

**CIHM
Microfiche
Series
(Monographs)**

**ICMH
Collection de
microfiches
(monographies)**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

© 1997

Technical and Bibliographic Notes / Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming are checked below.

- Coloured covers / Couverture de couleur
- Covers damaged / Couverture endommagée
- Covers restored and/or laminated / Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- Cover title missing / Le titre de couverture manque
- Coloured maps / Cartes géographiques en couleur
- Coloured ink: (i.e. other than blue or black) / Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- Coloured plates and/or illustrations / Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- Bound with other material / Relié avec d'autres documents
- Only edition available / Seule édition disponible
- Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin / La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure.
- Blank leaves added during restorations may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming / Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- Additional comments / Commentaires supplémentaires:

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- Coloured pages / Pages de couleur
- Pages damaged / Pages endommagées
- Pages restored and/or laminated / Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- Pages discoloured, stained or foxed / Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- Pages detached / Pages détachées
- Showthrough / Transparence
- Quality of print varies / Qualité inégale de l'impression
- Includes supplementary material / Comprend du matériel supplémentaire
- Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to ensure the best possible image / Les pages totalement ou partiellement obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure, etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à obtenir la meilleure image possible.
- Opposing pages with varying colouration or discolourations are filmed twice to ensure the best possible image / Les pages s'opposant ayant des colorations variables ou des décolorations sont filmées deux fois afin d'obtenir la meilleure image possible.

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below /
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10x		14x		18x		22x		26x		30x
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	12x		16x		20x		24x		28x	32x

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

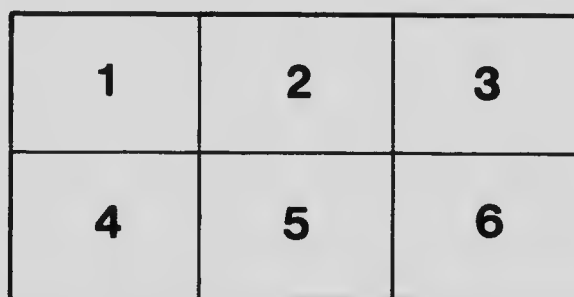
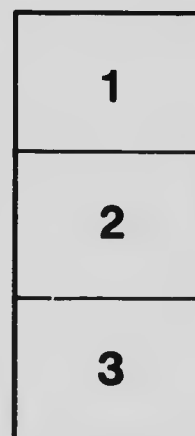
Dana Porter Arts Library
University of Waterloo

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shell contains the symbol \rightarrow (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

Dana Porter Arts Library
University of Waterloo

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

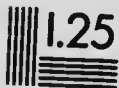
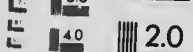
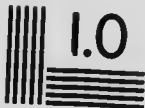
Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole \rightarrow signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



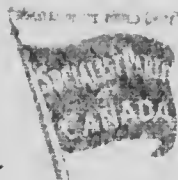
APPLIED IMAGE Inc

1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

A SHORT STUDY OF ITS AIMS
AND CLAIMS

BY W. E. HARDENBURG



PRICE 10 CENTS

PUBLISHED BY
The Dominion Executive Committee
Vancouver, B.C.

HX

10

35X

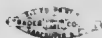
11-7

ARD

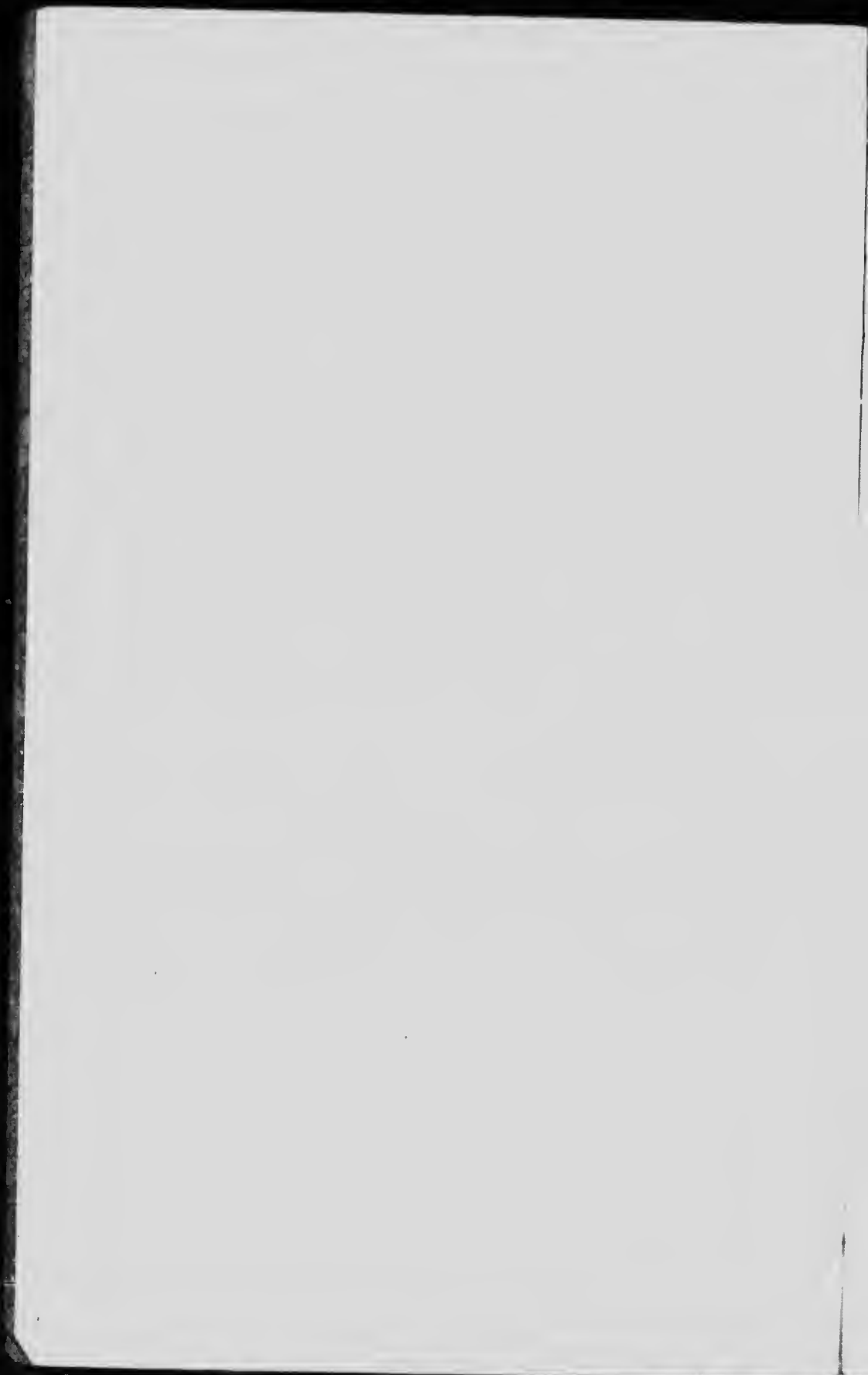
WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

A SHORT STUDY OF ITS AIMS
AND CLAIMS

BY W. E. HARDENBURG



PUBLISHED BY
The Dominion Executive Committee
Vancouver, B.C.



INTRODUCTION



Every great movement has, in its beginning, been ridiculed and misunderstood, and Socialism has been no exception to this rule. Even today, when Socialism is world-wide in its scope, when victory after victory is being won at the polls by the Socialists in almost every civilized country, there are still a very large number of people who appear to be totally destitute of any adequate conception of the aims and ideals of this great movement.

History tells us that those who have been most active in opposing the great movements of the past, have done so in accordance with the dictates of their material interests. And to us Socialists it appears that most of the erroneous conceptions of our aims now current, have been brought about by the misrepresentations of those who stand to lose by the introduction of Socialism. This wealthy class of individuals, controlling, as it does, the dominant political parties, the press, the pulpit, the schools—in a word, everything, finds it an easy matter so to distort and misrepresent Socialism that many, who hear only this one version, are prejudiced against it from the first.

What is Socialism?

A SHORT STUDY OF ITS AIMS
AND CLAIMS

BY W. E. HARDENBURG

WHAT SOCIALISTS WANT.

Now, at the start, let us find out what Socialism really is. In the first place, it is not a scheme or plan by which to eliminate certain evils that now exist. On the contrary, it is a scientific forecast of the next stage of humanity's progress, which another turn of the wheel of evolution will bring about and which will be characterized by the collective ownership and democratic operation of the machinery of production, in contradistinction to the private and class ownership that exists today.

Since, by the term "machinery of production" we mean mills, mines, factories, railways, forests—in short, everything necessary for the production of wealth, it should be clear that what we want is the common or collective ownership of all public necessities and utilities and their direct and democratic operation by the workers, with a view to production for public use instead of production for private profit as at present. We believe that this is a more equitable and a more scientific mode of existence than the present mode and that it will automatically put a stop to most of the evils with which the great mass of the people are at present afflicted. Considering, in the words of Lincoln, that "the end of government is to render the greatest good to the greatest number," it logically follows that if we can make the lives of the majority of people happier and better and nobler than they are now, everybody who has no interest in the continuance of existing evils should be with

Before proceeding further, it may be as well to explain the distinction between Socialism and government ownership. Government ownership is merely a later development of the capitalist system. In France and Germany and Mexico, they have government owned railways. In Calgary the city owns the street-car system, but in no case do the workers derive the least benefit from this public ownership.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

The root of the whole matter is simply this: there is no democratic control, and rent, interest and profit still constitute the Holy Trinity. Thus when a nation or a municipality takes over or builds a railway or street-car system, must raise the capital necessary by issuing bonds to capitalists. The capitalists buy these bonds at a discount generally and, of course, receive each year their quota of unearned income in the form of dividends. So the workers are robbed just as thoroughly as though they were working for some private owner, in fact, they are merely working for a class instead of an individual. Furthermore, these government or municipally owned enterprises are generally run for profit, and the profit goes into the treasury to help pay the taxes of the employing and property-owning class, instead of going to the men who do the work.

It is in accordance with these demands and ideals that the international Socialist movement was born, some sixty years ago. Since that time, it has become world-wide, one great, cohesive organization, with active and militant branches in every civilized country. Today, the various Socialist parties have a voting strength of over ten millions—men and women, who, in revolt against the conditions of the present are fighting the great fight for the total overthrow of the capitalist system and for the conquest of the world.

These organizations are, as we have seen, international. They combat the same enemy, stand shoulder to shoulder under the same red banner of revolt. They pass over all boundary lines, rise above all race and religious prejudices. They have for their motto the ringing words of Marx, "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."

THE TWO CLASSES.

Now, before proceeding further, it may be well for us to review in brief form some of the main facts of the evolution of modern industry. Thus, we all know that at first, when the only tools in use were simple hand-tools, made and

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

used by one person, the average worker could look forward to the time when he also, having once learned his trade, could set up in business for himself, and, owning what he produced, receive the full value of what his labor had made.

Although at that time one man worked for another it was not in the capacity of the wage-worker of today; it was rather an apprenticeship for the purpose of learning the trade. This once learned, he was free and able to open his own shop and own his own product. It was when the simple and easily-made tool of the hand-worker was replaced by complex and expensive machinery that the workingman lost control of the instruments of production; it was when the increased size and cost of these tools made them too expensive for the ordinary worker to own that the small employer became the capitalist and the employee became the wage-slave. Right there, the division of modern society into two distinct and antagonistic classes began.

These two classes are to be seen today in capitalist society fully developed. They consist, on the one hand, of the numerically few capitalists, who own the tools of production in the shape of great machines, which they did not make and cannot use; and on the other of the great mass of workers, who made these machines and who use them, but who do not own them.

The workers, thus deprived of the ownership of the tools they have made, must, however, have access to them in order to live. Consequently, they must comply with the conditions that the capitalists impose. These conditions, of course, are such that the capitalists are enabled to live luxuriously on the sweat of the workers.

How the game works out is as follows: In effect the capitalist says to the workingman: "Here is my factory. It is fully equipped. I have plenty of steam power and water power, but I need some labor-power—some human labor-power. If you care to sell yours cheap enough, I'll buy it.

So the workingman—having been completely divorced

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

from the ownership of the tools of production, now in the hands of the capitalist, having no other alternative than starvation—accepts this offer and sells his only remaining piece of property—his labor-power, without which all the machinery in the world is useless.

Thus we see that labor-power is a commodity, like coal or ham or salt—something to be produced for sale. In fact, this is so commonly recognized by the employing class that they speak of the labor market in exactly the same terms as when they speak of the hog market, the sheep market or the mule market.

HOW THE CLASSES DIVIDE UP.

Now as labor-power is a commodity—a mere article to be bought and sold—it must obey the law that governs commodities, which is, briefly, that on the whole, commodities exchange at their value. Thus when a worker sells his labor-power to a capitalist, he sells it, as a rule, at its value—in other words, what it would cost to reproduce it. The cost of reproduction, of course, is the amount of food, shelter and clothing required for the worker during his lifetime and an additional sinking fund, as it were, for his reproduction—briefly, enough to raise a couple of children to take his place and wear his chains when he is thrown on the industrial scrap-heap. This is the worker's share.

Now, let us see what the capitalist gets out of it; the capitalist, who does no useful work, but who has, by virtue of his mere ownership, the economic power to take from each and all of his slaves everything they produce, over and above their cost of keep and reproduction. He becomes wealthy, perhaps a millionaire. He lives in a mansion, where there are books and music and singing and dancing and the delicacies and luxuries of all lands. He has motor cars and yachts and carriages and fine horses. He gives pink teas and monkey dinners. He is fawned upon by his horde of well-fed, cringing flunkies. He leads the life of a gentleman, and sends his sons to Yale and Harvard and Oxford. He is the

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

"philanthropist" who gives away libraries and founds universities, with his name in big letters over the door. He is the gentleman who controls the political bosses and dominates the great political parties with his huge campaign funds. He is the master; and how the puppets dance, when he pulls the strings! This is the capitalist's share.

These respective shares can be given with more exactness, however. According to the reports of the Census Department, the working class receives, on the average, only 22% of what it produces. It must not be imagined, however, that all the remaining 78% goes to the capitalists as profits, for from this we must deduct the following items:

1.—Cost of raw materials.

2.—Repair and reproduction of machinery, etc.

The rest, however, goes to the capitalist class in the form of rent, interest and profits. Note, though, that it goes to the class, not to the individual. The reasons for this are, briefly, these: Generally the active capitalist, upon beginning business, borrows money from some passive capitalist, for which he pays interest. Next, he frequently has to pay rent for his offices or grounds or buildings to the landlord capitalist. What remains after distributing these items constitutes his profits. Hence, we see that this exploitation, this robbery of the workers at the point of production, is a class matter, not an individual one. The working class makes; the capitalist class takes.

THE AWFUL HELL OF MODERN WAGE-SLAVERY.

From this short survey of the system of capitalistic production, we are enabled to come to several interesting conclusions.

One of the first, is that the hellish traffic in human flesh, formerly known as slavery, still exists—that is, if we accept the ordinary definition of slavery—namely, a condition under which one is forcibly compelled to toil for another's benefit. This, modern wage-slaves are forced to do

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

or die from starvation; and this, the old-time chattel slave was also forced to do or die from flagellation. Both are forced to work for another's profit. The only distinction is that chattel slaves were bound to work for some one particular master, whereas wage-slaves are bound to no particular master, but to one master class.

In a word, the modern wage-worker is almost as completely at the mercy of the capitalist as if he were the capitalist's property under the law. It is true, the capitalist has no title to the worker's body; but he owns the worker's job; he has the power to say when, where, how and for how long the worker shall work and whether he shall work or not—that is, whether he shall live or not. The person most directly interested in these matters, whose very life depends on them—that is, the worker, has no say. His function is but to obey.

What else other than slavery can Shelley have had in mind when he wrote his splendid poem—"To England's Men"?

Men of England, wherefore plough,
For the lords who lay you low?
Wherefore weave with toil and care
The rich robes your tyrants wear?

Wherefore feed and clothe and save
From the cradle to the grave,
Those ungrateful drones who would
Drain your sweat—nay, drink your blood?

Wherefore, bees of England, forge
Many a weapon, chain and scourge,
That these stingless drones may spoil
The forced produce of your toil?

Have ye leisure, comfort, calm?
Shelter, food, love's gentle balm?
Or what is it ye buy so dear,
With your pain and with your fear?

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

The seed ye sow, another reaps;
The wealth ye find, another keeps;
The robes ye weave, another wears;
The arms ye forge, another bears.

Sow seed—but let no tyrant reap;
Find wealth—let no imposter keep;
Weave robes—let not the idle wear;
Forge arms—in your defence to bear!

That the true position of the workers is fully appreciated by the master class is evidenced by the contempt which they and their hangers-on show in the very manner in which they utter the word "workingman." And how carefully they move aside in the street to avoid even touching one of these geese that lay the golden egg!

SOCIALISM A WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT.

This contempt, well-merited as it is, is beginning to awaken the workers of the world to their real position in society. They are beginning to perceive that their interests and the interests of the employing class are diametrically opposed. They are beginning to realize that they have higher aspirations and ideals than to be mere living chunks of human labor-power, something to be purchased at the market price for the purpose of extracting profits, like a horse or a machine. They are beginning to see that they are living, thinking human beings, with human hopes, human ambitions and human rights.

Even the more ignorant, the politically superstitious, the less advanced section of the working class, are commencing to realize that their interests lie in the direction of higher pay and shorter hours, while their employers' interests are in the direction of lower wages and longer hours. The strikes and riots that we read of daily in the papers show that these workers, too, are beginning to revolt.

From the foregoing, it should be clear that Socialism is essentially a working class movement, since it is the working class, primarily, that is injured by the present system. Thus

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

it is to the direct, material interest of the workers to put an end to a system by which a band of useless parasites revel in ease and vice on the unpaid toil of the poor and lowly, like butterflies on a summer day.

It must not be imagined, however, that humanitarians from other classes may not join in this great movement. Recruits from other classes are, however, generally filled with visionary ideas of reforming the present system, instead of supplanting it with a better one. They waste a great deal of valuable time and energy working, apparently, on the principle that it is better to keep on bailing out the water than to stop the leak. Now, these people, if they would work more in the direction of removing the cause, instead of removing the effects, would be doing useful work. Perhaps, then, if we can show them that the system itself is wrong, insane and incapable of being patched up, they will apply their efforts in a more intelligent manner.

THE INSANE SYSTEM.

In the first place, the system is absurd. It is wasteful, cruel and inefficient. Let us take an example. Suppose I take a walk up to your house some night and break all the windows. A wrongful action, you say. On the contrary, I am really doing a good deed, for my action does more good than harm. This is how it works out: I increase the demand for glass. Increased demand for glass means more employment. More employment means less misery, less poverty, less competition for jobs. Less competition for jobs means higher wages. Higher wages mean a higher standard of living. And a higher standard of living means more welfare for the great mass of the people. But it may be objected that I injure the owner of the house. True, but, as we have already seen, the aim of government, according to Lincoln, is to render the greatest good to the greatest number.

The same argument, of course, applies to drinking liquor, using tobacco, in fact, destruction and extravagance

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

of all kinds. Hence the drunkard is the workers' best friend, and the teetotaler one of his worst enemies. The reason is plain. The more wealth consumed, the more demand; the more demand, the more employment. A similar state of affairs exists in regard to hoboës and lords and millionaires and other parasites. They are really a blessing under the present system, for, as they will not work, and, consequently, do not compete with the honest, "horny-handed son of toil," the latter gets higher wages than he would if competition in the labor market were keener.

BREAKING UP THE HOME.

Another feature that should appeal to anyone whose heart is not as yet completely petrified by "man's inhumanity to man" is the inhumanity of the capitalist class to working class women and children. Things have reached such a pitch that in Austria there are 42 women employed in trades and manufactures to every 100 men. In France, it is 32 to 100; in Germany, 30 to 100; and in England, "Merrie England," 24 to 100. And still the masters cry that Socialism might break up the home!

The reason why women and children are thus forced into production is very clear. The "head of the house" does not receive enough in return for his labor-power to support his wife and children according to the prevailing standard of living. Hence, they, too, are forced into the slave market.

One result of this is that, in many industries, women and children are taking the place of men, who are thus driven out of employment. This is not because the women and children are better or more efficient slaves, but because they sell their labor-power cheaper. Thus it often happens that the mother and children, by entering industry, in order, as they think, to increase the family income, force the father into the ranks of the unemployed. He is thus compelled, by the workings of the capitalist system, to live in involuntary idleness upon the industry of his wife and offspring. If,

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

however, he does not like this, if his manhood revolts against this shameful position, he has two alternatives; he can starve, or he can become a soldier and shoot down his fellow workers, including, perhaps, his own family, whenever their manhood and womanhood urge them to rebel against their slavery.

HOW CAPITALISTS FOLLOW THE PRINCE OF PEACE.

Tiring from this veritably hellish state of affairs—splendid, however, for the capitalists—let us now review another of the blessings of our Christian civilization.

Militarism alone is enough to condemn it. The energy wasted here is enormous. Not only is there the direct loss of time of the men who make the cannon and build the battleships, with which so many workers are legally murdered. Below are given a few official figures:

The Russian Army numbers	1,500,000	men.
“ German “ “	621,132	“
“ French “ “	600,183	“
“ British “ “	431,173	“

The cost of maintaining those vast armies and the importance the capitalists attach to them may be partially appreciated by the following figures:

For each dollar spent on education, Great Britain spends \$4.25 on militarism; France, \$4.80; Germany, \$2.57; Austria, \$4.50; the United States, \$1.25. Its enormous cost may be summarized in the fact that the Christian nations of Europe spend annually 2,500 millions of dollars on war and preparations for war.

But apart from the tremendous waste of time and money, and the unspeakable horrors and nameless cruelties of war, there is another very good reason why the working class should oppose militarism in any form. This reason is that these wars and preparations for wars are incited solely and exclusively by the greed and cupidity of the capitalist class

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

of each nation. In the first place, they want new fields of exploitation, more helpless victims from whom to squeeze profits, and in the second place, they use the military to quell revolts of the slaves as was recently done in Britain and in Massachusetts. Again, the workers, as a class, have no enemy except the capitalists and, as a class, no property rights or vested interests to defend, even if they had foreign enemies. Furthermore, who is it that gets shot, loses an arm or a leg or a life? Is it the wealthy loafer, or is it the lowly workingman? Whose destitute widow and orphan is it that are forced into sweat shops and houses of shame? Is it the master's or the slave's?

But here, again, it is the Socialists, who are carrying out the principles of the Prince of Peace. By their vigorous anti-military propaganda, they are educating the working class to the objects of and the evils that arise from war and militarism, with the result that humanity is rapidly awakening from an age-long trance. "Soon every red-throated cannon on earth will boom no more—silenced forever. The tears of war-robbled widows and war-orphaned children and the blood of the world's strong men will cease to stain the earth. Never again on great battlefields will foul birds feast on the shattered corpses of youth "torn from the fond embrace of loving mothers and forced to face the storms of lead and steel"—to decide which faction of the master class shall be supreme.

SOME CAPITALIST AUTHORITIES ON POVERTY ETC.

Other fruits of capitalism are poverty misery, unemployment, etc., and their products, such as slums, intemperance, the social evil, etc. A few citations may not be out of place.

The following excerpts are from a speech made by David Lloyd-George recently at Cardiff:

"What does poverty mean? It is not that men are de-

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

prived of luxuries; it is that they have not enough to purchase the barest necessities of life for themselves and their children. According to Mr. Rowntree, one-fourth of the population of this country (Great Britain) even in times of prosperity, are living under conditions of poverty thus defined."

"If half the increased amount spent annually in preparation for war was devoted to the clearing out of slums, there is no statesman who could not do it with that sum."

"Poverty is not the fault of Providence, which provides abundance, nor is it because the country is poor or the land barren. The national income is 1,800 millions of pounds, and that means two hundred pounds a year for every family in the United Kingdom. Yet one-third of this income is received and spent by 250,000 people—one two-hundredths part of the population."

"You cannot touch any evil in this country without finding that there are interests that have struck their roots deep into it and are flourishing even upon its very putrescence. Attack it, and you have to face a very hailstorm of abuse, insult, calumny."

"Today we have a greater poverty in the aggregate in the land than ever before. There is a more severe economic bondage for labor. Today there is no guaranteed sustenance or security, a system of things foreign to the barbaric dark ages."

"The church cannot stand by with folded arms while millions are in despair. The church certainly cannot say, 'Am I my brother's keeper?'"

The following is from Sir Chas. Booth, a noted English Conservative, the correctness and value of whose investigations were vouched for by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, late Liberal Premier of the United Kingdom.

"The inhabitants of the London slums may be divided into two classes—the 'very poor' and the 'poor.' Of the first class, 4% were habitual loafers; 14% owed their poverty to drink and thriftlessness; 27% to questions of cir-

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

circumstances (large families, illness, etc.); and 55% to questions of employment (low wages, unemployment, etc.). Among the 'poor,' 13% were so because of drink and thriftlessness; 19% from questions of circumstances, and 68% from questions of employment."

Again Sir Chas. Booth says in answer to the argument: "Induce a man to give up drink, and he will soon better his conditions":

"This is often done, but how many of the 1,246,615 persons, living two or more to a room in London, are likely—amidst conditions which depress health and weaken will power—to give up drink, when they are unable to find social enjoyment except in connection with its sale?"

The following is from "The Temperance Problem" by Rowntree and Sherwell, recognized the world over by temperance people as a standard work:

"Now, it would be foolish to suggest that intemperance is the sole or even the preponderating cause of poverty. On the contrary, it is unquestionable that, to a large extent, poverty is to be regarded as an industrial disease, the result of conditions and forces over which the workers have but little control, while it is hardly less certain that of the intemperance that is found in intimate conjunction with poverty, a not inconsiderable portion must be assumed to be the effect, rather than the cause."

WHY WORKING WOMEN SELL THEIR "HONOR."

What is known as the "social evil" is another of the results of the system that gives the world to the shirkers, instead of to the workers. This evil has for a long time been combatted by the churches and allied organizations; their efforts, however, seem to have met with but little success, for, year by year, this evil grows. The result is not surprising, when we realize that they combat it on a principle similar to that used by a quack trying to cure consumption by giving the patient a few cheap cough-drops.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

Let us examine into the causes of this social evil. It seems scarcely possible that the unfortunate victims enter this hideous life because of its attractiveness or from choice. This supposition is greatly strengthened when we consider the vast numbers of women, who are obliged to become peddlers of labor-power (as we have already noted) in order to live, and the appallingly low wages they receive in compensation for their toil. A couple of years ago, all England was shocked at the condition of the women chain-makers of Cradley Heath, who received two-pence an hour for their labor-power. Not so very long ago the miserable pay of the department-store girls in many American and Canadian cities was found to be the direct cause of this evil. Recently, it has been ascertained that 60% of the women of New York work for wages. And of these, no less than three-fourths received less than \$5.00 per week! How can a girl live decently on that sum? What else do you expect?

The truth of it is simply this: These poor women are the direct victims of the most fiendish greed—ruined and devoured by the same class of wealthy hypocrites who lament so loudly over their sin and wickedness. That this is true may be judged by the fact that the report of a commission appointed by the city of Chicago to investigate this evil was forbidden the mails and burnt up. Incidentally, this also reveals how completely the master class controls the powers of government and how unscrupulously it uses them for the continued subjection of the workers.

WHY SOCIALISM MUST COME.

Having observed some of the evils that today afflict the working class and traced them to their source—to-wit: the private ownership by the few of the means of life of the many, let us now proceed to consider how and why Socialism must come and what will be its effect upon society.

To the student of history and economics, there can be no doubt that Socialism is necessarily the next step onward in

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

the march of evolution. Just as Capitalism followed Feudalism, so must Socialism follow Capitalism. Just as John the Baptist, was the forerunner of Christ, so is Capitalism the herald that ushers in the dawn of a new era for humanity.

That this must be so is apparent when we view present day events in their economic phase. Thus, we see that nearly all modern wars arise because of quarrels between nations in regard to markets. The capitalists of each country try to out distance their rivals by securing more markets. Why?

As we have already seen, the modern wage-slave receives, on the average, only about 22% of the wealth he produces. That is to say, he can buy back with his wages only about a quarter of what he has produced. The remaining three-fourths are left in the hands of the master class, and are distributed as follows: The masters themselves consume and waste part of it and pay another part of it to their various non-productive hangers-on, such as soldiers, sailors, middlemen, salesmen, flunkies, etc. Of what is left, the idlers exchange as much as they can with foreign markets and undeveloped countries for various articles of luxury and adornment, such as \$5,000 dresses, old masters, rich liquors, flashing diamonds, etc. But, in spite of all this barbaric splendor, this wanton waste and extravagance to be found in all our modern Babylons, each year a considerable amount of the wealth produced by the workers still remains, for which no market can be found. This is kept in great warehouses, cold-storages, etc., and, as the years pass on, such a large amount is stored up that finally the masters suspend production until this surplus is consumed. Then occurs what is known as a "panic," a crisis, or "hard times." Workers starve because they have produced too much; go hungry in the midst of plenty; walk around ragged, when the stores and warehouses are filled with their handiwork. These panics last until the surplus has been consumed, when the slaves are allowed to begin the cycle all over again.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

These panics, which generally occur about every decade, become worse and worse as the machinery of production develops, and business is coming to require a longer and longer time in which to recover from their effects. As an example of this, we can see that the United States has not yet completely recovered from the panic of 1907. Again, in England, we see the cotton mills running only three days a week. Why? Because no markets can be found for more of their products. Furthermore, every crisis sees the reduction of large numbers of small business men into the ranks of the proletarians, the concentration of capital into fewer and fewer hands and the lot of the workers become harder and harder.

It is in order to hold these panics in check by finding new consumers that the capitalist class of every nation is reaching out for more and more markets. As long as sufficient markets can be obtained, no panics will ensue, for no goods will be annually piling up in the warehouses and no workers will be driven to rebellion by general and universal starvation. The question of markets is thus of vital importance to the capitalists of all civilized countries.

But when we look at the map of the world we see that the new and undeveloped countries are fast becoming scarcer and scarcer. They, too, are becoming civilized and developed. They are beginning to produce their own manufactured products, and in proportion as they do this, they cease being markets and become competitors for the remaining markets instead. Japan is a good example. Fifty years ago she was an ideal market. Today she is no longer a market for the majority of manufactured articles; on the contrary, she is an active competitor with European countries for the remaining markets. In like manner, Canada, China, India, and South America are becoming developed and will soon become competitors also. And the competitors for what? There are no other worlds to "civilize" and—the great bubble of capitalism must break!

How this will happen is very simple. As the mar-

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

kets diminish and the competitors for markets increase, the panics must become worse and more frequent, until the lot of the workers become so intolerable that they will be obliged to reconstitute society upon a totally different basis. And this basis must be Socialism, for by Socialism alone can be substituted production for use in place of production for profit and, in this way, regulate it and control it as will best suit the interests of the workers.

WHY YOU SHOULD JOIN THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

From the above, we see that the forces of evolution alone will in due time bring about the adoption of Socialism and the Co-operative Commonwealth. This fact, however, is no reason for sitting down and waiting for it, enduring, meanwhile, all the sufferings and cruelties that must necessarily ensue. We are like men in a canoe, floating down a swift-flowing river to the rapids below. We know that, sooner or later, we may reach the quiet water below the rapids. Whether dead or alive we cannot tell. But the Socialists in the canoe suggest making a portage right away and getting there in safety, instead of drifting with the current and running the risk of getting there all bruised up, if not killed.

In a word, we hold that there is nothing to be gained by enduring our present miseries—a few of which we have already touched—any longer. A change must be made, and the sooner we make it, the fewer our miseries will be.

In accordance with these views, we have, in every civilized country, organized a political party for the purpose of educating the workers to the necessity of putting an end to Capitalism and introducing the Social Commonwealth.

This is our goal. We want to take labor-power out of the market as a commodity. We want to so arrange things that anybody can have free access to the tools of production and the full value of whatever he produces. We want to put an end to the legalized robbery of the workers that exists everywhere today with its hellish results—ease and luxury.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

extravagance and vice, in a word, all the pleasures of life, for a few; and dull toil, wretched slums, want and exposure and life-long misery for the many. We want justice, not charity; freedom, not slavery; to be men, not cringing curs!

NO COMPROMISE.

We believe that these ideals can be realized by abolishing capitalist property in every department of production and distribution. We want these things to be owned and operated collectively and democratically by the workers, not with a view to haphazard production for profit, but with a view to sane, regulated production for use. This will be the Social Commonwealth.

This is our aim, nothing more, nothing less. We are not to be deterred by any palliatives, by any reforms. No workmen's compensation act, no old age pensions, no compulsory insurance, no government ownership, will turn us aside, will satisfy us. Like the Abolitionist of the North, our aim is not to alleviate the conditions of the slaves—for we realize it to be a hopeless task—but to **ABOLISH SLAVERY**. Not that we oppose any sops the masters may throw us; we even strive to obtain what amelioration we can, but it is only incidental, and our main aim and our only aim is the Social Commonwealth. We are revolutionists, not reformers; we want a new coat, not the old one patched up!

THE ONLY WAY.

The question now arises: "How is it going to be done?" The answer is simple. We can do nothing—except, perhaps, force a few incidental reforms—until we have educated the workers to such a point as to give us a majority in Parliament. Then we shall have control of all the powers of government, and, backed by the will of the educated proletariat, we shall legally and constitutionally proceed to carry out our program—viz., confiscate the ma-

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

chinery of production and distribution, and restore it to the collective ownership of the working class.

Here our opponents cry that we are robbing the poor capitalists. As they, however, obtained it only by robbery of the workers, it would seem that we are merely restoring this property to its rightful and original owners. Nobody can deny that it is labor alone that produces all wealth, and to whom else should it belong? Moreover, it is admitted that the state has a right to tax property, and the right to tax seems to involve the right to take, if necessary for the public good. Thus, in England, the State frequently takes a tenth part of a man's property in death duties and a fourth part in increment tax. If this be right and proper, why is it robbery to take the whole? Where does virtue cease and vice begin?

Furthermore, it is well to bear in mind that in this country, at least, Socialism cannot be brought about by violence or by the whim of a small minority. It must come slowly and step by step with education, until the majority of the people want it. And then they will have it, whether the capitalists want it or not.

HOW SOCIALISM WILL ABOLISH CLASSES.

Let us now pass on to consider, briefly, the results of the introduction of the Social Commonwealth, insofar as is possible.

In the first place, all classes and class distinctions will be abolished. No longer will we have rich and poor, exploiters and exploited, masters and slaves. All will be free men, with perfect equality of opportunity so far as the use of the machinery of production is concerned. Of course, we cannot create men with equal brains and equal bodies, but we can give all an equal opportunity of exercising whatever talents they may possess. Thus, under Socialism, the tools of production may, in one sense, be likened to a placer mine in each man's cellar. There is his work—accessible and

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

unrestricted. If he wishes to produce, he is entitled to all the products of his labor. If not, let him starve; he has no excuse. No master locks him out, tells him he may not work; no idler has the economic power to appropriate four-fifths of the products of his toil, as at present.

That classes will be abolished is fully apparent. The working class is the lowest class in the social scale and, with its emergence into freedom and the consequent transfer of the ownership of the machinery of production from the capitalist class to the working class, there will no longer exist any lower or inferior class to exploit. All being equal owners of the tools they need, none can be masters, none slaves.

Thus, under Socialism, machinery will be a blessing, instead of a curse, as it is today, owing to class ownership, for it will shorten the hours of all, instead of decreasing employment and consequently, increasing misery and poverty.

This may be put more clearly. Suppose I own a pile of wood and I hire you to split it. If, however, I invent a machine to split it, you are thrown out of your job and are free to die of starvation. But, suppose we both own the wood in common. Then if I invent a machine to split it, both of us benefit thereby, for it relieves both of us of unpleasant and unnecessary toil.

THE DOOM OF WAGE-SLAVERY AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

With the disappearance of classes, wage-slavery must also disappear, since, as there will be no employing class there can be no slave class. Nobody will be able to coerce anybody else. Labor-power will be no longer a mere commodity, for everybody will be working for himself—that is, for the community of which he is a member, and, naturally, will receive the full value of whatever he produces. If he receives the full value of whatever he produces, nobody will be exploiting or robbing him, or, in other words, making any money out of his work. Hence, rent, interest and profit will disappear, for, as we have already seen, these items rep-

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

resent that portion of the unpaid labor of the workers that goes to the capitalist class.

And when labor-power is taken out of the market, when wage-slavery is abolished, there can be no unemployment and no overwork. We can see this more clearly by putting it in another way: Each year the people of Canada require so much wealth, in order to live in comfort. All are going to partake of this wealth; all must help to produce it. If all are to help to produce it, there can be no unemployment, nor can there be any overwork, such as we see today in the steel mills, where the slaves toil twelve and fourteen hours a day and seven days a week, for each will have to produce what he needs or starve, and none can be compelled to produce for any idlers, as no idlers will exist. Under the present system, as anyone can see, those who do work, work too hard. The proof of this is to be found in the mere existence of the unemployed. Thus, at present, the workers not only support themselves, the wealthy loafers forming the capitalist class and their henchmen, the hoboes and incapables, but also those members of the working class who want work, but who cannot find it.

REMOVING THE CAUSE OF PROSTITUTION.

Prostitution and child-labor will also cease automatically with the abolition of class ownership of the tools of production. As we have already seen, prostitution is caused chiefly by low, miserable wages, amounting not even to the victim's cost of keep. These wages are low because they represent only a small part of the value of the work done. The greater portion is kept by the idle parasites, by virtue of their ownership of the machinery of production. As private and class ownership of this machinery will be abolished under Socialism, there will be no lazy class of drones to claim and take the lion's share of what is produced. Hence, whoever works will receive the full value of whatever he or she does. This being the case, there will be enough for every-

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

body willing to work and none will be forced into prostitution in order to exist.

The same applies to child labor. It hardly seems possible that parents send their children to work because they take pleasure in seeing them toil and slave, when they should be at school; in seeing them grow up uncouth and ignorant, when they should grow up fair and fresh, like young flowers. Rather it is because the parents do not receive, in return for their labor-power, enough to clothe and feed their children, and the children are thus forced into the slave market or into the brothel. The cause? Class ownership of the means of life, the machinery of production. With the abolition of this class ownership, and the consequent removal of the enormous toll the owning class levy for access to this machinery, the parents, with much less work than they do now, will have an ample income with which to bring up their children in comfort and plenty.

WHY THE MODERN CATACOMBS EXIST TODAY.

From the foregoing it is plain that poverty and its resultant evils, slums and degeneration, will also disappear. As we have already seen, the chief causes of poverty are questions of employment—low wages and unemployment. These we know are caused by class ownership of the means of life, the machinery of production. Remove this class ownership, and each worker will have free access to his work and the full value of his work. In other words, there will be no master to rob you of four-fifths of what you produce, if he does permit you to work. You will be able to work as often, as much and as long as you desire, and what you do will be your own, for no master will exist to deprive you of it.

And with the removal of poverty, slums and the vile abominations that serve today to shelter God's creatures, "made in His own image," will also disappear. We can-

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

not conceive that people in this twentieth century inhabit these modern catacombs from choice, or because they like them. They do so only because they are too poor to live anywhere else. We have already seen **WHY** they are too poor and have shown **HOW** this poverty can be eliminated. Poverty once eliminated, the elimination of the slums necessarily follows.

HOW TO STOP LEGALIZED MURDER.

Another great advance will be the abolition of war and militarism in every form. As we have already seen, war and militarism are caused by the greed and rivalry of different factions of the international capitalist class. Once we transform this vicious and useless capitalist class into useful workers, capitalists will no longer exist to incite wars and keep up armaments; and nobody else will have any motive to do so, for production will be conducted along rational and scientific lines—for use, instead of for profit and by the workers, instead of by the shirkers. Thus, there will be no surplus products—wrung out of the unpaid toil of the workers—to find a market for, and no slave class to keep in subjection.

A direct result of the abolition of war and militarism will be the putting to work of the vast armies of strong, healthy men, now busy learning the most up-to-date methods of legalized murder in the various military and naval forces. Another equally large number of men, now engaged in building and constructing battleships, cannon and other wicked instruments of slaughter, will also be transferred to useful and productive industries. Thus, these men, now doing no useful work, but living upon the products of those who do, will be enabled to devote their time to work of utility and value, instead of the degrading and ignoble task of making the instruments by which they and the rest of their class are held enslaved.

A direct result of this will be to shorten the hours of all.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

That this is true may be seen by the following example: Suppose three of us own a pile of wood, which must be split. If I have to do it alone, it will take me three days. But if you, who are spending your time learning the goose-step, and the third man, who is spending his time making mud pies, are put to work to help me, we can do it together in one day.

This, of course, applies, not only to the men already mentioned, but also to all others engaged in useless toil, such as salesmen, commercial travellers, advertisers, middlemen, stock-brokers and other gamblers. Some of these may be necessary to-day, but under Socialism there will be no need for them, as people will then have plenty wherewith to buy and no motive to hoard. They will not need to be persuaded and cajoled into acquiring objects they desire and that they can well afford.

CO-OPERATION AND ECONOMY VS. COMPETITION AND WASTE.

Furthermore, Socialism will be far more economical and scientific than the present system—if such it may be termed. Take, for example, any town. We see numerous different stores, different bakeries, different restaurants, each with its own staff, books, accounts, equipments, etc. How much energy and material is lost here? Time after time we see a delivery wagon go up a street, stop at one or two houses and return. Then up comes another from another store, and then another, and so on, each one delivering at one or two houses only. How much more economical and efficient, how much more sensible and scientific to have ONE wagon go up and stop at ALL the houses, to have ONE big, systematized store, ONE big, adequate bakery, ONE big, well-planned restaurant, instead of so many small, unsystematized, re-duplicated ones! Why not co-operation and economy, with the workers as owners and beneficiaries, instead of competition and waste, with the idlers as owners and beneficiaries?

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

EXIT THE MIDDLE CLASS.

That the principle of co-operation is rapidly gaining ground everybody knows. The trusts are examples of this. They do things on a big scale, which means economy, system and efficiency. And it is due to this large-scale production alone that the trusts are so successful. This is what enables them—at least very largely—to kill off their smaller and less well organized competitors so easily. The small manufacturer sets up a howl loud enough to raise the dead, but he must go. The small shop-keeper lays awake nights worrying over the advent of the big department store and the insidious mail-order house. He, too, is doomed. The small farmer, the homesteader, with his oxen and his hand-plow, is being rapidly transformed into the tenant and the wage-slave by the introduction of the \$4,000 steam-plow and the \$3,000 harvester. They must all go. The Juggernaut of intensified Capitalism is trampling them into the dust. They have performed their part; their work is over. There remains but the funeral!

That this is so may be realized when we consider the two hundred odd restaurants of J. Lyons & Co. in London alone; the enormous chain of United Cigar Stores, stretching throughout the entire eastern edge of this continent; the great farming companies, such as the one south of Lethbridge, which has a capital of a million dollars and owns 220,000 acres of land. What chance has a man with small capital to compete with such concerns as these

Under Socialism, however, we should see the same thing—co-operation and a high degree of organization—even more developed than to-day—with this difference—that the owners and beneficiaries of these industries would be the men who work in them, the men whose labor-power, mental and physical, has created, built up and developed them—not the useless and parasitic class of wealthy loafers who own them to-day.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

THE FINAL VICTORY.

With the introduction of Socialism and the consequent abolition of the evils we have mentioned, it seems certain that benefits of incalculable value will be secured for humanity. What with the leisure, the freedom, the improved moral atmosphere, mankind will have reached such a plane of development and expansion that is scarcely dreamed of to-day and of which, owing to the unfavorable factors at present surrounding us, we can necessarily have but the faintest conception.

Furthermore, humanity will then, for the first time in history, have a chance to be truly free; to be reasoning, thinking men and women, not mere slavish machines; to be bondless human beings, not imitative, obedient monkeys. For under the Social Commonwealth, no man can bring down the club of coercion upon his weaker brother; no one can plant the devilish demon of fear in the heart of another; no man can, in any way, hold dominion over the actions, feelings, thoughts or ideals of his fellow.

Workers of the world, unite! Unite to free all humanity from its present torturing bondage; unite to bring about a better system and a better civilization than the world as yet has seen; unite to win the final victory and end the age-long struggle, so that there can really be "Peace on earth, goodwill towards men."

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into the collective property of the working class.
2. The democratic organization and management of industry by the workers.
3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

The Socialist Party when in office shall always and everywhere until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: Will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will, the Socialist Party is for it; if it will not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.

In accordance with this principle the Socialist Party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in its hands in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone.

LITERATURE PRICE LIST

The following books will be forwarded postpaid by the Dominion Executive Committee, S. P. of C., Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C.:

Capital, Vol. 1, Karl Marx.....	2.00
Capital, Vol. 2, Karl Marx.....	2.00
Capital, Vol. 3, Karl Marx.....	2.00
The Ancient Lowly, Ward, Vol. 1.....	2.00
The Ancient Lowly, Ward, Vol. 2.....	2.00
The Economic Interpretation of History.....	1.50
What's So and What Isn't, paper.....	.10
Class Struggles in America, paper.....	.10
The Class Struggle, Cloth bound.....	.50
" Paper cover.....	.10
The Right to be Lazy, Cloth bound.....	.50
" Paper cover.....	.10
Communist Manifesto, Cloth bound.....	.50
" Paper cover.....	.10
The Social Revolution, Kautsky, cloth bound.....	.50
" Paper cover.....	.10
The Origin of The Family, Engels, Cloth bound.....	.50
The Evolution of Property, Lafargue, Cloth bound.....	.50
Feuerbach, the Roots of the Socialist Philosophy.....	.50
Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History.....	.50
The State and Socialism, Deville, paper.....	.10
Incentive Under Socialism, paper.....	.10
Socialism, What It Is, Etc., paper.....	.10

Read the Western Clarion

Owned and Controlled by the Socialist Party of Canada.

50c
6 months,

\$1.00 Per Year

25c
3 months.

Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C.

Literature

Published by Dominion
Executive Committee

At the Following Prices:

Manifesto of S.P. of C.....	10c
What Is Socialism?.....	10c
Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism.....	10c
Socialism and Unionism.....	5c
Slave of the Farm.....	5c
The State and Government.....	5c
Value, Price and Profit.....	5c
Struggle for Existence.....	5c
Summary of Marx' "Capital".....	5c

Postpaid

Dominion Executive
Committee

LABOR TEMPLE
Vancouver, B.C.



