WESTERN CLARION

OWNED AND CONTROLLED BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA — PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS ALONE

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THE CURSE OF MILITARISM

Greed for Markets and Hunger for Profits the Fertile Soil for Patriotism and Blood Lust.

One can rarely pick up a paper nowadays without reading of war or rumors of war. In the Balkans at present the slaves of different countries are slaughtering each other in the name of their respective kings, and the honor and defense of "their country." Poor, propertyless slaves! Premier Borden has been arousing interest among the workers of Canada by his trip to England regarding the giving of Dreadnaughts and some of the working class are much interested as to whether "Canada" should give two Dreadnaughts or three, in defense of "One King, One Country, One Empire."

The Duke of Connaught appears to be a "wage-slave" exploited by the Industrial Capitalists to go from Atlantic to Pacific to herald the tidings of Patriotism to a slave class fast learning the bluff game of the rule of Capital. Even the one and only war hero, Winston Churchill, is going to visit Canada, also Lord Roberts, to prate about Canada's duty to the mother country. How amusing! The dying gasps of Capitalism digging its own grave.

In this day and age after hundreds of years of religion, with the slogan of Christ drilled into us, "Peace on earth, good will towards men," we find the Church organizing "boy scout" movements; training the youngsters to be submissive to their masters when they grow up; making them repeat like parrots their respects for Royal Family and other parasites and the Catholic Church sending out "stalwart debaters" against the wicked Socialists who are materialists.

Truly the Church is an institution of the rule of capital, as a speech of Cardinal Bourne in the Catholic Record, says: "As God allows private ownership, the Church has always upheld in emphatic terms the right of a man to the property which belongs to him."

When we see Dreadnaughts being built; aeroplanes made so as to hurl their means of destruction to the earth to kill people; ammunition and guns made so as to carry death for miles; submarines to smash ships under the water, it makes one wonder whether the human race is sane or insane.

Many workers realize that in war they do the fighting and get maimed or killed; many as yet do not understand, and the question arises, Why War at all? The press, and tin horn politicians and so-called "great statesmen" are talking of War between England and Germany. Do the workers of either country wish to fight each other? I think not, especially for a shilling or so per day. We know that had the mines in South Africa never existed there would have been no war, and the mines are our masters' property. Yet the workers sacrificed their lives of those patriotic slaves. How many survivors are now in the workhouses of Britain? Where are the widows and orphans of the killed? Have our "patriotic leading citizens" seen fit to support them, or have they not substituted them in the workshops for men because they are "cheaper"?

Our "leading citizens" take pains to see we are taught that bit of poetry, "Cannons to right of them, Cannons to left of them," but they do not teach us that a great many Crimean Veterans finished their lives in the poorhouses. Just the other week in Toronto, one of the Indian Mutiny veterans was sent to jail as a "vagrant" because he was too old to work. Our "patriotic leading citizens" wouldn't employ him because there wasn't enough profit to be wrung out of his old bones. Younger men, more virile, were required, yet he had several medals for being a good "target" to be shot at.

The worker from childhood has been taught to sing, "God save the king," and so long as Kings and Emporers exist, so does wage slavery and war. He sings "Britons never, never, never shall be slaves," and perhaps the next moment he asks a brother of the earth to give him leave to toil, thus proving his dependence, hence his slavery. At the sound of the jingo songs he throws his chest out and talks about defending "his country."

Karl Marx's slogan to the workers was: "Workers of the World, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain," is very, very true. The vast majority of workers have no country; they are a propertyless class, not only in the means of production, but of anything else worth while. Why, the majority of slaves don't own even a blade of grass, yet howl about defending "our country." The fact is, they are only lodgers on their master's territory. When they ask for a job, it's simply asking permission to work so as to get wages to buy food, clothing and shelter so as to stay upon the earth a little longer. And yet many of them act as tools to their masters by shooting strikers down. Shame on you of the working class who can stoop so low.

It only proves the Socialist contention that the institutions of today teach us to reason from a master class viewpoint, and by that chloroform our minds to the truth. The capitalists in the mad rush for wealth, for what means power today, are envious of each other's property, hence the German war scare. German capitalists want markets to get rid of the ever-increasing surplus commodities "legally" stolen from the working class, and they find, like all other countries, markets getting less in relation to the increased production of wealth. So they see Britain has colonies in a stage of development and by creating a war and winning would want a bigger share of the earth as a concession and perhaps rule us from London. And while a war was going on these same "patriotic leading citizens" would supply the enemy with battleships, ammunition, etc., to shoot their own countrymen down as long as there is a profit in it. Profit is our masters' Patriotism.

Does a Canadian, British, German or any other capitalist when employing labor, employ his own nationality only? Not on your life. If he can buy a Chinaman cheaper he gets the job. He usually is a Christian and an antimaterialist, and his speculative God is the materialistic dollars and cents. No delving into the unseen by him, for he realizes what gives him material comfort is dollars and dimes.

The first time the writer saw an Indian with feathers in his hat, he thought it amusing, but not half so amusing as a gang of decorated wage slaves in the Highlanders with horse blanket petticoats and big hats parading the streets, making themselves a laughing stock to the cute capitalist and a tragic picture to the class-conscious workers.

But yet look at the applause of the "cheering mob," the unsuspecting dupes of Capital, who, despite the lessons of history of the last few years have not learned that they are cheering and admiring members of their own class in uniform who have been and are used by an unscrupulous master class to slaughter them into submission in defence of property rights. It is time you workers were wise to the bluff game of your masters and realize that they are a useless class, a non-producing class, yet an ill-enjoying class, and that the mission of armies and navies is to protect them in the plunder they have wrung out of your nerve-racked bodies.

They, by their ownership of the earth and means of production, have sentenced we of the working class to a lifetime of weary, heart-breaking, disgusting drudgery so that they may enjoy comfort, travel art, music, and give their wives silks, satins and diamonds made by the sweat and blood of our class.

In Socialism lies our only hope; aught else is a delusion and a snare. To you trade unionists in the "territorials" it is time you withdrew and became true to your own class instead of traitors to it. The writer is not a Christian, but to you volunteers and professing Christians, there is a commandment which says: "Thou shalt not kill." War is murder, whether legalized or not. A greater war is in existence than the one in the Balkans and the German war scare, and that is the war of the classes, Capital vs. Labor. This war is for the control of the means of production, or in other words, who is going to own the earth, the workers or the shirkers?

By the workers' ownership we shall enjoy what we produce—enjoy pure food, good houses, good clothes, travel, time to study and to live. With the ownership of the earth by the workers our present masters will have to share in "the dignity of labor" or starve to death if they so prefer.

In the meantime wage slavery and war will continue until we of the working class become intelligent enough to change the basis of society from class to collective ownership of the earth.

ALEX LYON.

96 John St.
Toronto, Ont.

WHY REFORMS WON'T DO

We are not opposed to the worker bettering his condition whenever he can, but this we know, that as long as the wages system lasts there will be poverty and crime and the attendant evils of the profit system and any effort made to lighten the burden from a few individuals merely shifts the burden to other's shoulders, that it in no way effects the worker as a whole,.

We want to see, and live in a world wherein all the workers shall have the cleanest of surroundings, the safest of tools, the BEST of everything to work with. But we think that the way to get it is to center all our efforts—not on old age pensions and minimummery but upon the complete abolition of the system that today stands in the way of better living conditions of the working class.

We are not getting excited about the high cost of living for we believe that in accordance with the fundamental laws of value, foods today sell for just about what it costs in labor energy to produce them. While some would clamor for some panacea to reduce the price of food, we point out that the thing that is the matter is: the producer doesn't get paid for the product of his labor. Cost of living is not too high. The producers of living do not get the value of product. Cost of living is figured on a ten-a-day scale, cost of producing ability to labor two-a-day Difference eight dollars. When you abolish the wages system and make it possible for the producer of value to the extent of ten dollars to exchange his product for the equivalent, then you will have solved the problem.

This, then, is the remedy: Work to overthrow the system; keep on telling the story of the systematic robbery of the toiler, show up the capitalist class in all its hideousness that your fellow workers fay become willing workers with you to the end that the capitalist class may be forced to disgorge of their stolen holdings. Let him sing all the siren songs he wants to to tell you what he is going to do for you. But if yon want anything done you will have to line up with the members of your own class and do the job for yourself. Besides, it is a trifle foolish on your part to ever expect the capitalist to do anything for you, in view of the fact that you have always done everything for him. You build his houses, make his clothes, prepare his food and do all the necessary work for him. He has had no experience in doing anything for himself, let alone for you. Let the experienced man tend to it.—Truth, Tacoma, Wash.

THE RED FLAG.

The People's flag is deepest red,
It shrouded oft, our martyred dead;
And ere their limbs grew stiff and cold
Their life-blood dyed its every fold.

Chorus:

Then raise the scarlet standard high
Beneath its folds, we'll live and die,
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
We'll keep the red flag flying here.

Look 'round! the Frenchman loves its blaze,
The sturdy German chants its praise;
In Moscow's vaults, its hymns are sung,
Chicago swells its surging song.

It waved above our infant might
When all ahead seemed dark as night;
It witnessed many a deed and vow,
We will not change its color now.

It suits today, the meek and base
Whose minds are fixed on pelf and place;
To cringe beneath the rich man's frown,
And haul that sacred emblem down.

With heads uncovered, swear we all,
To bear it onward till we fall;
Come dungeons dark, or gallows grim,
This song shall be our parting hymn!

MUNICIPAL POLITICS.

In any city where Socialists organizations are sure of their grounds and where a majority of the members understand clearly the philosophy of Socialism, and so can keep the issue clear, much good can be done by entering a municipal campaign. Education cannot be carried on without political organization and every opportunity should be grasped that will help toard building up a thorough political machine.

In every campaign the workers eyes must ever be directed towards the one goal—Socialism.

To go on advocating the municipal ownership of soup kitchens and other such silly nostrums is to confuse the issue and is worse than wasted energy.

NO COMPENSATION TO CAPITALISTS

By T. Edwin Smith
Formerly Traveling Ivestigator, U. S. Bureau of Labor.

A short time ago in answer to the query, "How will we get posession of the agencies of production in the event of the Socialists getting into power?" the answer was given in the columns of another Socialist paper that we would buy out the present owners raising the money by issuing government bonds.

There is a large number of Socialists in this world, of whom I am one, who do not approve of this method and I crave space to set forth the reasons why we are not in agreement with the plan to buy out the present bond and share holders.

First; to raise the sum of money required by issuing government bonds say at four per cent would not solve the problem. It would simply change the form of bondage but not the substance. To get money we should be obliged to sell the bonds to some people who have a surplus above their actual daily necessities. The only people in the world who have that surplus are the members of the capitalist class. We should have to pay interest to them on their bonds so we can see that the four per cent interest would then go to the same class that today is receiving dividends on stocks and industrial bonds.

This interest each year would be a charge upon property and does not represent any actual wealth produced and consequently it must come out of some one other than the bond owners. It would have to be taken from the working class collectively because there would be no one else to produce it. Then the same people who today are producing surplus values for the benefit of the masters would be doing it still. By such a change all that a worker is able to produce above his bare subsistence would go to the capitalists precisely as it does today. We should merely change the name on the workers collar but he would not be any more free than he is today.

The surplus would come out of the products of the labor just as it does now, would go to the same useless hand of idlers just as it does today and the State would act as the collector in the same old way.

Some people while admitting that this would not be a perfect solution of the difficulty seem to think that it would at least lighten the burden which the working class bears and to that extent it would be a benefit. They are wrong in this. It is true that in the case of particular industries some benefit would be derived but if we take into consideration all of the industries that today are under private ownership, four per cent would make but little difference.

Let us take the railroads for example. In 1909 there were 24,104 miles of railway in Canada capitalized at $1,308,481,416. The capitalization including both stocks and bonds on an average is $55,638 per mile. This is not at all excessive when we consider that rolling stock and terminals is included in this figure as well as the tracks and siding.

If the Dominion Government were to issue bonds bearing four per cent interest to cover this amount the interest each year would amount to $52,331,296 per year. This would go to the same people who today are receiving interest and dividends from their railway stocks and bonds. In that same year the profits earned by all the railways in the Dominion only amounted to $40,456,251.76. There were thirty six railways that were apparently operated at a loss in connection with other industries or with a view to special considerations. The profits were earned by three or four great corporations who were able to

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APHORISMS OF SOCIALISM

Being an Explanation of the Declaration of Principles of the S. P. G. B.

APHORISM VI.

As the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

The machinery of government is composed of the governing bodies, from Parliament down to the Parish Council or the Board of Guardians, the instruments of the Law from the Lord Chief Justice down to the "Labour" J.P., and the armed forces, from the army and navy, professional and amateur, down to the policeman, the jailor, and the common hangman.

To say that all these exist merely to conserve to the master class the plunder they wrest from the workers looks, to the man who views things through the glasses the masters provide for him, very much like "drawing the long bow," but it is nothing of the kind.

It is often argued that the hangman is necessary to square accounts with the murderer of the workingman's daughter, that the policeman is the sweet little cherub who sits up aloft and keeps watch and-ward over the teapot the prosperous proletarian banks his surplus money in.

Well, what if he does? What if the hangman is the only protection of sweet and innocent seventeen? It does not follow, by any means, that this is anything more than incidental—that this is why these [illegible] of the present social system exist.

As a matter of fact it is in the very nature of the [illegible] to [illegible]—to assume a [illegible] not, in reality, [illegible] maintain "order" [illegible] mental hypocrisy of its existence, it exists in a false atmosphere of impartiality, as something above the division of class interests, and therefore as competent to deal impartially with petty class squabbles.

But first of all, it postulates a social condition which is entirely in favour of the class whose instrument it is, and the basis of that social condition in the present day is the private ownership of wealth.

The "order" which the State is to maintain must be in harmony with that property condition. Anything which is out of harmony with that basis is disorder, and must be suppressed. Therefore, of course, it must include the robbery of the working class.

Under that condition the State and its machinery pretends to be the servant of the whole of the people, but it is ridiculous, on the face of it. The fact that some workingmen have a little money in the teapot, or that the system breeds a certain number of maniacs or desperate beings against whom society at large needs protection, only serves to obscure the real reason for the maintenance of armed forces.

It is not the private property of the workers that the armed forces of the nation exist to protect. It is not even the private property of the master class that it is primarily maintained to conserve. It is the central point, the pivot, of the present social system—the private property institution which is to be protected.

It is this private property institution that is the vital spark of the capitalist organism, hence its preservation unruptured is of incomparably greater importance than the protection of present property from petty pilferers.

As a matter of fact the State is itself an instrument for the violation of private property, as witness the "Death Duties." One section of the ruling class may use the machinery of the State to plunder another section, and that without straining a joint of it. But every atom of its composition is formed to resist an attack upon the private property institution.

It was shown in an earlier chapter that the basis of society as at present constituted is the ownership by the master class of the means of living. At the time society was placed upon this basis the machinery of production was in a very different stage of development to that which it has attained today. The steam engine was not invented, and machinery was practically unknown.

The vast strides made by the development of the means and instruments of production have brought about an industrial revolution, but the basis of the social system has not shifted one jot. It was ownership by a section of society of the land, material, factories, and implements of production in the beginning of the system—it is the same today.

How could it be otherwise? The very working of the system itself precludes the broadening of the private ownership so as to include all the people, for the steady tendency of competition has been and is to narrow that base by crushing successive circles out.

The only way in which the base can alter is in the direction of common ownership, and in this direction there is no halfway house. Bits of common ownership cannot exist in a world of private ownership by a class. The case is not the same where, even though private ownership is the rule, it takes the form of ownership of the means of production by those who use them instead of by those who do not. In such a system certain portions of the woods and pastures, for instance, might be commonly owned, as indeed they were, and people owning their own products would derive benefit from them.

But where the workers have to sell their labor-power in a competitive market in order to live, the benefit of all property, whatever the legal term of ownership may be, will accrue to the master class. However it may be called, they have control of it through their system, which determines that the working class shall surrender the whole of its labor-power to them for the cost of its production.

If there were any possible way in which the social base could be gradually changed from private ownership to common, it is doubtful if all the armed force could prevent that gradual change taking place—but we should have seen a commencement made long ere this. As a matter of fact, not one shred of commonly owned wealth can be pointed to. Our Post Office is under the control of the master class, who use it to sweat profit out of the workers for the relief of the taxpayer, and to provide fat sinecures for their own sons. Even the "nation's pictures," and the public parks, are under the control of the capitalist class, who decide how they shall be conducted, and when they shall be opened or closed. The people have nothing at all to say on these matters.

It is quite impossible, therefore, for the base of present-day society to undergo any process of evolution. Society itself does evolve, but the present base of society cannot. It started in the same form that now possesses, and it must retain that form until it finishes its career. It came in as private ownership by a class, and as private ownership by a class it must go out.

While it is true that in the long run the social system is determined by the stage of development of the means of producing wealth, the social system and this stage of development may, nevertheless, be totally out of harmony. Indeed, at recurring periods it must be, at least so long as society is divided into classes. The reason is that while the development of the means of production is not under men's control, the social system, within certain limits, is. The industrial development, which men cannot arrest, is ever shifting the social centre of gravity, changing dominating values. Thus, at one time, whoever controlled the land controlled society. As industry developed, however, the implements and machinery became of greater importance. This change of values brought another class to the surface—the owners of the factories, machinery and raw materials. But the industrial development which brought to light this new class, did not arrange a social system under which they could reach their highest pinnacle of power. It gave them strength by altering the values of the sources of wealth; it gave them education by

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A NEW DEAL

Beginning with No. 305, under date of Jan. 28, 1905, I took up the publication of the Western Clarion and have stood sponsor for the same, as far as finance is concerned, down to the present time. The paper had been previously run by Comrade R. P. Pettipiece, but a continuous deficit eventually exhausted his resources and compelled him to suspend publication. At the time of suspension the Clarion had a sub. list of about 2500 with an average of six months to run. I assumed this list and filled each subscription and have continued publication down to the present practically without a break.

The deficit has averaged considerably over one hundred dollars per month during the nearly eight years that have elapsed. I have patiently and hopefully looked forward to the time when through the zeal and earnest effort of the comrades throughout the Dominion its sub. list might reach such proportions as would not only pay the cost of publication but bring a revenue to the Party treasury. During the three years from November, 1908, down to the end of 1911, the fiction of party ownership and maintenance was indulged in with the hope that this might tend to spur the comrades on to extra efforts towards financial success on behalf of the Party. As far as Party maintenance was concerned, it was purely fiction, for I had the deficit to make good and deficit in publication is a matter that will thrive without any effort at cultivation.

At the end of 1911 I was still not only face to face with this deficit but was again forced to assume the editorial management as well.

Eight years of this sort of thing is quite enough. No individual could be expected to carry this sort of thing forever. The patience of even Job himself would eventually wear out. If there appeared to be any probability of the circulation being pushed up to a paying basis there would be ample encouragement to continue meeting a deficit for at least a time, but there seems to be no disposition that way. For some time the circulation has been falling off, not rapidly, it is true, but rapidly enough to be seriously threatening. Hence I have been compelled to call a halt. I can stand this deficit no longer. Either the paper must suspend or some other arrangements be made to carry it on. As I see no prospects of such arrangements being made, I have assumed the responsibility of disposing of the matter as follows:

Beginning with next week's issue of the B. C. Federationist, every subscriber at present on the Western Clarion list will receive a copy of the Federationist until his sub. has been filled. The Federationist will continue as a six page, seven column paper. I have agreed to contribute two columns of editorial matter weekly to the Federationist. The editorial policy of the Clarion during the past eight years should be a sufficient guarantee of what the nature of such contributed matter will be. At least three columns in the paper will be at our disposal for party purposes and in general its columns will be open to a reasonable quantity of suitable matter from correspondents. The price of the Federationist, for the present at least, is $1.00 per year, or 50 cents for six months.

With a continuation of the editorial policy of the Clarion and as an official mouthpiece for the S. P. of C., I feel sure that no subscriber now on the Clarion list will feel that faith has not been kept with him. If I succeed in filling all subs to the last number, and that is my purpose in making the arrangements referred to, I shall feel that I have accomplished all that can reasonably be expected.

The Federationist will carry general news of the world's labor movement in addition to all the Clarion has been able to do in the past. It will have means and opportunity so to do that we of the Clarion have not had.

I sincerely hope that every Clarion subscriber upon the list will continue upon that of the Federationist and do what he can to add the names of others. If such should prove the case it will strengthen the arm of those who are responsible for the Federationist and materially assist in making it a potent and powerful factor in the struggle of Labor for freedom from the bonds of capitalist domination.

Personally I am sorry that the Western Clarion is forced to go out of existence as the organ of the Socialist Party of Canada. However, as it is imperative we may as well make the best of it and earnestly hope for better results from the new deal.

E. T. KINGSLEY.

AS TO POLITICS.

As far back in human history as any authentic record reaches we find the working people engaged in a continual struggle against their masters and employers. Upon the part of masters the tendency has always been to encroach upon the personal liberty of the workman and reduce his stipend to the lowest possible limit. That the workers have persistently struggled against this all down through the ages is a matter of history. That the lines along which their efforts have been directed have been determined by their understanding of the problem in hand goes without saying. That their understanding of the problem has fallen somewhat short of a thorough grasp of the real reason for their uncomfortable and often intolerable conditions is certain, otherwise, by sheer force of numbers, they would have forced their interests as against the interests of the masters and thus relieved themselves of the burden of exploitation that bore so heavily upon them.

Over two thousand years ago organized workingmen took active part in the political life of many Roman ities. By the exercise of the franchise they obtained control of Boards of Public Works and other parts of the administrative machinery, thus, in a measure, protecting themselves against the crushing effect of slave labor being utilized in carrying out of municipal and other public works. As the Roman conquerors were pouring into Rome millions of slaves in the persons of the conquered people of other lands, their natural inclination would of necessity be to substitute the labor of these slaves in every manner possible, for that of the free and better paid Roman working men. The inevitable result of this would be to force the free workmen back into chattel slavery from which they had previously emerged as a result of persistent and stupendous struggle.

However, this at least partial political awakening of the working class was checked by the awful slaughter and ruthless repression of the workers during the period which marked the downfall of Paganism and the uprise of Christianity.

From Ward's "Ancient Lowly" and other sources we learn that the early Christian faith was not a matter of spiritual salvation beyond the grave, but of material salvation from the ills of Roman slavery here upon earth. It seems that hundreds of thousands of workmen embraced the new faith, if so it may be termed, and clung tenaciously to its doctrine of communal property and communal life. All the thousands of years of human slavery with its brutalities and oppressions had not been equal to the task of crushing the communal instinct from the human breast. It would not down and the bonds of fraternity and brotherhood held those ancient workmen together in defense of their common interests against the most awful brutality and slaughter that has ever been recorded.

The "New Faith," a purely economic doctrine of the workers, was finally adopted by the priests and rulers and incorporated into the economic program of the masters by promising soul salvation after death, as a recompense for the tortures of slavery suffered before that momentous event.

Against the assault of the masters, with their horde of hireling assassins then, as now, recruited from the ranks of the enslaved class itself, the workers went down to defeat. Their organizations were destroyed by the wholesale slaughter of their members. The property of those organizations was confiscated by the priests of the new order and became the foundation stone of the modern Christian church with its doctrine of the sacredness of property here and the sacredness of souls hereafter.

The story of the downfall of the old labor organizations, that had existed for hundreds of years before Christ's time, and the converting of the mechanism, property and faith of these organizations to the use of the master class to prolong its reign of brutality and rapine is the most blood-curdling page in human history. Thus were the foundations of Christianity laid, and cemented with the blood of millions of ruthlessly, slaughtered workingmen and their families.

The political awakening of labor—the only real danger that ever confronted a ruling class—was thus summarily crushed and this danger averted for the next eighteen centuries or more. Under the coarsely brutal rule of a conscienceless master class, aided by the powerful soporific influence of a state-supported superstition the past eighteen centuries, has been a dark period in human history. But the skies are clearing, the workers as a class are once more awkening to the necessity of intelligent and concerted action along class lines. They are awakening politically and that is the sole portent of intelligent action, for political conquest implies the control of the field of industry and in such control by the working class lies its emancipation from that slavery, which for ten thousand years has rested as a blighting curse upon the human race. The political awakening of labor is the most cheering sign of the times. It is the rainbow of promise in the sky of capitalist civilization that is otherwise dark and drear with the clouds of ignorance, superstition and reaction.

OPPRESSED TOILERS

No one at all conversant with world affairs at the present time can escape the conclusion that the by no means distant future holds in store for humanity some swift, sweeping and far-reaching changes in social and industrial institutions. There is evidence upon every hand to conclusively show that capitalist civilization has already passed the zenith of its power and is even now tottering upon its slave foundations in such a manner as to portend its rapid approach to that oblivion it is so justly entitled to adorn by virtue of its crimes and iniquities.

Capitalist rule is no longer tolerable. Under it humankind is no longer able to provide for its material existence. Millions are in open revolt against its baneful sway and these are being added to with such rapidity that they will soon become an unconquerable host, and the doom of capitalism be sealed.

If the movement of the oppressed toilers of the world against their brutal exploiters is anything, it is essentially revolutionary. It can make for nothing short of the abolition of the wage system upon which is builded the entire structure of capitalist robbery and rule. It means the downfall and death of Capital and the uprise of Labor to freedom and life.

To attain to the mastery of industry upon which their freedom from capitalist bondage and exploitation depends, renders it necessary that the workers, as a class, gain control of the machinery of government, as it is through control of this powerful instrument of repression alone that their capitalist masters are enabled to hold them in subjection to their merciless profit-mongering scheme. As the workers greatly outnumber their exploiters, victory is easily within reach once the workers become conscious of their class interests and the power that comes from overwhelming numbers. Under such circumstances, it is ridiculous folly to even suggest a resort to any subterfuge for the purpose of disguising the revolutionary purpose of the movement of Labor against Capital. It should be openly proclaimed from the housetops so that all may know and none be deceived. Let it be hurled in the teeth of our capitalist enemy that he is to be ruthlessly stripped of his power to rule and rob. That his alleged property rights are to be abrogated with as little conscience and scruple as has been shown by the capitalist class itself in riveting the chains of slavery upon the limbs of Labor.

FROM THE STRIKE FIELD

The struggle between the mine owners and the mine workers here, has evolved from a case of discrimination, to one of higher wages. Attempts are being made by the company to work two of the mines here. The labor being used is of the cheap brand, having been imported from China and Japan some time ago by our patriotic misrepresentatives at Victoria. These Asiatics are mixed with a few of the boys of the bull dog breed, who go to their work humming Britains "never shall be slaves," for six days in the week and on the seventh go and listen to one of those soldiers of the Cross (bones and skull) preaching contentment, meekness and mildness; "you must love God" above all, and don't forget it is your duty to suuport your pastor. Also remember that you must think more of your soul than of your body, for Christ has said: "What doth it profit a man if he gained the whole world and suffered the loss of his own soul." Once a man is convinced of this type of knowledge, how can he be anything else other than a meek, mild, submissive, cringing and cowardly slave and scab? Once you load a man with this dope, you have got him. He will suffer untold misery, or pain on this earth, to escape that lake of brimstone and potash, and to gain that everlasting happiness beyond. If the rich man has the same incentive, or force, behind him, he will pass through that needle without touching the sides.

The engineers, at a meeting the other night, resolved that they would stand by the miners in their struggle for higher wages. The same night 28 engineers arrived from Vancouver to take the places of the striking engineers. On being questioned, these immigrant engineers said they were told there was no strike in Cumberland of the engineers. When informed of the facts of the situation, they decided to return to Vancouver the next morning, which they did. This action of the engineers was taken after being told by the high priests of their organization, that if they should strike the organization would provide men to take their places. A few of the "always was, is, and always will be's" of the engineers were dissatisfied with the action taken by the younger and more revoutionary element of the craft, and so they decided to call a special meeting of all surface men employed in and around the mines.

These special meetings are the order of the day in Cumberland at present. The first was the business men, in the name of the Board of Trade. The next was a couple of fire bosses, and now a couple of engineers. They all received their authority from the same source, nowhere; and they were all equally successful in accomplishing what they set out to do, viz., to break the strike. The next thing in order would be another special called by the would-be founders of the Cumberland Boy Scout Movement, Patriotic Sundays, Rally Days, with sacred concerts as a specialty, or in other words, the sky pilots.

In all strikes there is much food for thought for the strikers, and this is no exception to the rule. The fusion of the miners and engineers is the result of the development of capitalistic proluction, which will ultimately break down all barriers between all crafts. By the continual compulsory revolutionizing of the machine, the skilled laborers are being reduced to a level with the common laborer, thus trades unions are destined to pass away, and industrial unionism becomes inevitable. But after all, this struggle on the industrial field is not enough. True, it is a struggle between capitalists and workers, but it is also a struggle between buyers and sellers of a particular commodity, labor power, therefore, it is a commodity struggle, and to understand it right it must be treated as such. As improved machinery increases unemployment which in turn increases the competition between workers for jobs, wages, or the price of labor-power tends to fall; therefore trades unions are necessary, and the only weapon available is the strike. To win or lose a strike, nothing is settled. The same class still owns the earth, and machinery of wealth production, which the other class must use, and the same commodity struggle goes on, and will go on as long as the workers demand nothing but higher wages and shorter hours. As Marx predicted some sixty years ago that the misery and poverty of the working class must increase as long as capitalism lasts, let us see how this comes about. Like other commodities, the value of labor power is determined by its cost of production, measured by labor time, its price, by supply and demand. When a capitalist has a surplus of commodities on hand, for which there is no demand, he curtails production by laying off a number of his hands. The owners of labor-power attain the same end, though in a diffferent way. What the capitalist does intelligently, the worker, by using artificial means of limiting his family, does instinctively. When a commodity sells above its value, capital is attracted from other quarters, till the supply increases to such an extent in proportion to the demand, that its price is brought down often below its value. The same is true of labor-power, where it sells above its value, labor is attracted from other quarters, and this increased supply tends to bring the price of labor-power down to bare subsistance. Also, the value of gold is being reduced in a greater proportion than all other commodities (there is probably one exception, viz., implements of war) and resulting in high prices of all commodities except one, labor-power, the worker being practically ignorant of these economic laws, grins and bears it all, until the conditions become so unbearable that he strikes. And what is the first thing that he butts up against when he does strike? As the chief of the provincial police said to the pickets here the other day: "I am here to uphold the law that you fellows made. You have the power in your hands, the franchise, go ahead and use it right and change this law."

There it is, fellow workers. We are face to face with the political power of the capitalist class. We are fighting a political battle, without any political power. The power that we handed over to the master class at the last election, is the power that is being used to whip us back into subjection. This is the lesson this strike teaches. The working class must organize politically, not only for a few more cents a day, or a few shorter hours, but for the abolition of the wage system, and the emancipation of the whole working class.

Spider.

Cumberland, B. C., Oct. 26-1912.

WINNIPEGERS, ATTENTION.

All who are interested please attend a meeting to be held in the News Hall, at 3 o'clock Sunday afternoon, Nov. 10, 1912, for the purpose of forming a Socialist organization.

Socialist Party Directory

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE Socialist Party of Canada, meets second and fourth Tuesday. Secretary, Wm. Watts, Labor Temple, Dunsmuir St., Vancouver, B.C.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL Executive Committee, Socialist Party of Canada, meets second and fourth Tuesdays in month at Labor Temple, Dunsmuir St., Wm. Watts, Secretary.

ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE Socialist Party of Canada, meets every alternate Tuesday, at 429 Eighth Ave. East. Burt E. Anderson, Secretary, Box 647, Calgary.

SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE, S. P. of C., invites all comrades residing in Saskatchewan to communicate with them on organization matters Address D. McMillan, 222 Stadacona Street West, Moose Jaw, Sask.

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, J. D. Houston, 493 Furby St., Winnipeg.

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 VANCOUVER, No. 69, S. P. of C. Headquarters, Labor Temple, Dunsmuir street. Business meeting on first of every month at 8 p.m. Secretary, F. Lefeaux, Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C.

LOCAL FERNIE, S. P. of C., HOLD holds educational meetings in the Miners Union Hall every Sunday at 7:30. Business meeting first Monday in each month, 7:30 p. m. Economic class every Sunday afternoon at 2:30. H. Wilmer, secretary, Box 380.

LOCAL ROSSLAND, NO. 25, S. P. of C., meets in Miners' Hall every Sunday at 7:30 p.m. E. Campbell, Organizer. Will Jones, Secretary, Box 126. Finnish branch meets in Finlanders' Hall Sundays at 7:30 p.m. A. Sebble, Secretary, Box 54, Rossland, B.C.

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. T. W. Brown, 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 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' Unior Hall. Communications to be addressed Drawer K, Sandon, B. C.

LOCAL VICTORIA NO. 2, S. P. of C.— Headquarters and reading room 575 Yates St. Business meeting every Tuesday, 8 p.m. Propaganda meeting Sunday, 8 p. m. Empress Theatre.

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

LOCAL CUMBERLAND NO. 70 S. P. of C. Business meeting every Sunday, 10:30 a.m. Economic Class held twice eath Thursday, 10:30 a.m. (for afternoon shift), 8 p.m. (for morning shift). Propaganda meeting every Sunday 3 p.m. Headquarters: Socialist Hall, opposite post office. Financial Secretary Thomas Carney, Corresponding Secretary, Joseph Naylor.

VANCOUVER LETTISH LOCAL No. 58. S. P. of C.—Business meeting every first Sunday of the month and propaganda meeting every third Sunday. Room open to everybody at 512 Cordova Street East, 2 p. m. Secretary, P. Anderson, Barnet, B. C.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., NO. 45, Finnish. Meets every second and Fourth Thursdays in the month at 213 Hastings St. East. Ovia Lind, Secretary.

LOCAL VANCOUVER No 1, S. P. of C.— Business meeting every Tuesday evening at Headquarters, 213 Hastings St. East, H. Rahim, Secretary.

Local Gibsons Landing, No. 49, S. P. of C. meet first and third Sunday of the month in Socialist Hall. Secretary, J. N. Hintsa, Gibsons Heights, B. C.

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 Secretary, Wm. Graham, Box 63, Coleman, Alta.

LOCAL EDMONTON, ALTA., NO. 1, S. P. of C. Headquarters 622 First St. Business and propaganda meetings every Wednesday 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, J. A. S. Smith, 622 First St.; Organizer, W. Stephenson.

LOCAL CALGARY, ALTA., NO. 4, S. P. of C.—Business meeting every Saturday evening at 8 o'clock at the headquarters, 134 Ninth Ave. West. S. K. Read, Secretary.

LOCAL REGINA NO. 6, SASK., MEETS every Sunday, Trades Hall, 8 p.m. Business meeting, second Friday, 8 p.m. Trades Hall. W. B. Bird, Gen. Del., Secretary.

LOCAL LETHBRIDGE, ALTA., NO. 18, 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 at 8 p.m., in Labor Temple, James St. Business meeting directly after propaganda meeting. Secretary, J. O'Brien, Room 12, 530 Main St.

LOCAL No. 1, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA, S. P. of C.—Headquarters, Labor Temple. Business meeting every Saturday, 8 p.m. Propaganda meeting every Sunday at 8 o'clock in the Dreamland Theatre, Main St. Secretary, J. O'Brien, Room 12, 530 Main St.

LOCAL OTTAWA NO. 8, S. P. of C.— Business meetings first Sunday in month in the Labor Hall, 219 Bank Street, at 8 p.m. Secretary, Sam Horwith, "The White Book Store," 144 Rideau Street, Ottawa.

LOCAL GLACE BAY, No. 1 OF MARITIME—Headquarters in Rukasin Block, Commercial St. Open every evening. Business and propaganda meeting at headquarters every Thursday at 8 p. m. Alfred Nash, secretary, Box 158; Harold G. Ross, organizer, Box 505.

LOCAL SIDNEY MINES NO. 7, of Nova Scotia.—Business and propaganda meetings every second Monday at 7:30 in the S. O. B. T. Hall back of Town Hall. William Allen, Secretary, Box 344.

UKRAINIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATION of the S. P. of C., is organized for the purpose of educating the Ukrainean workers to the revolutionary principles of this party. The Ukranian Federation publish their own weekly organ, "Nova Hromada" (New Society), at 443 Kinistino Ave., Edmonton, Alta. English comrades desiring information re the Federation, write to J. Senuk, Fin. Secretary.

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.

SUBSCRIPTION CARDS

5 Yearlies - - -	$3.75
10 1-2 Yearlies - -	4.00
20 Quarterlies - -	4.00

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

CORRESPONDENCE

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING.

Tuesday, November 5, 1912. Present: Comrades Kingsley, Karme, Mengel (chairman), Lefeaux, Burroughs, and the Secretary.

Minutes of previous meeting read and approved.

Correspondence from Alberta Executive with application for charter by Comrades in Calmar, Alta. Charter granted.

From Alberta Executive re taking organizers from Alberta.

From Local St. John re making arrangements for Lyceum lectures from the States.

From Local Montreal re organization work in that city.

From Maritime Executive Committee re organizing in the province.

From B.C. Executive with application for Charter from New Westminster. Charter granted.

Secretary instructed to reply to correspondents.

Comrade O'Brien reports good meetings being held all along the line, especially on Vancouver Island.

The matter of publishing the Western Clarion was fully discussed, and committee decided to leave the matter in Comrade Kingsley's hands.

Financial report as follows:

Receipts.

Due stamps Alberta Executive	$15.00
Due stamps B.C. Executive..	19.00
Due stamps Martime Executive	10.00
Dues A. E. Faulkner.....	1.00
Dues J. W. Dargie.....	3.00
Party buttons, Medicine Hat..	2.25
Dodgers, Local St. Catherines, Ont.	1.50
Local Calmar, Charter, A.E.C.	1.00
Literature	15.20
Organizing fund	235.85
Balance on hand Oct. 1	12.28
	316.43

Expenditure.

C. M. O'Brien, organizing	40.00
Dominion Express	5.00
Telegrams	.50
Secretaries' wages	7.50
Postage Stamps	2.00
Office Supplies	.60
Literature from C. H. Kerr Co.	12.05
Printing Pamphlets, Dodgers, etc., E.T.K.	200.00
Loan to Clarion	35.52
Balance on hand	13.26
	$316.43
Clarion Deficit	345.75

W. WATTS,
Secretary.

BRITISH COLUMBIA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Tuesday, November 5, 1912. Present: Comrades Kingsley, Karme, Mengel (chairman), S. Lefeaux, J. H. Burrough, and the Secretary.

Credentials received from Comrades Lefeaux and Burroughs, who were elected on the committee in the places of Comrades McVety and Kavanaugh, who were suspended for non-attendance.

It was moved and seconded that credentials be accepted. Carried.

Minutes of previous meeting read and approved.

Correspondence from Local Langley to the effect that a comrade who resided in the same riding as the socal was a member at large, and requesting the Executive to ask the comrade to become a member of Local Langley. Comrade to be notified.

Application for Charter received from comrades of New Westminster. Application received and referred to Dominion Executive Committee.

The matter of placing organizers in the Comox and Okanagan ridings as soon as possible was discussed, and action to be taken as soon as arrangements can be made.

Financial report as follows:

Receipts.

Local Vancouver No. 1, stamps.	$10.00
" Vancouver No. 69, stamps	5.00
" Naramata No. 66, stamps	3.00
" Vancouver Lettish No. 68 stamps	3.00
" So. Fort George No. 61, stamps	4.00
" Crawford Bay No. 72 stamps	2.00
" Vancouver Finnish No. 45, stamps	5.00
" Gibsons Landing No. 49 stamps	5.00
" Langley No. 73, stamps..	1.40
" Vancouver 68, supplies..	.25
Balance on hand Oct. 11	68.53
	107.18

Expenditure.

Due stamps from D.E.C.....	$19.35
Organizing by Com. Fitzgerald	18.00
Postage stamps	1.00
Secretaries' Salary.....	7.50
Organizing for New Westminster	3.00
Telegrams	.75
Balance on hand	57.08

Meeting adjourned.

W. WATTS,

A bound volume of 1911 Clarions will cost you two dollars and fifty cents post paid. Only six left.

QUARTERLY REPORT CARDS.

The secretaries of the following locals have sent in report cards for the quarter ending September 30th.

If your Local is not amongst these, find out why your secretary has not sent in the cards, and if possible have the report sent in to the D. E. C., or reasons why he is unable to.

Local So. Ft. George, B.C., No. 61.
Local Montreal, Que., No. 11.
Local Ottawa, Ont., No. 8.
Local Enderby, B.C., No. 65.
Local Vancouver Lettish, No. 58.
Local Crawford Bay, B.C., No. 72.
Local Nakusp, B.C., No. 74.
Local Victoria, B.C., No. 2.
Local Gibson's Landing, B.C., No. 49.
Local Langley, B.C., No. 73.
Local Cumberland, B.C., No. 70.
Local Edmonton, Alta., No. 11.
Local Regina, Sask., No. 6.
Local St. Catherines, Ont., No. 30.
Local Vancouver, B.C., No. 69.
Local Markerville, Alta., No. 31.

FEDERAL ELECTIONS.

The federal elections are likely to be sprung on us at any time now, so it behooves the comrades in every riding to get busy and prepare the ground for taking action in the elections.

There are many things that can be done, whether a socialist candidate is in the field or not.

One of the things to do is to look around you for a suitable district where you can distribute Clarions or leaflets to advantage. This can be the work of a comrade in whose town there is no Local.

Locals should take the matter up at their next business meeting and select a district in their city where they can work to advantage.

Open up a committee room in the district selected, get all the Local comrades to work in that one district; in fact, make it the general headquarters till the elections are over. Half an hour three nights a week distributing leaflets will accomplish wonders in a month. Have the headquarters open all day, have plenty of papers on file, two or three checker boards, a smoking concert once a week, a short speech twice a week; in fact, turn it into a club, but see that a little pick and shovel work is done.

Locals have attempted to do too much during election time; don't do it this time. Confine yourselves to one ward of the city, put the whole of your energy to work on that ward, and we believe you will be surprised at the results.

Comrades belonging to Locals in small towns can by a little judgment build up a good Local and a fine organization. First thing to do is to get a store on a main street; if the rents are high, get one on a side street. Have a sign painted "Socialist headquarters," get a bunch of literature and a few Socialist and Capitalist papers (write us for the names of some socialist papers, and don't be afraid to have some capitalist papers on hand).

Get some bills printed inviting every one to your headquarters, and, as suggested above, turn it into a club by having a smoker every week. Nothing is gained by being a bunch of hair-splitters. Throw your store wide open to the public. Have the store kept clean, turn out anyone that makes themselves obnoxious, and conduct the campaign in such a manner as to earn the respect of everyone.

ORGANIZING FUND.

Local Greenwood, No. 9:	
Per J. Cuthbertson	$2.00
Per C. J. Johnson	$4.00
Local Vancouver, No. 69:	
Per A. McDonald	$2.35
Per J. Kavanaugh	$1.30
Local Vancouver No. 1.....	20.00
Local Winnipeg, No. 1	$4.00

BUYING A JOB.

On page 20 of last Saturday's World, one man offers $25 for a job and another $10. This shows how much better off the wage slave is than was the chattel slave. The chattel slave's master had to pay a good sum of money for Mr. Slave and then was obliged to feed, clothe and shelter him besides. But the modern slave not only cannot give himself away but has to offer a bonus to anyone who will secure him a master. Let us now sing "Britons never will be slaves."

Prapaganda Meetings

LOCAL WINNIPEG

Every Sunday
8 p.m.

LABOR TEMPLE
James Street East

MARITIME EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Meeting held Sunday, October 20th. Comrades present (Ross, Chairman). Nash, Alex. M. Kinnon, McLaughlin, and secretary. Minutes of previous meeting read and approved of as read. Correspondence read from Local St. John, Sydney Miens. Comrade Fillmore and the Dom Ex-Committee. After some discussion it was agreed that the fall was not the best time for an organizer to come to the Maritime Provinces and to ask the Dom Ex to place any contribution that come to them for organizing in the Maritime to our credit until next Spring. Moved and seconded that the Executive send Comrade Ross over to Sydney Mines to distribute and sell literature and get in touch with the comrades over there. Moved and seconded that meeting adjourn.

Receipts

August:

Local St. John, 50 due stamps..	$5.00
Local Glace Bay, 70 due stamps	$7.00
	$12.00

September:

Local St. John, 30 due stamps..	$3.00
Local Glace Bay, 70 due stamps	$7.00
	$22.00

Expenditure.

Dom Ex, 300 due stamps.....	$15.00
Postage	.80
	$15.80

DAN COCHRANE,

ONTARIO NOTES.

The result of the bye election just ended in North Waterloo shows many things amongst which are: The growth of the movement, the lack of organization, and the need of comrades all over the Dominion to acquaint themselves and the Socialist press with the happenings of everyday events that touch the movement.

Comrade Martin, who was the candida in 1911 received 454 votes. Comrade Wayman, who was the candidate this time got 593 out of the smallest total vote ever cast in the riding. Not a word of reform or palliative has been caught. Clarion leaflets and our own manifesto (S.D.P. enclosed) was used. We filled the opera house at Berlin three times and about a dozen well-attended meetings were held in the riding. The country vote showed an increase. But the greatest gains are in the towns.

I would like to correct an error prevalent among Clarion readers and S. P. of C. members. The Social Democrats of Ontario are mainly men schooled in the S. P. of C. and the Berlin Executive has done its best to educate the membership along the right lines. We even requested the Ottawa men to help us nurse their neighbors, Renfrew and Carleton place, and the Ontario organizer has spoken under the auspices of St. Catherines, Winnipeg and Ottawa locals of the S. P. of C. and he changed not one iota of his expression and no fault was found.

I am compelled to think that only those who are not clear upon the Socialist position foster that tendency to diverge factions. Wayman is to be organizer in Toronto for a while. The S. P. of C. who are away out of city should help and not hinder his advocacy of Socialism, otherwise it will be harder than ever to pull the wool from the eyes of the workers in that city.

Ottawa would do well if they would find a fixed place of abode—many reds have told the writer that they couldn't find any Socialists after weeks of search. The Sinner.

BRUTALITY OF OUR CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

There are necessities in abundance. There is food and clothing for all. Why is it that millions are suffering for the actual necessities of life? Is it because property interests, the profit system, is of more importance than the life of the people?

Suppose we were living under a form of government wherein each and every individual received the full benefit of his or her labor. A government wherein no one was allowed to derive a profit off another, and there was no suffering for the necessities of life. A government with neither master nor slave, where no one need beg for leave to toil.

Where we would have leisure to read and think, and no one need scheme and lie and plan to bar the wolf of hunger from the door.

Suppose we were living under such a government, would you vote for a system to create millions of slaves? Would you vote for hunger and rags? Is it just or is it wise for millions to toil in poverty and want that a few may live in luxury?

We are not a civilized people. We cannot claim civilization, because our present brutal exploiting system proves the falsity of our claim.—Modern Methods, Alaska.

Why does poverty exist in the midst of plenty? Because the capitalist class owns the means of life.

THE WORLD'S HONOR.

Bill Uno.

Once in Romes renowned arena
Met two gladiators bold.
One was born amid the northland
And inured to storm and cold;
While his dark skinned lithe opponent
Was the child of wine and gold,
And was trained by veteran warriors
Till his skill at arms was told,
Over all the broadening empire
Whither Roman rule had rolled.

Limbs of steel and savage prowess
Bore the man of auburn hair;
Like a king of human giants
With a freeman's haughty air,
And his tread was firm, reliant;
As he stepped into the square
Where the combat must be mortal;
Where the victor could not spare;
Where the only law was conquer,
And no trick was deemed unfair.

Brawn and valor; brawn and cunning;
Cunning bought with Roman gold;
Were the weapons that contended,
Where the prize was death's damp mould,
Or the wild huzzas of thousands,
And a crown to ne'er grow old
And a fame to live for ever;
Such a fame as is not sold,
Though the wealth of Romes dominions
For it be together rolled.

Steel to steel the din resounded;
Thrust and parry, guard and stroke;
Brawn and valor, brawn and cunning
Now each flashing blade bespoke;
While the turmoil of the conflict
Cheer on cheer, from thousands woke;
Cheers that with each fiercer conflict,
Like the thunders swelled and broke,
While the even matched contestants
Fought like demons wreathed in smoke.

Long and well the strife continued,
But the Northman's iron frame
Slowly wore away the Roman,
Till the pampered child of fame
Seemed at last to loose the battle;
Seemed to meet a fate the same,
As he'd dealt to countless others
In this sanguinary game,
Where the laurels crown the victor,
And the vanquished has no name.

Backward slowly he is sinking
Till his shield is in the dust,
Yet his blade, as keen, as eager,
Parries every lightning thrust.
For he has learned in countless battles,
Not one risk with chance to thrust;
Learned that in the stern arena,
Those who court its favors must
Be wily as the serpent;
Hoarding fortunes every crust.

Falls his shield; his fingers clutching
Backward quickly in the sand;
Then with spring like eastern tiger
Once again he takes his stand;
While the Northman's eyes are blinded
By the dust from out his hand;
And the southern blade has entered
And has closed the battle grand,
And the child of brawn and cunning
Greets the plaudits of the band.

Thus it is in life's arena;
Be the trophy fame or wealth,
Nations hail the man successful
Who shall win, although by stealth;
Though he grind his fellow-beings
In the profit-mill where health,
Cheer, and hope, and human honor
Into shining dollars melt,
That the title of the owner
May in flaming gold; be spelt.

RECIPROCITY

Capitalism is a system of exploitation.

Under capitalism the workers produce great quantities of wealth. Of this they get just enough to live on and no more.

The master class take all over and above what labor needs to live on.

The amount of wealth which the master class take is so vast that they cannot consume it no matter how extravagant their expenditure is.

They amuse themselves in building palaces and yachts, in keeping racing studs, automobiles, summer and winter residences; in giving banquets, balls, and theatre parties; yet they can only waste a portion of the wealth which the working class produces for them.

What do they do with the balance? It is utilized in building armaments and in adding to the machinery of production. The armaments are used to keep the working class divided against themselves, while the machinery is used to exploit and enslave them.

The capitalist plan of building armaments cannot continue. It leads to bankruptcy and the breakdown of the system. Unlimited machine production is also impossible, for in time foreign markets must be glutted with unsaleable products.

When the capitalist system gets into full working order; when it has finished building railroads, factories, and other machinery of production; when there are no more foreign markets to conquer and supply; when the surplus products of labor are no longer saleable and profitable, the system will break down. The working-class will refuse to use the armaments and the machinery of production against themselves. Capitalist control will be thrown off, and the workers will attain supremacy.

The average worker does not see this, and at present he is still discussing the problems which perplexed our forefathers in the stone age. Reciprocity, Free Trade, Protection, militarist bogeys, citizen armies and navies and other nostrums engage and engross the attention of Trades Hall councillors, while the upas tree of capitalism spreads its deadly shade over and around them.

Let those workers who propose to deal with the rise in prices and the increasing cost of living by adopting Free Trade read what Marx said of Free Trade in 1848. In a speech delivered before the Democratic Association of Brussels, on January 9, 1848, he said:

"Bue generally speaking Free Trade is destructive. It breaks up old nationalities and carries the antagonism between proletariat and bourgeoisie to the uttermost point. In a word, the system of commercial freedom hastens the social revolution. In this revolutionary sense alone, gentlemen, I am in favor of Free Trade."

What little the world has seen of Freetrade fully bears out what Marx foretold it would do. It has weakened national prejudices, widened the class struggle into international proportions, accentuated it, and brought the social revolution nearer.—International Socialist.

WHAT SOCIALISTS WANT TO ACCOMPLISH

What do we Socialists want to do? First, we want to socialize the machinery of production and distribution. This includes railroads, telegraphs, mills, factories, mines and enough land to break the force of unemployment and landlordism.

What do we mean by socializing these things? Making them public or collective property. You can understand the relationship of socialized property by thinking of the schools, public roads, court houses, parks, ports offices, and other things that have already been socialized.

Socialized property is not divided and cannot be divided; therefore the talk of Socialism wanting to divide things up is nonsense.

When things are socialized they are conducted for service rather than for profit; it is so with schools, roads, and the mail; it will be so with manufactories and transportation when they are socialized; therefore Socialism will destroy profit, interest, and rent.

But Socialism does not propose to socialize all things, only the larger tools that are socially used; therefore the claim that it is against private property is false; indeed its chief aim is to make it possible for all people to have private property, the private property that they need for their comfort, welfare and happiness.

It means also that Socialism is not a cut and dried thing that we are trying to force down your throats, but is rather merely a proposition to put all power into the hands of the people and trust them to do what they may think is right.

It means that the talk of Socialism destroying religion or the home is necessarily nonsense, seeing that it cannot override the will and wishes of the whole people.

But certain things will follow the socialization of the big tools of production and distribution. The people will be able to employ themselves and to retain their full social product. Landlordism and profit-taking will pass. As all will always have jobs and get all they produce, poverty will end. As poverty ends, ignorance will go, and nine-tenths of the prostitution and practically all the wars that disgrace modern civilization will disappear.—International Socialist.

REFORMS.

Have you ever stood on a wharf and watched a vessel being brought into it. If you have you might have noticed that the crew put over the side of the vessel next the pier what are called "fenders" to protect the ship from damaging itself by too forcible a collision with the wharf.

When you hear an individual or party advocating "reforms," "palliations," or "immediate demands," just remember that **"reforms" etc. are the "fenders" which are put out to prevent the old Capitalist hulk from foundering on the rocks of revolution.** Some Capitalists oppose reforms, oh yes, but only because they hate to admit that the old ship is so rotten that it needs a soft bed to bump up against.

How much easier the work of Socialists would be if the Capitalist class could not hand out reforms, how much sooner the workers would get wise. Away with reforms! Onward revolution.

If you wish to create discord in any organized effort of revolutionary slaves, just taunt some of them with aping others. Even if the accusation is false, the accused will feel so stung that they will strain every point to find some excuse to differ with those whom they are accused of aping.—C. M. O'Brien.

THE VANDERBILT BALL.

Expensive balls given by the idle rich are common, everyday affairs.

In fact, we are so used to monkey parties, butterfly balls, and other social functions indulged in by the "upper class" that unless something startling happens we pay no particular attention to them.

But here is a story of a wonderful entertainment.

This particular affair was called a Persian Ball and was planned by Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, wife of a New York railroad magnate.

The ball ended at dawn, when the wearers of ten millions of dollars worth of jewels left a scene which was probably the most elaborate ever set for a single occasion given by any one individual in the world.

For the night of fashionable entertainment Mrs. Vanderbilt gave her guests she is estimated to have spent $175,000.

Rather a deucedly clever way of spending money, don't you think? And don't forget Bessie, the sewing machine girl, James the butler, Jim the electrician, Bill the florist and Abraham the grocer, all benefitted by this lavish expenditure of money. The poor must live you know.

At this ball there were brocaded hangings, rare rugs from Persia, India and Turkey, fountains of gold and ivory, huge searchlights that turned the court into a wonderland of dazzling colors, avenues of tropical trees, a special theatre built for one night's entertainment, a ball room hung with painted canvasses that transformed it into a Persian landscape, and silk covered divans from which the richly-dressed men and women watched a $5,000 performance of "The Merry Countess," brought from the Casino in New York.

Of course everybody had a good night. Everybody drank and "ragged" until daylight. Such a thing as work never worries swell society. There is no to-morrow, no going into the shop or mill in the morning. Eat, drink and be merry, was the rule at Mrs. Vanderbilt's ball. There was not only an elaborate dinner served by Sherry of New York fame, but a breakfast as well.

Yes, it was a glorious night, and it cost only $175,000. A mere trifle. While hundreds of thousands of human beings, men, women and children are struggling for existence, and the great masses of them are doomed to die as paupers, Mrs. Vanderbilt spends $175,000 for one night's entertainment.

This is as it should be. Isn't it her money? Didn't Mr. Vanderbilt earn it? Of course he did, silly! Therefore they have a perfect right to spend it as they please. Don't you understand Mr. Smarty, that when rich people spend their money they put it into circulation, and that you and I who work for wages are all liable to get a dollar or two of this money. If they didn't spend it, wouldn't we be in an awful fix? You bet.

Without money we would join the bread line. So let's sing songs of praise to Mrs. Vanderbilt, the benevolent lady who puts her hard-earned money into circulation to bring joy and blessings to all of us who are doomed to a life of drudgery in this land of the brave and the home of the free.

But just a parting word, brother. There are thousands of men working on the Vanderbilt railroad who get the magnificent sum of $1.50 per day. They toil from sunrise to sunset building tracks, repairing bridges running trains and handling freight. They do all the useful work and make Vanderbilt's dividends possible.

Vanderbilt owns the machine the railroad) all of us must use. He has locked up in his private vaults some printed slips of paper called bonds, and by virtue of that ownership he exacts the right to exploit all those who use the railroad and all those whose labor maintains it.

All these thousands of men who receive $1.50 for their work actually do from $6 to $8 worth of productive labor a day, but the private ownership by Vanderbilt of this public utility gives him the right to stea $5 a day from each laborer, gives him the privilege to enslave a great mass of human beings, gives him power of life or death over men—for under the present system of private ownership of jobs a job means life and the man who owns the job controls the worker.

But all these monkey parties serve a purpose and teach a lesson.

Wealth concentrated in the hands of a few as the fruits of exploitation of the masses inevitably contains within itself the elements of its own destruction.

It was so with the ruling patricians of ancient Rome. It was so with the royalty of France just preceding the revolution.

The vulgar, brutal, reckless extravagance of the Vanderbilts and Fishes are the symptoms of social disease and decay. So, on with the ball. Let them eat, drink and be merry, for those whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad. Gordon Nye.

Fellow slaves, why cannot we be powerful? We have the numbers. Why not the power?

A VISION OF THE MODERN WORLD

"It's a Mad World."
(Fay, "The Bounder").

I had a vision of the modern world,
Not with the narrow hampered view of eyes;
In thought I saw this spinning planet hurled,
One-half in darkness, through the sunlit skies.
I saw the fields that Nature fashioned fair,
Robbed of their green, smoke-blackened and defaced,
By hideous factories that flourished there;
Whereunto men were driven, hunger-chased.

Men, who, according to their parson's sleek,
Were fashioned in the image of their God;
Dumb men, at sundown staggering homeward, weak
Beneath the brutal weight of labor's rod.
Homeward they move, though Home's sweet-sounding name
Fits ill the hovels where they rest and eat,
After the day of slavery and shame,
Each face reveals the sorrow of defeat.

I saw with pity one accursed den;
A little child lay there in Death's great rest,
A little life that sobbed awhile and then
Ebbed out in pain, this kind release was best.
For what awaits the offspring of the poor?
A life of drudgery and pleasures few;
Until they rest within the grave secure
From all the harm that Capital can do.

Where night revealed a city's million lights,
I saw the shapes that once were maidens sweet,
The ravages of mad licentious nights,
With vain cosmetics they had tried to cheat.
It moved along, this army of the lost,
Fair victims all of Mammon and of lust;
The idle rich are sated, and the cost,
Fair maiden-honor trampled in the dust.

I saw the walls of prisons and the bars;
Behind them souls of men were crucified;
Here, poets, lovers of the sun and stars,
The birds and flowers, have wept and yearned and died.
Here only brutes in shape of men win back
To liberty and further sin and crime,
The poets suffer anguish on the rack
Of Bondage, for their trust in the sublime.

If men could only see beyond their doors
The brutal tyranny that ne'er relents;
With clearer vision see beyond their shores
The sweat and blood that drenches continents;
If all the agony of all the world,
In one grim picture rose before the mind;
Surely their strength united would be hurled
To slay this monster that doth crush mankind.

I do believe that to be happy here,
And to make others happy, is the best,
The truest gospel; let us hold it dear
As Socialists, and teach it to the rest.
And though the finished work we may not see,
And though the glorious time we may not share,
The knowledge that our children shall be free
Will make our bondage easier to bear.

DUNCAN CAMPBELL.
Toronto, Canada.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Perhaps no body of men worked harder to get "votes for women" than the Socialists of Los Angeles, Cal. The first thing, however, the women of Los Angeles did after they got the vote was to defeat the Socialist candidate for mayor. While Socialism would bring about the economic equality of the sexes, as Socialists it is much more important that we educate all wage earners as to their position under capitalism than to waste time in endeavoring to put into the hands of women a weapon that they may use against us.

If you want women to get the ballot all you have to do is to vote the Socialist ticket, then the Capitalist class will fall over themselves in granting women the suffrage so that they may use them to defeat the Socialists. Let us bend our energies toward educating our class so that when that day comes the Capitalist will find that he has "caught a Tartar" when he enfranchises "women."

NO COMPENSATION TO CAPITALISTS.

(Continued From Page One.)

make scientific management possible. You see that government bonds at 4 per cent would be gladly taken in exchange by the shareholders of many of the smaller lines. The burden upon the backs of the working class in that particular year would have been increased if such a scheme had been in vogue.

In the case of the C. P. R., however, 4 per cent bonds would lessen the toll immensely as the following analysis will show. Capital, including both stocks and bonds about $400,000,000 (In 1909, $372,000,000). Earning in 1910-11 $36,000,000. 4 per cent on $400,000,000 would be $16,000,000. In the case of this one line the toll would be lessened considerably.

But we cannot take over only one line out of 84 or even two or three for no one knows when one of the non-paying systems will jump into the ranks of the revenue producers. If we are to take one we must take them all. To do this by paying four per cent on the capital would in many cases increase the burden and make matters wrose instead of better.

The second reason why I object to this plan of buying out the present owners is that it would be practically impossible for the working class to get together enough money to make the purchase. It makes no matter whether we issue bonds, give notes, or in what way we go about it, sooner or later the working class would be obliged to save the amount required out of the amount they produce. More than this the money would have to be forthcoming before the transfer was made. Some will say that we would retire the bonds out of the profits earned by the ryailways etc. The profits under government ownership would be exactly the same as profits under private ownership viz. unpaid wages of the men engaged in the industry.

Let us figure out the number of years it would require for the working class to save out of the collective wages enough money to buy out the present owners.

If all the men engaged in the production of Portland cement were to save every cent of their wages it would take them about forty years to accumualte enough to buy the plants. But these men could not lay by all they earn for they must live and only the small amount above their daily cost of subsistence could be put into this sinking fund. It is practically impossible for a man to live in Canada on less than $300 per year. This is not an average living either but the lowest posible limit of existence. The average wage of the cement workers is $450 per year. It might be possible, barely possible, for the workers to lay up one third of their wages each year. Presuming that all of them were to do so they would be 120 years constantly grinding and saving before they would own the jobs. This is too much to expect.

For another example consider the railways. If all the railway employees were to hoard every cent of their pay every month they would be a little more than twenty years buying out the owners. This is taking the valuation of the securities at par. A great many of the stocks sell above $200 so we may put 35 years as the shortest possible time in which it might be accomplished. The average wage of a railway employee is $505 per year. Reducing these men to the lowest possible standard of living they might be able to lay by two fifths of this amount.

If they were all to do so they would be eighty-seven and a half years buying their freedom. It would require nearly ninety years of hard work and bitter scraping before they would be in a position to persuade their masters to get off their backs. It is useless to hope for such a thing.

These two examples show the great difficulty of buying out our masters even if we could get all the people to act in unison. Aside from the great difficulty of accumulating this enormous amount of mony when we merely figure it out theoretically, when we look at it from another angle we find that it would be absolutely impossible even if we were to try. No matter how hard we might try the working class could never buy out the capitalists. At all times more than half the total wealth of the world at all seasons now a days is in the possession of the capitalist class. This wealth as a rule consists in their ownership of the railways, factories, mines and the other agencies of production. This being the case we could not buy them out even if we were to pool our resources.

The figures covering the distribution of wealth in the U. S. are not out yet but at the last census about 82 per cent of the wealth of the country was in the hands of about 1 per cent of the people. All the capitalists (including those who think they are, and those who think they are going to be) comprising less than 13 per cent of all the people have more than 90 per cent of the wealth. It would be absolutely impossible for the remaining portion to buy out the holding of that small group no matter how hard they might try.

The workers will never be able to buy out the capitalists so let us quit thinking about it.

The third reason why we should not treat with the capitalists on any basis other than that of unconditional surrender is because the struggle between us and them is one of life and death. Our condition as slaves does not permit us to offer them terms or to treat with them at all. Being as it is a fight for our lives we must make use of any means at our disposal. We have never received quarter in our conflicts in the past, we will never receive quarter when the final fight is raging so we dare not offer them any quarter. Both classes can no longer continue to exist. One must perish, and that one can only be the capitalists.

The greed and the indifference of the masters will literally crush the lives out of some of us, maim and wreck many more of us and doom us all to slavery if uncontrolled. If a vestige of capitalism remains this will be meted out to us. We must root it out completely or accept our fate. There is no compromise, no surrender, no quarter for us. It is death or life and our life means their death.

In some period of each of the successive civilization that have arisen, flourished and decayed since the dawn of history there has been a time when the slaves became so numerous and so cheap that their lives were of little moment to their owners. In every society the lives of the subject class become matters of contempt to the masters. So much so that we find in different places and different times (though always at the same point in the development of that society) thousands of wretches slaughtered for the greed, indolence and amusement of the upper stratum.

Slaves were burned alive to provide the cruel delights of the Roman nobles. Vassals were butchered in England that the baron might bathe his tired and aching feet in their warm blood and bowels. Peasants were tortured in France prior to the revolution that they might bring a larger share of their crops to the Feudal Lord.

We are in a similar condition today. The masters do not burn us in tar wrappings as the ancient Romans did. They force us into factories and let us burn ourselves. They do not wring our treasures from us by means of the wheel or the rack; they use a mortgage or a sherriff's sale. They do not disembowel us with a sword as the Roman baron did, they starve us to death. We are not forced into their dungeons or their galleys; we beg for a chance to go. A human being today is of less importance in the mind of the capitalist than a glass of claret.

Thirty-one miners were killed at Bellevue, in February 1911, and not one of the owners expressed a regret. These slaves toiled and moiled at the behalf of a group of shareholders in France. The shareholders knew nothing about the mines. They cared nothing for the miners. All they knew or cared was that those slaves could put their flesh and blood into that coal seam and bring forth dividends. It was only when the lives of the men could be translated into terms of comfort, ease, and luxury for the shareholders that they were noticed at all. They did not send even a word of sympathy, but the chairman of the company regretted that the explosion had reduced dividends. Those dividends are stained with blood but they care not.

It is the same with every article in our world of commerce and the same with all the profit-taking shareholders. A lace collar has cost the sight of some poor girl slave. A court gown, or an opera cloak is dyed with the life blood of another.

The toll demanded by the pleasure and the profit of the masters is measured in human lives. Mangled limbs, maimed hands and sightless eyes are scattered all along the path. Every step they take crushes out pools of blood from prostrate slaves. Those limbs, those hands, those eyes, that blood is ours. Ours the pain, ours the misery, ours the sacrifice; theirs the gain.

I say that we have paid. Every working man who shed his blood on the altar of Capitalism has paid his share and more. One working man's hand crushed off to make profits for the master outweighs all the dollars and cents in the world. Every woman driven to the paupers grave has paid the share for her whole sex. Every child slave starved and stunted at the wheel has paid the share for a thousand children yet unborn. We of the working class have paid our share a thousand times over. Having done so why should we pay again.

We cannot live and let Capital survive. Either we must abandon all hope of liberty or that Bloated Monstrous Octopus must die. We have no choice in the fray. Something inside us, greater and stronger than our own will is urging us upward and onward toward the heights of Brotherhood and we cannot resist. On the one hand is freedom on the other slavery. We can not choose. The choice is made for us. Anything that blocks our path must die. We can not compromise. Our struggle is one of life and death. Life for us is death to Capital. Let Capital die. No compromise, no surrender, no quarter.

APHORISMS OF SOCIALISM

(Continued from Page 1.)

making the stage of development of industry incongruous with the social base. It prepared the way for a social change, but the actual work of bringing the social basis into line with the method of production it left to the initiative of the class whose interests demanded it.

And at the same time the old ruling class, whose interest lay in maintaining the system under which they were paramount, opposed the attack upon that system to the utmost.

The social system, then, is within certain limits under the control of men. Each system that permits of class distinctions favors a given class, and that class naturally employs every means to prevent it from falling.

It is for this purpose that the present ruling class maintain their army, navy and police. By means of these they hold back social change until the social basis of sectional private ownership has got to be quite out of harmony with the means of producing wealth by social effort. It follows, therefore, that the revolutionary class must dispossess the capitalists of these armed forces before they can change the social basis.

The machinery of government is controlled through Parliament. Parliament provides the money without which no army or navy can be equipped or maintained. Parliament, which pays the piper, calls the tune to which Jack Tar and Bill Adams must dance. The moral is plain: the working class must organize for the capture of Parliament.

When they have possession of this instrument they will have control of the armed forces, and will be in a position to proceed to the abolition of private property in the means of living and the organization of industry on the basis of common ownership of the machinery of production and the product.

The organization must be consciously for this purpose. That is to say, the organized workers must understand thoroughly the object for which they are organizing. The strength of the revolutionary party does not depend, in a time of crisis, upon the number who have been voting for fragments "they believe in," but upon the number who undertsand what the Revolution means, and whose adherence is founded upon this understanding.

What is the position of the man who has been voting with the Socialist party because he thought they stood for, say, nationalization of the land, which he believes in when he finds that they do not stand for that by itself but for the abolition of of private property in every social necessary? He withdraws and discouragement is bred of his defection. But suppose large numbers have been induced to give support to an object they do not understand, and therefore cannot believe in, what is the position of a party that should attempt to take revolutionary action on such a miscalculation of strength? The result might very well be disaster.

Even if it were no worse than a fluctuation of strength at the polls, that would be sufficiently disastrous to condemn such pandering to ignorance, for Socialism must have no backwash, but must clearly indicate, in every trial of strength, the steady advance which is inevitably to it.

But there is another and vastly more momentous reason why the Socialist organization must be purged of all ignorance.

One of the most fruitful causes of working-class apathy in political matters in the past few years has been the monotonous regularity with which the so-called Labor leaders have been bought over by the master class.

A sort of wholesale instance of this is the present Labor (!) Party in the House of Commons. In order to attach to themselves the vote of "organized Labor," which was raising a cry for a party representing working class interests as the "organized workers" understood them, the Liberals assisted certain "Labor" candidates to scrape into Parliament in divisions where a vote split between "Laborite" and Liberal would let in the Tory.

The result is that "organized Labor" is treated to the spectacle of a "Labor" party putting down amendments that they dare not move for fear the Tories should side with them and defeat the Liberal Government.

There is only one safeguard against this sort of treachery. The working class party must build up its position only on the votes of those who understand the working-class position and working class politics. If this is done the master class will realize that they are up against democracy; that the representative is only the representative; that the "rank and file" rule the roost, and that as the elected person cannot switch votes to one side or another he has nothing to sell. In such case they will realize that all there is left for them to do is to fight him.

All the reasons here set forth demand the utmost clarity of issue. Only the revolutionary is a fit instrument for the Revolution. It would be placing the Socialist Party in a false position to have them occupying seats to which they had been elected by the votes of those who were not revolutionists, for in the first place they would have to pander to these unclass-conscious voters in order to retain their seats; secondly, they would be unable to obey the commands of their revolutionary coadjutors, for if they did it would involve the alienation of those who did not stand for revolution.

The revolutionary and the reformer are as far as the poles asunder. The one stands for the abolition of what the other clings to. It is folly, then, to attempt to unite the two in one political organization. Each one must fight for his interest as he understands it—therefore at the outset they must fight each other. The place for the reformer is in the master's camp, for however they may differ as to matters of detail, they do agree as to the fundamental point—the necessity for the maintenance of the present system.

It is the duty, then, of Socialists to see that the workers organize consciously for the revolution. To this end they must keep the issue clear. They must do all they can to discourage those who do not understand the meaning of revolutionary politics from attaching themselves to them, either through the political party or through the ballot. They must at all times clearly put forward the principles of Socialism, asking only for the acceptance of those principles. Anyene who intelligently accepts those principles will need no inducement in the way of vaporous promises of reform and palliation. He becomes part of the revolutionary movement, an atom of vital force helping to push it along, instead of an increment of the dead-weight of ignorance and apathy which retards the progress of any forward movement.

Let us stand for Socialism alone, then, without obscuring our teaching and our object with other issues, and therefore without lumbering our backs with paralytics who cannot walk and who won't be carried. Thus only can we build up a political organization composed of the sound, healthy material necessary for our purpose. Thus only can we base our actions upon exact knowledge of our strength.

—A. E. JACOMB, in Socialist Standard, 193 Gray's Inn Road, London, Eng.

Socialism proposes that every person shall enjoy all that their labor creates less the natural wear and tear of machinery and other incidentals that must be maintained and kept in repair. Under Socialism you will have free access to the means of production and you alone will determine the conditions that you will work under; and last but not least, you will enjoy the full social product of your own toil.

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