

# THE WESTERN CLARION

Published in the Interests of the Working Class Alone.

VANCOUVER, B. C., SATURDAY, AUGUST 5, 1905.

Subscription Price \$1.00

## 1 SUPPRESSED SPEECH

Delivered to the World Through the Socialist Press

The German Chancellor prevented the well known Socialist member of the French Chamber of Deputies from speaking at a meeting held in favor of internationalism. It is usual in any such matter for the government of one country to convey its wishes to the government of the other, but in this case the extraordinary course was taken whereby the German ambassador was directed to the object of the meeting. He would not allow to speak if he went to Berlin. Jaures and his friends have a right to find fault with the German authorities for the result has not provided a world audience for Jaures instead of one gathered under one roof in the capital of the world. Jaures said his speech by the way it had been translated into all languages. Had it been a denunciation in favor of war and extending to the whole of it would have been published in the capital of the world. It is not that kind, and consequently the reform press of all countries will see to it that the speech is published throughout the world. Effective suppression is no longer possible, although care are being taken to catch on to the fact. It is immediately that it became known that the prohibition had been placed on Jaures, the council of the labor party cabinet in London, and it is being enabled to give a main portion of the suppressed speech as translated for the labor press:

Diplomacy and Peace.

Citizen, I am happy to be here the delegate of the socialist group of the French parliament to affirm to you the solidarity and unity of French and German proletarians. For common and firm desire to prepare to conquer peace by the liberation and emancipation of all workers. I rejoice that at this moment there is a pause in the normal relations between Germany and France, and that the German conflict is on the point of solution. To what point did this first move peace? Did the two sides really reach the monstrous pact of being thrown one upon the other? The cannot say with exactness, but one of the beauties of diplomacy is that one can never know certainly at what point it puts itself to save.

Dangers of Capitalism.

Capitalism is full of dangers to the world. It creates an appetite for war, and it must seek distant horizons because the whole system subsiding from the workers as a part of the production of their life restrains the free national competition. This leads to national wars, and, unfortunately, the workers are not sufficiently aware of it is going on. They are misled by a false appearance of national grandeur, and they know so of their fellows in foreign countries that they are not sure of being supported on the other side of frontiers, and abandon themselves to fatality. But socialism is creating a reaction against "the fatalities of war" and the capitalist regime continues.

Peace Necessary to Progress.

Revolution were necessary socialism would not shrink from war, but in the Europe of today, it is by means of internationalism that the work of liberty and justice to be accomplished, and the hopes of the people redressed. Socialism under peace is certain; under war it is impossible. Revolution follows revolution in Europe. Europe is necessary to progress to-day, and peace between Germany and France is necessary to the peace of Europe. The time of Charles VIII, of Louis XIV, and of Napoleon, are, too often, realized and we are offered in Europe, but in spite of that it had first stifled the old world, and was the first to bring the new bourgeois egoism, and has been a great force of human progress. And so far as the relations between Germany and France

## 2 MARRXIAN IRON LAW OF WAGES

An English Comrade on Economics and Democratic Socialism

Marxian economics are essentially the scientific foundation of a democracy founded on the equality of the basis of labor being the source of all wealth. Many half-baked reformers who claim to be Socialist teachers openly take the greatest exception to the teachings of Marx and to democratic Socialism. Their opposition, however, is always uttered under the influence of some specious reason, and to openly oppose democracy would be to rank as individualists and advocates of class domination, and they would be instrumental to covert attacks on Democratic Socialism.

Your anti-Marxian Socialist is never bold enough to openly avow that he desires to achieve in the accepted Socialist principles of labor as the source of all wealth, that being an issue on which he is not prepared to give battle. He prefers to entrench himself behind some imaginary theory of value, such as "rent," which he thinks is sufficiently plausible to hide his unscientific prejudices. Unhappily, he is not so many comrades who, while accepting the notion that labor creates all wealth, are willing to leave to others to argue such economic questions. The consequence is that the democratic Socialist or social reformer has many opportunities of pushing forward an autocratic and spurious form of Socialism.

Now, it behooves every Social-Democratic who believes in the equality of labor to be prepared to give reasons in support of his belief, and he should therefore, at least, become acquainted with the arguments of Marx as set forth in the first chapter of "Capital."

There are no economists who so clearly prove the truth of the maxim that "Labor is the source of all wealth," and the substance of exchange-value as Marx, and his Marx's theory of value, show that his analysis of value is incorrect, and democratic Socialism has yet to seek in the foundations of all its theories.

The consideration of a simple comparison or relation we draw between two things seems a trite matter, and we would hardly expect to find it of any difficulty to the student of fair education, much less to doctors of science. Yet it is round such a simple thing that so many an ignorant and prejudice is displayed, and such important issues are involved. Unhappily, one rarely seeks to dispel such misconceptions, and is content to confirm them. Debased in the emotions, prejudice suborns the intellect, and wounded vanity and self-esteem to often prevent the recognition of error. If it were not for the truth of Marx's theorem would be recognized, for not one opponent has yet taken his analysis of value, following his disquisitions of detail, and laid his finger on such and such a clause of paragraph, and said, "It is here where Marx goes wrong, and it is here that we draw a firm conclusion." Many have swerved at his exposition, many have pushed it, but none have met it honestly and squarely to prove it false.

That his opponents would confute it if they could is evident from the numerous attempts to rehabilitate utility as the substance of value in some form or other. But their efforts have been futile. As Lavater once confessed, "I am a man, and I am swayed behind the iron bars of logic, much to their chagrin."

What are these elementary laws and theorems which underlie the value relation in an act of exchange which Marx bases his whole theory, and which virtually form the economic foundation of democratic Socialism? Merely that a comparison implies measurement in a simple substance—not in two, nor in three, as the vulgar economists, who even lay claim to be learned in psychology, would have us believe by their ready alterations from one substance to another.

When we compare volumes of sound we do not do it in degrees of color; neither do we compare color in degrees of weight. We compare them in terms of the same substance, commodities we must look for a given Thus, when we come to exchange value in both which will enable us to compare commodities with the other. We may select this or that quality for the purpose of our comparison, but, to be logical, we must compare them on the same other. We cannot make it consist of several substances just to suit the agencies of our prejudices. The laws of exchange-value, however, are not perception and reflection do not permit of such fantasies.

Economists mostly rely on two substances in which to measure exchange-value—labor and utility. Unfortunately for the advocates of utility as the substance of value, you cannot compare commodities before you realize its utility. Clothes must be worn before you know their value. Exchange-value, however, demands measurement in terms of exchange. Utility is essentially subjective, as it depends on the individual whether the thing is of little or great use to him. Exchange value must be objective, that is, it must be present in the article, exchange only expressing what it is there. Therefore, it is at once related to the class of all possible substances to express value. All commodities are acknowledged to be objects of labor but is the latter

a property which enables commodities to be compared? The essentials of exchange-value are that it should be possessed by the commodity and be capable of measurement. Now, labor is embodied in every commodity and is capable of measurement. The Socialist theory of exchange-value does not permit of direct absolute measurement, the time measurement being governed by the law of competition, a sort of blind social process which the market has to accept in lieu of a more direct form of measurement.

It should be noted that when the market deals with quantities of commodities it only regards them as possessing a given quantity of labor. The world of exchange-value is only the sum of human effort. Whether they are the products of boot-makers or cotton spinners is a matter of indifference to the market. They possess the one substance which gives them value or brings them into relation.

When we measure two things by their weight we do not take into consideration whether they are potatoes or bales of cotton. To us it is only the weight which counts. The scales disregard the quality of the objects just as they disregard whether a man is a king or a peasant. The market disregards the quality of the commodities. It is when we compare two articles that we do so on the basis that one is a sack of potatoes and the other a bale of cotton; whether a commodity is the product of a king or a peasant, a skilled engineer does not enter into the comparison. Both are labor, both are human energy—value containing the same quality of value-creating substances—there it begins and ends.

This is the iron law of logic which we must accept. So average are they to admitting the equality of labor, drawn from the obvious conclusion that a quantitative process of value is the only conclusion that they throw the laws of logic and psychology to the winds rather than accept Marx's analysis of value. When we accept this quantitative law upon them.

If exchange-value permitted a qualitative distinction of labor, then we should expect to see a great number in classic economy pulled up en masse in the ranks of Marxian philosophy. Their so-called theory of utility would triumph, and class distinctions in classic economy would be of little value, though not less obvious, labor would prevail.

That the labor of one should be valued more than that of another is not to the liking of those who pride themselves on being the superior persons who run society. They have no objection to a laborer who is called higher forms of labor, to them so previous, are more useful than the lower forms, classed as the unskilled. But the laborer who is called higher and the laborer he would dispense with their labor, that he would build his house without excavating or laboring, and he would not care to receive his opinion concerning the utility of navy labor before he even commenced erecting his building.

Marxian economists are essentially those who will prevail under Social-Democracy. One labor is as useful to society as another. If society is to determine that it shall have labor product of a particular character, then surely the only equity is that the individual should have the same amount of exchange-value. Social comforts open to any other individual laborer in society.

To classify labor so that different amounts of it should be awarded is absurd, for a man who labors for a day, gives his life for a day. Is not the life of each member of our society equally precious? That of the other, or are all workers to be treated as criminals and socially graded according to the caprice of the individual?

Under a rational system of co-operation society could produce sufficient wealth for all to live in luxury. To award one section of society more wealth than another would be ridiculous from the point of view of personal consumption. The only reason for such an act would be the desire of one section to economically dominate over their fellows and render them servile. This would be desirable to the capitalist, but it is a purely imaginary, the evolution of society being opposed to any such permanent distinction. No class of men would be able to give place to another when economically free. Such an ignominious class might exist for a short period during a transitional stage of individualism, but communism if the changes were so sudden that a large minority of the people were so ignorant to avail themselves of their freedom, but this is conjecture and very improvable. That there are a class of self-elected persons who aim at the establishment of an aristocracy is true, but the labor of one shall not be recognized as equal to the labor of another. Exchange-value is the final refuge who live on the borderland of Socialism and Individualism reveal the existence of such a class. The truth about us however, is that we are destined to grow in an inverse ratio to the growth of education, and we grow with satisfaction that the teachings of Marx are now more dominant than ever in all the Socialist bodies the world over, and will grow to grow stronger and stronger in favor of democratic Socialism.

A. P. HAZELL

## 3 WOULD SWEEP BACK THE TIDE

Portland Comrades in the Fight for Free Speech

(Or the attempt to Polandize Portland, Oregon, by a vest pocket set of snobbish political office holders, and men "do not know whether that which they bear on their shoulders is war or the corpse of war.")

The sleepy barbarism of the armed peace is like a stagnant marsh where plunges the bluntness of reflection of turning clouds.

It concludes: "When, therefore, international socialism organizes itself to assure peace between the peoples by the suppression of capitalist privilege, and by the emancipation of labor, it is not only against injustice and violence that it strives, but it struggles also against the ambiguities and the contradictions which falsify in the long run the moral and the rational. For their great work of social and moral revolution the German and the French proletariat can do much by their own and their social action. Our duty is high and clear; always to propagate the idea, always to hope, always to stir and organize the energies, always to fight, until a victory is won, until a democracy, the democracy the creator of justice and peace."—Winnipeg Voice.

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But truth, my comrades, this Socialism is a worrying your masters. The night time of their life is at hand. In jail, not being tongue-tied Burns talked and talked. Defending the liberty to speak in the streets he made up for it by talking from his cell to as mostly a collection of men and women, many of them physical condition and social standing, this rotten-to-the-core, brainless, bowdlerized, soulless and criminally mischievous system of Capitalism in the courts and residential for.

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Published every Saturday in the basement of the Western Clarion, 165 Hastings Street, Vancouver, B. C.

Subscription: \$1.00 PER ANNUM in advance. Single copies 10c. Advertising rates on application. If you receive this paper it is paid for.

Advertisement all communications to The WESTERN CLARION, Box 835, Vancouver, B. C.

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SATURDAY, AUG. 5, 1905.

A DELUSION.

The "delusion" of Chicago, according to the press reports, is that the strike has been a heroic struggle, but they have discovered that they could not win the battle by fighting alone.

The conditions confronting the workmen of Chicago, would not have been altered in the least had they all been united into one organization.

It is well within the power of understanding usually possessed by an individual to realize that with a surplus of any particular commodity in the market it becomes absolutely impossible to maintain prices or other conditions relating to the sale of such commodity.

The number of workers compared with the number of jobs becomes the determining factor in fixing the price. The labor market of the world, (thanks to the highly perfected machinery of wealth production) long since became glutted with the commodity labor power.

Too many bold statements and too much blithering nonsense are indulged in by so-called labor papers, and labor leaders, the result of which is to confuse the rank and file of the workers, and prolong the days of their misery in wage-slavery.

The temptations of Chicago, were beaten because the conditions of the labor market, they realize them. But they had actually overlooked the labor market. It was an easy matter for the employers to recruit an ever-whittling army of "strike breakers" as they are called, to take the place of the rebellious teamsters.

Let the good work of repression continue. That will develop the fighting spirit of the proletariat as nothing else will.

Like all other heavy old machinery, that of unionism dies hard, but die it must before the field is cleared for the triumphant advance of the class-conscious, the revolutionary hosts of labor.

LAND OF LIBERTY.

It seems to be quite the prevailing fashion in the United States, the land peculiarly dedicated to Liberty, at the present time to endeavor to smother the rising aspirations of the working class, as expressed in the Socialist movement, by interference upon the part of the authorities with public meetings that are held in the streets or public parks by the Socialists.

Government expresses itself the same in a republic as in a monarchy. It is the beast of fang and claw wherever found. Its chief mission is to protect and defend the interests of economic rulers as against economic slaves.

If the slaves of the United States meekly submit to being deprived of the privilege of expressing themselves upon political and economic questions in the streets and public parks, they may expect the prohibition to be speedily extended to cover meetings held in halls or private houses.

The ruling class will not relinquish its power without a struggle. It will use every power at its command to hold its slaves in subjection. It will use those powers without mercy, without scruple and without conscience.

One thing the workers should remember is that they can only secure in the enjoyment of liberty, which implies the right to enjoy the full fruits of their labor, when the capitalist control of the powers of government has been broken, and the working class stands as its own political and economic master.

JOYS OF WAGE-SLAVERY.

"I work ten hours a day in a machine shop. Dressing in the morning eating breakfast, farewells to wife and baby, walking some distance to the shop in good time to get ready before the whistling blows, requires at least one hour and a quarter. One hour is consumed at noon going home for dinner and back to work."

and in such shape, after ten hours rushing work, amid dust, oil, and noise, that neither I nor anybody else under the same circumstances would walk home, clean up, change clothes, and eat supper in anything less than one and a half hours, and hardly that. I must sleep eight hours in order to recuperate and get my nerves together sufficiently to withstand another hour of the same routine and rush.

The above is from Collier's Weekly, and has evidently been written in reply to the query, "Why the Working Man Does Not Attend Church." The machinist is not the poorest paid laborer in the category. In fact, as a rule, he receives wages considerably in excess of the average.

It is out of the horrors of wage-slavery, and the joyless lives of its victims, that is born the tendency and vulgar civilization of today.

INDEPENDENT OPPORTUNITY.

If there be a middlehead on earth more pre-eminently muddleheaded than all others, the distinction must assuredly fall to that always rare, and now nearly extinct creature known as the Single Taxer.

The individual, as a wealth producer, independent of his fellow, has been so long extinct as to be far beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitant. In fact he could only have existed when mankind was in its infancy and human wants were confined to the most simple and most readily obtainable things.

Every step that has been made along the line of economic development has been made in the direction of destroying that individualism in wealth production and supplying it with a production, carried on by mutual aid and co-operative effort. The speed with which this individualism has been wiped out has been measured by

the speed with which the implements have been perfected and made more powerful. Although individualism in wealth production has been dead for centuries, the great mass of the people are still stupid enough to persist in trying to make themselves believe it to be still in existence.

It is a fact so patent as to be notorious, that the multitude of things needed for human comfort, and that are produced in such marvelous abundance, are produced, not by the labor of individuals independent of their fellows, but by and through the mutual aid and collective effort of all the workers bound together by the complicated mechanism of modern industry.

To talk of individuality and independence in wealth production, in the face of the economic facts that stare one in the face from every side of the present, or capitalist system, is as devoid of wisdom as the gibbering of an idiot.

The only opportunity that labor need open to itself, is the opportunity of consuming the wealth it alone creates. This can be effected only by the workers, through the exercise of their collective political power, transforming capitalist property into collective or community property.

It would be a good idea for individuals either single tax or otherwise, to refrain from making a noise until they have first acquired the rudiments of a knowledge of things relating to the growth and development of human society.

TEMPEST IN A TEACUP.

The late industrial "tempest in a teacup," which raged so fiercely at Chicago, has left in its wake an ominous calm that hath a most depressing effect upon the bowels of the bunch of would-be's who scented both fame and fortune in the launching of another "economic" sleight-of-hand performance.

The way of the transgressor may be hard, but so will be that of the loud-mouthed nincompoops who fancy they can conjure the cold logic of economic fact out of labor's pathway, by a lot of blithering noise and school-boy monkey-shines.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

In order to clearly demonstrate the excellent qualities of the mine, they were monkeying with seven Swedish sailors engaged in mining practice near Stockholm ran their boat full tilt against it, and were blown to smithereens.

The Northern Pacific Railway shipped a nice jolly cargo of Japanese labor from Hawaii to Puget Sound, for the purpose of utilizing it as various work along its lines. Some various category proprietor succeeded in strutting about in fine rags and put them to work in the canneries. Modern business enterprise is something commendable.

All working men should follow the advice of Tom Lawson in getting rid of their stocks and bonds by selling them to the "system" at inflated prices. We have taken "time by the forelock" and unloaded ours already. We now wait in joyous anticipation of the time when the "system" or bonded king, will beseech us to repurchase at our own figure. It is the easiest way to make money we have ever discovered.

July 20 Oakland, Cal. comrades have been arrested for street speaking within the past few weeks, there being a city ordinance prohibiting it. The first case which came up for trial, that of Comrade Lillenthal resulted in a disagreement of the jury, seven being for acquittal and five for conviction. As there are nearly twenty more cases to be tried it is safe to assume that the

Socialist Directory

Every Local of the Socialist Party of Canada should run a card listing at least \$1.00 per month. Secretaries please note.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA. Headquarters, Vancouver, B. C. Dominion Executive Committee, A. R. Stebbing, John E. Dubsley, Ernest Burns, C. Peters, Alf. Leah, J. G. Wilkinson, treasurer, J. G. Morgan, secretary, 551 Barnard St., Vancouver, B. C.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, No. 1. B. F. of C. Business meetings every Wednesday evening in the headquarters, Ingoldsby block (room 1, second floor), 818 Cambie street. Educational meetings every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the Sullivan Hall, Cordova street. D. P. Mills, secretary, Box 888, Vancouver, B. C.

LOCAL VICTORIA, No. 2. B. F. of C. H. J. Harper, secretary, Hotel Bay Hotel, Victoria, B. C.

LOCAL REVELSTOCK, No. 7. H. Seligfeld, secretary, P.O. Box 208, Revelstoke, B. C.

LOCAL NANAIMO, No. 3. Daniel Livingstone, secretary, Box 452, Nanaimo, B. C.

LOCAL VANANDA, No. 22. Edward Upton, secretary, Vananda, Texas Island, B. C.

LOCAL TORONTO - Meets 2nd and 4th Thursdays, Temperance Hall, Bathurst St., F. Dale, Secretary, 41 Henry Street, W. G. Grubb, organizer, 130 Ingersoll Ave.

J. Edward Biss, J. C. Baycock-Jack, G. E. McEwen, BIRD, BRYDON-JACK & MCCROSSAN, BARRISTERS, SOLICITORS, ETC. Railway Block, Tel. 825, P.O. Box 822, 324 Hastings Street - Vancouver, B. C.

city authorities will give our comrades a run for the talk they succeeded in putting up.

The wage of the workman in the price he receives for his labor-power, as a commodity. It is, as a rule, the money expression of the exchange value of the labor-power. The exchange value of one commodity as compared to that of another, is determined by the relative amount of social labor time necessary for its production.

The fact that an equal amount of social labor time is required to produce the one or the other, if demand for a given commodity be in excess of the supply, the price will rise above the true exchange value. If the supply be in excess of the demand it will fall below it.

The condition of the market as measured by supply and demand. If the market be well-stocked or over-stocked, it is likely to attempt to force prices upward. If the contrary be the case prices will rise without forcing. Sellers of the commodity labor-power, should be aware of these things, and save trouble.

THE PLAINT OF LABOR.

(By John Spolton.)

Though I plough the stubborn soil And the wheat in plenty sow, If I rest a week from toil Into debt for bread I go.

From the deep and dangerous pit I send up the fuel fast, While my brother workers sit Shivering in the wintry blast.

I weave the costly cloth That is worn by painted hags, While my wife and daughter both Must be satisfied with rags.

I build the mansion proud Where the wealthy lord dwells, While my family must crowd Into rooms like prison cells.

I build the school, but carve Scarcely a slice of Learning's bread, My children's minds must starve That their bodies may be fed.

On my uppers I must walk To the shop where I make shoes, Yet I hear the preacher talk Of a soul that I may lose.

And they tell me of a God Who redresses every wrong, O, how long beneath this load Must I bend, just God, how long?

But blind justice has no ears, And my plight is wasted breath, Till I find repose in years - The Comrade, February, 1904.

United Hatters of North America. When you are buying a PUR HAT wear the (Hudson) Hat Label is sewed in it. It has loose labels in his possession and offers one in a hat for you, do not patronize the United Hat Label is perforated on four sides, and is made as a postage stamp. Counterfeit labels time perforated on three sides, and are made on two. John B. Stetson Co., of Philadelphia, no-naloo correct.

JOHN A. MOTTETT, President, Chicago, N. Y. MARTIN LAWSON, Secretary, 11 E. 4th Street, New York.

Union Directory

Phoenix Trades and Labor Council. Meets every alternate Wednesday. John Richardson, president; J. Brown, vice-president; J. C. Murray, secretary; 198 Phoenix, B. C.

Phoenix Miners' Union. Meets every alternate Wednesday at 10 o'clock in the hall. Wm. Barnard, president; Chas. F. Barry, secretary.

Nanaimo Miners' Union, Nanaimo, B. C. F. M. meets every third Sunday from July 2. Alfred Anderson, president; Jonathan Innes, secretary; Box 259, Nanaimo, B. C., telephoning secretary.

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JOHN A. MOTTETT, President, Chicago, N. Y. MARTIN LAWSON, Secretary, 11 E. 4th Street, New York.

The Struggle for Existence

By AUGUST BEBEL.

(Continued From Last Week.)

give expressions to this recognition of the fact that the social standard of enjoyment...

The gratification of a natural instinct, perfectly justifiable in itself, has become a means to trouble and crime...

The daily increasing number of middlemen has other evils in its train. Although this numerous class as a rule leads an extremely hard life...

As an inevitable consequence, articles of clothing and of food rise in price to an altogether disproportionate extent...

Accordingly, every really serious conflict in the industry by the objection that it could only be done by an extensive and expensive executive apparatus...

The co-operative companies are of very little use, their business unimportant and generally unprofitable and they do not touch those who are most in need of help...

What is Socialism? Socialism is a theory of a system of human society based on the common ownership of the means of production and the carrying on of industry for the benefit of all.

Printing That is RIGHT OUR JOB PRINTING Department has been recently added to by the purchase of a new Job Press and other material.

The Western Clarion 105 HASTINGS STREET VANCOUVER, B. C. P.O. BOX 830

constant class war which must go on until the workers become possessed of political power, and use that power to become masters of the whole material means of production.

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Under the present system, therefore, the very increase of wealth is too often a curse to the wealth producers, simply because those who produce have no ownership in the means of production, and no control over the things produced.

Under Socialism, as the means of production would belong to the whole people, the whole people would have control of the things produced. Every increase of wealth then would benefit the whole community.

By the discoveries of science, the inventions of genius, the application of genius, the application of industry, man has acquired such power over nature that he can now produce wealth of all kinds as plentifully as water.

What is to be done to suppress the present system of Socialism, to substitute fraternal co-operation for the cut-throat competition of today? The first thing necessary is to organize the workers into a class-conscious party.

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PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA. We, the Socialist Party of Canada, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support of the principles and program of the international revolutionary working class.

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

2. Through and 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.

4. 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 struggle against capitalism?

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

APPLICANT: I recognize the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class to be a struggle for political supremacy, i.e. possession of the political power, and which necessitates the organization of the workers into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties of the capitalist class.

