OCT 17 1910

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

The Western Clarion

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS ALONE

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THE INTELLECTUAL

A Job-hunter's Experience with a Prospective Master of a "Socialistic" Turn of Mind.

The sun shone brightly on Benota, and the citizens of this famous burg were inside enjoying the sweets of repose," as the poet says. None but a few wageslaves were astir, and these were actively engaged in digging a sewer, which goes to show that Benota was a progressive city, and one that was proud of its ability to find other outlets for dish-water, than out of the kitchen window.

Along the dusty road came a tired looking wayfarer, halting beside the busy workers, he asked of the nearest man the way to Mr.——— and on receiving the desired information, he sat down, and producing a pipe, began to solace himself with "My Lady Nicotine," or such substitute as profit-making ingenuity supplies for the use of wage slaves.

Said the man in the trench, "What are you after to Mr.———?" "Oh, a job." "Are you out of work, then?" pursued his interrogator. "Yes," "Well," says the knowing one, "you'll sure get plenty out there, if that's what you want." "Is that so," said the others, "and how is he to work for?" "Oh, not too bad, as bosses go, but he claims to be a Socialist, yet I've always noticed that his hired men aint treated any better than other peoples, and like all other financiers he wants all the work he can get out of you." "Well," said the other "I can go and see anyway."

A further walk of a mile or more brought him in sight of the house he was in search of. It was a new structure, and looked commodious. Outside, on the verandah, sat a group of ladies and gentlemen, and our hero approached these, cap in hand, and asked for the master. A portly old gentleman stepped out and conducting him to one side, asked him what he wanted. Says the wanderer, "I'm looking for work.' The other sized him up for a few minutes, looking at his worn clothes, holed boots and general appearance of wear and tear, and finally, coming to a conclusion, announced, "I want a man right enough, but I don't know whether you will suit, can you plow corn, and handle horses good?" "Oh, yes, was brought up on a farm." "Are you married?" was the next question, the reply was "yes." "Well, I'll give you a job, to start on next week, but I want you to get your wife, and furniture round, so as to move in this cottage here when this fellow gets out, he is no good to me." "Oh, you have a man now, eh? And does he know of my coming?" "No but I'll tell him as soon as you're gone." "But," said our sensitive friend, "its hard lines on him and his wife and children, to be turned out at such short notice." "Oh," responded the portly one, "there is plenty of work for those who will look for it," "and," added he, with a wise look, "it will teach him self-control and humility when he has to ask round for work. He was getting very independent."

"You know," he went on, setting himself into a commanding position; "I don't want you to think I am against the workers, not by any means, my sympathy is with them always, in fact I am a member of the Socialist Party," here he paused to see if his auditor were duly impressed, and noticing the curious expression writ large on the features of the audience, resumed. "I have always been leaning towards the movement for progress, and I was finally moved to join, by the exposure of the wicked white slave traffic, and the connivance thereat of our two old parties; I think it is simply awful. Then again, the way the poor Russian refugees are treated in this country is a shame and disgrace to our country, I think a law ought to be passed to stop the Czar's agents from coming over to seize these unfortunate people, who have sought refuge with us.

Seeing he was expected to say something, the bewildered job seeker, stammered, "yes, he thought it would be alright." Beaming complacently at the approving auditor, our intellectual friend went on, "then again, there is the terrible rottenness in our civic life, look at Chicago, look at the Illinois revelations on graft, why it makes me ashamed of our legislators, but the only way is to elect honest men to office, do the same as in Milwaukee, get men pledged to reform civic government, start municipal enterprise, 3 cent fares on cars, free hospitals, etc. for the benefit of the people. Of course it will take time to do all these things, but the other cities will come to see the great change for the better, and will follow suit, until we capture the entire country."

"But," mildly suggested the jobless one, "how will you run the country?" "Easy, my dear man, easy, look at our postal institutions, owned by the people, no one owning one post office, but the whole lot collectively by the people, you, my man, are as much a proprietor as I or any one of us. We will acquire all public institutions and utilities in this way and have them run by all the people, the profits of course going to relieve the taxes and rates, and to make conditions better for the working men. You know, my heart aches for the way he is oppressed, and the way he is cheated and robbed right and left. For instance, see the way he is cheated when he buys meat; the trust has put up the price, away above his means, so that the poor person can afford but little. Which, by the way, I regard as a blessing in disguise, for the chances are he will then come to see the advantages of vegetarianism, and eat some of the cereal foods, which are pure and wholesome, compared with the abominable decayed flesh of animals, also I am a humanitarian and as such opposed to taking of life in any form" taking a vicious swing he killed it). (here a fly alikhted on his nose, but taking a vicious swing he killed it.)

Unheeding the smile on the listener's face, the gentlemanly speaker continued: "Of course it may be urged against me, that I sell cows and chickens to the meat trust, but it is a maxim of mine, that there is no room for sentiment in business, but I am in hopes that under Socialism all people will be non-flesh eaters, and thus the taking of life will be ended, and another era of progress begin. Then, again, I am for temperance reform, and think the Socialist movement is the true place for such reforms. I am aware that many people say that if we abolish the saloon, it will make more unemployed, but think of the immense profit made on whisky and if the money spent were turned into legitimate channels of trade, the amount of work it would make, and," added he, wiping away an imaginary tear, "think of the homes made happy once more by the abolition of the demon, strong drink, the wives and children clothed neatly, and the way they will sing for joy at the approaching millenium. It is also in my mind that when we have destroyed the saloon, the worst barrier will be gone, in the way of attacking the white slave traffic, that damnable (excuse me if I use strong words) traffic which is born in hell. Can there be anything worse than compelling a pure girl to sell her virtue for a living? The Socialist Party must make it a point to go after these things at once. And I also believe a great weapon would be given us if we could only secure the votes for women. Who so prone to defend her sex as woman herself; the home, the children; to enact laws which shall make future citizens fine healthy boys and girls.

Of course you are also aware that it is said of the Socialists that they are atheistical, and it is unfortunately true of many, but I am glad to say there are an increasing number who, like myself, hold that this life is not all there is, but that there is a great guiding Intelligence impelling us to seek new things to reach out into the unknown and thus ever move forward the wheels of progress. I believe this life within me is immortal and resumes its course in some other form when the time comes to lay this body aside; and, I am glad to think that I may be an instrument in teaching members of the new party this great new doctrine.

But I am afraid I must be wearying you, let me see, if you come to work for me I shall expect you to start in early, go ahead, do as you are told, do it cheerfully, without pouting, do good for ME and good for yourself, that's all I want of a man. I will pay you reasonable wages, all I can afford; of course in the winter I can't pay very much, but then I havent much work so we will be square there. Now I'll give you till tomorrow to think it over and then you can let me know early so as to get the other fellow out. Remember I only want you if you can take an interest in the place as if it were your own, and not as though the wages were the only interesting point here; so many working men are that way. I treat a man right and expect him to treat me right. Now think it over and let me know as early as possible, good day."

Arriving back in the town, the enquirer for work once more halted by the sewer diggers, his acquaintance of the morning spied him, and called out, "Say, pardner, how did you make out with the Socialist?"

"Huh!" grunted the other with a look of disgust, if that is Socialism he talked to me, I want none of it, his dope made me feel so dry I guess I'll go face the bartender, 'So long.'" And the nearest saloon door opened long enough to admit one more seeker after forgetfulness of the weary work of choosing a master.

F. S. F.

PAY UP

Cynics, Limited, surplus-value brokers, Box 101, North Battleford, June 5, 1910, in account with Dominion Executive, S. P. of C. Terms cash; 1000 per cent. charged on all overdue accounts.

Some time in 1909; For damage done to one antique golden oak finish King Edward VII. chair, by C. M. O'Brien, M. L. A.	$ 50.00
1908; C. M. O'Brien, trying to hone a razor and transforming it into a hay rake......	10.00
March, 1910; For damage done to crockery, window and looking-glass by Wilfrid Gribble, through singing out of tune	100.00
March, 1910; For polluting the air with acrid fumes of Shamrock near-tobacco	25.00
March, 1910; For shrinkage in production of eggs and causing one rooster to throw a cat fit; by the frequent discharge of heavy artillery (membership card No. 2) in the immediate vicinity of barn-yard..	75.00
May 24, 1910; Organizer Desmond smoking one foul clay pipe	5.00
May 24, 1910; For stopping three able-bodied slaves and one team of oxen from planting potatoes	150.00
	$405.00
Cr.	
C. M. O'Brien washing dishes, leading hens to water, digging gardens and making a bum job of it	.50

LUCY BUDDEN.

GOLDWIN SMITH

Toronto, June, 8th, 1910.

Goldwin Smith is dead and the newspapers are full of the most extravagant eulogies of his character and accomplishments. Even the Gingoes and Imperialists, who vilified him during his life, are now joining in the general chorus of appreciation. The late philosopher of the Grange has always inspired me with what the novelists describe as "conflicting emotions." He is certainly entitled to the respect of all progressive-minded people for the enemies he made, and the hatred with which he was regarded by the reactionists. It is impossible not to admire his courage in the expression of his opinions. But on the other hand he was a bitter and not over-scrupulous opponent of Socialism and, most inconsistently, a keen upholder of capitalism and the privileges of the possessing class. Therefore his life was largely a failure.

* * *

Goldwin Smith was a British Radical of the old school with all its limitations. While he honestly hated and fearlessly denounced tyranny and oppression of the more concrete and obvious sort such as the despotism of monarchs and aristocracies, he was apparently totally unable to realize that the results of an unjust system of industrial organization are just as crushing and oppressive, just as productive of misery and suffering to the mass, as the absolutism of a Czar or Sultan. To the last he utterly failed to understand the significance of the change in Social conditions resulting from the concentration of capital and the organization of industry upon the modern scale. He regarded life from the point of view of half a century ago. His knowledge of history was great, but his deductions from its examples were usually misleading on this account. He had a marvellous style and as a master of pure English he had no rival. He was a great writer, no doubt, but by no means a great thinker. His gift of language was made such that he could take a commonplace idea and present it in new and telling phraseology, so that the people who are caught by words rather than their significance gave him credit for originality and deep thinking. But most of his utterances were really shallow and superficial. He seldom got to the core of the subject. So far as his ideas on Socialism are concerned, he never got beyond the old familiar trick of setting up a scarecrow stuffed with straw labelled "Socialist," and then battering it to smithereens triumphantly. Of the principles of scientific class-conscious Socialism he either was or allowed himself to appear profoundly ignorant.

All through Goldwin Smith's writings on current subjects runs this note of shallowness and superficiality, this lack of insight and clear thinking. Actuated, as every one admits, by the best motives he was never weary of denouncing the spirit of militarism and upholding the cause of international peace. He sacrificed much of the popular appreciation that he might have enjoyed by his outspoken opposition to the Boer war. But he couldn't see that the Boer war, like the American raid on Cuba and the Philippines, was the rational and inevitable outcome of the system of capitalist government which he supported—that the great, almost the sole, incentive to wars is the absolute necessity which the commercial nations are under of finding new markets for their surplus products—new territories to exploit. In like manner Goldwin Smith, in season and out of season, took up his parable against political corruption. All he said was very good, and people read it and approved, and said 'it was sound doctrine and right to the point,' and then went on with the old game of buying votes, and grafting for contracts and concessions and bonuses just the same. It never seems to have occurred to him that corruption in politics is not something in the nature of an abnormal development peculiar to public life, but it simply reflects the general moral standing of the community under a system based on dishonesty and robbery. It is merely an incident of capitalist rule. But Goldwin Smith, with all his wisdom, was one of the numerous class that tries to have omelettes without the breaking of eggs! That wants peace and purity and reform and all manner of good things, while deprecating any interference with the social system that makes all these things impossible.

While Goldwin Smith was a great literary light and probably did much by his writings and example to get people out of the ruts of partyism and conventionality, it is very doubtful whether Canadians would ever have found out his ability if he had not come here with a ready-made reputation and a good social position. Had he been a poor, unknown man trying to make a living by his pen, he would have been mercilessly snubbed and black-listed as soon as he ventured to assail the cherished popular ideals. But for his Oxford professorship, his prestige as a noted English writer, and his money he would have been completely crushed under the load of obloquy formerly lavished upon the "annexationist" and the "traitor." Needless to say, he couldnt have held down a $12 a week job on any one of the Toronto papers that are now shedding hypocritical tears over his coffin. As it was, his means and position saved him from the black-list and he could snap his fingers at his detractors. It is to be regretted that at some early period of his life he was not under the necessity of making his living by his pen. Such an experience would have completed his education and given him an insight into the social problem that he failed to get from books, and had he survived the ordeal he would probably have made a first-class Socialist.

PHILLIPS THOMPSON.

EUROPEAN NOTES

Comment on the French Elections and on the Movement in Spain, Italy and Belgium.

Paris, May 25, 1910.

May 21-28 is the anniversary of the Commune "bloody week," and on Sunday last (21st) a new monument was inaugurated in Montparnasse cemetery in memory of the slaughtered Communards who were buried there. was permitted to the monument and speeches were made. About three

A procession with banners flying thousand people were present. There was the inevitable company of mounted soldiers, together with a large number of police, but after the speeches the demonstrators carefully folded their banners at the cemetery gates and all seemed to have passed off quietly, a number marching off toward l'Avenir de Plaisance where Allemane and others were to address a meeting. It seemed that after getting some distance away from the cemetery the flags were unfurled, for I was surprised to read in the next day's papers that the police (having taken another road to head off the procession) brutally attacked the Socialists and endeavored to sieze the banners. After a momentary panic, however, the demonstrators stood their ground and gave the police a hot time, and the arrival of a high official was the signal for the retreat of the police. Considerable indignation exists among the Parisian Socialists at the brutal action of capitalism's watchdogs last Sunday, and a determination is expressed to resist to the utmost any similar police aggression at the more important pilgrimage to "Mur des Federes" in Pere Lachaise on Sunday, the 28th.

The gain of 22 seats by the Socialist party here (which brings the number of "Unified" representatives up to 76) is very widely hailed as a Socialist victory, but I am afraid the facts hardly support that view. The chief item for which the "Unified" candidates stood was proportional representation—not Socialism. All the "Unified" representatives and many, if not most, Radicals, curse the present second ballot (including the individual candidates by arrondissement) for the confusion and corruption with which it is associated. But is regional proportional representation and the vote by party list that is proposed any better? The present electoral arrangements do not give the results a Socialist desires solely because of the lack of Socialist education among the voters, for otherwise there could be no confusion; they would know and control their own organization and would refuse to be humbugged by politicians on the make. The proposed reform simply replaces the intrigues of the individual candidate or local committee by the party caucus, so long as the present chaos within the "Unified" party continues. The number of paying members of the party is ridiculously small compared with the huge election vote obtained, hence the danger. Moreover, a party that includes the anti-parliamentary Herve and the Radical Breton is obviously extremely loose in principles, and the numerous examples of compromise and treachery that have come to light during the recent elections show that there is something rotten in the state of the "Unified" party. Many of the manifestoes issued by "Unified" candidates opened well with a statement of the Socialist position, but tailed off wretchedly into an insistance upon the primal necessity for trumpery reforms such as proportional representation. The Radical government (with the help of the Unified deputies) will probably grant that reform, but it will not be because it helps Socialism.

In some cases the "Unified" candidate was also the Radical candidate, and in other cases the "Unified" candidate stood down in favor of the Radical! Sembat and Willm wrote a joint letter in aid of the candidature of the Radical patriotic budget-fakir Doumer, and other instances of the way not to wage the class struggle are too numerous to mention. Clearly, then, the "Socialist" victory in these circumstances must be taken with a grain of salt.

The popularity of electoral reform brought many votes to the "Unified" candidates, for these were its most zealous champions. Another factor was the vote of the last chamber raising the deputies' salaries to 15,000 francs a year. This "reform" was passed through both houses in a few days, whereas the paltry contributory old-age pension scheme which gives threepence a day to those living beyond the age of 65 (and having paid all their contributions) dragged on from session to session and was only finally made law on the eve of the elections! Disgust with these measures brought grist to the mill of the Unified critics (who now pay a portion of their increased salaries toward the party funds). While the introducer of the resolution proposing the increase was defeated at the first ballot, as were several others intimately connected with the measure. Another matter which influenced the elections was the callous brutality of Clemenceau, Briand & Co. in shooting down workers. Doubtless this does not account for all the increase in the Unified vote, for an indeterminate portion is probably due to the steady trend toward the "left" that may be intermittently observed among workers the world over.

Be this as it may, the Unified vote presents a feature that is significant and must not be overlooked. In Paris and the department of the Seine, where revolutionary feeling is sometimes held to be strongest, the "Unified" party suffered a check. The reason for this is attributed (by "Unified" candidates themselves, such as Rounaet) to revolt within the party. In some places the party candidate was opposed by a revolutionary Socialist on account of the compromising policy of the former. In other places also, determined efforts were made to secure the defeat, not only of traitors now without the party, such as Millerand and the "Independent Socialists," but also of traitors within the party such as Brousse, whose defeat no Socialist will regret. The fact that in these circumstances several majorities were reduced and several seats lost almost justifies the cynical paradox that the real Socialist victories were the "Socialist" defeats! It also illustrates the fallacy of fictitious "unity," and gives point to the Marxian principles and of getting rid of the compromisers in time.

(Continued on Page 2.)

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585

SATURDAY, JUNE 18th, 1910

NO FAULT TO FIND

Ottawa, 9th June, 1910.

Sir,—Numerous items appearing in the press of the British Isles, or cabled from there to the press of Canada, commenting unfavorably upon the present Canadian immigration regulations have doubtles come to your notice, and you will have observed that criticism is being directed almost exclusively to two regulations; the first requiring immigrants coming to employment other than farm work, or, in the case of females, to domestic service, to have in their possession at time of landing the sum of $25.00, in addition to railway transportation to ultimate destination; the second providing that the consent to emigrate to Canada (required by law to be granted by the Asistant Superintendent of Emigration for Canada in London, England, to such charity-aided emigrants as he considers suited to this country) shall be given only to such as are suited for, willing to accept, and have assured employment at farm work.

A strong agitation is being carried on to have these regulations which we consider necessary for the prevention of an influx of pauper immigration, abolished or altered. Practically every Canadian paper, irrespective of political connection, which has so far dealt with the subject, has upheld the regulations and insisted upon Canada being the sole judge as to who shall or shall not be allowed to enter this country.

In this connection I would consider it a favor if you would kindly deal editorially in your paper with the two regulations above referred, and send me a marked copy, so that your opinion may be used in placing the consensus of Canadian opinion on this question before the reading public of the British Isles.

Your obedient servant,

W. D. SCOTT

Superintendent of Immigration.

• • •

Sure, Mike. Anything at all to confer a favor upon our "obedient servant."

We quite agree that "Canada" should be the sole judge as to who shall or shall not be allowed to enter this country, and we insist that they shall have at least $25.00 to spend when they get here. "Canada" needs the money. Moreover, "Canada" cannot be expected to give them credit for groceries, etc., right off the reel before their credit has been established. Coming in without funds, they might, despite the well-known and widely advertised fact that there is plenty of work for all, become "public charges," and there are already enough public charges holding down jobs under the government.

It is quite clear that the opposition to this regulation is inspired by greedy and shortsighted employers of labor who care little how many public charges we have, provided they have access to a well-stocked labor market. In which connection, we may remark, that all danger of the regulation producing any scarcity in the labor market is offset by the far-sighted provision regarding farm laborers, under which the Salvation Army has already "assisted" the immigration of a large number of skilled mechanics and even strike-breakers. Hence we cannot at all see what valid objection can be taken to these regulations by "Canada."

Of course there are workingmen in Canada who always make a howl about such regulations always working out against their interests, but as that is exactly what they were intended to do, we cannot see that their howl is justified. They elected the men who drafted the regulations and there the regulations are.

THE ONTARIO SITUATION.

In view of the proceedings of the Ontario convention, published on page 3, it may not be out of place to review the events which have led up to it.

The strife in the Party in Ontario is of long standing and even antedates the publication of the pamphlet "The Socialist Party of Canada and Social-democratism," by the Finnish members, for the conversion of the English-speaking membership to the advantages of a reform platform and a compromising policy.

The actual crisis was brought about by two events—the seating of O. B. Koenig upon the Ontario Provincial Executive, and the granting of a charter as Local No. 24 to the English branch of Local Toronto No. 1.

O. B. Koenig, though resident and in business in Toronto for almost a year, had retained membership in Local Brockville, and, after some ten months' residence in Toronto, took his seat upon the Ontario Provincial Executive as delegate from Brockville. Exception was taken to this by members of the committee, but he was confirmed in his seat by his own vote. An appeal was refused also by his own vote, but the matter was subsequently referred to the Dominion Executive over the head of the Provincial Executive Committee. The Dominion Executive Committee ruled that O. B. Koenig, being a resident of Toronto, could not very well sit as a delegate from Brockville.

About the same time the English branch of Local Toronto, No. 1, voted, with one dissentient, if we remember rightly, to apply for a charter. A charter was granted them as Local Toronto, No. 24, whereon some of those who had voted to apply for the charter suddenly changed their minds and declared themselves the English branch of Local No. 1, and seized the property of that branch.

This also was referred to the Dominion Executive, which, seeing the transaction had every appearance of considerable underhanded scheming being in progress, as the best method of bringing things out into the open, revoked the charter of Local No. 1, and requested the Language branches to take out charters as separate Locals, offering the charters at the nominal fee of one dollar. Thereby the anomaly of an English-speaking Local and an English-speaking branch of another Local in one and the same locality would have been removed and the members affected would have been compelled to re-affirm their allegiance to the Platform and principles of the S. P. of C. This the branches refused to do, and have not done yet. Nevertheless, we find their delegates seated at this convention and representing, on their own showing, some 218 of the 727 members claimed.

At the same time Local 24, as the only remaining Local in the riding which was the seat of committee, was designated to carry on the Provincial Executive until such time as the membership in the Province should decide otherwise.

The disaffected members thereupon proceeded to circularize the Province and set themselves to making the position of the Provincial Executive as difficult as possible, until Local Cobalt passed a resolution calling on the Dominion Executive to take over the Ontario Provincial Executive as the best means of abating the strife, for its control. Local 24 also passed a resolution giving up the position of the Provincial Executive seat. The Dominion Executive thereupon abolished the Ontario Provincial Executive until such time as the Party decides otherwise, and submitted its action for review by the Party as a whole. Up to the time of writing, though two months have elapsed, and more, no exception to the Dominion Executive's action has been taken, to our knowledge, by any Locals outside of Ontario. So that, if the actions of the Dominion Executive have been "arbitrary and unconstitutional," as the disaffected members assert, then the entire Party outside of Ontario has also been arbitrary and unconstitutional.

It is not within the power, even were it the desire, of the Dominion Executive to recognize the proceedings of a convention, some of the moving spirits of which were "delegates" from Locals without a charter, Locals without membership, and Locals without either. And further, had the Press Committee not been discreet enough to omit the usual formality of appending the names of the delegates and the Locals they represent, it could be shown, and we challenge disproof, that they represented an alleged membership of which the majority, possibly two-thirds, is absolutely opposed to the Platform and principles of this Party, however much they may now, with the compromiser's instinct, reaffirm their support of them, as a matter of expediency. Moreover, when a convention prefaces a request for a referendum with the threat that, if the referendum does not result in their favor, they will disregard the referendum and will secede from the Party, this committee would not be justified in taking any other course than to decline to recognize that convention. Such a threat, even though it be an empty one, can hardly be said to harmonize with their protestations of democracy and constitutionality and their denunciations of our autocracy and unconstitutionality. It yet remains to be shown when this committee has voiced any intention of disregarding the will of the majority.

The matter is now up to the Party for final decision, and Locals favoring a referendum should so notify their respective Provincial Executives, whence all returns should be in the hands of this committee before the end of July.

OKANAGAN NOTES.

Dear Comrade:—

It is sometime since I have written the Clarion, for, having been upset through moving a couple of times and also having disgraced the whole Socialist Party a la bottle according to those who regard it as Moral Reform Association, it has been, rather, aw, incompatible, this writing. Still, time has not lessened or assuaged my revolutionary aspirations and nothing flung at my personal actions should affect me as a Socialist.

The Campaign last autumn was without doubt well-conducted by the committee. A lack of support and attention from some Comrades apparently incapable of better effort greatly hampered the Secretary, but in spite of this our campaign was better managed than either of the old parties'. The result showed a steady growth and the lesson to be learned is the need of better organization.

Since the election there has been no one in particular to look after the movement and at present it is a case of what is everybody's job is nobody's job. There are reasons for this state of chaos. Many Comrades have moved away and nearly all are busy trying to pay off last winter's debts, or economic pressure in some way interferes. Also a few sentimental ideas and grouch have assisted a natural relapse from which the Party will recover with added strength.

Since coming back to my former diggings, I have been constantly meeting new Socialists and they often lay the blame on individual members who have hammered it into them. That all of these new-made Socialists come up to the mark as being terribly brave, wildly revolutionary, paper subscribing, hard-at-it Socialists, I do not mean. But they are class conscious and will, many of them, become loyal members of the Party. As it is, the movement is going ahead of its own accord, gently assisted by Capitalism.

A monument has been placed in Vernon to Archie Hickling, who lost his life with a number of other workingmen in the Okanagan Hotel fire, for his bravery in saving others. The man who is supposed to have set the fire is still in hiding. Some seem to think the town would be liable for heavy damages, etc. Anyway it does not matter much as they were all working men who were burnt.

This Okanagan Valley must be a tough proposition alright. Why the crowd of suckers that pulled out of the district according to the revised voters' list was a beastly shame; they must have borrowed the money to "Git." It seems that if you only move a block or two that you have "left the district." They had the gall to put four of us on the "left," including Com. T. F. Johnson, our candidate for 1909 and myself. The clerk explained their zeal at the office to one Comrade in this way: "You see we have to protect the Mail Order Houses back East as they don't want to waste money sending catalogues, etc., to dead men and absentees, because they use the voters' lists as their own mailing lists." Probably our own little store keepers will be glad to know this.

Now it is reported that there is a scarcity of labor in the Okanagan, so everyone had better rush in and get work(ed).

When living am high
And wages be low,
Out of the District
They surely will go.
Eh! Gribble?

Yours in revolt,

Taque.

TIME OR MOTION.

Having recently purchase a copy of "Value, Price and Profit," I have been able to study the book more closely than heretofore. The other night I was reading Chapter 8 on the Production of Surplus Value. Summary of this Chapter, Karl Marx says, "the rate of surplus value will therefore depend on the ratio in which the workingman would only reproduce the value of his laboring power, or replace his wages."

I think Marx errs in making the rate of surplus value depend on TIME. I think it depends more on MOTION. It depends on the amount of work done in a given time.

Suppose two bricklayers (receiving same wages) to be working for a capitalist. They would each work the same length of time, but as ability and energy vary with each individual, one workman is more skilful and more expert than the other and so lays 1200 bricks while the more unskilled lays only a thousand bricks. Is it not plain, therefore, that the capitalist makes more surplus value out of the one than the other, and yet they both worked the same number of hours. So it is not so much that surplus value depends on time as the quantity of labor performed by the laborer in a given time. The quantity of labor resolves itself into motion. The difference between the skill of the two bricklayers is in degree of motion, one moves with more celerity than the other.

Again capitalists very often find out that highest paid labor is really the cheapest. This proves contradictory, but it is true all the same. A paint contractor can hire a dub for 15 cents an hour and an expert brush hand for 25 cents an hour, but he will make more profit out of the hand than out of the dub. The cheapest is sometimes the dearest. Why? Because the skilled workman will get through double the quantity of work. Intelligent motion again, you see. More speed

Editor, you have probably heard of Lord Brassey. He belonged to a firm of railway contractors. They employed laborers to build railways in all parts of the world, so he had good opportunities of estimating the different capacities of English, Irish, French, Hindoo and other navvies. He embodied his observations in a book called Work and Wages. He found that the highest paid laborers produced more work in a given time in proportion to their pay than the less well-paid did and that an increase of pay, whether by drawing a better class of men or by enabling the men to get more nutritious food, often produced a more than proportionate increase of product.

Thus in 1842 on the Paris & Rouen railway, English, French and Irish quarrymen worked side by side. The Englishmen were paid about six francs (about five shillings) a day, the Irish four francs and the French three francs. Yet of the three the Englishmen did the most work in proportion to the pay.

In building a refreshment room at an English station, a London bricklayer worked on one side at 5s. 6d. a day; two countrymen on the other at 3s. 6d.. Yet the London man "without undue exertion" did more work in a day than the other two together.

I have quoted somewhat freely in the latter part of this letter, but do not the quotations go to prove that the rate of surplus value depends on the cost of labor, which resolves itself into motion—not time? Is there a hole in your coat, Karl Marx? Let the editor decide.

CLIFFORD BUTLER.

P. S.—Skilled workman works 10 hours at 50 cents an hour, lays 1000 bricks; wages $5.00. Slower skilled workman has to work 12 hours at 50 cents an hour to lay 1000 bricks; wages $5.50. More wages, less profits. I think this is proof enough that profits depend on motion and not on the ratio in which the working day is prolonged as per Marx, because here we have proof that the day is prolonged and results in less surplus value for the capitalist. C. B.

EUROPEAN NOTES

(Continued from Page 1)

In Spain, Pablo Iglesias, president of the national committee of the Spanish Labor party and editor of El Socialista, was recently elected deputy as the result of a Republican and Socialist coalition. In view of the fact that the workers of Spain are fighting for the very elements of political liberty, there are doubtless reasons for the alliance which exists scarcely anywhere else, but the reasons must be powerful indeed that induce Iglesias to be party to an alliance with those who have in the past persecuted him without mercy.

In Belgium also, the battle is obscured by purely electoral considerations, for a system of plural voting exists which mechanically keeps the Clerical party in power. Nevertheless the Belgian Labor pary has not the same excuse as have our Spanish comrades. At the recent partial elections there has again been a general alliance with the Liberals in spite of the repeated treachery of the latter. The Labor party has gained one seat. The Belgian party is professedly ministerialist and reformist—as indeed might be guessed from the number of seats it holds, for the movement is no more advanced than in England. The electoral anomaly is the secret of their strength, and they are simply doing Radical work. There is, however, a considerable minority in revolt against compromise, but the initial error will be difficult to repair.

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Socialist Directory

Every Local of the Socialist Party of Canada should run a card under this head. $1.00 per month. Secretaries please note.

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday. D. G. McKenzie, Secretary, Box 526, Vancouver, B. C.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday. D. G. McKenzie, Secretary, Box 526, Vancouver, B. C.

ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Committee, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday in Labor Hall, Eighth Ave. East, opposite postoffice. Secretary will be pleased to answer any communications regarding the movement in the province.
F. Oxtoby, Sec., Box 447 Calgary, Alta.

MANITOBA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Committee. Meets first and third Tuesdays in the month at 120½ Adelaide St. Any reader of the Clarion desiring information about the movement in Manitoba, or who wishes to join the Party please communicate with the undersigned. W. H. Stebbing, Sec. 316 Good St.

MARITIME PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Committee, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every second and fourth Sunday at Comrade McKinnon's, Cottage Lane. Dan Cochrane, Secretary, Box 1 Glace Bay, N. S.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, NO. 1, S. P. OF Canada. Business meetings every Tuesday evening at headquarters, over Edgett's Store, 151 Hastings St. W. F. Perry, Secretary, Box 526.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., NO. 45, Finnish. Meets every second and fourth Thursdays in the month at 151 Hastings St. W. Secretary, Wm. Myntti

LOCAL VICTORIA, NO. 2, S. P. OF C. Headquarters and Reading Room, Room 1, Eagle Building, 1319 Government St. Business meeting every Tuesday evening, 8 p.m. Propoganda meetings every Sunday at Grand Theatre. R. Thomas, Secretary.

LOCAL NANAIMO, NO. 8, S. P. of C., meets every alternate Sunday evening in Foresters Hall. Business meeting at 7:00 o'clock sharp. Propaganda meeting commences at 8:00 o'clock. Jack Place, Rec. Secy., Box 526.

LOCAL FERNIE, S. P. of C, HOLDS educational meetings in the Miners' Union Hall, Victoria Ave., Fernie, every Sunday evening at 7:45. Business meeting first Sunday in each month, same place at 2:30 p m.
David Paton, Secy, Box 101

LOCAL GREENWOOD NO. 9, S. P. OF C., meets every Sunday in Miners' Union Hall at 7:30 p.m. Business meetings, 1st and 3rd Sundays of each month. Geo. Heatherton, Organizer; R. J. Campbell, Secretary, Box 124.

LOCAL VERNON, B. C., NO. 33, S. P. OF C., meets every second and last Friday in each month. Chas. Chaney, Secretary, Box 127, Vernon, B. C.

LOCAL PRINCE RUPERT, B. C., NO. 32, S. P. of C.—Meets every Sunday in hall in Empress Theatre Block at 8:00 p. m. Angus McIver, Secretary.

LOCAL REVELSTOKE, B.C.S.P.C.—Propaganda and business meetings at 8 p.m. every Sunday evening in the Edison Parlor Theatre. Speakers passing through Revelstoke are invited to attend. B. F. Gayman, Secretary. W. W. Lefeaux, Organizer.

LOCAL MICHEL, B. C., No. 16, S. P. of C., meets every Sunday in Graham's Hall at 10:30 a. m. Socialist speakers are invited to call. V. Frodsham, Secretary.

LOCAL MARA, B. C., NO. 34, S. P. of C. Meets first Sunday in every month in Socialist Hall, Mara, 2:30 p.m. Cyril Rosoman, Recording Secretary.

LOCAL LADYSMITH NO. 16, S. P. OF C. Business meetings every Saturday 7 p.m. in headquarters on First Ave. Parker Williams, Sec., Ladysmith, B. C.

LOCAL MOYIE, B. C., NO. 30—MEETS s d Sunday 7:30 p.m. in McGregor Hall (Miner's Hall), Mrs. Thornley, Secretary.

LOCAL ROSSLAND, No. 23, S. P. OF C., meets in Miners' Hall every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. R. Campbell, Secy., P. O. Box 574. Rossland Finnish Branch meets in Finlanders' Hall, Sundays at 7:30 p. m. A. Sobble, Secy., P. O. Box 765 Rossland, B. C.

LOCAL NELSON, S. P. OF C., MEETS every Friday evening at 8 p.m., in Miners' Hall, Nelson, B. C. C. A. Organizer; I. A. Austin, Secy.

LOCAL PHOENIX, NO. 3, S. P. OF C., meets every Sunday at 8:30 p.m., in Miners' Hall. Matt Halliday, Organizer. H. K. MacInnis, Secretary.

LOCAL CALGARY, ALTA., NO. 4, S. P. of C. Meetings every Sunday at 8 p.m. in the Labor Hall, Barber Block, Eighth Ave. E. (near postoffice). Club and Reading Room, Labor Hall, T. H Machin Box 647. Secretary, A. Macdonald, Organizer, Box 647.

LOCAL BELLEVUE, ALTA., NO. 12, S. P of C., meets every first and third Sunday evenings, Bellevue Town Hall. J. Oliphant, Secretary.

LOCAL COLEMAN, ALTA., NO. 3. Meets every Sunday night in the Miners' Hall and Opera House at 8 p.m. Everybody welcome. Socialist speakers are invited to call. H. J. Smith, Secy.

LOCAL EDMONTON, ALTA., NO. 1, S. P. of C. Headquarters 632 First St., Business and propaganda meetings every Thursday at 7:30 p.m. sharp. Our Reading Room is open to the public free, from 10 a.m. to 11 p.m. daily. F. Blake 649 Athabasca Ave., Secretary-Treasurer, T. Bissett, 322 Fourth St., Organizer.

LOCAL WINNIPEG, S. P. OF C. HEADquarters, Kerr's Hall, 120 1-2 Adelaide Stree opp. Robilin Hotel. Business meeting every Sunday morning 11 a. m. Propaganda meeting Sunday evening 8 p.m. Everybody welcome. Secretary, J. W. Hilling, 270 Young St; Organizer, D. McDougall, 424 Jarvis St.

LOCAL TORONTO, ONT., NO. 24, S. P. of C.—Business meetings 2nd and 4th Wednesdays in the month, at the Labor Temple, Church St. Propaganda meetings every Sunday at 3:30 o'clock at the Labor Temple. Speakers' class every Thursday at 8:00 o'clock at Labor Temple. J. Stewart, Secretary, 62 Seaton St.

LOCAL OTTAWA, NO. 8, S. P. OF C. Business meeting 1st Sunday in month, and propaganda meetings following Sundays at 8 p.m. in Roberts-Allan Hall, 78 Rideau St. The usual weekly inside propaganda meetings discontinued during summer months. H.S. Oldham Sec. 123 Drummond St.

LOCAL COBALT, NO. 9, S. P. OF C. Propaganda and business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m. in Miners' Hall. Everybody invited to attend. Thilebert Jones, Financial Secy.

LOCAL BERLIN, ONT., NO. 4, S. P. of C., meets every second and fourth Wednesday evenings, at 8 p.m., 55 King St. E., opposite Market Hotel. V. A. Hintz, Sec., 93 West Lancaster Street.

LOCAL GLACE BAY NO. 1, OF N. S.—Business and Propaganda meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m. in Macdonald's hall, Union Street. All are welcome. Alfred Nash, Corresponding Secretary, Glace Bay; Wm. Sutherland, Organizer, New Aberdeen; H. G. Ross, Financial Secretary, office in D. N. Brodie Printing Co. building, Union Street.

SMOKE KURTZ'S OWN "KURTZ'S PIONEERS OR SPANISH BLOSSOMS" BEST IN B.C. CIGARS

The headquarters of the Belgian Parti Ouvrier is nevertheless a suitable background for the present so-called International Socialist Bureau, with its eagernes to relegate everything revolutionary to the rear. It is also significant that the I. S. B. did not congratulate the French Unified party on a success for Socialism. It said, through its secretary:

"Your representattives will thus have a greater moral authority in order to impose protective labor legislation upon the bourgeoisie, inspired by our common ideas." No revolutionary measures, you see. But the I. S. B. deserves a chapter by itself. It epitomizes the faults of a wide movement that has tried to run before it has learnt to walk.

Perhaps the most striking thing that has happened during the past few days, as far as Socialists are concerned, is the deviation of Enrico Ferri, the well-known Italian Socialist and criminologist. Last year he caused a scandal by saying in the course of a lecture tour through South America that he did not understand the use of a Socialist party in that country! Recently on the occasion of a ministerialist crisis in Italy he commenced his reply to an interrogation on the possibility of a "Socialist ministry" in these terms: "If the King had done me the honor to call me . . ." This caused great indignation among Socialists. Next Ferri declined, by an open letter, to allow his name to be used by a Socialist circle. And last Sunday, on the occasion of the centenary celebration of the independence of the Argentine Republic, a Victor Emanuel, he was appointed official orator. His opening words were: "Your Majesty, Ladies and Gentlemen," and, says the Carriere della Sera, a great Milan daily:

"The speech of Enrico Ferri lasted 35 minutes. In a thunder of applause he left the platform, shaking the first hand he came across. But the mayor of Rome took him by the arm and led him toward the King, who rose and waited for him smiling.

"'I am very happy to have heard you,' said the King in shaking hands.

"'Thank you, your majesty,' replied Ferri amid the enthusiastic applause of the whole assembly."

The Italian Socialist party is scandalized, and it is posible that Ferri will be expelled. Principles, not persons are the mainstays of the Socialist. But politicians on the bounce have in all countries done their best to retard the emancipation of the workers by cultivating hero-worship to the neglect and detriment of principle. Let us hope that the Italian party will act firmly.

F. C. WATTS.

Propaganda Meeting

Sunday Evening, 8 o'Clock

City Hall

Vancouver B. C.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

This Page Is Devoted to Reports of Executive Committees, Locals and General Party Matters—Address All Communications to D. G. McKenzie, Sec., Box 836, Vancouver, B. C.

DOMINION EXECUTIVE.

Meeting held Monday, June 13, 910.

Present: Comrades Kingsley (chairman), Karme, Mengel, Morgan, Peterson, Stebbings, and the Secretary.

Comrade K. Drawson seated as delegate from Local No. 58.

Minutes of previous meeting affirmed.

Correspondence dealt with from Maritime, Manitoba, and Alberta Executives. From Locals Nepigon, Garson and Cobalt, Ont. Winnipeg, Man., Revelstoke, B. C. From Organizers O'Brien, Gribble, Fillmore and Desmond, and Comrades Lyon, Ottawa, and Stubbs, Bellevue.

Proceedings of convention held in Toronto discussed, and resolved that the proceedings be published, but that this committee decline to recognize their validity and refer the matter to the Party, and that the Secretary be instructed to set forth the committee's reasons in the Clarion.

Receipts.

Manitoba Executive	$95.00
Local Cobalt, Ont., stamps	2.50
Local Garson, Ont., stamps	3.00
Local Nepigon, Ont., stamps	3.00
Publishing Fund, C. M. O'Brien	10.00
Literature and Buttons—Local Vancouver, $10.00; Revelstoke, $1.00; J. B. Merritt, $1.00; C. M. O'Brien, $25.00	37.00
Wm. Watts, receipt books	1.40
Total	$151.90

Expenses—Nil.

B. C. PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE.

Meeting held June 13, 1910.

Minutes of previous meeting affirmed.

Correspondence deal with from Locals Prince Rupert, Mara and Vancouver Finnish.

John A. McClelland admitted to membership at large.

Receipts.

Local Mara, stamp....s	$ 3.00
Local Vancouver (Lettish)	3.00
Local Prince Rupert, stamps and supplies	5.45
J.A.McClelland, member at large per R. I. Mathews	1.80
Total	$12.25

Expenses—Nil.

INNISFAIL RESOLUTION

The following adopted by Innisfail Local No. 3, without a dissenting vote. June 2nd, 1910.

.."Most disgraceful scene occurs in Alberta Legislature. .O'Brien, Socialist member for Rocky Mountains, insults memory of King. .Narrowly escapes assault. .The other members enraged want to do him bodily harm."

The above appears in the Calgary Daily News, May 28, 1910, labeled "Special to the Daily News."

Whether it is a correct report or not we know not, and care less. O'Brien was elected to the Legislative Assembly at Edmonton by the revolutionary Socialist working class of Alberta and is voicing the sentiment of that party in a strictly working-class manner.

Members of the working class are used to being shot down and otherwise maltreated outside the legislative halls, but in this country at least a mob composed of M. L. A.'s inside the legislative halls has been unheard of. It is high time that this mob rule be given to understand the position they are placing themselves in. The working class stand abuse well, but there is a limit beyond which they cannot go, and this is one. Let that bunch of capitalist henchmen beware. The working class of this Dominion will stand no mob "tomfoolery" with their duly elected representatives. Is there any wonder that the working class are already arming themselves when we read of such brazen performances by the chuckers-in of the master class.

The S. P. of C., in common with every Socialist of North America, has a general feeling to the effect that the first murder or assassination of one of their class in North America by a mob of M. L. A.'s or otherwise on account of political differences will be resented and the offenders dealt with speedily in their own kind. Let that body of M. L. A.'s, whose long suit outside the house has been bully and bluff, dare to harm one hair of the working-class M. L. A. (O'Brien) inside the legislative hall, and the spark will be struck that will put them completely out of business.

In accordance with above, Innisfail Local No. 3, S. P. of C. sends greeting and words of appreciation and good cheer to C. M. O'Brien, Socialist M. L. A. for Alberta, assuring him that the working class of this province commend his every action.

Committee:

T. W. WELCH
C. T. WOOD
F. W. SPENCER
P. McDERMOTT.

CONVENTION REPORT.

The Ontario Comrades assembled in convention on May 24th, 1910, meeting at Toronto, in the Labor Tebple.

Comrade G. Prager of Berlin was elected chairman pro tem, and Com. L. S. Grue of Brockville secretary pro tem. The Credential Committee, composed of Comrades H. Martin, Berlin, Brignall of Woodstock, and Armstrong of Hamilton, in bringing in their report stated that the convention was represented by 29 delegates, having 42 votes and acting on behalf of a membership of 727. All Ontario Locals, except No. 24, Toronto, Elk Lake and Brantford, had delegates present.

After acceptance of the Credential Committee's report, the convention elected Comrade Peard of Galt as chairman and Com. L. S. Grue of Brockville as secretary of the convention.

On motion of Com. H. Martin of Berlin, the convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole on resolutions to deal with the resolutions before it.

It was moved by Com. L. S. Grue, Brockville, seconded by Com. Peel, Toronto, that this convention on behalf of the Party throughout Ontario, reaffirm its adherence to the Party pledge and Platform, which clearly states the program of collectivism, the tactics of the class war, the need of political action and the policy of a no compromise, no political trading, and be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Western Clarion. Carried.

It was then moved by Com. G. Prager of Berlin, seconded by Com. Welsh, Cobalt:

Whereas, the time at the disposal of this convention for transaction of business is very brief; therefore, be it resolved, that no delegate be allowed to speak on the same motion more than once except by special permission of the convention; that a time limit of ten minutes be imposed on all speeches; that no Comrade not a delegate be given the floor except this courtesy be extended to him by courtesy of the convention. Carried.

It was then moved by Com. Armstrong, seconded by Com. Cameron, both of Hamilton:

Whereas, a more extensive and a more consistent propaganda can be carried on by Socialists working together in the same organization, and whereas, separate Socialist bodies only confuse the public mind and divide the Socialist movement against itself, and whereas, a feeling of strength and solidarity is derived from union; therefore, be it resolved, that the Socialists of Ontario as represented by this convention, declare their intention of doing all in their power to preserve Party unity, but be it further resolved, that it declare also its intention that if the proceedings of this convention were not recognized by the S. P. of C. as a whole, it will nevertheless maintain its organization as a Provincial Party. Carried.

The following resolution was moved by Com. Armstrong, Hamilton, seconded by Com. Martin, Berlin:

Whereas, this convention of the Locals of Ontario of the S. P. of C., was called at the joint initiative of Locals Guelph, Galt and Berlin, the proceedings being entirely democratic, a referendum having been submitted to all Locals regarding same, and whereas, this convention is thereby representative of the Party membership of Ontario, all Locals except Toronto, No. 24, Elk Lake and Brantford taking part; and whereas, Section 4, Article 5, of the Consitution provides that the Provincial convention shall select the seat of Provincial headquarters, and investigate and decide all difficulties of the Party in its own jurisdiction, and whereas, absolutely no confidence can be placed in the Dominion Executive Committee owing to its recent arbitrary and unconstitutional administration of Party affairs;

Be it therefore resolved, that we have the full questions submitted to a referendum vote of the entire Dominion membership: "Shall the constitutional rights of the Ontario Locals in convention assembled to locate the seat of its own headquarters, and to solve its own difficulties, be recognized; and be it resolved, that we request (1) that Locals be allowed ten weeks' time in which to record their answer, and (2) that the secretaries of all Locals be instructed to send number of the votes, both pro and con, to the secretary of the Ontario Provincial Executive Committee, as well as to the secretary of Dominion Executive Committee, and (3) that results be tabulated in the Western Clarion, also that a form showing these results be sent to the secretaries of all Locals throughout the Dominion."

This resolution was taken up clause by clause, and carried in all its details.

Resolution was then brought in regarding proposed amendments to the Constitution.

Moved by Com. Peel, seconded by Com. Yaffe, both of Toronto: That this convention of the Ontario Locals of the S. P. of C. recommend the following amendments to the Constitution:

(1) The alteration of Section 2, Article 6, making it obligatory upon the Dominion Executive Committee to submit any referendum when such is demanded by five or more Locals, and

(2) The alteration of Clause C, Section 3, making it obligatory upon the Provincial Executive Committees to submit any referendum when such is demanded by three or more Locals, and

(3) The elimination of Section 20 of the By-laws and substitution of the following: Two or more copies of all Manifestoes issued by local movements shall be filed with Provincial and Dominion Executive Committee. Carried.

Moved by Com. Lindala of Toronto, seconded by Com. Zalkind of Toronto, that this convention request the Dominion Executive Committee to submit to the members of the Party of the Dominion a referendum, asking whether or not it be deemed desirable to affiliate with the International Socialist Bureau. Carried.

Moved by Com. Lindala, seconded by Comrade W. Faber, both of Toronto, that this convention recommend that a Dominion convention be held as soon as possible and that all members of the Party be assessed $1.00 to defray expenses. Carried.

Moved by Com. Lindala, seconded by Com. W. R. Shier, both of Toronto, that this convention devise ways and means to keep a permanent organizer in the field. Carried.

Comrade Beal of Lindsay offered $50 to start organization fund. (Applause.)

It was then moved and seconded that convention act as committee on the whole to deal with expenses of the convention. Carried.

Moved by Com. Prager, of Berlin, and seconded by Com. Stewart of Ottawa, that the money owned by the province and held in trust, be used to defray the expenses of the convention. Carried.

Comrade Beal of Lindsay asked for the privilege of paying the difference between amount on hand and bills presented. The convention accepted his kind offer.

A resolution introduced by Comrade Armstrong and Cameron, both of Hamilton, asking the convention to endorse industrial unionism, provoked considerable discussion, but was lost on a vote of 38 to 4.

It was then moved by Com. Farley, of Guelph, seconded by Com. R. M. Beal of Lindsay, that Berlin be made seat of Provincial headquarters. Motion carried, with one dissenting vote.

The convention then adjourned.

For the Press Committee, submitted by yours in revolt,

G. PRAGER.

POLITICAL VS. INDUSTRIAL UNION ORGANIZATION

Taking advantage of Gourock's friendly discussion on the subject of the merits of Political vs. Industrial Union action for changing the present capitalist industrial system to one of social ownership and co-operation, I venture to draw attention to a few points as they occur to me, hoping that, it being a "friendly discussion," I will be allowed to escape with nothing worse than a bald head and a desire for peaceful solitude.

Be it understood, however, that I do so with an honest desire to get at the right, and not with the purpose of attempting to tear down or bolster up any individual's pet hobbies.

We are agreed that a government is but the expression of the dominant economic class at a given period, or as a writer in the Clarion (May 28, 1910), in summing up puts it, "the political class has for its basis the most powerful economic class; in other words, the political class is merely the governmental expression of the economic class. The economic class is composed of those possessing the greatest amount of the things which constitutes wealth at a given period." He winds up by saying, "Surely then the answer is clear. Workers, capture the state."

Capture the state, eh? The political expression, etc.? And what will will we do with the expression when we capture it? Prominent political-action Socialists will tell us that when they capture the powers of government, by obtaining a majority of representatives in the legislature, they will abolish them and form an administration of affairs; which sounds somewhat ridiculous, too.

If the government is the expression of the most powerful economic class and we wish to capture the government, does it not follow that we must become the most powerful economic class? But some Socialists say the working class have no economic power. I deny the charge, and I claim their power lies in being properly organized.

What is the economic power of the capitalist? The possesion of capital. And what is capital? Unpaid labor-power. Then it follows that unpaid labor-power is, in the last analysis, the basis of the economic power of the ruling class of today; as it is also the basis of all wealth.

Now labor-power is the one thing which the working class either as individuals or as a class possess, and which (labor-power) they endeavor to sell at the highest possible price that they can obtain. Then does it not follow that if we can so organize our labor-power as to control it, we have the capitalist on the hip? I claim that our only means or hope of freeing ourselves from wage-slavery lies in getting control of our labor-power. That being the object of our organization, we cannot look about us for a form of organization suited to our purpose.

Does the political form of organization suit? In my judgment it does not. In organizing politically we subject ourselves to the rules of the game laid down by our enemies, thus placing ourselves at a disadvantage to start with. We get an opportunity to express our sentiments once in four or five years, or when they see fit to let us, if we are allowed to stay in one place that long. Otherwise we may have to chase around after the exclusive job and so become disfranchised—when our political action becomes useless.

Again we assign our perogative to a representative for a length of time, with no assurance that he will not become one of our enemies also. The long list of turncoats that we have already before us throughout the Socialist movement rather argues that he will go bad sooner or later.

Political organization, again, gives us no control over our labor-power until we have captured the powers of government, whereas it is the control of our labor-power that we must get in order to capture the powers of government. Because we must have control of our labor-power to enable us to become the most powerful economic class. It doesn't organize our labor-power at all. It organizes our franchise, which about 50 per cent. of us are deprived of in one way or another, at election time.

Does the industrial union form of organization look any better? In my humble opinion it does. It organizes our labor-power, and does it right on the market where we are selling it—on the job. It gives us entire control of our vote at any and all times, subject to majority rule, in our local union. It keeps our perogative always in our own hands. We can discharge a crooked representative or officer and replace him by another at any time, instead of waiting until a capitalist government gets ready to give us an opportunity to make the change, thus making our representatives our servants instead of our masters. It gives us a form of organization, by which (when fully organized and developed) we can take charge of the industries of the nation and continue running them without a wheel stopping; which is the way the change of systems can and must be made.

Looking back through history we see that all changes have come about by the new society gradually growing out of the old, a new clas gradually gaining in economic power until it gets in full control, and it is but natural to presume that this change will be made in the same way. Contrast this with the political-actionists' plan of finally capturing the powers of government and then suddenly turning everything topsy-turvy, and starting at that late hour to organize an administration of affairs.

Again, most of us will readily recognize that the method of estaablishing a new society is, at bottom, a matter of educating the working class, and to act collectively; when it becomes a question of what tactics to pursue to reach them the most readily. Those of you who have tried to influence votes along about election time know that a large majority of the working class have an instinctive distrust of political parties. They have been fooled so often that they are unwilling to listen to any argument in favor of a new political party.

The editor is inclined to scoff at the idea of workingmen developing a political mind and rather ridicules the phrase "shop instinct," notwithstanding if he had the old familiar chestnut put to him, "it's impracticable; you can't change human nature," he would promptly answer that human nature is largely the product of enwere changed, human nature would soon adjust itself to the change. So with the worker. Working in the different industries, he developes an intensely practical mind and his first question is "how do you propose to make the change?" and, second, "How do you propose to run the industries after the change is made?"

The political-action Socialist answers the first question by saying: elect Socialist representatives to parliament, and legislate the industries of the country into the hands of the workers. (No sidestepping goes, Mr. Ed.) To the second he has no answer, as frankly admitted by the Ed.

To the first question the industrial-union Socialist points out the secret of the power of the ruling class (the possession of capital or unpaid labor-power) and shows how to organize to get control of that labor-power, thus putting the workers in a position to call the turn on the capitalist. To the second question, he gives a practical constructive policy, namely, by building up their own organization, wherein the basic industries are divided into industrial departments, and managed by the people working in that industry.

To my mind their propositions ought to appeal to the common sense of the most indifferent.

My article is much too long for a beginner, though I couldn't well make it shorter. With the hope that it will be taken in the spirit in which it is given, I will ring off.

A. F. B.

Rossland, B. C.

OH, GOUROCK

Comrade Editor,—Gourock's article in edition for May 28 seems to me to contain an excellent argument against industrial unionism as a means of emancipation. Here are his very words:

"When the rising tide of modern industry broke the power of the old feudal barons, the 'captains of industry' were left in control of the industrial field, but being of a modest and unassuming character (for which they are still noted), somewhat rough and unlettered, and having but a slight knowledge of French, the then diplomatic language, they were quite content to allow their "superiors," the old aristocracy, to hold the political control. However, as their industries expanded and the need of 'foreign' market for the surplus product began to make itself felt, they found themselves hampered by the adverse legislation of the aristocracy, and were consequently forced to seize the political control. This they obtained with the aid of the workers (who are always ready and willing to fight anyone's battle but their own), by throwing them a few 'sops' in the way of 'shorter working hours' and a fair wage, etc.—quite old friends of ours still."

The object of seizing political power at the expense of surplus-value, when they had the all-potent industrial or economic power is something I cannot comprehend.

Say, by the way, Mc, what is economic power? "Gourock," like all industrial unionists, has a quiet way of fixing history to suit his purpose. He states that the capitalist class gave the workers shorter hours and a fair wage, etc. I don't know what "etc." stands for, but shorter hours and fair wages never did come from the capitalists until they were forced to give them during the fight for political control.

I believe the names of Saddler and Lord Shaftesbury represent bright stars in the landowners' political galaxy and methinks they were strenuous fighters for the shorter working day. While on the contrary, John Bright and Richard Cobden, the political champions of capitalism, most bitterly opposed the shorter working day.

The Reform Bill of 1832, which perhaps Gourock has in mind, was not the result of shorter workday legislation, but of burning farmsteads, besieged palaces, street riots and the turmoil across the channel. The landowners dared not risk a civil war. The Liberal government of 1832 did set to work, goaded by some Tories, to shorten the hours for children, but they were careful not to allow this legislation to interfere with the adult working day. The ingenious relay system was therefore adopted. It was frequently discovered that children of the first relay worked in the third.

This of the first Reformed Parliament. In 1839 Shafesbury sought to further reduce the hours of labor for children. The Liberal (capitalist) parliament voted it down by 94 to 62. Tory fought for chattel slavery; Liberal for wage-slavery. Mighty interesting period. A giant black male toiling 59 hours a week in a cotton field was a sight which the soft hearts of our capitalist friends could not bear and the thought of a lash laid upon the muscles of that wight's frame brought cries of indignation from them all. The howls of the negro, however, prevented them from hearing the feebler cries of the little children toiling 72 hours a week in the cotton mills, and the blood streaming from the shoulders of a slave three thousand miles away obliterated the lacerated limbs of the little mites in their own factories. And what about Senior's last-hour theory. Lord Beaconfield, the bitter opponent of capitalism's Hercules, W. E. Gladstone, secured household suffrage. Six years he fought for it and secured it by some radical Liberals supporting him. The brutal suppression of the Chartists' movement is also of this period. No, sir; the sops came from the common enemy—the land owners.

One thing I dearly long to know. Gourock says "as wages rise, so also does the cost of living." Why then does the cost of living not fall when wages fall?

J. H.

Here and Now

By "Smith."

Without the state, their most powerful instrument, the capitalist system would fall to pieces in a few hours. While it remains in their hands they will retain their power. Through its agency they are enabled to maintain their hold on the machinery of production and therefore control of the lives of those who, owning no property, must apply themselves to the machine in order to live. The working class cannot free themselves from capitalist exploitation till they have secured political power. Then then may overthrow the existing order and supplant it with a more economic and more reasonable one.

• • •

John Burgess must have been busy in Calgary lately. Eight subs in a bunch is something like a hustler. Some of you aspirants for the laurel wreath might take a hunch from this.

• • •

From Sandon comes another two through the instrumentality of L. R. McInnes.

• • •

All kinds of Clarions to be given away in Winnipeg. Watts seems to have infected some of his immediate comrades. The newest phase is an order for one hundred a week for seven weeks for Winnipeg Local. The Literature Committee think they should have a thousand a week, and as some of their comrades will probably send in some dough on their own they may reach this number yet.

• • •

The same kind of stunt is to be worked by Comrade Taylor at Sydney Mines, N. S., and W. Allen sends the rhino for ten per week in June, fifteen in July and twenty-five in August.

• • •

Another dollar for a bundle to go to Winnipeg per W. H. Kyle.

• • •

When the capitalist purchases from the worker the only commodity he has to sell, labor-power, it is with a certain object in view, to realize a profit on the deal. If he can make no profit he will not employ you. The difference between the cost of production of labor-power and the value it creates is his profit, the measure of exploitation. This exploitation finds its limits only in the power of human endurance and the resistance which the worker may be able to offer to the exploiter, which last is practically a minus quantity, as the demands of the stomach must be obeyed. The capitalist has a lead-pipe cinch on us sure.

• • •

Despite his efforts to overthrow the system in the Alberta Legislative Assembly, Charlie O'Brien has landed two in Edmonton.

• • •

J. Stewart feels miserably lonesome in Owen Sound and wants to know the names of the Clarion subscribers in that ineffable burg. There are none. So it is up to him to get busy and remedy this state of affairs. He can have the territory all to himself, meantime at least.

• • •

Two more from S. H. Robson, Whonnock.

• • •

John Beckman, writing from Meeting Creek, Alta., put four stiffs onto a good thing, and complains that his Clarion has ceased to come since April. From our count it is run out.

• • •

Two seems to be the magic number; R. Jamieson rustled two right here in town.

• • •

Jack Cottam wants his address changed along with another contented wage-plug. How they move around, those plugs, beats hell.

• • •

As the ownership of the tools of production becomes more centralized the power of the few over the many becomes greater and greater. So long as we recognize the right of the few to absolutely own as their private property the things that are necessary for our existence, our lot cannot but become worse and worse.

• • •

Singles:—N. S. Sherwood, Masset, B. C.; W. H. Stebbings, Winnipeg; J. Devane, L. Stow, A. Fletcher, Vancouver; J. C. Busby, Malakwa, B. C.; J. N. Sohorock, Abbotsford, B. C.; Miss Lucy Budden, North Battleford, Sask.; J. R. Merrit, Prince Albert, Sask.; Desmond, Edmonton;; J. E. Mikelsen, Bawlf, Alta.; E. Vercellotti, Porcupine, Ont.; J. H. Robinson, Hillcrest Mines, Alta; J. Rolls, New Westminster; I. A. Austin, Nelson, B. C.; Austin McKela, Comintula, B. C.; J. E. Rogers, McLeod, Alta.

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THE SLAVE OF THE FARM

It has been said knowledge is power, knowledge is the key to happiness, the step-ladder to peace and pleasant living. Humanity through long ages of blind groping, has accumulated a vast store of useful knowledge, which has greatly helped to make things easier for a small proportion of the earth's population. Science, bond slave of capitalism, has searched the heavens, tunneled the earth, linked continent to continent, bound humanity closer together so that men may speak to each other across a thousand miles of ocean, has performed what fifty years ago would be deemed impossible—to what end?

One would think that all these wonderful discoveries would tend to make life easier for all humanity. Alas, it is not so! Science has so improved our methods of production that the working section of mankind are enabled to produce so vast a mountain of wealth, has given them such power over natural resources, that the master class, to whom the wealth belongs, is certainly the richest body of slave owners this old earth has ever seen. The modern captain of industry is by comparison with any of the great Roman nobles as the Bank of Montreal is to a child's money-box. Millionaires are as common today as were barons in mediaeval England and a hundred times more wealthy. And the class who produces all this—the working class—what of them? Ah! that is another story. Theirs is the meagre life, the starving diet, the wretched hovel, pauperism and an early grave. On them as a class is showered a poverty as great, a misery as wretched, by comparison, as is the wealth of the masters.

It is often asked, why should this be? Pleasant ideas are put forward ever and anon by well intentioned people (usually of the non-producing class), by which the problem of poverty is to be solved and humanity live happily ever after. Government bread factories, elevators, stores, etc., single tax, local option, and a hundred other absurdities. They ask that the state shall look after babies, shall establish depots for the distribution of free breakfasts, etc., forgetful or ignorant of the fact that the state, hard, unyeilding, merciless, exists for one purpose only, to dupe and exploit the working class.

The solution of the poverty problem is to be found in none of these; its solution is dependent upon the working class gaining one thing, that thing is knowledge. For the working class must work out its own salvation, must be its own leader, must, if the future is to be better than the past or present, take upon its own shoulders the burden of emancipating itself.

Science has done great things. Upon all fields of research save one, it has pursued sane and reasoning methods, rolling back, step by step, the powers of reaction and ignorance arrayed against it, until at last opposition has broken down before its triumphant march and forward it goes to yet more wonderful results. Save one? Yes, one branch of science has been steadily suppressed. That branch is economics, an examination into the methods by which the world's wealth is produced. Every now and then someone has taken a peep into this subject and apparently alarmed by what they found, slammed tight the doors of knowledge, shut out for ever from their minds, reason and logic, bandaged their mental vision and devoted the rest of their lives to the art of scientific misstatement and obscurity. There has been however, a few men brave enough to tell the truth, and foremost amongst these stand Marx and Engels, whose message of hope is already the inspiration of a gigantic army of workers, an army whose ranks are swelling every day, for Marx' message is for the working class alone. To understand Marx is to be a revolutionist, to have done with petty reform and palliation, to cease pruning rotten fruit from off a tree that can produce none other, and to work to the end that the tree may be cut down and the roots burnt, in a word, to abolish for ever this system under which we now live, and establish a better one.

It is for the spreading of the necessary knowledge amongst our own class that the Socialist Party of the World exists, the S. P. of C., therefore, place this pamphlet in your hands with the hope that the subject matter will help to place your feet upon the first rungs of the ladder of economic truth, a ladder we all must climb as high as we can.

In this great West, prosperity, like a guardian angel, is supposed to dwell. Here is great wealth in grain, in fat herds of beeves, in chubby, short faced, "lean singers," in fruit, vegetables and all manner of lesser farm produce. Truly a fat land and of course its inhabitants are well off; jolly, contented farmers. At least so say the immigration pamphlets and capitalist newspapers.

The farmer knows, however, that things are not always what they seem, and that the much talked of prosperity is for someone else, certainly not for him, and so, as if in direct contradiction to the lurid stories of real estate sharks, burst out every now and then spasmodic attempts at organization for self-protection. These organizations come and go like sun and rain in April, and of course accomplish nothing. Farmers' alliances, equity societies, sons of equity, and, last child of misinformation, the Grain Growers' Association, of which more anon. Suffice it to say here that these efforts are certainly not the outcome of prosperity, rather of poverty. Organizations of the above sort are the effects of economic pressure, traceable to a direct cause, and the results which the G. G. A. and others of its kind seek to obtain can only be reached in one way, and that way is not theirs, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that just exactly what they do seek to gain—a rise in wages—they are ignorant of, and up-to-date seem likely to remain so.

Perhaps it would at this point be advisable to reassure the farm-slave organizations that there is no danger of the S. P. of C. trying to amalgamate with any one of them; the S. P. of C. deals with and seeks to abolish the cause of poverty and refuses to fritter away valuable time and money skirmishing with poverty-effects. From which it would appear that we are so far from seeking an amalgamation with any farm-slave organization as to absolutely refuse to discuss the subject with them. Capitalism has so far advanced as to render trade unions in farm or factory, powerless, and the time is now at hand when you must choose between industrial slavery a hundred times worse than it is today, or Socialism. Yes, repulsive as Socialism is to some of you slaves today, tomorrow you will accept it. Not because you think it is alright, not because "you don't mind if you do, just to oblige," not because it is a noble idea and a righteous thing, but simply because you must. Remember that it is the aching void in the stomach of the slave, it is the pinch of winter upon his skinny frame, that is the propelling force of this movement, and thus as conditions grow, as they must, steadily worse, so will the Socialist movement, the political expression of the slaves' discontent, grow stronger until one day, not far distant, victory shall be ours, and once and for all shall the slaves abolish slavery.

To speak of slaves will sound odd to the unthinking, yet a little reflection will easily prove that the worst form of slavery is with us today—aye, even in this twentieth century.

One of the most deeply rooted ideas amongst us today is the strange notion that the farmer is the foremost man in modern production, and as such is entitled to special favors; that but for him all the world would perish, etc., etc., and, as nearly all the farm-slave organizations are built upon this notion, it behooves us to see just how much truth there is in this claim.

There was a time many years ago when farming was the foremost occupation, and it is because of this habit common to humanity of "thinking," if we may put it that way, in the past and living in the present, that old ideas linger on amongst us.

The cultivation of the soil is, after hunting and herding, perhaps the oldest of human pursuits. With its coming slavery was born, for, look you, hunting is a very precarious job at the best, and the hunter, were he dependent upon his gun alone, would oftimes go hungry; game will become scarce and no skill upon the hunter's part can make it otherwise. In these primitive times it must have been very unstable indeed, and starvation was no doubt often the lot of a people dependent upon the spoils of the chase, varied with roots and nuts.

Hence only sufficient food for the tribe was obtainable, and that by the exertions of "all hands." And, again, a captive of war would hardly be the man to send out hunting, for obvious reasons. The village herdsmen would also of necessity be of the tribe, and trustworthy. But when some wiseacre scratched the soil and found that certain grasses flourished exceedingly thereon, it was not long before prisoners of war were discovered to have a use value, and so they were set to work instead of being killed as heretofore; for it was possible, by this new method of getting the social living, for one man to produce enough for himself and some over.

In those bad old times the passion for toil which disgraces modern man, could not have been very strongly developed, and the prisoners, used to a free life, naturally resented being presented with the primitive hoe and compelled to wield it. A bolt was therefore always likely, and the captors were compelled to place armed guards to watch the workers and keep them busy. They were in consequence slaves, for mark this carefully—he who must work at the command of another is a slave. He who must go to another and beg for permission to live is a slave. He who must deliver up the fruits of his toil to another is also a slave; and the modern farm worker is according to his own lights a free man.

We shall not dally with primitive life, however, it is sufficient for our purpose that the cultivation of the soil produced slavery. Later on in the classic period slavery and farming were still hand in hand and the historian Gibbon tells of the immense wealth produced upon the fertile plains of the Roman provinces for the use of the then master class.

Another turn in the wheel of social evolution and the slave has changed his name; he is now a serf, bound to the soil. Now he labors three days for himself and three for his master, resting upon the numerous holy days. It seems, owing to primitive methods then in vogue, to have taken that time for him to produce enough to keep himself alive, hence the apparently generous conduct upon the master's part. For observe, the slave's portion has always been just enough of his product to keep him in working order. Why should it be otherwise?

Social evolution proceeds slowly but is very sure. While yet the established order of things seem strong as ever, another form of society is in the making and will presently burst through and overturn the old order, just as a moth or butterfly burst the walls of its chrysalis, or a chicken the shell which imprisons it, usually with a struggle, you remark. So we find from chattel slavery through serfdom to wage slavery has been the lot of the working class, and ever they have done the work and the masters reaped the produce.

Now up to the age of feudalism the cultivation of the soil certainly held prime place in world's work. Great lords counted their wealth in hides, in cattle and in corn, and the trades such as they were, sheltered under the lee of farming and were tributary to it. But the new form was forming inside the old, and soon the tradesmen gathered into towns and became, as commerce grew, very strong; presently reaching out for political power. And so we find them today masters above all—the capitalists.

It is not our purpose to follow the development of capitalism closely; all we need remark is that as soon as the manufacturing interests gained enough power they freed the serfs from the land and called them into the towns, to compete with each other as wage slaves. Now a period of frantic expansion set it, the towns grew in wealth and power as the rural nobility grew poorer. All interest was centered upon manufacturing pursuits, and the farm was steadily thrust into the background. The feudal lords holding political power were enabled to hold things in check for a time, but the young and vigorous capitalism soon became paramount and won in the end.

So backward were things upon the land that as late as 1750 the old three-field system of farming was in vogue, and it was not until the discovery by Jethro Tull and Lord "Turnip' Townshend of intensive farming that agriculture came under the heel of capitalism. In Europe the feudal lords still hold their ground, but here upon this continent capitalism has free play and none to say it nay. Cyrus McCormick, Appleby and others, by their improvement of farm machinery, have made the modern farm slave a 100 times more productive than the old serf or chattel slave; yet since they cannot farm without their fellows' help it follows that they are entitled to no more consideration than the rest of their class. All are dependent upon each other, and to treat farmers as a class is rubbish.

Thus farming from being the foremost pursuit of the workers, has been brought by the power of capitalism upon an equal footing with the rest of production, and, because capitalism is a slave system, all the workers under its sway are slaves, for they are forced to give up the fruit of their toil under pressure. Yes, even our independent farmers. Modern production is social production, and, as a matter of fact, when you, good homesteader, are digging out willow roots with a mattock, it really is society doing it, although it must be admitted the pain in the back is all yours. Social production we have today; let us take a brief look into its workings.

We have seen that modern methods of production seem to have forced agriculture into the background and given more prominence to the industrial or manufacturing pursuits, and, indeed, it would seem that capitalism thrives at the expense of farming. Be that as it may, in order to understand the farmer's position exactly, we must take a short survey of modern production.

Old-time methods of production were of an individualistic nature. One man or a number made goods, say, boots, armour, or clothing, in order to exchange them for other things they needed. Thus the shoemaker would exchange with the miller or tailor, shoes for flour or clothing. This of course was many years ago, before money or a medium of exchange was generally used. Gradually this changed until we find ourselves living in the age of absolute social production. Each and every member of the working class (and no other) adds his quota to the general stock, incorporates his labour-power into the stream of production as it passes him; not producing anything in particular but helping to produce all things that are produced. There is no man today who can say, I have produced this wheat, these boots, this binder, these potatoes, for society alone is capable of producing them.

It is this all important fact that the farmer finds hardest to understand, owing, no doubt, to the isolated life he leads. The factory hand working alongside many mates sees that many others assist in producing the particular commodity they are working on, but the farmer very often works alone upon the land and so imagines that it is by his own efforts that wheat is produced.

Glance for a minute at your binder; in good working condition it is capable of cutting and binding grain, but take out the "bull wheel" or pitman rod and start them out to cut grain alone. Can it be done? No. Each part supplements the other and together, "bull wheel," pitman, knotter, tables and the thousand lesser parts make up the binder. So it is with society; take out any unit, say, just for example, the farmers; deprive them of any aid from the rest of humanity by removing their clothes, machinery and stopping their food supply, and start them out upon wild land to raise grain. They would be as hopeless as a plow without a share. Fancy them, stark naked and grubbing up the soil with their hands. Great success they would have, would they not? A fine time for them, living on wild berries and gophers and sleeping under trees or in caves. This would be a return to savage times, a thing impossible in a capitalist society and altogether undesirable. In order that wheat may be produced, binders, mowers, plows, harrows, in fact, all the machinery of agriculture must first be made, the farmer must be clothed, fed and housed, the railway men must transport them to the place where they are wanted. Before all this machinery can come into being the miners and loggers must dig the ore and cut down the lumber, and, since all these must be fed, the farmer must produce grain for bread, this being unfortunately the staff of life for the working class. Once again, if the reader will excuse the painful repetition of this all-important fact, society produces a number of commodities, any individual man or woman, nothing.

Now let us see just what all other wage workers get for their share in production. Labour-power is a commodity, that is, a thing useful or ornamental, socially produced for the purpose of exchange, and labor-power is furthermore a man's vital energy. It is the active factor in production, but another factor is needed before anything can be produced, that is the passive factor, machinery and land. The passive factor is in the possession of the master class, hence the working class who own the other, active factor, must in order to live, gain permission to use this machinery of production. How is this brought about? Upon what terms do the masters allow the slaves access to the passive factor? Briefly these, that the working man sell his labor-power (the active factor) at the market price, and by so doing disclaim any interest in the resulting product.

We have said labor-power is a commodity and therefore falls under the law of value. There is a great deal of confusion in the lay mind as to how the value of a commodity is determined. Most people seem to think (when they think upon the matter at all) that it is the law of supply and demand which makes value in an article. Now to correctly understand value is to be enlightened as to the cause of present day distress amongst the workers. Farmers in particular should study this question, and they would soon quit fooling with labor unions.

Let us then suppose that two things are to be exchanged, a bushel of grain and a bale of binder twine. Placed together there would seem no way of determining their value. How to know what length of twine to give for 10 lbs. of wheat looks like a puzzle. No use to measure the twine and then place grains of wheat end to end until you have them of equal length, or to try and measure their value in any manner but one. These two things have in them one common factor, and it is labor—human labor. Upon this basis then can they alone be measured, and so they are. Thus it comes about that the value of a commodity is determined by the labor time fixed therein. But as we have seen that no individual's labor-power makes a commodity entirely, and we are forced to admit that society as a whole is alone capable of doing so, therefore we must measure the value of a commodity by the socially necessary labor-time incorporated therein. If society can, next year, reduce the labor-time in the production of wheat, then its value will go down and no power on earth can stop it. Value however does not always tally with price; sometimes it is above, sometimes below value. Why is this? Price is determined in the first place by value, but is swayed by supply and demand; thus when supply is good, price falls; when, on the other hand, a commodity is scarce and demand brisk, the price rises. The process is very like a swing balance. The fluctuations of the market set the scales swinging, but they will always return to the horizontal—value. Thus it is that prices always hover around value and compensate each other.

We have said that the labor-power of the factory, mill or mine hand is a commodity and is therefore subject to the above laws of value and of the market, supply and demand, and that, furthermore, labor-power is all he has to sell. And once again (forgive the painful repetition), a commodity exchanges on the average at the socially essary labor required to produce it, therefore when the wage-slave sells his commodity he gets back just enough of this world's goods to sustain life and reproduce more labor-power.

This happens to all the social workers save the farmer, is what we usually hear from our friends; but does it? Is there any reason to suppose that the farm-slave adding his quota of labor-power to the mass of production (and nothing else) gets any more than its value? We think not, but it is also objected that the farmer holds property and has an interest in the wheat he raises, and both these statements are true, as we shall see, although some Socialist propagandists are inclined to deny this.

First, then, let us look into the question of the farmer's property in this country. A few years ago when this West was opened up for settlement, the government loudly proclaimed that they were giving away free land upon which the overcrowded people of Europe might settle and live happy, contented lives. This looked like benevolence, but was simply business; for land has no value, despite the real estate boosters, and in order to get wealth out of this golden West one thing must be applied—human labor. The free homestead idea, then, was a ruse to coax this very necessary factor away from the older lands out upon the new. That it succeeded well the reader can see for himself. The government then gave, after three years' residence and work upon this land, a title to the homesteader in fee simple to 160 acres of land, and he became in theory an independent man. We have already seen that no person is independent, the farmer less than any, and we shall find that the title deed business is a rank bluff.

Who were these people who came in to settle the West? For the most part they were very poor men of the artisan class and the poorer peasantry of Europe. To start homesteading, money is needed, and this is obtained by selling one's labor-power for six months of the year and retiring to one's homestead for the remaining portion. At the end of three years this type of homesteader is ready to start farming, for he is then in possession of his deeds upon which he can raise the money to buy horses and machinery by handing them over to a mortgage company. Thus his farm departs from him and he becomes a renter, goaded on to heroic exertions by the hope of getting the title back, which as a rule he never does.

(Continued next issue)

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into the collective property of the working class.

2. The democratic organization and management of industry by the workers.

3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

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

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

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For $3.00 we will mail three copies of the Review to one Canadian address for one year.

For 70 cents we will mail ten copies of any one issue.

For $3.00 we will mail the Review one year and the Chicago Daily Socialist for one year.

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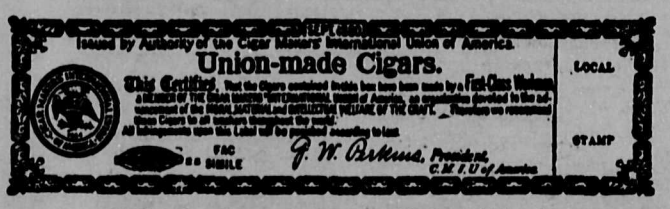

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TO HOUSEKEEPERS

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