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THE HORIZON.

The social horizon may be said to be either rosy or red, according to the point of view. At any rate it bears every promise of storm. In Canada itself no loud complaint is to be heard, and we may assume that causes for complaint are not yet sufficient. The "cost of living" is high but does not appear to be quite out of reach. Which merely signifies that the country has not been properly "developed." But it is no great factor in the social structure at present. So "our prosperity," while exceedingly comfortable for "us," is no indication of the state of affairs generally. We have to go no further than the United States to observe that.

For a long time we have been amused at the attempts of various financial big-wigs (who surely ought to know) to explain "the present curious financial situation." We noted that, whatever their explanations of the present, they were generally optimistic regarding the immediate future. Things were certain to pick up as soon as the Mexican situation, the Moroccan situation, the political situation, the Anti-Trust situation, the crop situation, the railroad situation, or the weather situation cleared up a bit. This has been going on for quite awhile, and still they come. More than that, our financial friends are becoming quite alarmed, according to the Literary Digest's weekly gathering of their opinions:

"The downward tendency in Wall Street has been too extensive, says one financial writer, to be lightly disposed of as mere 'manipulation' or a professional 'rigging' of the market. The leading railway stocks have suffered losses of from $20 to $35 a share, and every week, and sometimes every day, since midsummer, have shown a shrinkage in value. The railroads are the arteries of trade, and when they give such plain signs of distress, it is not strange that many observers argue that trade

all over the country must be in a bad way. The war-scare over Morocco and the financial panic in Germany are blamed for last week's decline, but the drop began long before these events and the fundamental causes are thought by many to lie deeper than a spell of fright over a war believed to be remote or impossible. * * * Many, too, consider the iron and steel trade our basic industry and look at it as a sort of business barometer, and recent reports from it have been the reverse of encouraging. The Iron Age for September 14 presents a picture of the trade that is anything but bright.

Not only has the stock market been on the down grade all summer, says Moody's Magazine (Fin., New York, September), "but the significant part of the present situation is that the market, even after this drop, does not give the slightest signs of recovery." In other words, it adds, "no one with money to buy things apparently believes that the bottom has been reached, or that the market is anywhere near the bottom." Early reports of 'bumper' crops have proved false, and the 'shouters' who were predicting a rise two months ago are now 'pointing unmistakably toward the worst cataclysm this country has ever seen.'"

About the only grain of comfort Mr. Moody sees able to extract from the situation seems to be that it is not quite so bad as that. Panics only come after a boom and "we" certainly have not had a boom. In fact, there has not been a recovery from the last panic. It must be reassuring to know that "we" are not in a panic but are just scared.

This state of affairs is not confined to the States. "The view in London," says a cable dispatch to the New York Journal of Commerce, "is very gloomy and discouraged, and regards the world-wide declines as neither temporary nor fickle."

This journal comes rather near the mark in opining that "one cause for this is the universal revolt of labor against conditions responsible for high prices of food and raiment, and these conditions show no signs of early betterment."

For our part, so far from seeing any signs of "early betterment," we see nothing but the reverse. Prices have been rising at the rate of about 11 per cent. per annum and we

know of no agency, human or divine, that can stop them rising at about that rate right along, let alone give us early betterment by sending them down again. For their rise is due to no human agency but merely to the automatic working out of the present system of production, general opinion to the contrary notwithstanding.

In Vienna a crowd of 300,000 workers nearly tore down the parliament buildings, threw up barricades and fought the troops, trying to reduce prices. In France the house-wives tried wrecking the stores. In Spain they are trying wrecking the monarchy. In England they went after more wages to buy with. In Germany they are demonstrating.

All that looks pretty good to us. Even if the right nail is not getting hit, there is quite a noise like hammering. But it is no wonder that "the view in London is gloomy and discouraged." It would be even more so if it knew that the worst is yet to come and that it cannot be stopped coming.

"Rising prices" affect the capitalists as well as the workers. Where a four, five, or seven per cent. interest or dividend would formerly maintain them in "the style to which they had been accustomed," it will do so no longer, so far as the smaller stock-and-bondholders are concerned. They want more interest and dividends or they do not care to invest. So there is no possibility of paying more wages or of "cutting prices" (which they think they control), else there would be less dividend where more is necessary if the investor is to be attracted. There is, therefore, no prospect of relief for the worker, were it even economically possible. Consequently there is every prospect of an intensification of his revolt against conditions. And, blind and misdirected as his revolt will be, it can culminate in nothing but the overthrow of the capitalist system. Just as a similar revolt, from a similar cause, culminated in the French Revolution. We don't care how soon.

THE CHIEF NEED.

"Agitate, Educate, Organize," has been taken, either avowedly or tacitly, as the motto of the Socialists the world over. Of agitation a great deal has been done, and of organization much has, in some places, been done, and in most places been said. In comparison with these two education has been somewhat neglected. Yet, we become yearly more convinced education is of the three the most essential.

Inspired by our usual "good intentions to go ahead," many schemes and plans of organization have been devised and inflicted upon a long-suffering working class. They have been more or less unsuccessful according as they were more or less natural outgrowths of the conditions of the time. The idea seems to have been to organize the workers somehow and to make the best use possible of the organization, regardless of the perfectly obvious fact that such could only be formed with the expressed purpose of obtaining what the bulk of the workers wanted. Which, with these uneducated, would in all likelihood be the moon or something equally obtainable. Whereas on the other hand, it should be equally obvious that the workers have but to be educated and whatever organization is required will forthwith grow out of their education and their necessity. With the usual irony of circumstance, those who pursue the former course consider themselves practical and of the present, and those who advocate the latter method are regarded as having their eyes solely upon a more or less distant future, while, in actual fact, it is precisely because we realize our own lack of prophetic insight to forsee future changes in circumstances and conditions that we are inclined to favor present education and to let the future take care of itself. The organization and tactics which to-day may seem

the most efficient for the overthrow of capitalist rule, may, in no long time, prove to be utterly inadequate and antiquated. But education, if correct, can be nullified by no change of circumstance. Teach the workers that they are slaves, how they are enslaved, and by whom, and when enough of them are so educated, they will devise the ways and means to free themselves.

Hence, to educate our fellows is our prime need—after, of course, we have ourselves acquired some of that education. And to our mind the most potent factor in the dissemination of our education is personal contact with the individual Socialist. His efforts can be advantageously seconded by meetings and literature and backed up by an organization. And if we organize ourselves and use our organization solely for the advancement of educational endeavors, we shall inevitably accomplish more permanent if less spectacular results than by attempting to organize those who neither approve nor understand our aims.

The moral is, if we organize to educate, we will educate to organize.

* * *

THE DOMINION ELECTIONS

So far as we have been able to ascertain, the Socialist votes on September 21st are as follows:

Victoria	291
Vancouver	1051
Yale-Cariboo	173
Calgary	752
MacLeod	1,100

We have received no information as to the result in the other districts where the candidates were run.

THE ELECTIONS.

From the Socialist viewpoint the result, on the Coast at any rate, is said to be disappointing. Presumably it is to those who can still be disappointed at the vagaries of the voter. What strikes us most forcibly is that the result is most peculiar.

Our growth here is, if not record breaking, at least so obvious as to be absolutely undeniable. Despite a loss in membership owing to the organization of Local South Vancouver, the business meetings of Local Vancouver No. 1 are bigger than its propaganda meetings used to be. The propaganda meetings have grown to the extent that the second largest theatre in town is required to accommodate them on Sunday evenings the year round, and the literature sales have increased correspondingly. So clear are the indications of growth that, previous to the elections, the enthusiastic were expecting to save the deposit, while even the most skeptical were fain to concede us two thousand votes. And we mustered little over one thousand! In Victoria the case is parallel on a smaller scale, with less than three hundred votes. Of course, everyone has propounded an explanation in conformity to his own particular hobby. But so far we have been unable to arrive at anything approaching an intelligible solution of this irreconcilable paradox—that the movement here has multiplied manifold, and the vote has decreased.

As to the general results of the elections they certainly were unexpected and altogether uncalled for, so far as the relative excellence of the two old parties goes or the cogency of their arguments. Even if the claims made for reciprocity were palpably absurd, the Tory position was so self-evidently weak that even they themselves expected at best to reduce the Liberal majority sufficiently to force another election in

the near future. Had the ensuing landslide been foreseen or even expected, we would have seen more prominent provincial Conservatives in the field with Dominion portfolios in view. The vulture instinct of the notorious Sifton alone has been justified in deserting the Liberal Party and throwing in his lot with the prospective victors.

As to what will be the most marked result of the elections, to our thinking it will be that there will be a row of new faces at the pie counter, backed up by appetites whetted by fifteen years of famine in place of appetites developed by fifteen years of gorging. Apart from that there will be little difference than if the Liberals had held their own. Of course, reciprocity has been averted. We have a hunch, however, that within a year a trade agreement or arrangement will be made with the States, suitably clothed in a Union Jack, no doubt, and in no way resembling reciprocity, except in substance and effect.

In the States the effect of the defeat of the late reciprocity measure will be rather serious for Taft's chances of re-election, even if, before long he succeeds in bringing about another similar arrangement. With it he had pretty well dished the Republican insurgents. Without it, they are beginning to show signs of revival. However, we doubt not that, if it looks like a funeral, Taft is astute enough to let some one else officiate as corpse.

In the Old Country the imperialist journals are chortling over the strength of the imperial tie, and no doubt the Tories' adeptitude at flag-waving had not a little to do with the result. But we are of opinion that more voted to be let alone and be rid of the Liberals, and many for their bread and butter (according to their lights). While the excellence of the Tory provincial machines in some provinces, and the heroic efforts of patriotic manufacturers in defence of their profits can be credited with the balance.

However it be, we are not altogether ill-pleased. Next best to a Labor one, we love to see a Liberal funeral.

IDEALISM.

"*And this command I give you that ye love one another.*"

Yes, it sounds well. There is a prospect, abstract certainly, here held up that attracts the human species. And why should it not attract at least passing notice? The slave, wage slave, chattel slave, free (?) man, has always since his first appearance upon this vale of tears and world of woe, struggled, hoped, fought, grasped at shadows and died, ever, until he could think no more, anticipating a time when he could rest from the toil and strain of it all.

That the prospect should not have turned out as it appeared it ought, viewed by us from the basis of material evolution, is in no way surprising. Who, however, can blame those that were attracted thereto, or even today seek there for a shelter from the mad storm of the economic struggle? An exposed harbor, certainly. A mental torpor or dream very truly. In the light of modern knowledge, absurd undoubtedly. But, this question seriously: Do we expect any species of animal, anthropoid or quadruped, stormed at and buffeted about by it knows not what, to calmly sit down and figure out a problem which is to them what a proposition in Euclid would look like to the average London street arab? The toleration accorded a lunatic would probably have been the reception given by the average slave who in years past has been attracted to the cult of the Man of Peace had he been treated to a discourse on surplus value or economic determinism.

Whether or no idealism as it is generally understood has had any function to perform in the development of the mental or intellectual part of our being, is not a question we will consider very fully just now. Safe it is to say, however, that its

function, if any, has not been very large even in this sphere, and apparently the tendency of future generations will be to view it with decreasing interest as a factor in social evolution during the periods of economic competition and struggle.

The statement is often made today that idealism and the altruistic spirit are responsible for the increasing consideration that we are supposed to be according each other. The question at once arises as to whether we are as a whole treating each other with more consideration or not. Also has the altruistic spirit any effect upon society worth considering? Today we can look back over two thousand years upon society saturated with and apparently accepting a teaching comprised principally of condensed altruism and idealistic sentiment. What effect has it had upon society? Were it possible to survey humanity today from a strictly impartial viewpoint, the scene must needs be sublimely ridiculous. A veneer of convention and loud pretense covering as sordid a system of exploitation and struggle as this world has ever witnessed is verily a sight that will force the question as to whether we are advancing at all along these lines or actually retrogressing.

It will be pointed out to us upon the one side that our hospitals, charities, old-age pensions, and a number of other like institutions are evidences of progression. At once comes the question: What has made them necessary? What is the cause of so many members of society requiring aid by these means? Machinery has been introduced capable of relieving mankind of all the heavy laborious work in production, and yet we find the above named institutions absolutely inadequate to handle all who apply for aid. With machinery and the idealistic principle, should not society be very well off materially? What are the facts today? We find this same machinery controlled by a system known as capitalism, with hordes of poorly housed, poorly fed and ill clad slaves, toiling hard for long hours every day, and other hordes, known as unemployed, absolutely without any visible means of existence. Where has our idealistic altruism hidden itself in the march of capital and the machine? In vain we search the community for any sign of it. Our only reward in the hunt is to find the police court

Instead of brotherly love we find huge armies and immense fighting machines, ready at any moment to demonstrate our regard for each other by the bullet and the torpedo.

Untold labor power is expended and incredible numbers are engaged in this amazing accupation, and again idealism is conspicuous by the presence and absolute reign of its very opposite. Taking into consideration the productivity of labor power aided by machinery, was ever there a state of affairs approaching the condition of society and the exploitation of the workers as we have today? The writer thinks not. Schools and the educational system we have now are often pointed out as evidence of advance along these lines. But what does it all amount to? Practically the whole of it is confined to training the youth in the art of exploitation and usury; or the production of productive slaves. Search as we may in any school curriculum we do not find anything taught with a view of bettering the conditions of humanity. Nothing is prepared except for sale and profit or to be used against the other fellow in the fight and scramble for existence or to make money. In all departments of human activity we find the same state of affairs; every one, with a very occasional exception, engrossed in the competitive strife and economic struggle, with the ideal conspicuous by its absence and completely out of mind. If there is any of the ideal or altruistic spirit abroad today we find it among the poverty stricken slave class. Here instances of genuine expression of a brotherly spirit, oftimes bordering on heroism, are not unknown, in fact are more frequent than is generally supposed. This is not by any means the result of idealistic teachings, but the natural fellow feeling amongst exploited slaves, living in poverty and misery, suffering from the same causes.

And the game waxes fast and furious. Sky pilots preach brotherly love and our material interests force us to compete and fight with one another. Politicians prate of peace when there is no peace. Every notion is on the verge of bankruptcy through the enormous expenditures in keeping prepared for war while poverty and starvation are staring the workers in the face every day.

Love one another? Yes, possibly, but it is when we are asleep and dreaming. As with every other species of organic phenomena, the human animal is controlled by its material and economic interests as a whole, and is exactly what its environments and conditions have made it. Soon we shall realize that it is to our material interest to do away with this competitive system of production and work co-operatively. If we do not recognize it voluntarily, industrial evolution will teach us, as it is teaching us now, and we shall be compelled by economic conditions into the co-operative system involuntarily.

Organic life since its first inception has always been controlled and developed by its material environment, to which natural law the human is no exception. Here we have the explanation for our idealistically inclined friends of the fact that idealism and altruism have not developed to any practical extent, but only theoretically. Self-preservation being the first law of nature, our actions are necessarily controlled thereby and our present system of providing our material necessities being upon a competitive basis, we consequently find each person's interest conflicting with the others.

Upon no plane of our everyday strife for the material necessities of this life can we claim to be able to exercise the idealistic virtues. With the life to come, of which we are copiously advised by our spiritual acquaintances, we must confess a very decided lack of interest, preferring to get the best we are able out of that which is.

A very casual glance at society as at present constituted should be sufficient to convince anyone with ordinary perceptive faculties of the correctness of our (the materialists') analysis of society. The system we have of producing the necessities of life has divided the whole world into two camps, namely, those who produce these things, receiving in return therefor wages, and those who produce nothing of any value and yet receive everything produced by the other class excepting what they pay out of it in the form of wages. Here we have at the foundation of our social fabric the whole of society divided into two camps, with interests totally opposed to each other, the one class to retain as much as they possibly can of what

they produce in the form of wages, and the other class to pay out as little as it can purchase the labor power of the workers, for, verily, we have here little scope for the exercise of those brotherly virtues we hear so much about, for their use would mean the reversing and total dislocation of the system, which would mean anarchy and confusion, unless the co-operative system advocated by the despised Socialist were introduced.

In the ranks of the two classes themselves we find that our system of buying and selling does not allow of any harmony between the individuals, particularly among the useful class—the workers. This class, having no property in the form of capital, are compelled to live by selling their labor power for wages in the labor market. Here we have the same competition between these sellers as there is between sellers of any other commodity, and owing to the perfecting of labor-saving machinery, we find a decreasing market for labor power. A perishable commodity such as this, which must be sold in order for the seller to obtain a living, necessarily implies under-selling and other accompaniments of competition between the individuals comprising this class.

On the other hand, among the capitalist class we have competition also which is resulting in the total elimination of the smaller ones and the substitution of the trust or combine, so that in neither class of society are we able to find the idealistic spirit making any headway, and it never will as long as our economic basis is competitive.

Nobody will deny that the altruistic spirit is admirable, or that the ideal is desirable, but in order for these to be brought within the sphere of practical every day life we must have conditions which will permit of their exercise and development. Self-preservation or the provision of the necessities of life being the first law of nature, it is evidently absurd to preach and pretend to exercise idealistic virtues that cannot be reconciled to our system of providing these necessities.

Some day in the not very distant future the working class will be forced to abolish capitalism and take over the machinery of production and distribution for themselves. The markets are becoming so glutted with commodities owing to the increased productiveness of machinery, and at the same

time, owing to the same labor-saving machinery, the purchasing power of the wage slaves is becoming less and less on account of fewer being needed to do the work. Hence it is that capitalism finds itself on its last legs. It is furnishing the means of its own downfall. Its system of distribution of the products of industry cannot keep society going. And after the fall? Nothing but a systematic production and distribution by society for society will be possible, if humanity is to survive. Then for the brotherly love and the altruistic spirit! Why? Because we shall rapidly discover that our economic well-being individually will be wrapped up in the well-being of society and we shall do unto others as we would they should do unto us, because it will be in line with the first law of nature and our economic conditions will be bettered thereby. We shall not be compelled by material wants to act otherwise. It sounds too good to be true, but we are going there by the laws of the science of social and industrial evolution. We cannot say how the transition will take place. That depends upon the state of our education along these lines when the economic climax of capitalism is reached. Should our propaganda not have reached the point where it can influence the action of society, then there will be lots of bloodshed. If we spread the knowledge, well, it may be attained peaceably.

—W. W. L.

MANIFESTO.

Manitoba Executive, Socialist Party of Canada.

To Workers:—

It is your lot to toil for a master when you can, and to starve quietly when you cannot. When you have work to-day you toil harder and produce enormously more than ever before yet your wages give you only an existence. Unemployment and all the misery that it entails on you and on those dependent on you, dogs your heels. Of the total produce of your labor, an increasing portion goes to an idle class, while, though you make all thnigs, you are forced to consume only the inferior and cheap rubbish. Why is this?

Are you poor because there is not an abundance of the necessities of life? Is it because the means of producing them are insufficient or because there are not enough willing hands to labor? No! there are hosts of willing laborers, and the instruments of labor become every day more perfect and more productive. Why, then, is it that wealth and leisure are only for a class, while poverty and arduous toil are the lot of the producers?

Because the workers do not own and control the industrial machinery of wealth production, they are the hirelings of those who do own these things, and must sell their bodily energy, their life force, their capacity to labor—termed by the economists, labor-power—to them. Thus the workers, because they are property-less, are compelled to give up to the capitalist class the whole product of their labor over and above the historical slave's portion—the cost of their maintenance. That is why, so long as class ownership continues, greater poverty for the working class will accompany the increasing wealth and productivity of society.

To the producers of wealth it matters not whether a Reciprocity pact be carried into effect or defeated. Capital will still retain its power to rule and rob, and the source from which the wage roll comes, whether from international big capital or from national and smaller capital will not affect the position of the wage-earners. The small quarter section farmer will still find the mortgage, the note, the railway and the elevator standing between him and the full product of his toil.

The abolition of unemployment can, consequently, only come with the abolition of wage-slavery and class ownership in the instruments of production. The means for producing wealth must be restored to the workers. The collective ownership and democratic control of industry, scientifically organized, is the remedy that Socialism urges as the cure for the miseries of the workers.

And while there is admittedly no other remedy for unemployment and poverty, there is also no way to Socialism except by means of the conquest of political power by a Socialist working class.

The capitalist class expends huge sums to retain control of government in order to maintain and extend exploitation, and in advancing to the conquest of the political machinery, we shall consequently, always find the capitalist class our implacable enemy. As in the past each side will struggle for its interests as it sees them, and the interests of the working class being diametrically opposed to those of all the capitalists, no quarter can be expected or given. Any alliance or compromise with capitalists in the political struggle can only be a working class surrender. Hence the importance of adhering consistently to the fundamental principle of the class struggle. For it is only when the wealth producers control political power that the work of transforming the means of production from ruthless instruments of exploitation of our own class through the wage system can begin.

IT STOOD THE TEST.

The campaign is over and as the smoke clears away we of the S. P. of C. may again take stock, as it were, of our position. And even before we know to a certainty the number of votes polled by our candidates we at least know better than ever before that our clear cut position as opposed to that of those pseudo-Labor-Socialist sentimentalists of sundry other parties and cliques is again vindicated. Perhaps never before in the history of the country were such fervid harangues heard from our masters' political prostitutes. All the prejudices of a proverbially ignorant mass of wage workers and farmers were appealed to again, and yet again. Nor is this all.

In the Maritime Provinces, as elsewhere, the campaign made a lot of strange bed fellows. For instance, imagine, if you can, a more ludicrous spectacle than that afforded by Jules Lavenne, of Springhill, the one-time would-be Bill Haywood of the Canadian Labor movement, occupying the same political couch with Mr. N. Curry, president of the Manufacturers' Association of Canada and also president of the Canadian Car and Foundry Company of Amherst, Halifax, Montreal and sundry other places too numerous to mention.

Ludicrous! Yea! For do we not remember the stirring appeals of friend Jules while he was incarcerated in Halifax jail for "fighting?" All this is a thing of the past. Mr. Lavenne has found a home within the fold of the great Conservative party, and is, if reports be true, Mr. Curry's right-hand man.

Nor is this all. Mr. Adolphe Landry, one of the shining lights of Canadian Queer Hardieism, as represented by the I. L. P., and formerly a Canadian organizer of the S. L. P., has also found a place upon the downy couch furnished by

Mr. Curry. He is charged with having approached the Liberal party during the campaign, offering to take the platform for them for $1000. Failing to make a dicker with them, he took the stump for Mr. Rhodes, the Conservative candidate in Cumberland, and Mr. Siddall, Conservative candidate in Westmoreland. It will be remembered that Mr. Landry was boomed as a candidate for the S. P. of C. by a faction of the party in Cumberland last spring.

These are only instances. With the exception of the Cape Breton comrades, who, as usual, kept the issue clear, the most of the other Maritime Socialists, both within and without the party, seem to have evinced a pathetic desire to get themselves mixed up and compromised during the past struggle of the two factions of the master class over Reciprocity.

Also we find such celebrities as Tom Park Lowther, the renowned Labor mayor of Amherst, and once a fast friend and colleague of Mr. Landry; Mr. John T. Joy, of Halifax, a few months ago an I. L. P. candidate for the Legislature; Rev. J. J. McCaskill, a "Christian Socialist" of long standing, and numerous others on the Liberal stump. And I overheard one "Christian Socialist" of the community remark after hearing an address by J. K. Hazen, the Provincial Premier: "The very gospel of good politics, sir." All of which goes to show that we who waste time in talking about the class struggle, the class nature of the State, etc., are very "impractical" and far behind the times.

However, in spite of the compromising attitude of many of those who should have, or rather were supposed to have known better, there are rays of light all around in this Conservative East. Within a radius of two and a half miles of the writer's home, right in a farming community, at least a dozen citizens, farmers, refused to go to the polls and exercise their "sovereign right" because they said they were not sufficiently interested in the quarrel over Reciprocity. This in spite of the fact that a man could knock $20.00 out of his day by going to the polls.

Now that the elections are over, in the province of New Brunswick there is scarcely a riding in which a demand for a recount has not arisen and scores of warrants have been issued

for the petty politicians who handled the slush funds of both parties. But, hell, what can be expected of a system which cannot exist but for corruption. The elections just over prove, among a host of other things, that good intentions amount to but damned little. Nobody doubts the sincerity of lots of the I. L. P. workers or the opportunists whom we have within our ranks. In fact, we know that our masters themselves, many of them at any rate, believe that they are the greatest benefactors of the human race that the world has ever seen. Their riding rough shod over the backs of the workers appears to them a perfectly natural state of affairs. And their sincerity makes them doubly dangerous. So with the trimmers within the Socialist and Labor movement. Where one finds a man who understands the class strugle and realizes that the State exists merely as an instrument for holding slaves down, there is a man who cannot be swerved from his course by all the red herrings that a Laurier or Taft may devise. He is always to be found explaining away the bogus issues and holding up to the slaves Socialism unadulterated by sentiment, slushy moralisms or metaphysics.

On the other hand, look at the fellow who is a trimmer, the fellow who comes to you before the meeting and cautions you to be very careful how you criticize religion, existing morality, etc. He is the fellow who can always be found talking the loudest about "rights." Sure he is a Socialist—if you ask him. He believes the workingmen should be at the head of the Government. We should have a "Workingman's Government." And he is usually prepared to tell you that he was a Socialist before Marx ever was heard of or that he "has always been a Socialist." Almost every time he goes to church he hears a grand "Socialist sermon" (sure thing). Who is this fellow—any of you know him? Well, he belongs to most of the locals, I venture to say. And he is the fellow who in divers parts of the country has been sidetracked during the Reciprocity campaign. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that he has dropped back to his own proper place as he has never been on the right track.

At any rate, this fellow, the trimmer, the I. L. P. man, the opportunist, the get-something-now guy, is a fellow who

has never gotten to rock bottom. He doesn't know what the class struggle is. He has never studied the value of government, the reason for its existence or its gradual change of form down through the ages. He may be sincere, but he doesn't know. His sincerity makes him the more dangerous.

The Socialist Party is not a Social and Moral Reform League. The one thing requisite to membership should be an understanding of the nature of the struggle we are waging. Without this understanding members are useless—with it they are mighty and can do their share towards their own emancipation.

ROSCOE A. FILLMORE.

WANTED—MORE RUSTLERS.

The Clarion readers will note the reduction in the number of pages. For three months the readers and party members have been given the opportunity of increasing the Clarion revenues sufficiently to finance it as a larger magazine. They have, with a few notable exceptions, failed to avail themselves of the opportunity. The size of the Clarion must, therefore, be reduced to coincide with the revenue. Praise will not pay the printer.

UNION FEDERATION.

The strike on the Harriman lines demonstrates clearly the spread of the idea of "industrial" unionism among the craft unionists. The federation of the unions within the various fields of industry is in the direct line of the evolution of labor unionism, and is, under the circumstances, about the best thing they can do, despite its apparent futility from our point of view. Nevertheless the failure of the strike may, we think, be safely predicted. And even its complete success would absolutely fail of any material accomplishment.

There was a period, when employers of labor were individuals or firms with small capital, and when competition between these for the market was of the keenest, that the labor union was a powerful instrument, and the workers were by its means enabled to secure wages and conditions better than would otherwise have prevailed. For, to the small employer, a strike of any duration frequently spelled bankruptcy. But by this very fact, those unions were also as powerful an instrument for their own undoing. The fact that they could somewhat stiffen the price of labor-power, together with the keenness of competition, created an irresistible incentive to the installation of labor-saving machinery, which, requiring a larger outlay of capital, called into being larger and larger combinations of capital.

At the same time the element of skill required in the earlier processes of industry gave the members of the skilled crafts also an advantage in craft unionism. And this also contributed to the incentive for the further development of the machine, and its consequence, the combination of capital.

As these combinations of capital grew and took in more and more of their several fields of industry, the various unions also grew wider in their territorial scope. But while some element of skill or training yet attached to their various crafts and occupations, distinguishing those who followed these different

occupations apart from one another, they remained organized into separate and distinct craft organizations, and reaped what little advantage was to be reaped at all, from the very fact of their separation.

To a very great extent this state of affairs still prevails. Though the development of machinery has eliminated much, in many cases all, of the element of skill from industry, yet enough remains to distinguish apart those who follow various occupations and unfit them for taking one another's place, as for instance, bricklayers from carpenters, and so forth. But into such close relationship are the most of the trades being brought that their members are being forced into alliance with one another. Hence we see the movement towards union federation where differentiation of trades exists. Where the elimination of skill has gone so far as to wipe out these differentiations, the trades unions, of course, are also eliminated and there is, if any, only the one union.

However, while the development of the system of production has forced the unions into closer alliance, it has robbed them of all but a mere vestige of their power. As the combinations of capital grew greater they were better able to stand strikes of any duration and magnitude. The more the element of skill has been eliminated the easier it has become to fill the places of strikers. The more that labor-saving devices have multiplied (in the face of increasing population) the greater has become the reserve army of unemployed as a recruting ground for strike-breakers. Until from the offensive the union has been driven to a weakly defensive position. From a powerful instrument for securing a betterment in the conditions of the workers, it has become merely a brake upon the downward trend of those conditions, and none too effective a brake at that.

However, so long as the workers can yet see no other aim than the attempting to secure a better price for their labor power, union federation is the best they can do. The sooner they test the last weapon in their union armory, and find it wanting, the sooner will they be compelled to see the necessity of overthrowing the system which renders all their efforts futile.

CAMPAIGN NOTES.

Comrade:—

Taking things as I saw them in the corner of Yale-Cariboo, I failed, and still fail, to see any justification for putting up a man. By no rule under the sun was the party able to get any return for their money. If it had been possible to cover the larger part of the district it might have been worth paying $200 for the privilege, but the situation, with the Boundary country closed down, was that every available dime had to be handed over to the returning officer, leaving the party without any funds to take advantage of the opportunity which they had purchased. Johnson found it impossible (financially) to get out so I had it all to myself. I am not kicking on this score for on matters involving "politics" I surely have a lot to say.

Had a meeting at Salmon Arm, Malakwa, Enderby, Vernon, Summerland and Kamloops. Got into Naramata, Kelowna and Silver Creek as instructed, but for one reason or another the local Socialists had failed to arrange for a meeting. I doubled back on the cancelled Naramata date and caught a Liberal meeting in Kelowna. I was given one-half hour, stole an additional 15 minutes and am fool enough to think that the audience would not have objected had it been longer.

Got into Summerland 7 p.m. Knew there was no meeting arranged for that night, so was delighted to see bills out, "Tory meeting, 8 p.m., opposition speakers invited." I duly presented myself, when, much to his sorrow, Mr. Burrell found it impossible to give me any time. He trotted out a set of four entirely different excuses. They didn't appeal to me but I had to accept them. At close of meeting I asked from the

audience whether published invitation and then refusal, when a speaker presented himself, was not a breach of confidence with the audience as well as with myself? He then dug up a fifth excuse—but here is a beautiful yellow streak. Next day, 2 p.m. meeting at Naramata. Burrell knew that I was on the opposite side of lake, and could not possibly be communicated with in time, so he expressed a very cordial desire to have me on the platform with him.

Passing through Keremeos on October 13th, 1908, I thought that I saw opposition speakers invited to a Martin Burrell meeting at that place on the 16th; on the 14th I got on with him at Hedley. When I got back to Keremeos those darn bills didn't say a thing about "opposition speakers." I have often wondered what kind of an optical illusion I was enjoying.

I have just one complaint to make, the Vernon comrades paid $20 for the Opera House; Kamloops, $30. In the former case I saw a total of three bills, and I was looking for them. In the latter I saw only one. I was told that there were some around the mills, etc. If I have to talk in either of these points on any future occasions, the advertising is going to be more apparent. An immense barn less than quarter full, and the certainty that collection cannot half cover the rent, puts me on the bum before I start.

Yours for the Revolution,

P. W.

VICTORIA CAMPAIGN.

Dear Comrade:—

I enclose herewith statement of the election receipts and expenses, which please publish in the October issue of the Clarion.

Now that the excitement is over, it is up to the party to get down and size up the situation with a view to remedying the defects in our organization, which are responsible for the decreased vote all over the Province. I say "organization" advisedly, for our propaganda and attitude to the "issues" put forward by the capitalist parties has been the correct one, and the reciprocity agreement was an opportunity that does not often come our way to hammer home the commodity nature of labor-power—an oportunity that the local comrades, ably assisted by Com. J. B. Osborne, did not miss. Our meetings have been large and ample money was subscribed, and used to the best advantage; most workingmen had a leaflet delivered at their homes, and comrades put in a lot of hard work with the result that our candidate received a vote of 290 out of a total of 5,485 cast, 2757 names on the list not being voted. Our vote this time is nearly equal to the plumpers cast for our last candidate at a Dominion election in 1904, and less than half that our candidate received at the last Provincial election (690).

Many of the voters who did not turn up have, doubtless, left the district, but there are probably fully as many in the city who are not on the list, and that is one important point.

Another is that many, knowing that, reciprocity or no reciprocity, their real wages would remain the same, were indifferent and did not take the trouble to vote. Others may have lost an opportunity to vote through their own carelessness, not considering that the polls closed two hours earlier than in Provincial elections.

There may be many other reasons, but I believe those mentioned cut a considerable figure in arriving at a conclusion as to the true explanation of the slump in the vote. The "near Socialist" and "sympathetic" vote was probably influenced to a large extent by the patriotic and annexation bogies of the Conservatives, but that kind of a vote is, of course, always unreliable, we have it always with us, and allowance has to be made for it in computing the real Socialist strength of votes cast for our candidates. We did not get it this time, which proves its unreliability.

The weak points in our organization, to me, seem to be lack of ward organization and systematic attention to getting workingmen on the voters' list. The old parties, having plenty of money, can create their ward organizations overnight. The Socialist party will have to rely on volunteer workers, and will have to keep them going the year round. It will mean lots of work, but if sufficient members of the party are imbued with the necessity of it, it will not mean hard work.

It should be the work of such ward committees to see to the distribution of literature in their respective wards, get men on the list, attend to transfers, etc., and at election see that they turn out and do their duty by their class.

The handling of voters' application papers needs careful attention. Each commissioner should be required to turn in all such applications received by him to the organizer, or his assistant, whose duty it should be to keep an account of such, with name of applicant, date, and who received it, and hand them in to the Registrar of Voters at stated intervals, making a note of such date also. This detail work is necessary in view of the fact that so many men who have put in their applications find their names are not on the list when election time comes. Socialists seem particularly to suffer in this respect, and if the above suggestion was carried out, the organizer could swear that the application had been handed to the Registrar, giving full particulars.

It will doubtless take time to evolve an organization suitable for our purpose, but it will have to be done.

We must have an efficient political "machine," not in the

sense as referred to by writers in muck-raking magazines, but an efficient machine to serve the interests of a working-class political party.

J. H. BURROUGH.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES

of Victoria Local No. 2, S. P. of C., for the Dominion Election Campaign, September, 1911.

RECEIPTS.

From local funds	$162.60
Collections at public meetings	139.45
From campagn fund receipt books (collected by various comrades), per Com. LePage	6.00
Per Com. Staples	7.50
Per Com. Armbruster	7.50
Per Com. Messerschmidt	.50
Per Com. D. Milne	13.75
Per Com. W. Stevens	4.00
Per Com. DeRousie	2.00
Per Com. Keown	4.00
Per J. H. Burrough	53.50
Per H. G. Hills	8.00
Per Com. Stott	33.50
Per Com. Young	6.50
Per Com. Martin	3.00
Sale of Clarions	16.60
Total Receipts	$468.40

EXPENSES.

Rent of Halls	$ 25.00
Services of Speakers	31.00
Literature	51.00
Advertising	4.75
Sundries	4.40

To Secretary of Campaign Committee for services rendered	15.00
Election deposit	200.00
Total expenses	$331.15

SUMMARY.

Total receipts	$468.40
Total expenses	331.15
Balance	$137.25
Bank deposit	$133.85
Cash	3.40
Balance	$137.25

J. H. BURROUGH,
Financial Secretary Campaign Committee.

Audited and found correct.

THOMAS JOHNSTONE,
RALPH G. GREY,
Auditors.

September 27, 1911.

Socialist Party 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, 579 Homer-Richards Lane, Vancouver, B. C.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday. D. G. McKenzie, Secretary.

ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Committee, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday in Labor Hall, Eighth Ave. East, opposite post-office. Secretary will be pleased to answer any communications regarding the movement in the province. F. Danby, Secretary, Box 647, Calgary.

MANITOBA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Committee: Notice—This card is inserted for the purpose of getting "YOU" interested in the Socialist movement. SOCIALISTS are always members of the Party; so if you are desirous of becoming a member, or wish to get any information, write the secretary, W. H. Stebbings. Address, 316 Good Street, Winnipeg.

SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Committee, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every first and third Saturday in the month, 8:00 p.m., at headquarters, Main Street, North Battleford. Secretary will answer any communications regarding the movement in this Province. L. Budden, Secretary, Box 201, North Battleford, Sask.

MARITIME PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Committee, Socialist Party of Canada, meets every second and fourth Sundays in the Cape Breton office of the Party, Commercial Street, Glace Bay, N. S. Dan Cochrane, Secretary, Box 491, Glace Bay, N. S.

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, Secretary, Box 101.

LOCAL GREENWOOD, B. C., NO. 9, S. P. of C., meets every Sunday evening at Miners' Union Hall, Greenwood. Visiting comrades invited to call. C. Premerlle, Secretary.

LOCAL LADYSMITH NO. 10, S. P. of C. Business meetings every Saturday, 7 p.m., in headquarters on First Ave. Parker Williams, Sec., Ladysmith, B. C.

LOCAL ROSSLAND, NO. 25, S. P. of C., meets in Miners' Hall every Sunday at 7:30 p.m. E. Campbell, Secretary, P.O. Box 674. Rossland Finnish Branch meets in Finlanders' Hall, Sundays at 7:30 p.m. A. Sebbie, Secretary, P.O. Box 54, Rossland.

LOCAL MICHEL, B. C., NO. 16, S. P. of C., holds propaganda meetings every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 p.m. in Crahan's Hall. A hearty invitation is extended to all wage slaves within reach of us to attend our meetings. Business meetings are held the first and third Sundays of each month at 10:30 a.m. in the same hall. Party organizers take notice. A. S. Julian, Secretary.

LOCAL MOYIE, B. C., NO. 30, MEETS second Sunday, 7:30 p.m., in McGregor Hall (Miners' Hall). Thos. Roberts, Secretary.

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

LOCAL NEW WESTMINSTER, B. C., No. 15, S. P. OF C.—Headquarters Room 3, Dupont Block, over Northern Crown Bank. Propaganda meeting every Sunday, Crystal Theatre, 8 p.m. Business meeting every Monday, 8 p.m. B. W. Sparke, Recording Secretary; H. Gilchrist, Organizer; J. C. Williams, Financial Secretary.

LOCAL PRINCE RUPERT, B. C., No. 53, S. P. of C., meets every Sunday in hall in Empress Theatre Block at 2:00 p.m. L. H. Gorham, Secretary.

LOCAL REVELSTOKE, B. C., NO. 7, S. P. of C. Business meetings at Socialist headquarters fourth Thursdays of each month. B. F. Gayman, Secretary

LOCAL SANDON, B. C., NO. 36, S. P. OF C. Meets every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. in the Sandon Miners' Union Hall. Communications to be addressed Drawer K, Sandon, B. C.

LOCAL SOUTH PORT GEORGE, B.C., No. 61, meets every Friday night at 8 p.m. in Public Library Room. John McInnis, Secretary; Andrew Allen, Organizer.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., NO. 1, S. P. of C. Business meetings every Tuesday evening at headquarters, 2237 Main Street. F. Perry, Secretary, 518 Hornby St.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., NO. 45, Finnish. Meets every second and fourth Thursdays in the month at 2237 Main Street. Secretary, Wm. Myntti.

LOCAL VERNON, B. C., NO. 38, S. P. of C. Meets every Tuesday, 8:00 p.m. sharp, at L. O. L. Hall, Tronson St. W. H. Gilmore, Secretary.

LOCAL COLEMAN, ALTA., NO. 9. Miners' Hall and Opera House. Propaganda meetings at 8 p.m. on the first and third Sundays of the month. Business meetings on Thursday evenings following propaganda meetings at 8. Organizer, T. Steele, Coleman, Alta.; Secretary, Jas. Glendenning, Box 63, Coleman, Alta. Visitors may receive information any day at Miners' Hall from Com. W. Graham, Secretary of U. M. W. of A.

LOCAL EDMONTON, ALTA., NO. 1, S. P. of C. Headquarters 622 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. Secretary, A. Farmilo, 622 First St.; Organizer, W. Stephenson.

LOCAL CALGARY, ALTA., NO. 4, S. P. of C. Meetings every Sunday at 8 p.m. at Room 25, Mackie Block, Eighth avenue and Second street W. Club and reading room same address. Frank Tipping, Secretary, Box 647.

LOCAL REGINA NO. 6, SASK., MEETS every Sunday, Trades Hall, 8 p.m. Business meeting, second Friday, 8 p.m., Trades Hall. B. Simmons, secretary, 1909 Garnet St., P.O. Box 1046.

LOCAL BRANDON, MAN., NO. 7, S. P. of C. Headquarters, No. 10 Nation Block, Rossar Ave. Propaganda meeting, Sunday at 8 p.m.; business meeting, second and fourth Mondays at 8 p.m.; economic class, Friday at 8 p.m. Secretary, T. Mellalieo, 229 First St., Brandon, Man.

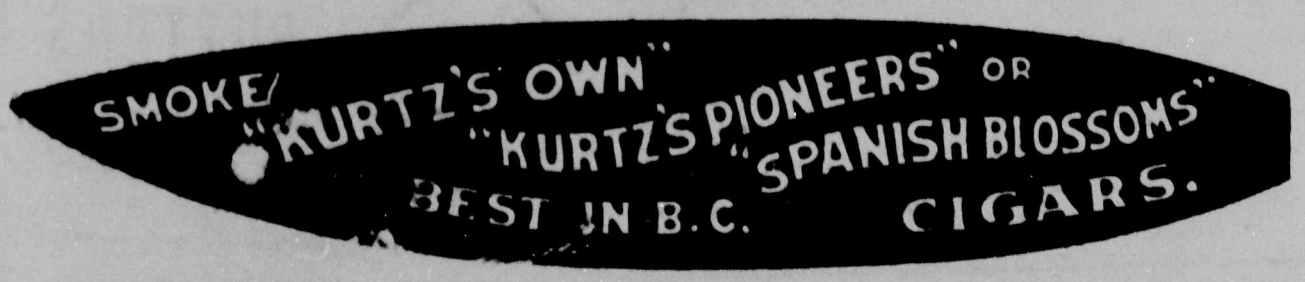
LOCAL LETHBRIDGE, ALTA., NO. 13, S. P. of C. Meets first and third Sundays in the month, at 4 p.m., in Miners' Hall. Secretary, Chas. Peacock, Box 1983.

LOCAL MOOSEJAW, SASK., No. 1, S. P. OF C.—Propaganda meetings every Sunday, 7:30 p. m., in the Trades Hall. Economic Class every Sunday, 3 p.m. W. Harrison, Sec.-Treas., General Delivery, Moosejaw; A. Stewart, Organizer, South Hill P. O., Sask. All slaves welcome.

LOCAL WINNIPEG, MAN., NO. 1, S. P. of C. Headquarters, 528 1/2 Main St., Room 2, next Dreamland Theatre. Business meeting every alternate Monday evening at 8 p.m.; propaganda meeting every Wednesday at 8 p.m.; economic class every Sunday afternoon, 3 p.m. Organizer, Hugh Laidlow, Room 2, 528 1/2 Main St. Secretary, J. W. Hillings, 270 Young St.

LOCAL OTTAWA, No. 8, S. P. OF C. Business meetings first Sunday in month in open air, followed by a picnic during summer months. Propaganda meetings every Saturday night at 8 p. m., at the corner of McKenzie Avenue and Rideau Street. A. McCallum, Secretary, 140 Augusta 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.



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