Camps, introduced into the Senate by Senator Pomerene, discussing this question under the caption, "Will the Great War syphilize the World?" leads off as follows:

"Syphilis is a greater menace to the public health today than any other single infectious disease, not even excepting tuberculosis. Twenty per cent. of the young adult male population of the class from which the army is recruited have been found to be syphilitic by the Wasserman test (which test does not detect all cases of syphilis). These recruits had passed two physical examinations which were so severe that approximately eighty-three per cent. of all applicants were rejected.

"Competent syphilologists maintain that there are twenty million cases of syphilis in the United States today. These figures are absolutely astounding to the people who know what syphilis means."

He gives quite an amount of interesting information from different sources along the line already given in this article, but which space forbids our re-presenting.

We cannot, however, pass over the following:

"Gaucher and Bizard (Bulletin de l'Academie de Medecine, Paris, December 19, 1916) say that just before the war in a series of three thousand patients in their service, ten per cent, were syphilitic; in the first sixteen months of war this proportion had increased to sixteen and two-thirds per cent, and in the last eight months to twenty-five per cent. Among 222 women with recent syphilis during the first eight months of 1916, more than two-thirds were married and in a large proportion of cases the first symptoms were noted soon after the husband's brief visit home. Gaucher insists. "Every physician should take a course of training in some service for syphilography, especially now that there is reason to fear that syphilis is going to be carried into the remotest villages of the world."

It does not appear necessary to labor the point we set out to make. If the need for re-population after the war is so urgent as we have been led to suppose, and if the only way, as we pointed out last month, is to so arrange affairs that the women of this present generation can become mothers, that partial polygamy might be pardoned in the interests of the state, how can such women become healthy mothers and bear healthy children, even were all the conditions granted that have to be assumed before this result appears within the realms of possibility, in face of an universal nightmare that "is going to be carried into the remotest villages of the world?"

What kind of crop can be expected of such a stock and under such conditions? Women have been forced into industry, placed before machines and in positions where the nervous system is subjected to constant and intense strain; men have been maimed, gassed, blinded, and arrive back from the battle line greatly impaired physically, even in those cases where the mental processes display signs of improvement. And under conditions which will not permit anything other than a promiscuity in sexual relations, in

whatever degree and under whatever form, whether officially demanded by the state or hypocritically winked at by the church, where then can we honestly say that the child can be found to whom could be handed a clean bill of health with which to commence life's journey?

These are questions of vital import for men and women of the working class. There can be no smug self-satisfaction that we are immune. Our gloomy Anglo-Saxon prudery will not suffice as a covering for a social evil world-wide in scope and devilishly destructive in effect. No hope appears in the maniacal ravings and nauseous piffle of the apologists of the present order. This question will have to be dealt with, being but an incident of the greater evil of today, the class ownership of socially operated economic forces, by those whose interests demand the abolition of the wage system and by them alone.

Next Article: "The Only Remedy."

#### Has the War Only Started

This is What George Bernard Shaw Thinks.

He says: "I must sorrowfully dispell the illusion that the Russian revolution makes for peace. Our patriots, always seizing the wrong end of the stick, are in full cry against a 'separate peace' by Russia.

"What they would dread if they had a grasp of the situation is a separate war by Russia; a fight to a finish, not only with the German throne, but with all thrones; a war that will go on when the rest of the belligerents want to stop; a war that may develop into a blaze of civil wars in England, France and Italy, with the foreign offices and courts and capitalists fighting to restore the Czar, and the 'proletariat of all lands' fighting to reproduce the Russian revolution in their own countries.

"What has happened so far is a very old thing, the world has seen many times before, the kings of the

earth rise up and the rulers take counsel together. But when peoples with new Bibles and new Jewish prophets do the same thing there will be no more use for that middle class ignorance that deals with such a danger by a refusal of passports to those alone who understand it.

We agree with Shaw. The Russian revolution is but an incident in a world-wide struggle which shall not cease until Preletarian Internationalism has overthrown the infamy of Bourgeois Imperialism.

Today the disinherited are no longer the meek and humble suppliants whom the high and mighty formerly knew, but, with a definite program for a new social order, are working unceasingly with knowledge and strong purpose towards a social order under which the exploiting and ruling castes shall be no more.

(Continued from page 5)

He has not and never will have a national, to say nothing of an international mind. The revolution will be accomplished by industrial slaves who will not feel the need of aid from the now much-wooded yokelry.

Bruce

Bruce has here raised several controversial points, which we leave to any of our many farmer readers to deal with themselves, in the hope that such a procedure will arouse enquiry and criticism among the agricultural workers.—Ed. Com.

## Boost The Clarion

THIS PAGE RESERVED FOR  
"The Workers' Socialist Party of the United States"  
L. M. BEARDSLEY, Secy. Ex. Committee, 132 Linden St., Detroit, Mich.

#### RELIGION—THE HANDMAID OF CAPITAL

AN attitude which is not uncommon was recently expressed by a friend of the writer's, to the effect that he agreed with us in all essentials, with the single exception of our position on religion. He expressed the opinion that to attack religion would retard the growth of the party, and stated that he believed "by instinct" in a "supreme power."

To reply, we might begin by stating a paradox, that, the principal thing which retards the growth of a Socialist party is the advocacy of Socialism, but unfortunately this cannot be helped. The teaching of Socialism is a difficult task because the workers, for the most part, are not quite ready for the immediate acceptance of Socialism. Not alone as regards religion, but in the departments of economics, history, morals, etc., the workers are dominated by the ideas of the master class and progress towards Socialist thought is slow and tortuous. But this cannot affect the quality of our propaganda. We are organized for the purpose of giving the workers the knowledge which they need, not for giving them the ideas which they will most readily accept.

If our progress is slow on this account, we say, let it be slow. We prefer to build slowly and surely than to build rapidly and insecurely. We think there has been enough of this rapid and insecure building in the past, the deplorable results of which are on every hand, and we do not care to assist in the work of duplicating it.

Socialism meets opposition in the ideas which are taught to the work-

ers throughout their lives by the educational institutions of present day society, and in attempting to bring to their minds the philosophy of Socialism, their present ideas must be attacked and uprooted. Otherwise there is no room for the new ideas to enter and develop. Countless individual examples have come to our notice of workers who have received a smattering of Socialist ideas but who have gotten these so mixed up with their previous conceptions that the net result has been hopeless confusion and discouragement, ending in apathetic resignation. This sort of thing must be avoided in Socialist propaganda. It is a poor plan to give a man some modern ideas and leave him with some ancient ones to undo all the good that has been done. It is just as bad as it would be for a surgeon to cut away half of a tumor and leave his patient with the other half.

The first work of the Socialist is a destructive criticism of existing society, but it does not end there. There are many who are well acquainted with the anomalies and degeneracy of capitalism and yet do not become Socialists. Such well-known men as Frank P. Walsh and Scott Nearing are examples. To become Socialists it is necessary that they understand the nature of capitalist society, it is not sufficient that they merely know that it does not suit them. It is one thing to be dissatisfied with existing conditions and another to recognize the cause of these conditions, and be able to take intelligent action in applying a remedy.

What prevents the merely dissatisfied worker from becoming a Socialist is partly the fact that his position in society is obscured by the complexity of our social system, but

also, very largely by the ideas with which he is at present possessed. To sum the situation up we may say that the struggle between capitalism, to maintain itself, and the Socialist movement, to overthrow it, is first of all a struggle of ideas—Socialist ideas versus capitalist ideas.

"But," it may be asked, "does this apply to all fields of thought? Is not Socialism a purely economic and political movement and therefore not concerned with religion?"

It is true that primarily it is the economic position of the workers which brings them into the Socialist camp, and it is also true that the final struggle with the capitalist class will be a political one. But if the matter is purely economic and political it remains to be explained why many dissatisfied workers do not more readily accept socialism. The explanation is forthcoming when we talk to them. The questions asked and objections offered by the average worker show clearly where his ideas come from. We find the ideology of capitalism in full bloom in his mind in most cases. Even when he is thoroughly disgusted with things generally, he still clings to the religious and moral ideas taught him, and we find these ideas standing directly in the way of his acceptance of Socialism.

The capitalists certainly spend money enough on the education of both young and old to inculcate their ideas, and it does seem a pity for them to squander money in this way unless it brings some advantage to them. As a matter of fact the teaching of religion, like war, is one of the functions of business. It occupies a similar position to the "sociological" department of the Ford Motor Co. Just as Mr. Ford's department of sociology sees to it

that Ford employes spend their "high" wages for things which will contribute to their physical well-being so that they may give the best of their lives to the making of Ford profits, so the church sees to it that the workers are taught ideas which contribute to mental condition favorable to the maintenance of the existing order.

In evidence that religion actually performs the function credited to it here, we quote a passage from the pamphlet "Socialism and Religion," issued by the Socialist Party of Great Britain:

"That Christianity, in its individualism, its false idealism, and its political connections, is utterly opposed to Socialism is recognized by the capitalist class itself most clearly; while priests of all denominations proclaim with emphasis that religion is the antidote par excellence to Socialist ideas.

"Addressing a gathering at Grosvenor House in support of the 'Bishop of London's Fund,' on Tuesday, May 11th, 1909, under the presidency of the Duke of Devonshire, the Bishop of London quoted a statement made by a slum missionary and described how a whole family in Notting Dale existed on 5s. a week, earned by a boy, and out of that 4s. was paid in rent. He said:

"Can you expect that boy to believe in the goodness of God? Will he not want to know where God comes in? Under all circumstances I cannot regard the prospect as rosy. In forty years the Bishop of London's Fund has built two hundred and thirty churches, and I believe saved London from such a revolution as would astonish the world. If it were not for the influence of re-

ligion, perhaps the people of the East End would not take things so quietly as they sometimes do."

"New churches for families starving on one shilling a week! For, after all, the Bishop did not appeal to his noble and wealthy hearers to remove hunger and poverty; the point of his appeal was the necessity, not of feeding the starvelings, but of keeping them quiet. Such is the service religion renders to the propertied class." (p.33.)

Nor is it different in America. The Rev. "Billy" Sunday is well repaid for giving to the workers such choice morsels of intellectualty as the following:

"Some people say they can't believe in miracles, for instance, in the loaves and fishes feeding 5,000.

"Yet hundreds of millions of bushels of wheat grow from multiplying seed under the power of the sun. How many understand the chemistry of soil and seed? But we believe it!"

Big corporations see to it that their employes are out in force to absorb such junk as the above and business men do not generally do things at random.

We repeat that when we try to get our fellow workers to study Socialism, the first thing which blocks our way is the ideology of capitalism. Men who are in the habit of believing anything they are told, without attempting to understand it are in a mental condition which makes them accept the degradation of wage-slavery without an effort to understand it.

The Socialist endeavors to inspire the worker with a desire to know his position in society, to understand everything that can understand. Thus the whole mental attitude of the Socialist is directly in conflict with the mental attitude of a religious man, and the Socialist philosophy cannot be propagated without coming into antagonism with the philosophy of religion. The mental attitude of inquiry, of wanting to know, is revolutionary; the mental attitude of "belief" is slavish.

To expect men to hold economic views out of harmony with their philosophic views is to expect too much. If it is difficult to get men to abandon their religion, it is still more difficult to make Socialists of them while they retain it. Indeed, it is impossible. A revolutionary working class movement can be built only of men whose minds are clear of rubbish.

Throughout all history great movements have had an ideology suited to their needs. The proletarian movement is no exception. The Socialist argument is based upon facts in the field of economics and conforming to this its philosophic conception is based upon knowledge, instead of on "belief" or "instinct."

"Materialism," says Ernest Untermann, "is the handmaid of revolution, and without it no proletarian movement complies with the historical requirements of its evolution."

L. B.

Detroit, Mich.

## NOW READY SLAVE OF THE FARM

By A. BUDDEN.

Price: 10c per copy; 75c per dozen; \$6.00 per 100.

### MANITOBA MISCELLANEA

#### By Pat.

According to press reports a serious split has developed in the ranks of the Winnipeg Socialists. We, ourselves, had not noticed it, but appearing as it does in the capitalist press, it must be true. According to the Free Press of May 13th, 1918, Sam Blumenberg, who resigned from Winnipeg Local a few weeks ago, and William Baum, leader of the S. D. P., have succeeded in bringing into existence the new Socialist Industrial Union. It further states that A. C. Hay, ex-president of the Great War Veterans, and Samuel Prossaw, leader of the Jewish Revolutionary Socialists, are also members.

The declarations of principles is a document full of contradictions and absurdities, and ends by calling on all workers "regardless of creed" to rally round the banner of the "Workers Union of Canada."

Orthodox Jews, Roman Catholics, Confucious, Methodists, Buddhists and Unitarians are therefore all invited to join the new union which by tactics yet to be enunciated are "to wrest political power from the capitalists."

That the returned men are waking up though is proven by the fact that a big proportion of the men on strike here are returned soldiers. All the bluff of their old officers, all the stop of the city preachers and all the lies of the prostitute press have failed to turn them from their object. It is the finest instance of class solidarity that Canada has produced.

First of the bosses with their backers from the Returned Officers Association, to the Boy Sprouts from the English Church, to the Unitarians, from Lawyer Pitblado to "Labor" Controller Puttee, all lined up in the most beautiful combination of bourgeois solidarity we have ever known. On the other side one union after another lined up and placed themselves practically unanimously in the hands of the

Strike Committee. From the boastful cocksureness last Tuesday the capitalist press have backed down till to-day (May 21st, 1918) we are getting what is as near truth as a newspaper man can get. We also get information of what they would like to do, as the following culled from an out-of-the-way corner of to-day's "Tribune" will testify:

#### Soldiers Mark Time, Waiting for Call.

"While no disturbances are feared, the military are ready for any emergency, it was learned to-day. At Minto barracks there is an 'in squad' ready to proceed to any part of the city at a moment's notice and leaves for trips down town have been seriously curtailed during the last few days. At the ordnance department there is ball cartridge ready to be sent to the military on short orders, but it has not been served to soldiers in training, and will not be except in the most extreme case, it is explained."

"Tribune," May 21, 1918.

Last Thursday night Dick Johns, one of our local members, who is a delegate from the Machinists, horrified the "best people" of "our" city by telling the strikers that they had the right to demand anything they had the power to enforce. As all "our best people" have the power to take something from the workers, which power they certainly do enforce, Johns argument becomes a powerful one, and is surely sinking into the heads of the pligs.

I never knew why we Socialists were so often accused of being friendly to the German uers till I noticed by a clipping out of May 18th "Free Press" how they loved our comrades. Please Note:

#### The New Bismarck

"From a report of a speech said to have been made at a dinner party in Berlin before the great drive by Ludendorff, the following passage is quoted by

the "Boston Transcript":

"The people will stand the loss of a million men if I ask it. I shall take good care that among that million are those who talk most about peace or who give trouble. . . . Socialists be damned. By the time you fear a revolution I shall have prevented it. The men who will be dead and the women, as Napoleon said, cannot make revolutions."

"They are hailing Ludendorff in Germany as the new Bismarck. As a man of blood and iron he has, however, far eclipsed his model.

In the words of a woman whose husband used to lick her, I can only say "My God, how that man loves me!"

### HERE AND NOW

#### New "Clarion" Subscriptions

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Local Vancouver No. 1 have conducted a sub-rustling campaign for the last three weeks with the result shown above. Go that and do likewise. Total of 172 new readers.

172 new readers—ninety-seven of them the result of a campaign by Local No. 1. Locals Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg, etc., take notice!

Credit is also due, for the remainder, to many comrades throughout the country doing individual canvassing.

This is not enough.

The heightened are everywhere, and while the system of infamy remains, we must push the "Clarion" circulation ahead.

Let all our readers in mill or in mine, on farm or in factory, realize that they are part of a host in all lands to whom geographical boundaries, racial or national divisions, are Alpine barriers, which they have scaled, because they know of their common economic servitude, their common heritage of toil and sacrifice, under the rule of capital. A host, whose ranks must be reinforced before this slavery can cease.

Having this in mind the ambition of the "Clarion" management is to issue the "Clarion" twice a month, and outside their efforts they absolutely depend on their readers to attain this result.

Fifty cents or One Dollar will buy a subscription, or you may send for a bundle of five or more at three cents per copy and distribute them, with a view to getting more subscriptions. While doing this you are also doing the best of propaganda work.

The Clarion Maintenance Fund is always open for sums, no matter how small. But it is now readers more than anything else that we require.

Will You Help? Will You Help?

The time of another world crisis is inevitably approaching. Let us strain every nerve from now on, so that our class in this part of the world may play such a part in that crisis that the generations yet to come may call them blessed.

The "Western Clarion" is the Socialist educator.

Subscribe for the "Clarion." Distribute the "Clarion." Support the "Clarion."

### NOTICE TO OUR READERS.

Our readers will regret to hear that Comrade Moses Baritz was known through the Dominion and the States as a Socialist propagandist, has been confined in the Immigration Station in Seattle, Wash., for considerably more than a month now.

The information laid against him does not square with his well-known expressed opinions from the public platform all over the country, and his articles which have appeared in the "Western Clarion" for many years. Note, particularly, an article appearing in the December issue of 1916, number seven of a series of articles by him on the European situation in which he makes a bitter attack on the anarchists in general and on those in Austria in particular. Indeed the animus he has always displayed against them has almost reached the point of obsession, and was wont to cause much amusement amongst his friends.

We will let Baritz tell the tale of his predicament in his own words, in extracts, which we take from letters sent to us.

April 23rd "... allegations are made that I am an anarchist and belong to the I.W.W. I am producing evidence tomorrow to show that Socialism and Anarchism are diametrically opposed to each other. I am calling Professor W. Ogburn, of Washington University, to present an analysis of Marxism. He can do it and will help me immensely.

"I was arrested on instructions from San Francisco Naval Intelligence Department, where it was alleged

1st—That I was an assistant to and supporter of Emma Goldman this winter in New York City.

2nd—That I delivered lectures in Yiddish on anarchistic subjects.

3rd—That I was getting pledges for an "overthrowal of the present system," in association with members of the I. W. W.

4th—That I was met on February 17, on my arrival in San Francisco

by a committee of I. W. W.

5th—That my name is Moses Baritzski, and that I wore a badge in New York City.

6th—That I was going back to New York to take charge of a Russian Revolutionary paper."

After giving more details he said: "I am hoping to have printed some day, my examination and cross examination, for it provides an excellent statement of the case of Socialism vs. Anarchism." All is great that comes to Moses' mill. Update his examination is still going on and his bail which was at first a thousand dollars, is now ten thousand.

All comrades, we are sure, will hope with us, for Baritz' speedy release.

### NOTICE!

On Tuesday night, the 28th, the D. E. C. quarters were visited by the military and police. After a quite unnecessary display of rough neck tactics, they proceeded to examine all printed or written matter in the place. Having turned things upside down generally, they informed us that everything was satisfactory. We take this opportunity to notify the authorities that our affairs are open to investigation any moment of the day or night, but that in the conduct of it we require the same courtesy as they would extend to the management of a big daily or a bank.

D. E. C.

### What "Our" Japanese Allies Say About Us.

According to the "Manchester Guardian" (Jan. 3, 1918) several Japanese dignitaries are not particularly enamoured of the Allies. Prof. Takugo, who seems a keen observer, declares "the greatest autocrat in the world to-day is not the Kaiser, but Lloyd-George, or perhaps Wilson." Mr. Shintaro said "if every inhumane Power must be chastised, Japan would have to declare war against the Allies as well as the Central Powers."

## Socialist Party Directory

**DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**  
Socialist Party of Canada, meets every alternate Sunday, 2 p.m., Socialist Hall, N.E. cor. Pender and Dunlevy, Vancouver, B. C.—C. Stephenson, Secretary.

**BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**, Socialist Party of Canada, meets same as above.

**ALBERTA AND SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**—Secretary, John P. Maguire, Box 785, Edmonton. Phone 4803.

**LOCAL ALHAMBRA, No. 74 (Alta.)**  
S. P. of C.—P. O. Peterson, Secretary, Horegard's, Alta.

**LOCAL BRANDON, No. 68 (Man.) S. P. of C.**—Secretary, Thos. Hanwell, 12 Hardware Bk.

**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-4th Ave. W. Secretary, H. Clifford, Morgan, Suite 49, Thomas Block.

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

**LOCAL CUMBERLAND, B. C. No. 70.**  
Business meetings every first and third Sunday in the month, at 10:30 a.m. Economic classes every Monday at 8 p.m., Friday, at 7 p.m., in the Socialist Hall opposite P. O. Regular Propaganda meetings at every opportunity, J. McMillan, Box 312, corresponding and financial secretary.

**LOCAL EDMONTON, No. 1, S. P. of C.**  
Free reading room and headquarters Room 5, Bellamy Bk. 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. Flegg, secretary, P. O. Box 785.

**LOCAL ERSKINE, No. 98 (Alta.) S. P. of C.**—A. A. McNall, Secretary, Erskine, Alta.

**LOCAL FERRIER, S. P. of C.**, hold educational meetings in the Socialist Hall every Sunday at 7 p.m. 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 ROSSELAND, No. 25, S. P. of C.**  
—Meets in Miners' Hall every change Sunday at 7:30 p.m. Will Jones, Box 125, Secretary.

**LOCAL FERGUSON PLAINS, No. 85 (Alta.)**—O. L. Fuller, Secretary, Ferguson Plains, Alta.

**MEADOWS HAT (Gosport) Local S. P. of C.** Meets first Sunday in the month at 825 C. Prisoners Ave., J. R. Kalin, Secretary.

**LOCAL SUNDIAL, No. 70 (Alta.) S. P. of C.**—J. E. Vance, Secretary, Dundas St. E. Cor. Pender, Secretary, Sun Saturday of every month.

**LOCAL ECKVILLE, No. 58 (Alta.) S. P. of C.**—J. F. Knorr, Secretary, Eckville, Alta.

**LOCAL KINDERLEY, No. 10 (Sask.)**  
S. P. of C.—H. Vindeg, Secretary, Sunkist, Sask.

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

**LOCAL MONTREAL, No. 1, S. P. of C.**  
183A Dorchester St. West.—Address all enquiries to P. O. Box 253, Station B, Montreal, P. Q. Secretary Charles M. Robertson. Headquarters open every evening.

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

**MANITOBA P. E. C.**—Jurisdiction from Moose Jaw, Sask., to the head of the Great Lakes, supplied.—Apply Secretary, Alex. Paterson, Box 2025, Winnipeg. Phone G3338.

**LOCAL SILVER LEAF, No. 101 (Alta.)**  
S. P. of C.—Benny Johnson, Secretary, Baraca, P. O. Alta.

**LOCAL ST. CATHERINES, No. 30 (Ont.)**  
S. P. of C.—Economic Class every Sunday, 2 p.m., 28 Queen Street.

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

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

**LOCAL VANCOUVER, No. 1, S. P. of C.**  
—Business meeting every Tuesday evening, 401 Pender St. E. Propaganda meeting at the Empress Theatre every Sunday, 8 p.m. Secretary, J. Kavanagh.

**VANCOUVER LEFTISH 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, E. 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. 3, S. P. of C.**  
—Headquarters and Reading Room, 1486 Government St., Room 3. 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—325 Smith St. Business meetings Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Propaganda meetings Sundays, 5 p.m. Economic Class Sundays 5 p.m. Leading Library 50 cents per year. Organizers, Johns Henderson and Stewart. Secretary, Albert Kacia, P. O. Box 304.

**LOCAL OTTAWA, No. 3 (Ont.) S. P. of C.**—Business meeting 1st Sunday in the month at Parliament National, 2nd Floor 8th St. Secretary, A. G. McCallum, 115 St. George.

### MINUTES OF THE DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Convened in the office of the Secretary, Sunday, May 12th, at 8 p.m.

Present: J. G. Morgan, J. Harrington, J. Kavanagh, J. M. Jenkins, L. Robertson, W. A. Pritchard, and the Secretary. Minutes of the previous meeting adopted as read.

Correspondence—J. A. Teit, Spences Bridge; Oscar Erickson, Fernie; S. Clements, Port Neville; A. P. McCabe, Port Clements; Jas. Richards, Brechin; N. T. Sergeant, Lund; William Churchill, Beaverdell, B. C.

Alberta—Alberta P. E. C.; V. P. Morgan, Kitscoty; J. C. Schuneman, Calgary; T. Hughes, Frank; D. Pollitt, Calgary; J. Budnyk, Vegreville; H. Munro, Eckville; G. Johnson, Turin; F. H. Jowett, Calgary. Saskatchewan—F. Shimek, Collins; W. Stokes, North Regina; Morgan Cassin, Park Bluff; R. C. Shaanon, Sturgis; M. Bruce, Regina.

Manitoba—Manitoba P. E. C.; Local Winnipeg; Local Brandon.

Ontario—Tom Moore, Fort William; S. Major, Toronto; R. H. Ridgeway, Toronto; A. G. McCallum, Ottawa; Local St. Catherine; S. Feigelman, Montreal, P.Q.; S. E. White, St. John, N. B.; Moses Baritz, Seattle, Wash.; John R. Commons, Madison, Wis.; Alfred Goetz, Detroit, Mich.; The Workers S. P. of U. S., Detroit, Mich.; D. Laffler, Ithaca, N. Y.; Thos. Hall, Millerton, New Zealand.

Moved and seconded (Harrington-Jenkins) that a committee be appointed to visit plant of the Burnsby Printing Co.—Carried.

Committee appointed, Pritchard, Stephenson and Mitchell.

Moved and seconded (Robertson-Harrington) that bank form be filled in according to requirements.—Carried.

Moved and seconded that Secretary write to Jap Socialist paper (Heinip) asking for general information as to the extent of the movement among the Japs, etc.

### Financial Report

|                         |        |
|-------------------------|--------|
| Receipts:—              |        |
| Subscriptions           | 633.75 |
| Directory and Bundles   | 17.75  |
| Literature              | 37.04  |
| Stamps and Supplies     | 55.50  |
| Cash in hand 1st April  | 288.47 |
|                         | 942.51 |
| Expenditure:—           |        |
| Printing (two issues)   | 131.00 |
| Wages                   | 55.00  |
| Miscellaneous           | 25.25  |
| Cash in hand 30th April | 192.17 |
|                         | 942.52 |

Adjourned.  
Chairman, J. M. Jenkins, Secretary, C. Stephenson.



The State History Society  
of Wisconsin (Library)  
MADISON, WIS.

THE WESTERN CLARION

# 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.

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

The interest of the working class lies in 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.

VANCOUVER LOCAL NO. 1

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## Socialist Party of Canada

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# Propaganda Meeting

Vancouver Local No. 1  
S. P. of C.

## Every Sunday

at 8 p.m.

# EMPRESS THEATRE

Hastings Street.