

A Recruiting Song.

WHEN the Beacon Light of Liberty is flaming o'er the earth ;
 When the Resurrection Morning for the Toiler has its birth ;
 When broken are the idols in the Brute-God Mammon's shrine ;
 And when Freedom stamps Humanity with marks of the Divine ;
 Will we pride ourselves, my brothers, on the deeds we will have done
 'Gainst the meanest rule that ever wrought oppression 'neath the sun ?
 Or Conscience stain us fouler than the old-time Pharisee
 For our cowardice while Labor was a-struggling to be free.

We have seen the fight for Freedom waged by valiant men, though few ;
 Have our hands been stretched to aid them—they, the good and staunch
 and true ?

Or midst Moloch-Mammon's minions—in his infamy enrolled—
 Have we stoned the prophet-rebels 'gainst the rule of greed and gold ?
 Oh, the day draws ever nearer ; nay, 'tis even drawing nigh,
 When righteous rage at slavery may rend the earth and sky ;
 And that day brings retribution or reward to you and me
 For our attitude while Labor was a-striving to be free.

'Twas the demi-gods of Liberty dyed Freedom's banner red,
 And its glare makes sleeping Samson turn him slowly on his bed ;
 But beware his dread awaking—when he full defiance flings
 In your faces, ye who drugged him. Ye caricatures of kings,
 To undo your work unholy, comes the linking of the Lands
 By the leaguings of the lowly and the workers joining hands ;
 As your frontiers are forgotten, so your gods will trampled be
 When the giant starts from slumber, full determined to be free.

By the child who ne'er knew childhood, by the woman on the street,
 By emasculated manhood, blistered fingers, bleeding feet ;
 By the agony and insult Honesty must still endure,
 By the reeking hideous squalor in the hovels of the poor ;
 Oh ! Workers of Australia, close the compromise with crime,
 For the broad highway of Freedom leave the trader's track of slime,
 And the shout of your battalions to your comrades o'er the sea
 Will tell the day has come at last when Labor will be free.

—J. LESLIE in the "Social Democrat."

Elections in Germany

By H. DIERKS.

“A SET-BACK TO SOCIALISM!” is how the Australi- capitalist papers exultantly announce the result of the elections in Germany. Of course, the purpose is to discredit Socialism in the minds of the people of Australia. Local Capitalism still smarting from the defeat of its accredited party at the Federal polls, when the whole of the plutocratic press directed the cry of Anti-Socialism v. Socialism against the Labor Party—which denies that it is a Socialist party, or rather claims that its Socialism is of a different kind to Continental or European Socialism.

We agree that tactics must differ in the various countries, but they can only be one kind of Socialism on a scientific basis.

This is the contention of our German comrades. Socialism is no fixed scheme. It is a study of human society, the relationship of man to man, and it prognosticates future society as a natural development of present society. To spread the knowledge of this truth among the people is the Socialists' mission.

It is, therefore, not of so much importance how many seats are gained in Parliament, but it is of importance, from a Socialist viewpoint, know how many of the people are imbued with Socialist principle. And, while the election results show that the Socialists have lost quite a number of seats, it is also shown that the aggregate vote for Socialism has increased by 250,000 and that far more votes have been recorded for the Socialists than for any other party. The Social-Democrats have maintained their position as the party with the greatest voting strength in the German Empire; and the preponderance of the people's voting power on the side of Socialism is the sledge-hammer that strikes and smashes the rule of tyranny and oppression.

The “Bremer Burgerzeitung” wrote on December 22—a month before the elections:—

“There are, of course, for us no absolutely sure electorates. Badly placed confidence has already produced several disagreeable surprises. Besides, our goal is not reached with the conquest of a seat. All votes must be won for the party. Not the number of seats shows our strength, but the number of votes polled for us. Certainly, there are among these the votes of many sympathisers or only-sentiment Socialists, but the growing number of votes gives us a standard of the amount of knowledge acquired by the people concerning the aims of Social-Democracy, and the will, by the exercise of political power, to realise these aims. At the same time, while we place the main importance on the number of votes, the conquest of seats is by no means immaterial to us.

As sure electorates we can only consider those in which not only the majority of votes polled, but the majority of voters on the roll were for Social-Democracy.

“At the election in 1903, 55 seats were won at the main election. In 13 electorates more than half the votes on the roll were given for Social-Democracy. In these 13 electorates the party obtained 363,483 votes out of 709,990 voters on the roll, the number polled being 572,870. In the other 43 electorates 945,264 votes were cast for Socialism out of a total of 1,599,445 polled, the number on the roll being 2,190,160.

“At the general election of 1898 Socialists gained 32 seats, of which three were lost in 1903—Mulhausen in Alsace, Hanau, and Offenbach; and three others, Königs-burg, Magdeburg, and Frankfort, were won at the second ballot. In many electorates in which we obtained a large majority of the votes polled we are far from having a majority of the votes on the roll.”

It will thus be seen that our German comrades were in no wise confident that they were going to achieve the same success in the number of seats won at this election as at the previous one. As the result of the election shows an increase of a quarter of a million votes for Socialism, and as our party maintains its strong position as the party with the greatest number of votes behind it, neither the workers of Germany, nor we in Australia, nor the workers of any other part of the world, need feel discouraged because of the loss of seats—which is undoubtedly due to the unequal division of electorates.

According to the German Constitution, there should be in the Reichstag one representative for every 100,000 inhabitants. At the time of the foundation of the German Empire (1871), the number of members of the Reichstag, on that population basis, was 391; and, although the population has increased to 52,000,000 since then, the number of representatives is still the same. The rulers of Germany have flagrantly violated the Constitution, and have refrained from giving effect to its fundamental provisions, for the sake of the preservation of their own class interests. The electoral boundaries have not been changed, and while there are electorates in which the number of voters dwindle down to 12,000, there are others whose roll membership reaches from 120,000 to 160,000. The small electorates are mostly held by the Centre or clerical party—the party which voted with the Socialists against the imperial policy of Colonisation and Empire Extension. The effect of the unequal electorates system is easily apparent. The Social-Democrats polled 3,260,000 votes, and elected 43 representatives. The Centre Party Party polled about 2,000,000 votes, and elected 105 representatives. Each Socialist member is the representative of an average of nearly 76,000 votes. Each member of the Centre Party represents an average of less than 20,000 votes. Each Socialist member represents more than three times the number of votes that each Centre Party member does. While the Socialists have one-third of the total votes polled, they have only one-ninth of the total representation.

It has been said that there was an alliance between the Socialists and the Centre, but this statement could only have had its origin in a mis-

understanding of the cables. The attitude of the whole of the Socialist Press towards the Centre has been the same. The Socialist Party stands on its principles alone, and allies itself with no other party.

The Emperor's victory is but as the victory of another Pyrrhus. The Social-Democratic Party of Germany has not only maintained its position as the strongest party within the Empire, but it has also recorded a larger increase in votes than any other party.

To the Socialists of Germany we of Australia send hearty congratulations on the splendid progress they have made. May they continue with unabated vigor their great fight against exploitation and oppression and the injustice of Germany's Ruling Classes.

International Socialist Bureau

FROM the International Socialist Bureau, the Australian representative (Secretary P. J. O'Meara, of the International Socialist Club) has received the official circulars re the next International Socialist Congress, to be held at Stuttgart (Wurtemberg, Germany) from the 18th to the 24th August.

The International Socialist Bureau, constituted in 1900 with a view to carrying on the work and giving effect to the resolutions of International Congresses, invites to the Congress at Stuttgart:

1. All associations which adhere to the essential principles of Socialism: socialisation of the means of production and distribution; international union and action of the workers; conquest of public powers by the proletariat, organized as a class party;
2. All the constituted organizations which accept the principle of a class struggle and recognize the necessity for political action (legislative and parliamentary) but do not participate directly in the political movement.

The questions of vital importance to be considered are:

1. The approval of the resolutions of the International Socialist Bureau;
2. The regulations of the International Congresses and of the International Socialist Bureau; the Statutes of the Interparliamentary Commission;
3. Militarism and International conflicts;
4. The intercourse between socialist labor parties and trades unions;
5. The colonial question;
6. The immigration and emigration of foreign laborers.

All organisations wishing to put other questions on the agenda, are requested to send the text with explanatory report, together with the resolutions voted and conclusions ar-

rived at, to the secretary, International Socialist Bureau, before the first of April next.

The International Socialist Bureau is constituted as follows:

Argentina—C. Gambier, M. Ugarte; Australia—P. J. O'Meara; Austria—Dr. U. Adler, F. Skaret; Bohemia—A. Nemeec, F. Soucup; Bulgaria—Y. Sakasoff, G. Kirkow; Denmark—P. Knudsen, C. M. Olsen; Finland—Yrjo Syrola, E. Walpas; France—J. Jaures, E. Vaillant; Great Britain—H. M. Hyndman, J. Keir Hardie; Germany—A. Bebel, P. Singer; Holland—P. Troelstra, H. Van Kol; Hungary—J. Weltner, Dr. A. Goldner; Italy—E. Ferri, F. Turati; Japan—S. Katayama; Luxemburg—Dr. Welter, J. P. Probst; Norway—S. Garder, F. Wolf; Poland—Dr. H. Diamand, R. Luxemburg; Russia—P. Plechanoff, E. Roubanovitch; Servia—M. Stoyanovitch; Spain—P. Iglesias, F. Mora; Sweden—H. Branting, C. G. T. Wickham; Switzerland—O. Rapin, J. Sigg; United States—D. De Leon, M. Hillquit; Belgium—Edouard Anseele, Emile Vandervelde; Camille Huysmans, Secretary.

The three last-named form the Executive Committee of the Bureau, with head quarters at the People's Palace, Brussels.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

"THE history of all society thus far is the history of class strife."

Many attempts have been made to break the force of this saying, just as the attempt has been made to minimise the fury of the struggle for existence in the sub-human world. Just as alongside of the struggle for existence, there has been going on a "struggle for others," so we hear that class strife is giving place to universal brotherhood. What is the fact? Simply this, that in proportion as the advantage of each is involved in the advantage of others, just in that proportion egoism gives place to altruism. Just in proportion as the common interests of contending classes become greater than their opposing interests, brotherhood takes the place of hostility. But, until these interests do become common, it is useless to try to unite the opposing classes, to avoid the class struggle. Just as the abolition of slavery really tended to promote the higher interests of the slave holder as well as of the slave (and yet the slave holder had to be compelled to give up his slaves), so to-day, although private capitalism is wearing out and rotting out the owners of capital, they cannot be persuaded to give up their present place of power and distinction. They must be compelled to do so. This is the class struggle. Socialists did not create it; capitalists did not produce it; it is the fruit of no man; it is inherent in the evolutionary process. It has characterized every historic period, and underlies every social movement.—WM. H. NOYES.

The Supreme Court of Montana has decided to sustain the eight hours law, thus reversing a decision given in a lower court six months ago. The decision affects over 20,000 workers in mines, mills and smelting works.

Social Equality and Human Nature.

If you speak of social equality before some women they imagine that you want to take their pretty clothes away and put them in the kitchen along with the cook—or, at best, expect them to dust their own parlors. Some men conceive of it with like force and intelligence, and ask you if you believe they ought to get no more money for toiling all day in a bank parlor or managing a large business than the fellow who works on the roads or tends a machine in a mill. In either case they stand in abhorrence of what they call the dead level of equality.

I do not suppose there was ever a human being who got any good from inequality, and I think one may safely defy those who abhor equality to say what harm there would be in it. I, for my part should like to have someone say why its level would be dead. Do those people live most who are the most deeply and hopelessly sundered into castes? Were those ages the happiest or usefulest when there were masters and slaves, lords and villeins, and every man knew his place? Or were they more animated than this, when we have pretty well rid ourselves of such difference and no man thinks any other man's place rightfully beyond him? Is the arrest of development greater on the plains of society than on its summits or in its abysses? Is a king particularly alive? Is an aristocrat? Is a peasant?

Have the inventions, the good books, the beautiful pictures and statues, the just laws, the animal comforts even, come from the uppermost levels or the lowermost classes? They have mostly come from the middle classes—from the community lifted above want but not above work, from the inexhaustible and generous vitality of the widest level of life.

I know we are told the inferiors would be very rude and bad if there were no superiors to set them a good example. But hitherto the superiors have only very exceptionally behaved as if this were their office in the world—they have mainly tried to get all the pleasure, and mainly the gross pleasure, they could get out of life at the expense of the inferiors.

Must we have inequality always? I do not think so. The well-known American theory is that all having the same chance to get on top, all will get on top. If this really happened we should have the dead level or equality indeed. But a great many do not get on top—so many of the gentle kind, the good, that it may be questioned whether the summit would not have its displeasures for people of taste; whether, in fact, one would altogether like to be seen there.

I am a great friend of nature, and I like it all the better because it has had to suffer so much unjust reproach. . . . W. D. HOWELLS in "New York Journal."

POINTED * * PARAGRAPHS.

LUXURY is, indeed, possible in the future—innocent and exquisite; luxury for all and by the help of all; but luxury at present can only be enjoyed by the ignorant; the cruellest man living could not sit at its feast unless he sat blindfolded.—John Ruskin.

Some of us might lose faith in the existence of the class war, but for the fact that the capitalist never fails to put our doubts at rest at every opportunity.

To the workers the full product of their toil. To the shirkers the same thing.

Capitalism provides equal opportunity for all workingmen to remain workingmen.

If you vote for the full social value of your labor, how much will you lose and the capitalist gain?

There is more sorrow in capitalism at the death of one railroad magnate than over the thousands of railway workers who were killed and maimed under his management.—New York "Worker."

Capitalist supremacy depends for its existence on ignorance.

A tunnel in a mine was caving. A foreman shouted: "Get those mules out; never mind the men. The mules cost money." An actual occurrence.—"Appeal to Reason."

God is the father of all men; then all men are brothers.—Epicurus.

God, what a world!—if men in street and mart
Felt the same kinship of the human heart
Which makes them in the time of flame and flood
Eise to the meaning of true brotherhood.
—Eda Wheeler & Wilson.

POLITICAL.

In Queensland the ultra-Capitalist party is closing up its ranks, hoping to repeat at the State elections its victory of December last. Mr. Denham has bolted from the mild Kidston Ministry, and has joined the reactionaries under Mr. Philp. The Q. Labor Party appears to be rent with internecine strife, and it's just possible that a sweeping victory for the Philp faction will prove the best dose of medicine that could be administered to Q. Labor at this stage.

Mr. Reid and Mr. Carruthers, having had their little battle over the latter's assertion that the former's "anti" policy was too much of a skeleton to be of material value in a political conflict, are now assuring the daily papers which boss their politics that they're quite willing to fall on each other's neck and be reconciled to each other in order that a solid front might be presented to the socialist enemy next election. By the way, solid "front" is about the only solid thing the Australian capitalist party is ever likely to present to anybody in a political sense.

In Queanbeyan they have just formed a "committee" to secure the return of Colonel Ryrie. They're not having any "Liberal and Reform League" up there just now—Joseph's coat of many colors is a weight that threatens to be heavy—and it is anticipated that next election will see the Colonel running as an independent. In a number of other countries centers the anti-socialist organizations are quite dead.

A Declaration of Principles

TO-DAY the International Socialist Club sends forth to the people THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW FOR AUSTRALASIA; and it is fitting that in this our first issue we should concisely indicate the lines on which the publication will be conducted. To that end a brief review of economic conditions and a statement of Socialist principles are necessary.

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The economic development of Capitalist or Bourgeois Society necessarily leads to the downfall of small handicraft (of which the foundation is the private ownership by the worker of the means of production), and transforms the small producer into a propertyless proletarian, while the means of production—the land, the machinery, the capital—are gradually monopolised by an ever-decreasing number of capitalists and large land-owners. Hand-in-hand with this monopolisation of the means of production proceeds the supplantment of the small shop-keeping and manufacturing class by the giant stores and manufactories. And the public utilities, capitalistically administered, are made to play a material part in this process of displacement, especially in the country districts, where the business people agitate for the building of State-owned railways, which carry the goods of a Hordern or a Lassetter right to the doors of the country storekeeper's customers, and render it more easily possible for the giant establishment to undersell the small man and ruin him on his own ground. Year by year the ranks of the propertyless workers are being gradually swelled by the numbers of small traders who drop from the realms of "business" to wage-slavery.

All the advantages of this transformation are monopolised by the capitalist and land-owning class. For the working-class (the proletariat) and the diminishing middle class it means a steadily-growing increase of the insecurity of their existence—of misery, of oppression, of enslavement, of debasement and exploitation.

Only the transformation of the capitalistic private own-

ership of the means of production (land, mines, raw material, tools, machines, means of transportation, etc.) into Social Property, and the transformation of the production of goods into a social production, carried on for and by Society, can make our great enterprises and the continually-growing productivity of social labor a source of the highest public welfare, instead of a source of misery and oppression.

This social transformation does not only mean the liberation of the proletariat, but of the whole human race, which suffers under the conditions of to-day. But it can only be the work of the Working Class, because all other classes (in spite of the disputes between themselves affecting individual interests) stand on the basis of private ownership in the means of production, and have for their common purpose the maintenance of the foundations of Society of to-day with its established class interests.

The struggle of the Working Class against capitalist exploitation is necessarily a political struggle. The Working Class cannot carry on its economic struggle and cannot develop its economic organisation without political rights. It cannot effect the transfer of the means of production into the possession of the community without first having obtained control of the machinery of government. To make this struggle of the Working Class a conscious and unified one, and to emphasize its natural and inevitable goal, is the mission of Social Democracy, and shall be likewise the mission of this magazine.

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The Socialist movement is an International movement—

No flag have we, nor nation,
Nor cult nor creed have we;
The wide earth is our country,
Our clan humanity.

The interests of the Working Classes are the same in all countries. With the extension of world communications, and production for world markets, the position of the workers of every country becomes more and more dependent on the position of the workers in other countries. Therefore, the work which interests equally the workers of all civilised countries is the liberation of the Working Class. It is because they are conscious of this fact that the world's Social-Democratic Parties are at one with the class-conscious workers of all countries.

Socialists do not fight for class privileges, but for the abolition of Class Rule and of the classes themselves, and for equal rights and equal duties for all without regard to the difference of sex or descent. Socialism combats in the Society of to-day not only the exploitation and oppression of the wage-workers, but every kind of exploitation and oppression, whether it be against a class, a sex, or a race.

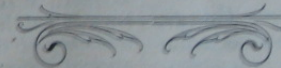
Whatever influence may be wielded through the pages of this magazine will be employed to bring together in one irresistible phalanx the disunited forces of Socialism in Australia. While there has been a wondrous growth of public sentiment in favor of Socialism throughout Australasia, there has not been made during the past few years that strong, healthy progress in the way of Socialist organisation that might have been expected as the natural outcome of our national political and economic development. For the enormously-increased public interest in Socialism, especially in rural centres, we are eternally indebted to Mr. Reid's anti-socialist campaign, which set thinking many people who had previously not troubled about Socialism. It is true that Socialism is not yet understood; it is true that the Australian people are not by any means prepared to vote in the Socialist State; but this is Mr. Reid's great service to the cause of Human Progress: He sped up and down and across the Australian continent, and wandered through desert and forest electorate alike where no Socialist had ever gone; he blazed the electoral bush track and set up the political milestones in the way-back country; he cried aloud in the wilderness; and where previously few men were interested in Socialism, now most men discuss it, and very many desire to understand its basic principles. To help them to understand this magazine is brought into existence.

Trades-unionism is the industrial expression of the workers' recognition of the existence of the Class War. Recognising this fact, our sympathy and such assistance as may be within our power shall always be with the trade union struggles, as with all other struggles of the Working Class against the Capitalist Class. We shall, however, fearlessly point out the growing impotency of organised Labor in its conflict with organised Capital, and the inevitable enslavement of the

Working Class, until the Working Class, rising in its might on the political field, puts an end to Capitalism and establishes the Socialist Republic.

We shall endeavor to establish friendly intercourse with honest members of all other Socialist and Labor organisations for the purposes of educational work, and with a view to the final union of all the true Socialist forces, comprising men and women who fully recognise the uncompromising character of the class struggle, and who clearly see the lines on which the class battle must be fought out.

Finally, the wielder of the pen of vituperation, the writer of abuse, and the character assassin will find no room whatever within the covers of this publication. Ours is the winning cause—ours the party destined to triumph over all other parties; and we are determined that all our fighting shall be clean and fair; and thus shall we go from victory unto victory until we shall have reached the crowning triumph, when organised Labor, marshalled under the banners of International Social-Democracy, shall vote out the Capitalist State to make way for the Socialist Commonwealth.



At the recent general election in Natal three Socialists stood as candidates, and each of them won. One of these (Dr. Haggart, now member for Durban) is an old Australian resident, says Vic. "Socialist."

Finance is the cobweb of figures by which the spider hides from his victim the method of his spoliation.

The Kaiser is feeling mighty sore over that great electoral victory of his. He's taking steps to expel from Germany a number of Russian students and "other aliens" who assisted Socialist candidates during the recent campaign.

Political events in Queensland point to the early downfall of the pseudo-Labor Kidston Government.

"Utopian!" is the last argument that the thief hurls at his pursuer before disgorging his plunder.

Capitalism is the golden heel of hell on the rising neck of awakened humanity.

P.L.L. Conference Notes.

I.—The Queensland Objective.

APART altogether from the somewhat unique spectacle of a Labor Conference delegate moving that a certain set of principles be made the objective of the party, and then proceeding to speak warmly against his own proposition; apart from Mr. Joseph Norton's quite unnecessary protestations that he wasn't an extremist, but was really anxious to hasten rather slowly; apart, too from his very unworthy denunciation of the men whose delegate he was—apart from all these things, there was really no occasion for all the feverish opposition betrayed by the "moderate" delegates to the Queensland Objective. That Objective does not constitute Socialism. It involves a contradiction in terms. A close study of the question would have revealed to the ordinary mind that it's not possible to realise the "socialisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange" while the Capitalist State remains, and, therefore, since the full value of the product of Labor can only be assured to Labor when socialisation shall have been ac-

complished, the impossibility of securing that full value by the "extension of the industrial functions of the State and Municipality" becomes at once apparent, since both the State and Municipality are today the institutions of Capitalism. The "moderate" man who is eternally scared because he fears that something is Socialism, and that, if adopted, it will "lose votes," seems to be always with us—like the historical "poor."

In Vic. "Socialist," H. Scott-Bennett, M.L.A., briefly reviews a book called the "Ancient Lowly," a history of the working class in ancient times. A quotation from its pages shows that "Upon the walls of Pompeii—which seems to have been in the midst of a municipal election when it was buried in the year 79, A.D.—inscriptions have been found pointing to a definite organisation of the workers at that time. Ward gives one such inscription:—The members of the Fisherman's Union nominate Pompeidus Rufus for member of the Board of Works.' One wonders if poor old Rufus got elected, and, if so, what were his subsequent experiences? The author devotes an interesting chapter to a history of the "Red Flag," that incalculably aged flag of labor. It played a very important part in the class war of old and was deeply revered by the ancient proletariat."

A Guide for Socialists.

THE proletariat stands politically as well as socially in the most abrupt contradiction to the present class state. It must fight it upon all fields and upon every question, both of domestic and of foreign policy. To be sure it is not always easy to decide rightly. Where the interests are not clearly visible the feelings may be easily deceived. Fortunately we have at the points where it is hardest to decide an infallible compass in the actions of our enemies. If there are questions on which we can temporarily unite with them it is still inconceivable that anything that is fought for by our enemies is a question of great importance, or especially as of vital importance to them, can be desirable for the proletariat. We shall never go wrong if we do what is opposed to the interests of our enemies. On the other hand, we shall almost never go right if we do what our enemies applaud. Historical development is a continuous conflict, a conflict of interests, a conflict of races, a conflict of classes. And if friendship does not count even in ordinary business, how much less so in such a conflict. Good naturedness and sentimentality have no place in politics. They have never won a victory, but have brought unnumbered defeats. Blucher's motto, "Always follow the cannon's roar and throw yourself upon the enemy," is the best rule also in political warfare.

Just a word in this connection. The class instinct of the bourgeoisie is far better developed than that of the proletariat. The governing class naturally knows its interests better than the governed, who have so much less opportunity to become informed and are also sometimes intentionally, and sometimes not, systematically deceived and misled from a recognition of their interests. Do not say that it is the rough form in which Socialism is often set forth that frightens and embitters the bourgeoisie. That is absolutely false. It is not the form; it is the contents which they detest; and the more harmless the form so much the more dangerous do the contents appear to the gentlemen of the bourgeoisie. The fineness of the form makes no difference to them. That is clear from the manner in which they fight out their quarrels among themselves.—WILHELM LIEBKNECHT.

Invention is a method of outwitting the workers, by melting the brains of their cleverest children into the tools of their enemies. "Society" is the scented sty where the successful hog "pigs" it with his successful fellows.

Competition is the dumb show of idiot Nature transmuted into the semblance of a law of God by the mumbo-jumbo mutterings of plutocratic economists.

Social-Democratic Federation

THE newly-formed Social-Democratic Federation (which is rapidly-increasing its membership, has adopted the following platform:—

OBJECT.

The Socialisation of the Means of Production, Distribution and Exchange, to be controlled by a Democratic State in the interests of the whole Community, and the Complete Emancipation of Labor from the Domination of Capitalism and Landlordism, with the establishment of Social and Economic Equality between the Sexes.

PROGRAMME.

1. Payment of members of all local bodies, to be elected by equal direct adult suffrage.
2. Legislative initiative and referendum.
3. All education, from primary schools to universities, to be free and secular.
4. Establishment of international courts of arbitration.
5. As measures called for to palliate the evils of our existing society, the S.D.F. urges for immediate adoption—
 - (a) The compulsory construction by public bodies of healthy dwellings for the people, such dwellings to be let at rentals to cover the cost of construction and maintenance alone.
 - (b) No child to be employed in any trade or occupation until 16 years of age, minimum wage to be 15s per week, and heavy penalties to be inflicted on employers infringing this law.
 - (c) Eight hours or less to be the normal

working day, or not more than 41 hours per week, to be fixed in all trades and industries by legislative enactment. Trades union minimum wage to be paid in all industries. Imprisonment to be inflicted on employers for any infringement of this law.

(d) Municipal ownership and control of food supplies, laundries, and pawnshops. National or municipal control of tobacco and liquor traffic.

(e) The extension of the Post Office Banks so that they shall absorb all private institutions that derive a profit from operations in money or credit.

(f) Nationalisation of the land, and organisation of agricultural and industrial interests under state or municipal control on co-operative principles. Unemployed citizens to be organised and classified to this end.

(g) Establishment of adequate pensions for the aged and infirm workers. Every person attaining the age of fifty to be kept by the community, work being optional after that age. Establishment of national or municipal hospitals.

(h) Adult Suffrage. Annual Parliaments. Proportional Representation. Second ballot. Catvassing to be made illegal.

(i) Legislative dependence for all parts of the Empire.

THE SONOMA TROUBLE.

THE explanation offered by Mr. Cooper (Secretary of the Seamen's Union) at last Labor Council meeting, re the Sonoma trouble, places the Seamen's Executive in a rather worse position than Mr. Carter's previous explanation left them in. Mr. Cooper argued that the action of his Executive was taken in the best interests of the Unionists of the Pacific Coast. He declared that the Sonoma crew had deliberately committed a breach of their agreement with Spreckels, which contained a clause to the effect that any disputes arising out of the agreement were to be settled by arbitration at Frisco. Furthermore, he said, his Executive had cabled to the Frisco Union to the effect that the Sonoma crew had refused to take the ship home, and asking if the Sydney Union should ship a crew, and the reply had been, "Yes." Mr. Cooper also imparted the information that the Executive would have succeeded

in shipping a crew, but for the action of a "wild-eyed American," who had gone aboard among the seamen persuading them that if they shipped on the Sonoma they would be regarded as "blacklegs." Mr. Cooper's explanation was supplemented to some extent by Mr. Carter, who now placed on record the extraordinary statement that when he had spoken at the previous meeting he "had had to use tactics and make diplomatic statements."

At the previous meeting, it will be remembered, Mr. Carter told the Delegates that the reason the Executive had undertaken to fill the places of the jailed Unionists was because they wished to prevent a non-Unionist crew from getting into the ship—"when non-Unionists once get in they were hard to get out."

As a matter of fact, the Sonoma men were not guilty of any breach of their agreement. There was no dispute as to its terms. Spreckels had agreed to employ Unionists always in preference to non-Unionists, and the trouble arose out of the fact that the agreement was deliberately broken by the ship's officers. The members of the crew were not charged with committing a breach of the agreement. The officers having deliberately violated the agreement made by the owners with the men, when they found themselves confronted with the difficulty which arose when the men insisted on the terms of the agreement being observed, did not hesitate to call into operation the class-made shipping laws, and the men were charged with "disobeying lawful commands," and for that they were jailed. It is worth noting that the message which Mr. Cooper's Executive cabled to Frisco contained no statement whatever as to the reason the Sonoma men had refused to take the ship home.

The men who persuaded the Seamen that they would be acting as blacklegs if they shipped on the Sonoma, were members of the Wharf Laborers' Union, and also prominent members of the International Socialist Club, and it is well for the reputation of Australian Trades' Unionism that the Seamen were constrained to listen to their reasonings. It is bad enough when the professional non-Unionist comes along to aid the enemy; but when the Executive of a Trade Union hastens to fill with Unionists the places of other Unionists who have been unjustly sent to jail because of their loyalty to their Union, then it becomes a matter where explanatory excuses such as were tendered on Thursday evening resolve themselves into solid accusations, and Mr. Riley voiced the sentiments of every Australian Unionist when he declared that he was heartily glad the Seamen's Executive had not succeeded in getting a crew of Unionists to take the Sonoma to Frisco.

Other Lands

JAPAN.

JAPANESE Socialists are making arrangements to publish a daily paper.

BRITAIN.

JUSTICE, organ of the British Social-Democratic Federation, was enlarged to twelve pages at the beginning of this year. In the New Year number H. M. Hyndman writes:—"When three-and-twenty years ago a set of revolutionary Social-Democrats, headed by William Morris, paraded down Fleet-street and the Strand selling JUSTICE, and Mr. Andrew Lang wrote some verses on this strange combination of the journalist with the news-vendor, few of those now living who formed part of that memorable procession had any idea that nearly a quarter of a century later the same paper, largely written by the same men, devoted to precisely the same propaganda, and backed by the same organisation, would still be fighting an uphill fight against the apathy, ignorance, and incapacity to rise in any way above their surroundings, of the English laboring class."

JUSTICE has never yet paid its way, and nobody has ever received a farthing for any contribution to its pages.

Andrew Joy writes in JUSTICE:—"A united English Socialist Party, with the S.D.F. and I.L.P. as the Left and Right Wings, and with the Trade Unions and the Fabians as an impregnable Centre, should prove a most workable and a most admirable organisation. It should not only be a sight for, but also a

surprise and inspiration to the world of militant International Socialism."

GERMANY.

In the recent German elections, although the Socialists lost a number of seats, they increased their voting strength by a million, and polled far more votes than any other party.

In the municipal elections at Bornheim, the Socialists more than doubled the number of their representatives in the Council—won three seats—in spite of a poor qualification of £60.

In the province of Brandenburg at Zehdenick, two Socialists were elected, with a majority of five in the Communal Council. In Lussheim, in Baden, the Social-Democratic list defeated their bourgeois opponents by thirty per cent.

In Essen our vote at the municipal elections last year more than doubled the previous vote.

The "Schwabische Tagblatt" (Socialist paper) has gained a thousand new subscribers in the last three months.

BELGIUM.

The Belgian Socialist daily—four papers—has a daily circulation of about one hundred and fifty thousand, which, as Vandeweyer points out, is not bad for a country of six million inhabitants, twenty per cent of whom can neither read nor write.

AMERICA.

The "Chicago Daily Socialist" is a live four-page paper, with liberal use of cartoons, serials, etc. Socialist propaganda is confined to the editorial page and headlines.

THE VOICE OF TOIL.

Tune:—"Ye Banks and Braes."

I heard men saying, Leave hope and praying,
All days shall be as all have been;
To-day and to-morrow bring fear and sorrow,
The never-ending toil between.
When Earth was younger 'mid toil and hunger,
In hope we strove, and our hands were hungry;
Then great men led us, with words they fed us,
And bade us right the earthly wrong.

Go read in story their deeds and glory,
Their names amidst the nameless dead;
Turn then from lying to us slow-dying
In that good world to which they led;
Where fast and faster our iron master,
The thing we made, for ever drives,
Bids us grind treasure and fashion pleasure
For other hopes and other lives.

I hear men saying, Leave tears and praying,
The sharp knife heedeth not the sheep;
Are we not stronger than the rich and the wronger
When day breaks over dreams and sleep?
Come shoulder to shoulder ere the world grows older!
Help lies in nought but thee and me;
Hope is before us—the long years that bore us
Bore leaders more than men may be.

Let dead hearts tarry and trade and marry,
And trembling nurse their dreams of mirth,
While we the living our lives are giving
To bring the bright new world to birth.
Come, shoulder to shoulder ere the earth grows older!
The Cause spreads over land and sea;
Now the world shaketh, and fear awaketh,
And joy at last for thee and me.

—WILLIAM MORRIS.

A CAPITALISTIC WAIL.

THE "Liberty Review," described by the British "Social Democrat" as the organ of the Propertied Anarchists' League, recently published a wail concerning the rapid spread of Socialism in Europe. The German Socialists have 76 party organs, and are the strongest political party in that country. In France the elected Socialists and Radical Republicans total nearly half of the Deputies. In Austria and Italy the Socialist Deputies wield great political power, and in Parliament their weight is very considerable. In Belgium universal suffrage enabled the Socialists to elect a large number of members, and 52 branches of the Socialist organisation are now firmly established in the Netherlands. In Norway there are 56 Socialist organisations with a membership of 6000, and each of these members is a centre from which radiate Socialist influences, and round which revolve Socialists who are not yet members of any organisation. The Social-Democratic Federation have now in England over 150 branches, and a membership of nearly 10,000 persons. The Independent Labor Party numbers 15,000, and has over 200 branches. In London there are four Socialist Sunday Schools and eight in Glasgow. At the general election in 1900 only one avowed Socialist was elected to Parliament. Now, no less than 30, and possibly 50, have been sent to represent at least 550,000 voters, and possibly a good many more; for it is well known that those Labor members who are not supported by the socialistic body known as the Labor Representation Committee are saturated with Socialist sympathies and ideas; and, in addition, many men who have been returned as Liberals are thoroughly Socialist at heart, and ready to go as far as they possibly can in the direction of the Socialist ideal. "Equally significant is the fact that Mr. John Burns, who was once a violent Socialist, a red-flag waver, and a Trafalgar Square orator, has been made a Cabinet Minister." These are the ominous facts as the "Liberty Review" sees them, and that journal of reactionary politics concludes its wail: "But, in truth, both Liberals (so-called) and Tories appear to be afraid of tackling Socialism. They prefer to let it grow from strength to strength, from thousands to millions. They waste their energies and resources in attacking each other while the common enemy undermines their position."

In 1869 Karl Marx wrote: "I am more and more persuaded (and it is important for the English working class to realise this) that nothing of importance can be done in England before they give up their present policy in Ireland. I also think that the best thing that could happen would be a dissolution of the Union effected in 1801, and that it should be replaced by a free federal government."

Other Lands

GERMANY.

THERE are 80 Socialist newspapers in Germany.

It is with great regret we have to record the death of our comrade Gustav Jaeckh, at Leipzig, on January 4.

To show the advantage of the German Reichstag's suffrage over our complicated system in England: A friend of the present writer has been working some years as a tailor in Switzerland; on December 29 he went to Cologne. There the lists of those entitled to vote, which are made up anew for every election, were open for public inspection and revision from December 28 to January 4. Being a German citizen of over 25 years, he was able, immediately after announcing his arrival to the police, the same day to be entered as an elector and vote. In other words, the suffrage is not made null by any period of residence, which, in case of the proletariat who are often obliged to change their abode in search of work, is of especial value. Under the German suffrage the only adult men not qualified are soldiers and sailors on active service, people in charge, bankrupts, paupers, and those who have been dis-

qualified on legal grounds.—
"Just. c."

SOUTH AFRICA.

The reason for the Government intimidating its railway employees in connection with the Transvaal election now transpires; they are opposed to the "Progressives." One is Labour Party president and prominent in opposing Sir Percy Fitzpatrick; and they don't like like Sir George Farrar. A deputation has waited on Lord Selborne, but without avail; he referred them to the same "democratic" system prevailing in other Colonies also in England.

AMERICA.

While in several States the recent voting for State officers or Congressmen showed a decrease, in Colorado there was an increase of 276 per cent., amounting to 8.18 of the total State vote; in Florida, 8 per cent. increase, 11.02 per cent. of the total vote; West Virginia, an increase of 66 per cent., Wyoming Territories 22, and Arizona 53 per cent. increase.

Two questions to be dealt with at Melbourne T.U. Congress are immigration and an amendment of the constitution to provide for a Federal Arbitration Court that will deal with disputes that do not extend beyond one State.

A Plea for Socialist Unity

IN nearly all the Australian States to-day there are Socialist organisations, based on a recognition of the existence of the class war, and pledged to the world's Socialist objective. Numerically all these Socialist organisations are weaker than the opportunity and the occasion warrant. The strongest of them is the Victorian Socialist Party, with a membership approaching 2000. In N.S.W. the membership of our organisations does little more than run into hundreds; and we believe the same thing applies to each of the other States. It is true that the "conscious" Socialist voting strength is not large—shorn of the sympathetic vote, and the vote of the "undecided," it might be reckoned at 5000. But, in addition to the conscious Socialist vote, there is a large voting strength in Australia which may be described as developing in a "sympathetic" way towards Socialism—a mass of voters whose interest in Socialism has been largely awakened by the anti-Socialist onslaught of the capitalist party led by Mr. Reid; and this is the field that ripens for harvesting by the class-conscious Socialist organisations. Federally united, with one objective, one set of palliative proposals, and similar political methods, guaranteeing a line of advance on correct working-class principles, the Socialist organisations of Australia may become as great a fighting force and political power as are the Socialist bodies of other countries. Disunited, as they are at present, with each little group working independently, the work done is not nearly so effective as closer and more comprehensive organisation could make it. Socialist unity is a thing which must come in the ordinary course of events—because every honest Socialist desires it, and the sooner it is accomplished, the sooner will working-class emancipation in Australia be accomplished. THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW would suggest that a preliminary conference of the various Socialist bodies be held in one of the large centres (Melbourne or Sydney, for preference) at an early date, for the purpose of effecting unity of action on the part of the forces of Socialism in the Australian Commonwealth. In the meantime, we shall be pleased to receive the views of Socialist bodies and comrades elsewhere touching this matter.

The Evolution of Property

By PAUL LAFARGUE.

CHAPTER I.—FORMS OF CONTEMPORANEOUS PROPERTY.

POLITICAL ECONOMISTS have laid it down as an axiom that Capital, the form of property at present predominant, is eternal. They have taxed their brains to show that Capital is coeval with the world, and that as it had no beginning, so it can have no end. [By Capital is meant anything which produces interest: a sum of money lent, which at the end of months, or years, yields a profit; land that is cultivated, or any instrument of labor that is set in action, not by its proprietor, but by salaried workmen; but the land which is cultivated by the peasant and his family, the gun of the poacher, the plane or hammer of the carpenter, albeit property, is not capitalistic property, because the owner utilises it himself instead of using it to extract surplus value from others. The notion of profit without labor sticks like a Nessus-shirt to the term capital.] In proof of which astounding assertion all the manuals of political economy repeat with much complacency the story of the savage who, having in his possession a couple of bows, lends one of them to a brother savage for a share in the produce of the chase.

So great were the zeal and ardor which economists brought to bear on their search for capitalistic property in prehistoric times, that they succeeded, in the course of their investigations, in discovering the existence of property outside the human species, to wit, among the invertebrates; for the ant, in her foresight, is a hoarder of provisions. It is a pity that they should not have gone a step farther, and affirmed that, if the ant lays up stores, she does so with a view to sell the same and realise a profit by the circulation of her capital.

But there is a gap in the economists' theory of the eternity of capital. They have omitted to show that the term capital likewise exists from all time. In a ship every rope has its appropriate name, with the exception of the bell-rope. It is inadmissible that in the domain of political economy the terminology should have been so inadequate as not to furnish a name for so useful and all-important a thing as capital; yet it is a matter of fact that the term capital, in the modern sense, dates no farther back than the 18th century. This is the case also with the word philanthropy (the humanitarian hypocrisy proper to the capitalistic regime). And it was in the 18th century that capitalist property began to assert itself and to acquire a preponderating influence in society. This social predominance of capital led to the French Revolution, which, although one of the most considerable events of modern

history, was, after all, but a bourgeois revolution accomplished with those catchwords of liberty, fraternity, equality, justice, and patriotism which the bourgeois were, later on, to employ in puffing their political and financial enterprises. At the time of the Revolution the capitalists were cattle so newly raised by society that in his "Dictionnaire de Mots Nouveaux," published in 1802, Sebastian Mercier thought it necessary to insert the word "capitaliste," and to append the following curious definition:—"Capitaliste: This word is well nigh unknown out of Paris. It designates a monster of wealth, a man who has a heart of iron and no affections save metallic ones. Talk to him of the land tax—and he laughs at you; he does not own an inch of land, how should you tax him? Like the Arabs of the desert who have plundered a caravan, and who bury their gold out of fear of other brigands, the capitalists have hidden away our money."

In 1802 mankind had not as yet acquired the feeling of profound respect which in our day is inspired by the capitalist.

The term capital, though of Latin origin, has no equivalent in the Greek and Latin tongues. The non-existence of the word in two such rich languages affords a proof that capitalist property did not exist in ancient times, at least as an economical and social phenomenon.

The form of property which corresponds to the term capital was developed and acquired social importance only after the establishment of commercial production, which crowned the economical and political movement agitating Europe after the 12th century. This commercial production was stimulated by the discovery of America and the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, by the importation of precious metals from America, the taking of Constantinople, the invention of printing, the family alliances among the sovereigns of Europe, and the organisation of the great feudal states, with the relative and general pacification which resulted therefrom. All these and other collateral causes co-operated to create a rapid development of capital, the most perfect of all forms of private property, and, it may be averred, the last. The comparatively recent appearance of capital is the best proof adducible that property is not immutable and always the same, but that on the contrary, it, like all material and interesting phenomena, incessantly evolves and passes through a series of forms which differ, but are derived, from one another.

(To be continued.)

"While at the Solomon Group the Prometheus shelled a native village by way of punishing natives who had shown hostility to the mission station at Malaita." The capitalistic way of teaching the black brother how much this Christian nation loves him.

POLITICAL.

GERMANY.

HAVE ye heard the cheers resounding o'er the water?
Did ye mark how Freedom's face lit up with glee,
Rejoicing in the tidings Time has brought her—
The message from our comrades o'er the sea.
The message and the token that the Wrong is being broken,
That the Word will yet be spoken when riven is the chain—
Will make of earth one nation, will give to man salvation,
And uplift him from prostration 'fore the god of self and gain.

Hark! The measured tread earth shaking,
Gilded tyranny is quaking,
Its bonds and fetters breaking—the slave will yet be free:
Its might is drifting under, its prestige rent asunder
By the message wrapped in thunder from our comrades o'er the sea.

—J. LESLIE.

For cool audacity no start can be given to the capitalist politician. In the House of Commons on Friday Mr. Balfour, leader of the Conservatives, "suggested a treaty under which the colonies would transfer their troops and ships to Imperial control in the event of Imperial complications." Another capitalist politician, Mr. Winston Churchill (Liberal Under-Secretary for the Colonies) said Mr. Balfour's speech was "inspired with profound political wisdom." The class politicians of old England seem to think that everything is "profound political wisdom" that would tend to give the British capitalist a tighter grip on the colonies. Colonials haven't quite forgotten South Africa yet, though.

In India an agitation is proceeding for the right of self-government. The Indians want votes, and the British Government (which sent

victorious men to South Africa to kill the Boers because they refused votes to the outlanders) is jailing the newspaper men who voice the popular demands. The proprietor of the "Punjabee," a native newspaper, has been sentenced to two years, and fined 1000 rupees, and the editor of the same paper has been sentenced to six months' jail and fined 200 rupees. When the inevitable crash comes, will the Australian Government send soldiers to fight for votes for the Indians?

While Keir Hardie, leader of the British Parliamentary Labor Party, was speaking in the Guild Hall, Cambridge, a bottle containing evil-smelling chemicals was thrown into the hall, and a number of undergraduates invaded the building and pelted Hardie with oranges and sugar dipped in chemicals. The meeting closed in uproar, and a carriage, which was supposed to be waiting for the speaker, was smashed. The capitalist papers "comment on the discreditable character of the proceedings," not because of the hooliganism directed against a working-class representative, but because it happened "on the day on which the Duke of Devonshire (Chancellor of the University) issued his appeal for subscriptions on behalf of the University." Had a section of a working-class audience been guilty of similar ruffianism towards a capitalist party leader, the papers would have flooded their columns with horrified denunciations of the crime and the outrage of it.

Johannesburg miners complain that they are being disfranchised by the action of Governor Selborne, who refuses to allow polling day to be proclaimed a public holiday.

Our social progress is a movement towards perfect democracy.

The Socialist Philosophy

By MORRIS HILLQUIT.

THE history of our civilization presents one unbroken chain of social changes. The space between the primitive tribe of cave dwellers and the modern industrial state is filled with a variety of intermediary types of society.

Each of these social types constitutes a separate phase of civilization. Each phase of civilization is superior to the one preceding it and inferior to the one succeeding it. Each phase of civilization is evolved from the preceding phase and gives birth to the succeeding phase. Each phase of civilization passes through the stages of formation, bloom, and decay.

Our modern civilization forms no exception to this immutable rule of social development. We have reached a state of conditions vastly superior to all conditions of the past. The members of modern society on the whole enjoy more individual freedom and security, more physical comforts and intellectual and æsthetic pleasures, than did the savages and the members of societies based on slavery or serfdom.

But we have not reached perfection yet; we never will reach perfection. A state of perfection in society would imply the arrest of all human endeavors and progress, the death of civilization. It is improvement, not perfection, that we are striving for, and our contemporary social organization is capable of improvement, and bound to improve just as all societies of the past were.

Our social order of to-day did not spring into existence suddenly and full-fledged. It developed gradually from preceding social conditions and it is still in the process of evolution. It has had its period of formation, and the Socialists contend that its period of bloom is behind it. It has entered on the stage of decay, and must be followed by a new phase of civilization of a more advanced type.

The all-important factor in modern society is industrialism. In former ages industry—that is, production of goods for exchange—was but little developed, and played a subordinate part in the lives of the nations. Agriculture was the basis of the community.

But recent times, and particularly the last century, have witnessed a stupendous change in our industrial life. The modest workshop of former ages was superseded by the huge modern factory; the simple almost primitive tool of the old-time mechanic developed into the gigantic machine of to-day; and the power of steam and electricity increased the productivity of labor a hundredfold. New objects of use

were invented, new needs were created, while the railroads, steamships, and other improved means of communication and distribution united the entire civilized world into one international market.

This industrial revolution brought in its wake a radical change of social institutions. It created new classes of society. The privileged type of former ages, the land-owning and titled nobleman, the courtier and warrior, was relegated to the background, and in his place arose the captain of industry—the modern capitalist.

With the ancient aristocracy also disappeared the ancient type of the dependent class, the slave and serf, and its place was taken by the modern working man.

In the earlier stages of its career the capitalist class was revolutionary and useful. It abolished absolute monarchies and introduced representative government, it rooted out old prejudices and beliefs, it tore down the artificial barriers between nations, it gave to the world marvellous inventions, and ushered in a distinctly superior system of society.

But these achievements belong to the pioneer days of capitalism, to the period when modern industries were in the process of formation. To-day our principal industries are firmly established. They have been reduced to mere routine, and do not depend on personal initiative.

The modern capitalist has long ceased to be the manager of the industries. He is "engaged" in whatever industry the vicissitudes of the stock market and the tricks of stock jobbery may thrust upon him. It may happen to be a railway system or a gas plant, a mine or a foundry, a clothing factory or a wool warehouse, or all of them in turn. He need not know, and as a rule he does not know, the intimate workings of the industry he controls. The actual work of management and operation is done by hired labor. There is not a capitalist to-day whose existence is essential to the continuance of any business. There are still many capitalists who take an active part in business life, but when they do so they merely supplant the hired superintendents and earn the latter's salaries; their wealth and profits are not derived from work but from the ownership of the capital employed in the particular industry. The days of the actual usefulness of the capitalist class in the social economy of the nation are over. And, like so many other classes in history under similar conditions, the capitalists have become reactionary, and the regime developed by them has become unjust and oppressive.

(Concluded in next issue.)

Socialism will lead to morality, but true morality cannot precede Socialism.—R. L. Smart in Vic. "Socialist."

CLASS Consciousness

AT present the world of human beings is composed of classes (writes Hugh O. Pentecost in the N.Y. "Worker.") However we may dispute as to the lines of demarkation between members of these classes, there is no dispute that there is a capitalist class and a working class. The capitalist class lives by rent, interest or dividends—that is, profits. The working class lives by wages. The welfare of these classes is antagonistic. The more the capitalist class gets, the less the working class gets. The more the working class gets, the less the capitalist class gets. This is self-evident, since wages, rent, interest or dividend (profits) are taken out of the products of labor.

All men and women belong to one or the other of these classes. To which class you, whoever you are, belong is not determined entirely by whether you are a wage earner or not. It is determined to a great extent by what you think; by your mental attitude toward the world of human beings; by your moral code, and, specifically by how you vote.

If you are a wage earner, and, as such, believe that you belong to an inferior class; that you need to be ruled by your betters; that you could not support yourself without an employer; that you should be contented in the place where it has pleased God to put you, or where you are by the laws of nature; that if you are industrious, economical and faithful to your employer you may some day rise out of your class into the capitalist class, and so cease to live by wages, and live henceforth by rent, interest, and profits—if you think these thoughts, though you be a hod carrier, ditch digger, sweat shop worker, or street sweeper, you belong to the capitalist class—you are theirs—for these are capitalist thoughts, and "as a man thinks so is he."

If you have no thoughts on the subject of your place in life, but, when election day comes around, you vote the Republican or Democratic ticket, you belong to the capitalist class, for both these are capitalist parties. These parties represent the wage system. They advocate child labor, wife labor, and man labor for the cheapest possible wage.

The saddest thing in the world is a working man with a capitalist mind. He is not

to be blamed, for we are all the creatures of circumstances, but he is to be pitied and saved, if possible. One could shed an ocean of tears at the sight of workingmen by millions voting themselves low wages, their wives into factories, and their children into mills, mines and houses of prostitution.

Socialists do not provoke class hatred. They invoke class consciousness. They ask workingmen to have working class thoughts; to think that they do not need capitalists, either to rule them or employ them.

They do not ask them to vote for their candidates, but to vote for themselves. They ask them to try to understand that if land and machinery were common property instead of capitalist individual property, wages, rent, dividends, all profits, would disappear, and each workingman would receive all that he produced as a member of a Co-operative Commonwealth of self-respecting, free people, living human lives instead of animal-like lives, as at present.

Chattel slavery was easy to overthrow. That could be done and was done by war. It is easy to liberate men from prison.

A mob can do this by overpowering the keepers and opening the doors. Such slaves can be freed by others.

But workingmen must free themselves, for they are enslaved by their own ignorance. They can only free themselves by ceasing to think capitalist thoughts and thinking working men's thoughts.

There is a great opportunity open to working men in the ballot box. It is the only opportunity working men have in the capitalist world.

The Denham party professional politicians in Queensland appear to be wrangling among themselves over whether they shall follow the Philp or Kidston factions. Whatever happens, the Kidston Gov. is doomed to smash on the rock of capitalist politics.

The appeal of Socialism is so strong that some capitalists have acquired the minds of class-conscious working men. They have renounced their class and come over to the working class, not literally, but in their minds and hearts. They are thinking and acting as if they were workingmen. But these cannot save the working man from wage slavery. There are not enough of them. Working men must save themselves by thinking and voting for themselves.

Socialism is a word having two distinct but related meanings: primarily it is used as the name of a certain philosophy of history and method of interpreting and analyzing social phenomena. In the second place, since this philosophy and method have as one of their principal conclusions that society is evolving toward a co-operative social stage, the word is used to designate a co-operative social organization, where the means for the production and distribution of wealth are the collective property of the working class while the goods which are to be consumed become the private property of the individual workers.—A. M. Simons.

What You Get.

THESE statistics are taken from the American Government records.

In 1850 the wealth of the American nation was \$8,000,000,000; the producers' share was $62\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; the non-producers' share $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

In 1860 the wealth had increased to \$16,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to $43\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.; non-producers' increased to $56\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

In 1870 the wealth was \$30,000,000,000. Producers' share was $32\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.; non-producers' share $67\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.

In 1880 the wealth had increased to \$48,000,000,000. The producers' share went down to 24 per cent., while the non-producers' share had increased to 76 per cent.

In 1890 the wealth had further increased to \$61,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to 17 per cent., the non-producers' share increased to 83.

And, in 1901, the wealth of the country was \$100,000,000,000, while the producers' share had fallen to 10 per cent. and non-producers' had gone up to 90 per cent. As the amount of wealth production has increased the producers' share in that wealth has decreased.

POINTED * * * PARAGRAPHS.

Labor's Reward: At the Huon (Tas.) Timber Co.'s mill on Tuesday, Charles Moore met with a terrible death by falling on a circular saw, which almost severed his body.

Our despoilers give us charity by way of adding insult to injury. Being used to both, we resent neither.

Children, women, and the poor can be deceived in many things, except as to who really loves them. There is more in this than what appears on the surface.

You cannot see the social revolution going on around you for precisely the same reason that you are unable to perceive the revolutions of the globe you inhabit. The fact is you revolve along with it.

The professional politician's fondness for the people is of a cannibalistic nature; he feeds on them.

Whoever advocates the socialisation of the means of production and distribution, the public ownership of the earth and the fulness thereof, and the abolition of the cursed wage system, is my brother in the cause. Whoever attaches himself to the Social-Democratic Party and strives to reach that goal along the lines laid down by that organisation is my brother in arms.—M. Winchewsky.

From a modern point of view Moses would seem to have made a mistake in smashing the tables of the law when, on descending from Mount Sinai, he found the Israelites gone wrong. One would think the more the people worship the golden calf, the more imperative the duty to uphold the fundamental principles in their integrity.—"Social-Democrat."

Industrial Items

In the early part of this week the daily papers made it appear that non-unionists were being obtained to take the place of the slaughtermen on strike in New Zealand. On Wednesday, however, the cables announced victory for the strikers, the employers having unconditionally surrendered. Little incidents like this prove the veracity of the great dailies in all matters concerning the industrial and political struggles of the working class.

When the N.S.W. Full Court decided, in the Haberfield case, that it is permissible for employers to evade the terms of an award of the Arbitration Court by substituting contract work for day labor, it widened the avenue of opportunity already provided for the legal fraternity, and demonstrated how absolutely the Arbitration Court is not a court of arbitration at all, but just another institution whose operations are for ever circumscribed by silly legal technicalities and the conclusions of class-trained "judicial minds."

According to statements made at a meeting of shop assistants this week, men of 20 years' experience are working for 17s 6d to 20s a week in Sydney establishments. The Shop Assistants' Union is asking the Arbitration Court to fix a minimum of £3 for male employees and £2 5s for females.

The Wharf Laborers' Union has made an agreement with the inter-State shipowners providing for 1/3 an hour, with 1/9 per hour overtime. Any member who violates the agreement is to be expelled from the Union. A penalty of £200

for any breach of the agreement is specified.

It roused the indignation of the good-natured Plutarch that Cato, the sour moralist, rid himself of slaves grown old and decrepit in his service. What would he have said of the modern capitalist, who allows the workers that have enriched him to slave or die in the workhouse?—Lafargue.

Whether the numerous inventions under capitalism are due to capitalism itself, or are the result of the decay of superstition, the advance of natural knowledge, and the spread of the scientific spirit, one might well leave as an open question. But, whichever it is, I do not think either interferes with this principle—namely, that mankind is the true heir to the past achievements of mankind. If an individual discovers a law of nature, or invents a new machine, he has great pleasure in doing it, and that is his true reward, but such work might benefit the race; and if the result of a man's work might benefit the race, he has no right to monopolise it to his children after his death. The race furnished him with his brains, his knowledge and skill, and the result of his work is due to his race.—R. Barton.

When one thinks of the Greeks, playing, praying, laboring, lecturing, dreaming, sculpturing, training, living everlastingly in the free wind and under the pure heavens, and thinks that the chief issue of civilisation is to pack human beings into rooms like salt fish in a barrel, with never a sight of leaf or cloud, never a whisper of breeze or bird—oh, the blessed blind men who talk of Progress!—"Ouida."

The Name of Master shall Fade Away

By FRANKLIN H. WENTWORTH.

TO-DAY the great body of the common people, the working-class, the men and women who give useful service either of hand or brain, are pinched by poverty; and as advancing civilization opens wider vistas and awakens new desires, are held down to brutish levels by animal needs. Bitterly conscious of injustice, feeling in their hearts that they are made for more than so wretched a life, they sometimes struggle and cry out.

The strike, the boycott, the lockout, the blacklist; all are evidences of this smarting under wrong. But until they trace effect to cause, until they see how they are fettered and how they may be freed, their struggles and their outcries are in vain. What does it avail for me to strike against the man who owns my bread? Is he not my master, and will I not have to go on my knees to him at last?

Why should men strike for a few cents more a day when it is easier to strike for all they produce?

Why should you put your wives and children to the test of suffering to win a strike when by the use of a slip of paper called a ballot you can take into your own hands the key that locks you from your opportunities?

A man's mind is enslaved so long as he is content with a mere increase in wages under a precarious wage system. A man's mind is enslaved until he rises in his manhood's might to overturn the entire system by which one man can live upon the toil of other men.

The workers must come to see that the man who does not work is deserving of neither admiration nor respect. The world is getting its eyes too wide open to much longer support the loafer and the tramp, whether he loafs in a barroom or in a fashionable club; whether he tramps the railroad ties or the verandah of a fashionable hotel. The working class must quit its cringing supplication for a few cents more a day; it must stand erect and demand the entire product of its labor; it must refuse to support a single normal man in idleness.

And why should it not? Is one man better than another man? Give me a country clod; give me a gamin of the streets, and in two generations of feeding and education I will give you as polished an idler as graces any mansion. Who is it that dares to assume superiority over other man? What is it I ask you that makes aristocracy? Aristocracy is the growth of parasitism. Aristocracy does not spring out of useful manhood. Aristocracy is the fruit of evaded service. Aristocracy is the flower of a graft.

I would not have you believe that I am at war with all forms of

superiority. I bow in respectful homage to superiority which shines in social service of its fellows. But that shallow and fictitious superiority a life of idle irresponsibility engenders; that superiority which is but an accident or position; which resides wholly on the outside and is derived from a shirking of its share in social services; which sucks its leisure hours from the broken heart of labor; that kind of superiority I execrate from my soul, and would forever banish from the world.

I want all men and women to be free; free to develop the whole heroic statute of manhood and womanhood. I want a complete life for every human being, lived in an atmosphere of fearless liberty.

It is the vague and incoherent longing for this kind of life; the great heaving revolutions of the undermasses; the blind, voiceless catching at the skirts of liberty, that bring hope to the heart that some day the world will be a joy to live in. Some day men will be too noble to allow little children to be chained to machines, while the fields and flowers pine for the blessing of their happy laughter; some day women will not be driven by poverty to sell their bodies in the streets; our very foods will dry in our throats and choke us that such a crime can be.

Some day the lowest man will stand erect, and the name of master will fade into the shadows of a tyrannous past.

Oh, the joy the world, when every man shall look in the face without fear; when every life shall blossom to the full in joyous liberty! It is a word to conjure with. The world has never seen liberty, except in broken beams and partial light, yet in those moments when the unknown heroes of the mass have struggled to their knees; when they have torn themselves loose from the galling bands of enslaving classes; have rallied their starving fellows and swept the infested and outworn political system out of existence; it is in such moments that the world has made her great strides forward.

It is out of the toiling mass that the last vision of liberty is always born. Like the lily that strikes her roots deep into the ooze and slime, this, the most beautiful flower of life springs up from the hearts of the lowest. And who could fail to blossom in a world where all were free? The very thought of it makes the bosom heave with emotion, and stirs the heart of the serf with throbs of manhood. Liberty, it is the lever of the world; the goddess of the skies. But it is here, where the lamp of liberty has shed her holiest light; here where after the groaning of the centuries every man has been given the ballot for the bullet; here in this nation to which the trustful eyes of the little peoples have been turned in confidence and hope for a hundred years; it is here that liberty is now being translated into a bawd, and men and women and children whom the world calls free, are being ground beneath the wheels of an economic tyranny that is all the more hideous because we have had a dream of liberty.

To think that here, of all places in the world, where for the first time in history the ballot of the common man is equal to the ballot of the priest, or the soldier, or the judge; where by this ballot expression may be given to every political and economic faith; to think that in the face of the greatest opportunities for freedom which the world has ever seen, it should now be possible for any workingman to stand penniless and hungry outside a factory door within which lie the privately owned tools and opportunities which should be his own; opportunities possessed by the ruling class by political consent of the working class themselves.

For in a country where all property rights rest upon the laws, and all laws may be made by the ballot, the working class, which is of a huge majority, cannot be robbed except by its silent or implied consent. In the solidarity possible to the working class lies the power to unmake every law upon the statute books. The fundamental law of the land gives to the workingman this right of suffrage, this right which men of other countries do not possess, which they are to-day suffering and dying to achieve. Is the working class going to awaken to the value of this right, and utilise its power for ends of economic freedom before it is too late?—N.Y. "Worker."

IN MERRIE ENGLAND.

AFTER being out of work for three months, John Younger of Hounslow, told a constable that as he was starving he would break a plate-glass window so that he might be locked up. He was too weak to break the glass, but the constable ran him in, when he was discovered to be soaked to the skin and positively famished. This is a good example to follow, only don't wait three months, says "Justice."

On a woman at Edmonton being arrested on a charge of cremating the bodies of children entrusted to her care who had died, she said, "I did it to make both ends meet."

An old man of 62, who had been on remand for a month, received six months at Sheffield Quarter Sessions for stealing 5d. Another man received a twelvemonth for stealing a shirt.

Over 300 men, mostly under 35, applied (or attempted to) for a situation at No 1, Creechurch Lane, E.C. The wage offered was 22s. per week; no particulars as to hours; housework and cleaning.

THE COMING OF THE LIGHT

Tune: "Wearing of the Green."

HARK! the sound of many voices proclaim the dawn of day
And in the glow of morning the shadows flee away;
Lo, the trumpet call is ringing, and the sky is clear and
bright,
And your masters flee in terror at the coming of the light.

O, the coming of the light! O, the coming of the light!
Lo, your masters flee in terror at the coming of the light!

March, march, ye swarming myriads, from alley and from
slum;
The gods of this world tremble with a fear that strikes
them dumb,
Arm, arm, then and make ready—for ye know that might
is right,
And the workers' strength shall prove it at the coming of
the light.

O, the coming of the light! O, the coming of the light!
And the workers' strength shall prove it at the coming
of the light!

Now, beneath the rule of robbers the world grows sad and
old,
The people bound and fettered by a chain of glittering
gold;
But when the trumpet soundeth the world shall see a
sight—
The golden chain is broken at the coming of the light.

O, the coming of the light! O, the coming of the light!
The golden chain is broken at the coming of the light.

D. J. NICOLL.

The Socialist Philosophy

By MORRIS HILLQUIT.

IN the merciless war of competition the bigger capitalists are fast extinguishing the independent small producers. Our national wealth and industries concentrate in the hands of ever fewer men. Trusts and monopolies are fast becoming the prevalent form of industrial organisation.

A new capitalist type is developed, the type of the trust magnate and multi-millionaire, before whose wealth the treasures of Midas pale into insignificance.

But the fabulous accumulation of wealth is the result of the ever more intense exploitation of the masses. The boundless luxuries of the few find their logical counterpart in the dire misery of the many. Millions of working men maintain themselves with difficulty above the bare margin of starvation, while large masses of the population, rendered "superfluous" by the invention of improved machinery, are driven to vagabondage and forced into the paths of vice and crime.

In the mad capitalist race for profits, morals are useless and cumbersome ballast. The earlier merchant and manufacturer had some sense of commercial probity. The modern trust magnate has none. To him all means are fair so long as they satisfy his greed. His ideal is to increase his power, to get possession of all the sources of wealth of his country, to own his fellow men, body and soul.

To reach this aim he corrupts legislatures, buys courts of justice, bribes public officials and pollutes the public press.

The "interests of industry," his interests, shape the entire life of modern nations. They influence our laws, dominate our politics, direct our public opinion, determine our internal and external policy, and decide upon war and peace between nations. The trust magnate to-day is fast becoming a more dangerous potentate than any despot of antiquity.

And these conditions are inseparable from our industrial institutions. In vain does the simple minded philanthropist found institutions for the relief of the poor. In vain does the well meaning but superficial reformer advocate measures to

"curb the trusts," in vain does he engage in periodic crusades against political corruption. As long as the few capitalists stand between the people and their living, poverty will persist. As long as our industries remain the private property of competing capitalists, industrial war will continue and trusts will flourish. The capitalists themselves have no choice in the matter. They are the slaves of their own wealth, and are driven into the fatal course by the inexorable laws of industrial development. We may well foresee a time, if present conditions last long enough, when practically all industries will be trustified, when the entire wealth of the nations and all the powers of government will be in the hands of a few monopolists, and when the people will depend upon them absolutely for their physical, intellectual, and moral existence.

Such conditions are not unparalleled in history. The Roman Empire found itself in a similar situation in the fourth and fifth centuries of our era, and Roman civilization succumbed. France faced a similar crisis thirteen hundred years later, but the French nation suppressed the dangerous order and built a better and more vigorous society on its ruins. Will the modern nation share the fate of Rome, or follow the example of France?

The answer to that momentous question is contained in the question itself. Rome perished for the lack of a class to save it. The proletarians of the capital and the provinces were too ignorant, demoralized, and feeble to rebel against the greedy and profligate patricians. The degenerate Roman population fell an easy prey to the barbarian hordes.

In France, on the other hand, the haughty and parasitic nobility was confronted by the men of science, industry, commerce, and labour, the vigorous and intelligent "third estate." The "third estate" saved France even though the salvation was accomplished at the cost of a revolution.

Modern society has developed a new "third estate"—the industrial working class. The working class to-day is the principal social power operating against the formation of a capitalist oligarchy. And it is a power to be reckoned with. The modern working-men are not the helots of ancient Greece, nor the proletarians of ancient Rome, nor the serfs of mediæval times. They are more intelligent and better organised than any dependent class in the past ever was, and

they are fully determined to preserve their rights as citizens and men. The trades unions of our day are so many armies drilled for the war against capitalist encroachments, while millions of Socialist workingmen all over the world boldly proclaim their aim to end the reign of the money bag.

And the workingmen are not alone in their struggle. They receive large and ever larger accretions from all other classes—from the small business men displaced by the trust, the professionals reduced to the state of "intellectual proletarians," the farmers, exploited more indirectly but not less effectively by trustified capital and even from the ranks of the capitalist class itself. The number of men of the "better classes" who embrace the cause of the people from purely ethical motives grows as the evils of the decaying capitalist system become more apparent.

The economic development, which has thus furnished the conditions for a radical transformation of society and produced the forces to accomplish it, is also working out the basis of such transformation.

The modern trust organizes industry on a national scale; regulates the production and distribution of commodities, and brings all workers of the country under one administration. A trustified industry is in its essence a nationalized industry. It would be just as easy to-day for a governmental agency to run our oil or sugar industry as it is for Rockefeller and Havemeyer or their agents.

And it would be much more just. Our highly productive system of industry is the achievement of many generations—the heritage of all mankind; our marvellous tools of production and distribution are the fruit of the collective industry of the labouring population; they are operated collectively by the whole working class, and they are indispensable to the life of the entire nation. In equity and justice the capitalist has no better title to our tools than the slaveholder had to his chattel slaves.

Socialism advocates the transfer of ownership in the social tools of production—the factories, machinery, railroads, mines, etc.—from the private capitalist to the government, to be operated for the benefit of the people as a whole.

This program has been denounced as confiscatory and revolutionary, but it is no more so than the abolition of

chattel slavery was. It has been ridiculed as utopian and phantastic, but it is no more so than the demands of the nascent capitalists for the abolition of the privileges of birth seemed to their contemporaries.

Our social progress is a movement towards perfect democracy. The succeeding stages of our civilization mark the disappearance of one class privilege after the other. Why should mankind halt in reverence and awe before the privilege of wealth. When an heir to millions is born to-day, he has the same exceptional position in society and the same power over thousands of his fellowmen as the new born duke or marquis had in times past; and the justice and logic of the situation is the same in both cases. A true democracy is one in which all babes are born alike and all human beings stand on their personal merits, and such a democracy can only be realized in a Socialist republic.

Carnegie's motto: Let me tax the living as I please while I live and you can tax me as you please when I am dead.

Laws are made by the capitalists to be broken—by the capitalists.

Human relics supposed to date back to 18,000 B.C. have been discovered in Nebraska, and there is hope that the source of some of the arguments against Socialism will be unearthed as a consequence.

In every organism the parts exist for the sake of the whole, not the whole for the sake of the parts. The parts have no meaning except in their relation to the whole.—Aristotle.

Swindle a man through forgery and you get "pinched." Swindle him through misrepresentation of your goods, make money through deception, and you are accounted a respectable citizen. Poison a man with arsenic and you swing from the gallows; poison him with adulterated foods, quack medicines, and diseased meat, and no "sleuth" haunts your footsteps. Kill a man with a crowbar and you sit in an electric chair. Kill him by overwork, and you are called a "captain of industry."—The Vanguard.

In 1897 there were 1631 union printing offices in Germany employing 18,240 union printers, now there are 5583 offices employing 49,497 organised union men.

The Haberfield Case and its Lesson

By H. E. HOLLAND.

THE recent decision of the State Full Court in the Haberfield case adds yet another link to the chain of evidence, wrought from the bitterness of experience, of the established impotency of the Arbitration Act. The Haberfield case is briefly stated by Solicitor Beeby as follows:

The carpenters had an award which fixed the minimum wage of 10s per day, with certain exceptions in the case of infirm and incompetent workers. The Haberfield Proprietary, Limited, instead of engaging men at daily wages, called for tenders and let their work out for labor only, paying a lump sum for the whole of the carpentering work on a particular job. To all intents and purposes the carpenters were in exactly the same position as day labourers, the only difference being that instead of earning 10s per day their payments in the cases before the Court averaged about 7s per day. The Carpenters and Joiners Union prosecuted the Company in the Arbitration Court, and penalties were inflicted. An appeal to the Full Court, however, reversed the verdict.

The Full Court's decision will operate to enable every employer in every trade in N.S.W. to evade the terms of all awards affecting wages rates. When it is considered that awards are only secured at the cost of heavy expenditure on the part of the unions concerned, the prospect is not very encouraging.

The repeated reverses sustained both in the Arbitration Court and the Full and High Courts should give the N.S.W. labor bodies food for reflection. And reflection, even at this late stage, should make clear quite a number of things.

In the first place, the Arbitration Act is bad in principle, inasmuch as it involves an admission of the right of the capitalist class as a capitalist class to a predominant determining voice in fixing the price to be paid for the worker's laboring power, and because it also involves the complete surrender of the worker's most effective industrial weapon—the right to cease work and thus strike the exploiting enemy in his most vulnerable spot by shutting down on his profits. To-day, no matter how great the extent of their grievances, working men and women may only cease work in a body by rendering themselves liable to be treated as criminals are treated. It is true that they can appeal to the Court, but they may have to wait many months before they succeed in getting a hearing, and

when they have been heard, even if they succeed in winning their case, most labor unions find that they have only won at enormous expense, and that their funds are depleted in consequence; and even then they have to face the probability of the moneyed class carrying appeals to the higher courts, where Arbitration Court verdicts in favor of the employees are generally reversed with heavy legal costs against the labor unions. Of course, there have been a number of cases where unions have reaped benefit through the Act, but generally the benefit secured has not been commensurate with the sacrifices made or the money expended.

In its working details the Act is bad, because it makes the labor union the policeman and factory inspector, and directs the fines into the coffers of the prosecuting union instead of into the Consolidated Revenue, out of which should be paid all costs of inspection and prosecution. In spite of the declared intention of the framers of the Act, the Court's procedure is submerged in the technical quibbles and legal point-workings which are characteristic of the ordinary law courts. This fact has gradually transformed the Court into a veritable happy hunting ground for the legal fraternity.

The Act is bad in regard to the constitution of the Court, because on the Bench there are always two representatives of the capitalist class (which does not number more than 20 per cent. of the population), while the working class (which comprises 80 per cent. of the people) has only one representative. For the Supreme Court Judge—however fair he may endeavor to be—is always a man with a mind class-trained in a capitalistic sense. He can only be fair in a legal way; in a class way he can never be fair unless he has ceased to think with the class to which he belongs by birth, profession, and association. Therefore, the chances are all against the workers getting anything like justice in the Arbitration Court; and there is even less probability that any other than class-influenced decisions will be given when appeals are carried to the higher courts—for those courts consist always of members of the capitalists class, and very often of ex-politicians whose hatred of the working class and maladministration of the laws against that class made it impossible for them to remain in politics. Just decisions may not be looked for from such men when the clash is between the working-class and its exploiters.

Of course, Chief Justice Darley was not speaking correctly when he asserted that strikes were more frequent now than prior to the Act becoming law. Undoubtedly he knew that was not speaking correctly. To assert that he believed in the truth of his utterance would be to charge his Honor with a very considerable load of ignorance concerning current events. It was probably an instance of the class-politician the man outrunning the discretion of the judge, and the rebuke administered by the president of the Sydney Labor Council on Thursday night was undoubtedly well deserved. The trouble is that, as one delegate pointed out, while the Act has taken away the power to strike, it has not prevented sweating or greatly improved the condition of many workers. It has given a guarantee of security to the capitalist class which that class did not hitherto possess. But as to the worker it has given little; from him it has taken much. Even when awards are made, even when the employers go into court and file agreements with the workers they do not honorably observe either the award or the agreement. We can instance specific cases in proof of this. And on top of a class-ruled Arbitration Court, and class-biased higher courts, there is the added fact of the final administration resting with a class Government. One instance speaks loudly enough. When the employees of a northern colliery acted contrary to the provisions of the Act, the Attorney General hastened to prosecute for the benefit of the employers when certain Sydney manufacturers were proved, also in contravention of the Act, to have swindled the working-class girls in their employ, neither the demands made by the secretary of their union, nor wild horses, nor anything else could drag Mr. Wade into seeing it was incumbent on him to prosecute for the protection of the female workers.

This is the failure and weakness of Compulsory Arbitration. But wherein lies the remedy? Under capitalism, we know, no remedial measure can give full justice to the worker, but, in a palliative sense, the only remedy is in a reversion to the demand for a legalised maximum working day (eight hours or less) and the "living minimum" wage—with imprisonment without the option of fines for employers who commit breaches of the law. The fines inflicted under the present Arbitration Act are ridiculous, and are laughed at by the ordinary offender, who knows that he can make up the amount

involved by one week's further evasion. There is a standard, even under capitalism, below which men and women should not be asked to live; and that standard, together with the hours to be worked, should be fixed by Parliament, and not by the class representatives of this country's capitalism.

THE SONOMA OUTRAGE.

YESTERDAY the Sonoma men came out of jail; and immediately upon release they were charged with being prohibited immigrants! This is the law of Capitalism as it's interpreted in Australia.

The union seamen of the Pacific Coast have an agreement with the Spreckles Company which provides that the Co. shall employ only union labor.

The trouble on the Sonoma occurred (according to a written statement handed to us by a fireman of that boat) because the engineer persisted in taking on a non-unionist although a unionist was available. When the men threatened to walk ashore if this breach of agreement was persisted in, they were met with the retort, "The quicker the better." The men were jailed for four weeks for "refusing to obey a lawful command." In the witness box the master of the Sonoma stated that the ship was ready to go out to sea when the men refused duty; but this was not correct. The ship was only ready to go to Neutral Bay to take water, and the ship's dock was full of wool waiting to be stored in the hold. "The master also stated that the trouble started over four men shipped at Honolulu. He knew this was not true. I have been in the employ of the O.S.S. Co. for six years, and we have always taken men in at the Hawaiians, and I have never heard a word said against it. Anyhow, the Honolulu men have done their four weeks in jail like the rest. I heard the chief engineer blaming the firemen for the late arrival of the ship at Sydney. He said he had no steam. Before reaching Auckland, we were short of coal and had to burn wood, and the ship went slow from Pago Pago to Auckland. Sydney people were led to believe the seamen were wrong. The lies that were sworn at the police court were allowed to pass unnoticed by the authorities, and were added to by the capitalist papers. We are thankful for the sympathy of our fellow-workers in Australia."

For refusing to countenance a flagrant breach of a written agreement the Sonoma men were unjustly sent to jail, and were thus forcibly detained in Australia. Now, as soon as the prison doors swing open to make them free, the ruling class responsible for their detention pounces upon them once more and charges them with being here as "prohibited immigrants!" Only under villainous capitalist laws, villainously administered, could such an outrage against all the principles of Justice be rendered possible—could men be forcibly held in the prison of a strange country and then prosecuted for having remained in the country! What are the trade unionists and the working class of Australia going to do about it? They will surely not leave the matter where it now rests.

THE PROPRIETED AND THE PROPERTYLESS CLASSES

Translated from the German by H. DIERKS.

THE political fight of the social-democratic workers is not merely fight for particular political institutions and legal demands, but a general class war the propertied and property-less class. To thoroughly understand this, it is necessary to scrutinise closer the causes and objects of this fight.

It appears from this application of the two fighting parties, that the possession of money or income is taken for the basis of the division of classes. This is how it is generally understood by our bourgeois opponents. They take income and property statistics, draw a few lines between them, which divide the lower ones from the middle ones and middle ones from larger incomes; and then think they have an insight into the positions of the classes of the present. More comical it is, when they give us some statistics from the middle-ages or the eighteenth century and by these prove that at that time there were proportionally as many small, middle and large incomes as to-day, with this they believe they have disproved the concentration of capital, the downfall of the middle class, and the pointing of class contrasts.

These poor fellows, who in this way try to demonstrate away the object of the great social revolution, have not the remotest idea of what really constitutes a social class. A class is not a group of individuals who have an equally large income, but a group of persons, who in social production economically fulfil the same function. We say economically so as not to make the mistake of understanding by social function the technical side of labor. A weaver and a typographer have professionally different functions, but economically they are both wage workers and belong to the same class.

With the many sided differences within the social process of production it is no wonder that to the ordinary eye there appears a many-colored picture of the different social classes. In industry the capitalist entrepreneurs are on the one side, the workers on the other. On the basic principle different class conditions are built up according to the size of the enterprise. The independent artisan has this in common with the capitalist: he is an independent entrepreneur. But the former employs no wage-workers; and the small master artisans are commonly designated as middle-class, differentiated as a class from the large capitalists. The difference is solely in the smaller number of wage-workers and smaller capital, and it would be difficult to draw the line between the two. In the large enterprise there gets in between the capitalist

and the worker a group of overseers and technical superintendents of industry. The highly scientific and technical demands which are made on the giant enterprises of to-day have produced a class of technical and scientific experts, who with similar and equally ranking public officials form the intelligence section. Economically they belong to the wage-workers, as they sell their labor-power—a special and more highly-paid intellectual labor-power, acquired by long study—for wages. Their higher wage, also their altogether different mode of living, again separates them from the workers. At the same time, the development of the giant enterprise has, through the large capital that it demands, effected a separation between the industrial entrepreneur who lives on profit and the money-owner who lives on interest. In the Joint Stock Company a paid official, the director, takes the place of the entrepreneur.

The double function of the capitalist to superintend production and pocket the surplus value has been divided on two persons. Nevertheless, all money capitalists cannot be put in the same category, nor yet all entrepreneurs. According to size there is the same difference as, for instance, with the fish in the sea—the big ones eat the little ones. A small money-lender is as much a money-capitalist as the high financier, but he is in proportion to the exchange-wolves only like an exchange-lamb, and therefore his social role is different.

If we look at agriculture, we find there similar differentiation, even if not exactly the same, as in industry, only there is here another additional class, because by their monopoly the land-owners receive a ground rent from the product of agriculture without taking an active part in the production. There are small farmers, middle and large farmers, and agricultural laborers. Here we see the transitional forms which blur the picture of social classes to the unpractised eye. Many of our agricultural laborers are also small landholders, whose holdings are not sufficiently large to give them a permanent living, and they are consequently compelled to look for additional earnings as laborers, shearers, etc. They are, therefore, at the same time independent farmers and wage-workers.

That the legal form of wage-service alone is not sufficient to determine the class is proved by the numerous transitions from the paid director, manager, sub-manager, chief engineer, draftsman, foreman, right down to the worker. Here one would hesitate often, with these gradual transitions, to determine exactly the differentiation of classes, and to find where the dividing lines are.

(Concluded in next issue.)

“At Seymour Lodge, Windsor Great Park, Princess Victoria's prize chinchillas and blue Persians spent a very happy Christmas. Her Royal Highness herself saw that her favourites had a good time.”
“Many a little London boy would like to change places with a royal cat.”—“Weekly Dispatch.”

Political

In the House of Commons last week, Will Thorne, Socialist member for West Ham, moved an amendment to the Address-in-Reply, regretting that no mention was made of the unemployed difficulty. The amendment was defeated by 207 to 47. The representatives of Capital don't desire that all the people should have employment. The presence of large numbers of unemployed makes for the defeat of organised labor in times of industrial conflict.

Recognising that it stands to lose heavily at the polls this year, the Carruthers party, aided by the daily papers, is endeavoring to persuade the remnant of the State Protectionist party to permit itself to be employed as the cat's paw which shall drag the nuts of Ministerial office out of the political fire for the Liberal and Reform monkey. Ostensibly the proposed coalition is to combat the forces of Socialism. The price to be paid to the Progressives is said to be portfolios for two of their number and Government billets for the disaffected and those whose seats might be lost as a result of the combine. This is one of the crowning glories of capitalist administration. The people's enemies may use the people's money to fight the battle of capitalism against the people at the ballot box.

The appointment of fifth-rate barrister Tom Rolin (anti-Socialist politician) as an acting-Judge of the Supreme Court emphasizes the remarkability of this country for the number of political failures that get themselves elevated to the

Bench. The Federal High Court is a glaring instance of this fact.

The appointment capitalist-class politicians to judgeships in Australia explains the class nature of the judicial interpretations of our class-made laws. Election of judges is a change to come in the not far distant future.

The surrender of the estate of Mr. Tatham, the Natal Labor leader, has been accepted by his creditors. The assets are put down at £270,000, and the liabilities at £219,000. The assets are estimated on a basis of normal property values, and the insolvency is ascribed to the abnormal depression prevailing.

The daily papers hint that Attorney-General Wade is likely to appoint himself a judge. Quite a number of capitalist politicians who hear the roar of the approaching deluge are preparing to get out of the political wet.

Q. "Worker" on the political situation in the northern States. "Kidston and Philp are both opposed to us. Let them coalesce, the forces for which they stand are doing the wide world over. There is more in common between them than between us and the Kidston party. Both are pledged to fight the land tax, to support immigration, to sell the public estate, subsidise steamships for the meat companies, and pass private railways for mining speculators.

The Socialists of Pforten, Germany, have scored a great municipal victory, winning the burgo-mastership with their candidate, shoemaker.

In Italy the sale of salt is a Government monopoly. It is only for sale at the tobacco shops.

The Evolution of Property

By PAUL LAFARGUE.

CHAPTER I.—FORMS OF CONTEMPORANEOUS PROPERTY.

SO FAR indeed is property from being identical that in our own society it affects divers forms, capable of being reduced to two principal ones.

I. FORMS OF COMMON PROPERTY.

- a. Common Property of Ancient Origin, the type of which are the communal lands, exposed for centuries past to the encroachment of the nobility and Bourgeoisie.
- b. Common Property of Modern Origin, administered by the State, comprised under the term Public Services, (the Mint, Post Office, Public Roads, National Libraries, Museums, etc.)

II. FORMS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY.

- a. Property of Personal Appropriation.
- b. Property.—Instruments of Labour.
- c. Property.—Capital.

(a). Property of Personal Appropriation begins with the food one eats, and extends to the articles of clothing and objects of luxury [rings, jewels etc.], with which one covers and decks oneself. Time was when the house, too, was included in this branch of personal property; a man possessed his dwelling, a marble palace or a hut of straw, like the tortoise his shell. If by the application of machinery to industry, civilisation has placed numberless objects of luxury within the reach of the poor which hitherto have been purchaseable by the rich alone, it has on the other hand deprived the bulk of the nation of dwelling-houses. It constrains them to live in hired apartments and furnished lodgings; and in the midst of unprecedented wealth it has reduced the producer to a strict minimum of property of personal appropriation.

Capitalist civilisation condemns the proletarian to vegetate in conditions of existence inferior to those of the savage. To waive the important fact that the savage does not labor for others, and to confine ourselves wholly to the question of food, it is indisputable that the barbarians who invaded and peopled Europe, and who, possessing as they did herds of swine and other animals, and having within their reach all the resources of the chase in richly-stocked forests, and of fishing in the seas and rivers—if ill-clad with the skins of wild beasts and coarsely-woven materials—partook of more animal food than do our proletarians, whose shoddy clothing, excellently woven by perfected machinery, is a very poor protection against the inclemencies of the weather. The condition of the proletarian is the harder in that his constitution is less robust and less inured to the rigour of the climate

than was the body of the savage. The following fact affords an idea of the robustness of uncivilised man. In the prehistoric tombs of Europe skulls have been discovered bearing traces of perforations made by trepanning. Anthropologists at first took these skulls to be amulets or ornaments, and concluded that they had been perforated after death, until Broca showed that the operation could not have been performed on corpses by producing a number of skulls in which a process of cicatrisation was observable, that could not have taken place unless the trepanned person had survived the operation. It was objected that it must have been impossible for ignorant savages, with their rude instruments of bronze and silex, to practice so delicate an operation, considered dangerous by modern doctors, despite their lack of the excellence of their instruments. But all doubts have now been removed by the positive knowledge that this kind of operation is practised by savages with perfect success. Among the Berbers of the present day the operation is performed in the open air, and after the lapse of a few days, to the infinite astonishment of European witnesses, the trepanned man is on his legs again, and resumes his occupation just as if a portion of his skull had not been scraped away, for the operation is performed by scraping. Skull wounds, which entail grave complications in civilised persons, heal with extraordinary quickness and ease in primitive peoples. Notwithstanding the frantic enthusiasm with which civilisation inspires the philistine, the physical inferiority of the civilised man, allowing, of course, for exceptions, must be conceded. It will require an education, beginning at the cradle and prolonged throughout life and continued through several generations to restore to the human being of future society the vigor and perfection of the senses which characterise the savage or barbarian. Morgan, one of the rare anthropologists who do not share the imbecile disdain professed for the savage and the barbarian by the philistine, was also the first to classify in logical order the abundant and often contradictory materials that have accumulated respecting savage races, and to trace the first outlines of the evolution of prehistoric man. He observes, "It may be suggested as not improbable that the ultimate recognition that the progress of mankind in the period of savagery, in its relation to the sum of human progress, was greater in degree than in the three sub-periods of barbarism, and that the progress made in the whole period of barbarism was, in like manner, greater in degree than it has been since in the entire period of civilisation."

(To be continued.)

Four of the leading potato and onion merchants of Melbourne have formed a "ring" and the public will have to pay more for their supplies of those commodities, but the people who grow potatoes and onions won't reap any benefit. The ring will see to that.

Other Lands

MEXICO.

Two thousand textile workers at Orizaba came out on strike, and agreed to submit to the arbitration of President Diaz. His award was considered unfair, and they remained out. In their terror the authorities called out troops, who fired on the strikers, killing 30 and wounding 80.

RUSSIA.

M. Aladine, leader of the Labor Party in the late Duma, recently told a Brussels audience that out of the Socialist deputies who were members of the Duma, ten are now in prison, four are in foreign lands, two are in exile, one is shadowed by the police, and one has become insane. In one year the revolutionaries have had 16,982 killed or grievously wounded, 315 were hanged, and 221 were shot on the orders of the Council of War. And all the time that this bloody work was going on famine was darkening the land with corpses, and the people were crying out for bread.

There are 130 trade unions in Moscow; in St. Petersburg 35,000 workers are organised; at Odessa there are 42 unions with a total membership of 30,000.

BRITAIN.

Bryan Chapman, S.D.F., has been prosecuted and "bound over" for 12 months for speaking at Nelson. The charge was one of "creating a nuisance," but this was subsequently altered to "obstruction."

Last year 4375 deaths resulted from industrial accidents in England.

H. G. Wells, the well-known novelist, is a member of the Socialist Democratic Federation of England.

"Justice" announces the deaths of two English Socialists—J. Fenell, chairman of the South West Ham branch of the I.L.P., and J. T. Taylor, of the S.D.F., Sheffield.

Out of work for 21 weeks, five children starving (they had not even had bread on the Sunday), owing £4 in rent (the landlord having threatened to put the breakers in), a bricklayer applied at East Ham Police Court for advice. The Bench gave him 5s worth of food tickets for the children.—"Justice."

SOUTH AFRICA.

Last year the dividends drawn by shareholders in the Rand gold companies amounted to over £5,500,000. And the capitalists still wail that they can't work the mines profitably unless slave labor is permitted.

One of the chief cries against the Boers before and after the war was in relation to their treatment of the natives; and one of the things to be achieved by the war was justice for the Kaffir. Now, however, the Kaffirs are complaining that they are receiving worse treatment from the British than they met at the hands of the Boers, and it is commonly understood by the capitalists of all races in the Colonies that the enslavement of the natives is an essential of the successful and profitable development of the mines of the Rand.—"Justice."

As a result of the Transvaal elections, the Boers have a majority in the new Parliament, with General Botha as Premier, and several other ex-fighting men in the Ministry.

AMERICA.

THE N.Y. "Worker" reports that the Socialist Party vote for 1906 totalled 210,858, as against 298,483 in 1904. The S.L.P. (De Leonites) polled 18,528, as against 27,000 in 1904.

A great agitation is proceeding for the release of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, of the Western Miners' Federation. Socialists and trade unionists agree that the imprisonment of these men and the attempt to send them to the gallows is a deliberate conspiracy, supported by the judges and grand juries, for the purpose of smashing the Western Miners Federation.

A Bill to limit the hours of railway men has passed the Senate with only one dissentient, and a similar Bill has also passed the committee of the House of Representatives. The Senate debate showed that in the case of 300 railway accidents, employees had been on duty from 15 to 43 hours without a break. On the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad one crew worked 39 hours, with only eight hours rest taken in two stretches.

GERMANY.

In Saxony, in consequence of the eagerness of the bourgeoisie to close all the restaurants against Social-Democratic meetings, the proprietors, driven wild between the pressure on the one side of the bourgeoisie and on the other side of the Socialists, resolved to refuse their rooms to all parties. The Saxon Ministry then decided that meetings might be held in the open.

In Weimar the Trades Council resolved to hold no festivals and drink no beer in restaurants which worked the boycott against Socialist meetings.

FRANCE.

The reception at Paris of children of the Fougères locked workers developed into a Socialist fete. Five thousand manifestos met the children at the Montnasse Railway Station, and led them with much enthusiasm through the city to the Bous Travail, where they were regaled with biscuits and wine, and billeted out among friends and from the hundreds of volunteers who had offered temporarily to their foster parents.

The new coins being minted the motto "Liberte, Egalite, ternite," instead of the old inscription, "Dieu protege la France."

A Bill is to be introduced by the Minister for Justice, amending clauses of the Penal Code, which inflicted penalties for trade union picketing.

BELGIUM.

Belgian Socialists have sustained a great loss in the death of Defuisseaux. Defuisseaux laid the basis of the present militant formidable Parti Ouvrier. He was elected to the Belgian Parliament and was one of the Pioneers of Socialist Parliamentary party.

BOHEMIA.

The Bohemian Socialist numbers 29,036 members, with branches. During last year's propagandist meetings have held, and as part of the act 3159 members engaged in the agitation were arrested, and of 2748 were sentenced to ten years, including nearly 163 years fines were imposed to the amount of 8806 crowns; 220 of the men were wounded and one was killed.

THE RED DAWN.

FAR down forgotten ages
The link of life entwines—
The hope of saints and sages,
The lores of vanished lines,
And as we pause and ponder
Before the future's veil,
Lo, Freedom, dawning yonder,
Makes bright each dawn and dale!

Then Justice, newly risen,
Shall break, with warrior-might,
Each tyrant-built prison,
Each slave-encumbered site,
Where, foul with all uncleanness,
The lords of guile and gold
Insult the people's leanness,
The lives they own and hold.

Swift-winged and clothed with fire
The red dawn speedeth on—
The dawn of our desire—
Across Fate's rubicon.
Its flight shall flame before us,
Its sword-shine fill the sky;
And in our hearts a chorus
Whose notes shall never die.

Acclaiming Right ascended,
Proclaiming Wrong discredited,
His reign of ruin ended,
His toiling slaves unbound.
And these the sword disparted
No flag shall e'er unfold—
The courtier, callous-hearted:
The trader, sordid-souled!

—EANNEX JONES, in London "Justice."