

THE MYSTERY OF MONEY

How "Flim-flam Financiers" Explain Everything but What Money is.

The tyranny of money has been felt ever since the circulation of commodities became the chief end of production. Impartial as the rain of heaven, its heavy hand falleth upon rich and poor alike. A group of stock holders of the Tennessee Iron & Steel Co. are no more immune to its yagaries than the humble wage slaves who fizzle in the rolling mills. Prince and People alike bow to its caprice. Your Prince may debate his currency, but with his returning toll he finds himself impoverished; and your People everywhere cease calling upon the remorseless Sisters to roll up their scroll of life, take the law into their own hand and cross the Styx by the rope, gun or dope route. In defiance of the law of God and man.

It is, therefore, not surprising that we should have "all place a temple, and all season summer" for the discussion of money. Nor that we should have utopians of all classes sighing for the time when "Money, by the growth of innumerable competitors, which" will be the commodities themselves established in their exact values, will be restricted to its natural limits." Nor that "the first illusions of the bourgeoisie are also their last." To preserve the production of commodities and abolish the exchange of commodities is their Promised Land. And many preach this "degradation of money and exaltation of the commodity as the gist of Socialism," as Marx has it.

So it will be observed that Flim-flams abound ever the "Critique" was written. The spools of the chase are sweet to them but to brave the dangers when the odds are even is a pastime they would rather avoid. They hold opinion with the bescent dandy who told the sweating and raging Hoisrup on Holmeon's bloody field that "but for these vile guns I would be a soldier myself." Truly their state is parlous. Yet for all their perturbations against money, Flim-flams in particular, because it contains a charge against Marx that he did not analyse it (money), not one of them can tell us what money is. What historical form it assumed, and the geographical boundary wherein that form circulated they can enumerate world without end. From man to tobacco; from sea shells to gold, from Carthage to Virginia, from Samoa to London. A collection boundless and varied; artistic and otherwise. Of the forms but of "the thing in itself," to borrow from metaphysics, they preserve the silence of the Sphinx.

Karl Marx with his customary directness and historical precision abandoned curio hunting to the mentally lazy, surface skimmers and proceeded to the heart of the problem. "The main difficulty in the analysis of money is overcome as soon as the evolution from commodity is understood" (Critique, p. 73). Money, therefore, is not to be examined as something specifically created, but as something which has evolved. Marx, therefore, takes up "the task of tracing the genesis of this money form." A task hitherto despised by the economists. "By doing this we shall, at the same time, solve the riddle presented by money" (Capital p. 55 from which to page 98 is devoted to that end). Flim-flam doubtless ignoring, and chapter headed "Commodities" as having nothing to do with money jumped to chapter III which bears a more hopeful title—"Money" and does not pay too close attention to what Marx says. True, Marx is not as explicit here as he is in the "Critique." In "Capital" p. 106 he says, "Throughout this work I assume for simplicity's sake, gold to be the money commodity," whereas in the "Critique" he states "Credit money is treated in Volume III of "Capital." In the "Critique" and Vol. I of "Capital" only those forms of money are treated of which directly grow out of the exchange of commodities." Much less with Marx than with any other writer can you choose out a chapter at random.

In considering the evolution of commodity to money we must first consider that social reality which finds it freest expression under modern methods of production, which is indeed the hall mark of commodity production, i.e. exchange value. Exchange value is not a thing which may be discerned in the commodity. The five senses can in no wise detect it, nor would a chemist's analysis find any trace of it. Furthermore, any single article considered by itself cannot in any sense possess exchange value. It is only when it comes into contact with another article in the act of exchange that value appears (hereafter whenever the term value is used, exchange value is meant). It is realized in a social act. Certain conditions are necessary for this social act. Each article must be owned by the possessor, his to dispose of as he chooses. Each article must contain a common something which forms the basis of exchange. That something is labor time. I assume everyone is acquainted with this economic fact. It is therefore apparent that value being the basis of exchange, and money the means of exchange, they are closely related. An examination of value is therefore necessary as it is in the exchange of commodities that value is realized, it can be readily seen that "the relation between the values of two commodities supplies us with the simplest expression of the value of a single commodity." This relation Marx terms the elementary form of value. A. Elementary or Accidental form. X. Commodity A equals commodity B, or 3 doughnuts equals 1 plate of beans. In this simple form lies the mystery of value. "Its analysis, therefore," says Marx "is our real difficulty." Here we have two commodities in the act of exchange, but each play a different part. The 3 doughnuts express their value in the plate of beans. The beans serve to give expression to the value of the doughnuts. Doughnuts, therefore, play an active, the beans the passive part in the act. We have now the two poles of the expression of value, doughnuts being "the relative form," and beans the equivalent form." These two forms are dependent and inseparable, yet at the same time are antagonistic extremes. We cannot express the value of doughnuts in doughnuts; considered by themselves all we can say is that they enable the shoveller to fool his appetite and stomach and subdue the imperative call of the will to eat. That is their use value. Their exchange value appears in relation to the beans, which likewise considered by themselves perform a similar function for the doughnuts. The relative form of value "Doughnuts" therefore presupposes the presence of the equivalent form "beans." A commodity cannot take on both these forms simultaneously. It is evident, though, that if 3 doughnuts equal a plate of beans, the beans must equal the doughnuts. This being so we reverse our statement and say a plate of beans equals 3 doughnuts. It is not necessary for me to follow Marx into his analysis of the various aspects of these opposite poles of value. Suffice it to say, that the baker's knowledge and skill, and the farmer's brawn and brain are reduced by the act of exchange to abstract human labor—the something common which forms the basis of exchange. The quantitative determination of the relative form depends upon a definite quantity of this human labor being embodied in the commodity. If by introduction of machinery to the baker's trade a less proportion of labor is required to produce 3 doughnuts than is required for a plate of beans, then the value of doughnuts has fallen, conversely the value of beans in relation to doughnuts has risen. The equivalent form of value is therefore, a mirror in which the relative form perceives its value.

From this form we pass to the B. Total or expanded form. 3 doughnuts equals 1 plate of beans or a cup of coffee or a packet of "fags," etc.

The doughnuts are now in a mystic chamber wherein their value-image is presented whichever way they look. No longer do they view themselves in one mirror, but in hundreds. Like-wise all commodities can reverse the terms of the equation and exchange positions as reflected or reflective. Object or mirror, relative and equivalent form of value. But out of this chaotic squabble order arises, commodities no longer seek to drown each other's voices in a struggle to be heard, like delegates to a Socialist convention. They mutually express their value in some commodity whose bodily form and physical qualities best serve to the common end—exchange. We therefore pass to

C. General form of value
 3 doughnuts, 1 plate of beans, 13-8 grains of gold, 1 cup of coffee, 2 cream puffs, each equal 1 packet of fags.

Thus we have cigarettes assuming the universal equivalent form wherein all commodities reflect themselves and measure their value.

This form changing with time and place presents us with the motley gathering of curious coins to be seen in museums, and in bourgeois economist's writings.

The form which the universal equivalent assumes in our day is:

D. The money form
 3 doughnuts, 1 plate of beans, 1 cup of coffee, 2 cream puffs, 1 packet of fags, each equal 1 3-8 grains of gold.

In passing from form A to B, and from B to C, we experience fundamental change, but C and D are similar except that gold has ousted fags from their place as the universal equivalent. The universal equivalent is money. Gold, therefore is money serving as the agent of exchange to all commodities, because it is in itself a commodity. As such it now drops its value form, and its function as a measure of value and assumes that of standard of price.

We therefore use this form:
 A packet of fags, equals 5 cents.
 A cup of coffee equals 5 cents, etc.
 Approximately 1 3-8 grains of gold equal 5 cents.

The further consideration of this I shall take up in a future article.

It will be seen that money now is nothing mystic, but the natural outcome of certain Social relations and conditions of life. Those interested can read the pages of Capital enumerated above. If I can stimulate an interest in these remarkable pages and cause a few to get thoroughly acquainted therewith I shall consider that I lack in clarity of expression is amply compensated by good fortune. And when money cranks from whatever walk of life try to entangle us in the meshes of accursed gold, some of us at least will have sufficient savvy to prevent the entire gang from floundering the general form of its collective wits reflected in the solemn but unsanguine countenance of an ass.

J. H.

LIKE IT.

County Forum, Manchester, May 23, '10.

Dear Mac—
 Enclosed please find order sufficient for 1 half-yearly and 2 three-month subscriptions. Let me say I read a portion of issue 579 to the members of the Manchester branch of the S. P. (V. G. B.). They all said that O'Brien's speech was the only dope of any use. I would be putting it on a very low pedestal to try to compare it to any of the stuff and nonsense uttered by the labor fakirs here. It is the straight revolutionary position alone that counts, and O'Brien's initial effort must remain an oratorical monument and an inspiration to all future Socialist representatives. It will do more good to the real movement than 99 per cent. of the propaganda outside. Parliament is the place to expose and assail the capitalist and his trickery.

Yours for the resolution,
 MOSES BARITZ.

LAI D UP.

Organizer Gribble having been operated on for an ulcer has temporarily suspended his operations upon the ulcer of capitalism and has gone home to eat the fatted calf at Orrville, Ont.

The Delusions of the Homesteader

Just the last couple of weeks I have been sipping up the agriculturalist. Our friend of the hayseed is in quite a complex position at first sight. He doesn't sell his labor power direct to a boss, but embodies it in his wheat and disposes of it that way. One of the hardest things to get them to understand is modern social production. The rural worker is, of course, merely a cog in the system, but this he has not so far realized, and he is therefore very apt to get swollen head, and consider himself the whole thing. This is, no doubt, due to the fact that agriculture is a department of production in which large machines are just coming into use.

The farmer in many cases, lives a very isolated life and works alone. He does not come into direct and frequent contact with great numbers of his fellow workers from day to day, as does the toiler of mine, mill and factory. With the bringing up to date of the agricultural industry this, of course, will alter.

Like the city toiler the farmer has many delusions. He knows he is robbed alright, but not how he is robbed, nor who robs him. One of his most amusing ideas is that the tinpot merchant from whom he gets his overalls and Shamrock chewing is a commercial pirate of the worst description. Who is making many hundred per cent profit on all the things he sells. To get over this the farmer cuts out dealing with local men and does a mail order business with the Eaton Company, which he seems to imagine are in business for their health and his benefit.

The lot of the average homesteader is not one to be envied. The homesteader's land is no use without the

tool or machines to cultivate it. There are two ways he can get these tools. The first is to raise the money on a note (with his land as security) bearing big interest. By doing this he can get fairly decent machinery. The second way is to "start slow." Starting slow means to work for wages till you raise the price of a prehistoric single-furrow plow and a couple of bulls (oxen) to pull it. Behind this outfit the "go slow" man pads from day to day.

It is hard to say which of these ways is the best or most popular. In the first case you get saddled with a load of debt which will stay with you till your dying day. In the second case you do not go in debt but you are condemned to work with painfully obsolete tools which will break the heart of any intelligent man.

As a subject for Socialist propaganda the farmer, despite all these disadvantages is good. They are discontented and if they once get on the right trail they are ours. It seems to be a case too of going the whole hog when they do start. The promising and encouraging thing in the movement amongst the farmers is the fine young stuff we are getting hold of. The future looks good.

One thing at least they are to be given credit for and that is the way they are ditching old bourgeois ideas of philosophy and taking to the materialist conception. Up to date I have met few of them who show any desire to compromise on this point, nor to disguise the fact that the proletarian philosophy which our movement stands on is a philosophy of materialism which spells death to metaphysics and superstition.

DESMOND.

AMONG THE PHILISTINES

The Further Adventures of the Proletarian in the Alberta Legislature.

Comrade Editor.—The first session of the second legislature of Alberta was prorogued by Lieut. Governor Duleya on May 26, as soon as the members had assembled from the adjournment of March 19. The only order of business was the passing of a resolution of sorrow at the demise of King Edward VII., a message of condolence to the Royal Family, and assurance of allegiance to George V.

Premier Rutherford, in a feeble, halting address, proposed the resolution, which was seconded by Mr. R. B. Bennett in an eloquent address.

Mr. Bennett dealt very strongly on the constitutional liberty, which was enjoyed (?) by the British subjects. This great liberty of action and freedom of press and speech was inaugurated by the late Queen Victoria, and enlarged by the late King. As soon as he was seated—Comrade O'Brien rose and proceeded as follows:

"Yes, it's sad, very sad; I don't mean the death of the King, but all this empty hypocrisy of pretended sorrow and sympathy. (Signs of uneasiness began to appear, members squirming in their seats, several jumping to their feet with cries of order.) Continuing, O'Brien said: "You need not get alarmed, Mr. Speaker; I am not going to criticize the late King. I have a certain amount of admiration for him. He set a good example; he lived well and did little; even as a king he did not work hard at the job." (Uproar in the house, hissing and booing from members and visitors alike.) Don't get uneasy, Mr. Speaker, I am on my feet to move an amendment to the resolution." (Great disorder and cries of question.)

This is as far as O'Brien was allowed to proceed. Even whilst he was on his feet protesting that he was entitled to move an amendment to the motion by the rules of the house, and that he had as precedent an action taken in the British House of Commons, the speaker called for a standing vote, O'Brien still protesting.

Under the caption of "Member for Rocky Mountains Made Foolish Speech and Caused Scenes of Disorder," the Edmonton Daily Capital of May 27th, has the following:

"Then Mr. C. M. O'Brien, whose mission in life is to wade the red flag in season and out of season, undertook to wade it very much out of season. He rose, as he explained after the house rose, to move an amendment to the resolution, wishing to add condolence with the relatives of the coal miners who were killed in the big mine disaster a few weeks ago. He started out by saying that the King's death was a sad event. He then added that as a King he had not to work very hard and that there were other hard-working— (Note the errors).

No Rules Observed.

"That was as far as he got when the uproar broke loose. Forgetting that fact which is supposed to be the cardinal mark of a parliamentarian, over-laps of parliamentary procedure, the amble-witted legislators of Alberta—Mr. Bennett, one-time authority on procedure, waltz in the lead—simply tumbled over themselves to make a martyr of the Socialist member.

"In the midst of the disorder, without asking the member for Alberta to take his seat, or in any way intimating to him that he was out of order, while the member was still speaking, the Speaker called for a standing vote.

"When the vote was taken, the audience, following the lead of the members and completely disregarding parliamentary decorum, took a liberty which is not allowed in any other British parliament. They applauded. There was no demand for order from the Speaker. Not a messenger, not even the sergeant-at-arms, made a move to enforce a decorous behavior.

"The audience applauded, applauded a resolution which expressed sorrow at the death of a British King."

As soon as the vote was taken, Lieut. Governor Duleya came into the house and without as much as "by

your leave," acquainted the house that Premier Rutherford had handed in his resignation, which had been accepted, and he called upon A. L. Sifton to form a cabinet, and that the services of the members being no longer required, they might proceed to their homes.

Let it be understood that Sifton has never been elected to the house by any constituency in the province, added to which the government—such as it was—had never been defeated, and we see the high-handed methods of machine politics in all its beauty. This is the kind of thing the proletariat of the province has to fight against. Get together then, boys; they have shown us their strength—they have played their ace of trumps. Let us show them that our hands are strong hands, and that although the reverse is generally understood, all the working class are not afflicted with a strong back and a weak brain.

Yours in revolt,
 F. BLAKE.

A POINTER FOR PUTTEE

Dear Mac—Just got home from Albert last night. On the 8th I attended the L. P. convention at Maccan, N. S. For a year past a strong agitation has been carried on in this L. P.; by a bunch of persistent "reds." In fact, a number of the founders of the party were reds who were not in touch with the S. P. of C. and therefore when they got together the organization took the form of a labor party rather than Socialist party.

A year ago Jules Lavonne, of Springhill, introduced into the annual convention of the I. L. P. a resolution dissolving the party and declaring for the S. P. of C. The resolution was referred to the membership and the referendum resulted in a two-to-one vote in favor of dissolution. At a convention held shortly afterwards, however, it was decided to shelve the matter for a year. Well the year was up May 1, but no convention was held. Finally, realizing that an official dissolution of the I. L. P. in favor of the S. P. of C. and the publicity that such an event would receive would help to down abortive attempts to form other parties of a similar character, the bunch got together at Maccan and solemnly dissolved.

The writer was present and upon the dissolution of the I. L. P. those who had not already done so signed applications for membership in the S. P. of C.

Meantime, being in touch with the I. L. P. matters, we had summoned the Springhill and Amherst comrades to meet at Maccan, and upon the dissolution of the Labor Party a Socialist convention was held. The writer occupied the chair. After considerable discussion it was decided to put two candidates in the field in the coming provincial campaign. The I. L. P. funds having been passed over to the S. P. of C. to form a nucleus for a campaign fund and from the trend of the discussion it is my firm belief that an able, straightforward campaign will be carried on. Comrade Wm. Watkins, of Springhill, was elected secretary and instructed to appeal for funds, etc.

Comrades Ferris and Landry were chosen to contest the riding and the Cumberland county comrades expect to make a good fight. It is possible that some may raise a row because these Cumberland I. L. P.'ers have so lately dropped their I. L. P. Some may suspect that they are only cheap reformers. But I am willing to pledge my reputation (whatever that amounts to) upon their straightforwardness. And I'll leave the question to Gribble, than whom there is none "reddier," as he has been through this section and knows the bunch. There are reformers in Nova Scotia, and in fact in the whole Maritime islands of 'em. But dam few are to be found in the Cumberland movement. When the strike is over and the men recovered somewhat financially you'll see the red boom.

Yours in revolt,
 FILLMORE.

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WHO'S TO BLAME?

Attorney Wickersham's injunction against the railroads raising their rates produced quite a panic in railway stocks last week, which, by the way, was not improbably just what it was intended to do. That the panic was needless goes without saying. The interests financially, and therefore politically, dominant in the United States, or anywhere else, for that matter, are too deeply interested in railroads to allow any genuine judicial or legislative interference in their business. So had a rate increase been economically possible rates would have been increased. But a slump in stocks at the right time is a most neat and expeditious method of transferring money from the pockets of the little man to the coffers of the great. This appears to have been accomplished, so the rate increase is called off for the present and stocks are going up again.

The shippers, on the other hand, are raising a great howl about the proposed rate increases and flatter deny their necessity, replying to the railroads' argument of "higher wages and cost of material," by pointing out that "analysis of the statistics filed by the railroads and compiled by the Interstate Commerce Commission, notwithstanding increased cost of operation, indicates the net annual income per mile of road has increased 245 per cent. in ten years." The shippers' heart of course, arises from purely philanthropic motives and is inspired by the dire distress of the public, which, according to them, has been paying high prices for commodities for the last two years and can no longer bear the increased burdens which additional freight charges would cause. As a matter of fact, these additional freight charges would work out about two cents extra on a pair of overalls, a burden which would hardly break the camel's back, considering what he has been brought up to.

Meanwhile the shippers have been taken on the flank by the farmers who blame the "high cost of living" on them, and cite such examples as "the greed of dealers in the cities" as "the Florida farmer receives \$2.25 for a bushel of green beans, the railroad gets 50 cents for the 800-mile haul to New York, and the consumer (too bad about him) pays \$6.40 for this same bushel of beans. There is 35 per cent for the grower, 8 per cent for the carrier, and 57 per cent for the dealer. This is not a fair division."

Everybody is blaming everybody else for the rising prices, and the joke of it is they are all equally innocent. In the first place, if commodities are rising, nobody is to blame for it. It is perfectly natural proper and "right" that they should do so owing to perfectly natural causes and not, except to a negligible extent, to the greed of any individuals, and even that greed is also perfectly natural and a necessary factor in modern society, however much it may be deplored by the witless wise and the prudently pliant.

In the second place, if by rising prices of commodities as meant that they are becoming more expensive, there is no rise. Quite to the contrary, commodities are becoming cheaper year by year and decade after decade as less and less labor is used in their production. What if their money name: are changing? They are nearly all changing together. If you have to pay a "higher price" for what you buy, you got a higher price for what you sold. So what's the odds? The only one who is getting it in the neck is the producer, owing to chronic and incurable overproduction, his commodity, labor power, displays a most marked disinclination to rising, whether it be sold in its raw state "on the job," or worked up into bushels of

green beans in Florida. For all the sympathy, real and assumed, that is extended to the public and the consumer, it is the producer who is the only original victim, and will be, and deserves to be until such time as he discovers it and starts on a hunt after his product.

TALKIN TAFT.

"My judgment is that private property has done more to bring about modern progress than any other institution except personal liberty."

So saith Taft who, we are free to admit, after seeing his portrait, is a man of no little weight in the community. But granting the truth of his statement, what manner of a thing is this "modern progress" he "speaks of so highly?"

Even on Taft's own showing it does not assay very much to the good. "The most discouraging problem now is that of municipal government." "If the standard set by some of the most successful newspapers in their lack of truth, their coarseness and unfair criticism does not improve in the next generation it will vindicate the pessimists of today."

"The awakened moral sense of the country can find no better object for influence than making lawyers understand that their obligation is only to see that their client's legal rights are protected, and that they ought not recklessly to resort to energy expedient to win a case. The unscrupulousness which lawyers exhibit . . . has much to do with the disgraceful condition which we find in the administration of the law." And so forth.

Yet all these things are a part and parcel of modern progress and are directly traceable to what Taft calls "private property" and "personal liberty." And then corruption, municipal and judicial, and the prostitution of the press are only minor evils. The major ones of which he makes no mention are more numerous than pennyweights in Taft's avardrups. White-slavery, child-slavery, wage-slavery, starvation, sweating, slums, and a host of others. All these are prominent features of modern progress. In fact, modern progress is such a toothsome, feasting ulcer that we fail to see where any credit is due to either "private property" or "personal liberty" for bringing it about; rather the reverse. In fact, we are confident that it would puzzle even a wordmonger like Taft to make a case for his client, "private property," without resorting to the "unscrupulousness which counsel frequently exhibit," etc.

Nevertheless Taft would defend "private property" in spite of its fruits, against Socialism which would subvert his "self-acting system in which the industrious, prudent and far-sighted are rewarded and the lazy and unattentive fall behind." Of course, that this system will actually thus apportion rewards cannot be denied in the face of the fact that it has rewarded Taft. There he is to prove it, prosperous and fat.

To us it looks as though the less he had to say about the unscrupulousness of lawyers the better. His methods of handling his case lack nothing in that respect, even to the most barefaced lying, such as the statements that "the corporations have been driven out of politics," and that much has been done in "clarifying business and political methods."

Our verdict is that if "private property" and "personal liberty" are guilty of having inflicted modern progress upon us, they should be hanged by the neck until they are dead at least once.

Before passing on to more serious matters we cannot miss one touch of bathos in this speech of Taft's. He regrets "that during the last generation the strongest young men do not seem to be attracted to the ministry." Why did not Taft himself become a minister, we wonder?

"NOT USE THE STATE?"

I have been expecting that a sense of common decency would prompt the management of the "International Socialist Review" to change its name, owing to the fact that for several moons its pages have been almost wholly occupied in defending the I. W. W. I was so surprised to find in the last month's issue an article defending the Socialist movement by Henry L. Slobodin, that I am tempted to ask for space in the Clarion for the following extracts, the article is too long to give it all:

"To be sure independent political action by the working class is one of the most important inferences which Marx himself drew from his theories. But it seems now that by accepting Marx's theories one is not bound in duty or reason to follow Marx into the field of practice. The teachings of Marx seem to survive all sorts of dismemberment. So, for instance, Professor Seligman, in his work on Marx entitled Economic Interpretation of History, accepts Marx's philosophy and his historical method, including the theory of the class struggle, but declines to follow Marx into the field of economic action, let alone into a Socialist commonwealth. The Labor party of England exercised Marxism for the reason

that Marx held compromise and advocated revolution and the Labor party hated revolution and advocated compromise. Until one day it was told by Beer that itself was Marxist and that what it advocated was the purest Marxism. Whereat, strange to relate, the Labor party was greatly rejoiced to say of the Social Democratic party was that it was not Marxist."

"Por and Duchex offer the following thesis: The political state is used by the capitalist class to oppress the working class. Parliaments are dying institutions of the dead past. The working class cannot free itself by the working instruments by which it is oppressed. The working class should not attempt to breathe new life into the dead past. The past offers no lesson to the working class. It must ignore capitalist institutions and forge its own instruments of defence and attack outside of state and parliament. Por quotes Maeterlinck's counsel to ignore experience and be guided by imagination."

"It is a mistake to say that the past is dead. It would have been a calamity if it were so. Mankind would have been in the pitiful condition of a man whose memory became suddenly obliterated, and there would be nothing to fill the void with new images and ideas. Fortunately the past will always have with us. It follows Maeterlinck to his Olympic regions."

"If we must accept the judgment of the past that Maeterlinck is better literature than our agitation leaflets, why not consult the past among others on the use of politics and parliaments? Por and Duchex are particularly hard on politics and parliaments because they are so effectively used now by the capitalists against workingmen. But what if they are? Are the workingmen forever to forego the use of everything that is now used against them? What is not used against them? Science and art are certainly doing yeoman service against them. And the printing press, the spoken word, the teachers, the preachers—how about these? Are these, too, taboo for the working class? How about guns, cannon, explosives? Is the working class to forego its own weapons? Certainly Duchex and Por are not trying to make things easy for the working class. They want the working class to create a civilization out of their imagination, ignoring the past and present."

"If workingmen must organize industrially because the capitalists are so organized, does it not follow by the same token, that workingmen must go into politics because the capitalists are in politics? Does it not follow that if the capitalists use the state to oppress the workingmen, the workingmen ought to use the state for the overthrow of the oppressors? The state is a stick of two ends and it devolves upon us to show the workingmen how to get on the right end of the stick."

"If the proletariat, during the contest with the bourgeoisie, is compelled by the force of circumstances to organize itself as a class; if by means of a revolution it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force, the old conditions of production, then it will, along with those conditions have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."—Communist Manifesto.

"The proletariat will seize control of the political state in order to overthrow capitalism and the political state itself. This is in accord with the Socialist philosophy which teaches that all great institutions were within themselves the agencies for their own destruction. Neither Duchex nor Por urge upon the proletariat the Tolstain theory of non-resistance, though their Socialist ideal undoubtedly contemplates the abolition of all murderous weapons. Not to use the state? In what respect is this advice different from the Utopian counsel to withdraw from organized society into the wilderness, there to establish an ideal community? Both views reject the achievements of the past and are pessimistic of the political institutions as hopelessly in capitalist control."

"The state is usually referred to as if it were a fixed thing, unchangeable. As a matter of fact the idea of the state is in a flux as is the thing itself. The king's I AM THE STATE has become obsolete. Why should not the capitalist state undergo a similar change? It requires only a little twist in the course of development. Wonderful changes does nature achieve just by a twist. Nature is not wasteful of energy or matter. Whenever an organic change is to occur for the good of the species, this change is brought about by the destruction of the obsolete organ and the creation of the new. Nothing of the sort. Just a little twist by that wonderful master workman—nature, and the new organ will perform a different function. A feather will be made into a plucker or an eye or any old thing to suit the need. And evolution will make your terrible state fetch and carry for the social revolution, and then bring about its own destruction."

C. M. O'BRIEN.

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The arguments pro and con in the case of "Opportunism vs. Impossibilism" have about exhausted the powers of the combatants, and left the case still in abeyance for judgment. While being somewhat of an egotist myself, I am not sufficiently plastered with it to imagine for one moment that I can clear up the tangle, but it is quite possible I might add a little information (if the gods will permit) that might modify the judgment of some combatants in regard to the attitude taken by the so-called bunch beyond the Rockies.

Approximately a decade ago Kingsley formed the nucleus of what is now the Socialist Party of Canada. Could or would the party have been formed at that psychological moment if Kingsley had remained in California or gone to heaven? The enquiry cannot be answered. What we do know is this: that when Kingsley made his debut in Vancouver society (proletarian) he found many Socialists, so-called, with ideas ranging from Pettipiece's "Socialist post office" to Waters' "Socialist politeness." (You don't need to grin, you old stagers!) From Halifax to Victoria similar stogy ideas were promulgated, in fact they had everything that any Socialist platform ever had from the "exportation of dilapidated old mads to Tahiti," to the institution for the humanitarian method of asphyxiating cockroaches.

What a protoplasmic mass of ideas to be operated on! All that was needed was an economist, and one acquainted with the faculty of utopian idealism as a means of educating the working class to their helpless condition under capitalism. Kingsley was there, so was the job. Hence this wall.

Whether by reason of the eternal fitness of things or the "will of the Almighty," the Western Clarion (Pettipiece's organ), contracted the malignant disease known so well to the working class, brokitts (from which thanks to the gods of the party it has never recovered). Parn being unable to acquit a loan from his Socialist educational savings bank, and although now entirely broke, was sufficiently content to induce him to relegate the blue pencil to the old man.

From the moment the paper changed hands revolutionary ideas emanated from the editorial chair, and trouble began. Not only was it necessary that a fight be carried on against our common enemy, but also against the reactionaries inside the party who were bent on a plan of making the movement attractive, and above all, respectable. The same guerilla warfare is being carried on now, in Ontario and Manitoba and spasmodically in every other province. It is nothing more or less than an attempt to create a "perfumed slavery," ajping the morals of respectable bourgeois society, or trying to compete with capitalist politicians in election buffoonery.

It is not a question now, nor was it then, of who is right (might). "The two factions cannot by the diverse nature of their tactics, work together."

What was the result of the formation of the S. P. of C.? The stronger and more virile faction separated itself like new organisms within the old, and became the only united working-class party in America.

British Columbia and Alberta stand out prominently as examples of what can be accomplished by intelligent propaganda. There never has been an attempt, as far as the party organizers are concerned, to solicit votes or promise palliatives. They understand the folly of such a course, and so should every Socialist, who realizes the opportunities of the capitalist class to beat us to a standstill at such a game. We have one weapon and only one—a sound economic education and an ability to impart our knowledge to the working class.

Are we going to renounce tactics that have proven their worth? Did Mortimer, Dreaver, Volkoski and other spend the best part of their lives working for sops from the master class? Are such men as Davidson, McJanis, Williams, Harrington, Gribble, et al working for amelioration of conditions under capitalism or the emancipation of slaves? The latter, of course. The reforms of any country reflect the degree of the revolutionary attitude of the working class.

The party in the States is the result of revisionist tactics, "a political defect, ready at any moment to become the cat's paw of the first capitalist party to flit by the experience of voters. Their tactics consist in the fact that they are the most-not-antagonize Socialist is everything to be desired. Maudlin sentimentality, toleration, constitutionality, respect for religion, etc., should have produced a party that knew where it was going even if it did not get there. With the exception of the western States, there does not exist an organ-

THE S. P. OF C. SOWING THE SEEDS OF REVOLUTION

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ization that is carrying on class-conscious agitation along political lines, and the majority of the papers devote their space to reckless tirades against different brands of robbers, and their methods of dividing the spoil. Editors throw cat-fits about the injustice of the capitalist courts, ruthless destruction of "our" forests, appropriation of "our" funds, the evils of rebates, etc., no-nonsense.

If it is any wonder, then, that Kingsley, coming from fields where reform had been weighed in the balance and found wanting, should use his position as editor to incite into the new movement revolutionary ideas? If he had assumed a tolerant attitude towards all men and movements that ignorantly laid claim to be Socialists and Socialistic, there certainly would have been a conglomeration of ideas.

The movement today in Canada is the result of one man's interpretation of Marx. He nursed a child that has grown independent of any man or set of men and that "despotic" and "domineering" bunch in B. C., known as the Dominion Executive, exists solely because its rulings are in harmony with the majority of the party. There is only one way out of this difficulty as far as the opportunists are concerned, and that is for the party of their own and embody the reforms in their platform which they think nec-

Socialist Directory

- Every Local of the Socialist Party of Canada should run a card under this head \$1.00 per month. Secretaries please note.
- DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:** Socialist Party of Canada, Meets every Saturday at 7:30 p.m. at the G. M. Kenzie, Committee, Box 416, Vancouver, B. C.
- WESTERN COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:** Socialist Party of Canada, Meets every alternate Wednesday, 7 p.m. McKenna, Secretary, Box 155, Vancouver, B. C.
- ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:** Socialist Party of Canada, Meets every alternate Wednesday, 7 p.m. at the G. M. Kenzie, Committee, Box 416, Vancouver, B. C.
- MANITOBA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:** Meets first and third Wednesdays in the month at 7:30 p.m. Any reader of the Clarion desiring information about the Socialist Party of Canada, who wishes to join the party please communicate with the undersigned: W. H. Stebbing, Sec. 415 Good St.
- BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:** Meets every second and fourth Sundays at 7:30 p.m. McKenna, Secretary, Box 155, Vancouver, B. C.
- LOCAL VANCOUVER, NO. 1, S. P. OF C.:** Meets every second and fourth Thursdays in the month at 161 Hastings St. W. Secretary, Wm. Stuyvesant.
- LOCAL VICTORIA, NO. 8, S. P. OF C.:** Meets every second and fourth Thursdays in the month at 161 Hastings St. W. Secretary, Wm. Stuyvesant.
- LOCAL SASKATCHEWAN, NO. 4, S. P. OF C.:** Meets every alternate Sunday evening at 7:30 p.m. at the G. M. Kenzie, Committee, Box 416, Vancouver, B. C.
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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

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

BRANTFORD, ONT.

Organizer Gribble paid us a visit the other week end. He addressed two meetings here and also gave the boys some pointers on organization. As Gribble has travelled the country from ocean to ocean propagating Socialism the last year or so, he knows a thing or two about the Canadian movement, and as for organization, well, Brantford comrades are fully aware of his ability along that line, as they listen to members of Local 24 of Toronto, speakers' class hand out the goods on Brantford market square every Saturday night.

In his talks to the workers, Gribble took much the same line as he did of yore. "You are intelligent enough to do all the necessary work, to create all the wealth, but you are not yet intelligent enough to use the wealth that you have created. Get wiser! The other fellow enjoys the wealth because he owns the machine; he owns the power, you have the power to change the ownership. Use that power." This was the burden of Gribble's song. His message is bearing fruit. I have been told since how he "antagonized" somebody or other. "Why, he actually said, 'never mind the right to the fruits of your labor. Get the power and then you'll have the right.'"

Awful, isn't it? Brutal, too, he was. Actually said that he wasn't out for humanity; called the workers a "poor crowd!" Never mind, my sentimental friend, you'll get over it. How many of our stalwarts of today have travelled the sentimental and "good of humanity" path? So just think it over, you altruists, then toe the mark with the rest of the revolutionists.

The local here is conducting a series of outdoor meetings held every Saturday night at 8 p. m. on the market square. We hope to keep them up all through the summer, so come around, Clarion reader, and share in the fun.

SOUTH WELLINGTON, B. C.

June 6th, 1910.

Comrade Editor,— In your issue of the Clarion for the 4th inst., I observed what presumably may be called a report of the meeting of Local South Wellington, in which reference was made by Comrade Rutherford to myself, re "union dope," etc., which matter, I may say, was not put very clear as to what actually took place and did not show a great superiority in expressing himself to my own humble way of putting matters. I fall to see where a knowledge of the English language is essential to understand the aims and objects of Socialists or the principles of Socialism.

I have been long enough in the ranks of Socialism that I think I can claim to be something more than a "Socialist in embryo," and if the object of the "Industrial Workers of the World" is the same as Socialists, viz., the emancipation of the working-class, is it not reasonable to think that by a closer intermingling of these two parties better results could be obtained? In other words, would we be able to combat capitalism from two points, and when Comrade Cartwright gave the answer to my question there was no wonder a "hubbub" arose. When we recall the number of our comrades that lost their deposits and that only the old stand-by got elected, whilst there is no doubt that the working class is in the majority, but it is certain they are swayed by something different to the principles of Socialism, otherwise we would not find the representation of money bags returned with such an overwhelming majority. This should stimulate every honest Socialist to avail himself of every legitimate means to better the conditions of the workers.

Yours for progress,
COMRADE LAZZARIS.

HOW IT IS AT 'OME

After a sojourn of several months in England and Wales I have at last made a dash and returned to "my" country of adoption—Canada. I have been looking at the wonderful "labor exchanges" invented by the Liberal party and backed up by the Labor party of Great Britain. These institutions have provided some fat jobs for the friends of the Liberal party, and notwithstanding the array of figures generally set forth showing the amount of jobs allocated to the applicants (trying to prove that the workers' "elysium has at last arrived), the whole of this gigantic scheme is nothing more than an attempt to befuddle and confuse the people, for anyone with a grain of common sense must know that if the jobs are not in the country the unemployed must still be

unemployed. True, some workers have obtained employment through this agency, but it is obvious that others had to be displaced before these vacancies occurred. The labor exchanges are not to benefit the worker but the employer.

At last I reached the so-called workers' paradise, Canada, where any person who requires work can find it (if he is lucky enough). If he doesn't, of course, he is a waster and doesn't want work. Yes, I arrived in St. John, N. B., and started looking for the wage-slave's desideratum. After a while I found out to my surprise that if you want to work in this saintly city you have to pay for the privilege. I noticed a report in one of the papers that the secretary of the Longshoremen's Association was complaining to the local magistrate that some men were actually working unloading ships who were not natives of the place and had not paid for the privilege of working in the shape of taxes.

I thought that when the poor wage-slave was doctored \$3 poll tax in Alberta and British Columbia he was being robbed sure enough, but Lord! bless you, that's nothing to the way you are fleeced in St. John. Laborers' wages vary from \$7 to \$9 per week. The cost of board is at least \$4. Judge of my surprise when I saw a tax bill which was presented to a friend of mine who doesn't own any property, but simply pays rent for a flat. Here are the items:

Poll tax	\$2.00
County taxes	1.14
City taxes	4.50
Total	\$7.64

So he not only "pays taxes" in rent indirectly, but has to fork out directly as well.

The Dominion Exhibition is to be held here in September and the business men here are busying themselves upon the subject of "how to make a bigger St. John." So if you want to be fleeced of the little wages you will earn if you are successful in finding that will-o'-the-wisp called a job, come to St. John, for they are out looking for greenhorns.

Of course, up here you must not say anything about Socialism or else this people think that you are a fit subject for a lunatic asylum. You see they have a lot to learn.

F. HYATT.

REVOLUTION AND EVOLUTION

Last night I lay asleep and dreaming. In my dreams I heard a voice whisper soft and low, "you are not Marxians; your talk is absurd. Do you expect to wake up one morning and find everyone rejoicing because wage-slavery was abolished in the night, whilst you slept and dreamed of vague, fanciful, ridiculous phantasms? You know it won't come that way; you must get it step by step; you must help it along; you must work in harmony with anyone who is going in your direction; you must follow evolution of which you so loudly prate. Rome was not built in a day, don't you know?"

Ah! but what a relief to know that my uneasiness was caused not by someone reproaching me, but simply by a dream, a disturbance of the brain, probably caused by indulging excessively in lobster suppers and champagne. Still even such an occurrence as a dream makes one consider, and taking such a problem as the labor question for the subject of consideration, one wonders if the solution lies in the evolutionary or the revolutionary process.

What is evolution and revolution? Evolution is the theory which sees in nature and history, in fact sees in everything a state of change, a gradual advance from the single cell to the more complex organism, a change in all things from the rudimentary state into one more intricate and complicated composition. Revolution means a complete change. In political economy it means a complete overthrow in political institutions; a complete change in the rulers in society.

Marx defines a revolution in society as a change in the superstructure of society as a result from a change in its economic foundation. That is from a change in the method in which society produces the food, clothing and shelter necessary to maintain it. He says, "with the change of the economic basis the whole vast superstructure becomes slowly or rapidly revolutionized."

So then, if we agree with Marx we must come to the conclusion that changes in society have not been brought about by the "free will" of either the ruling or the subject class, wherever a change in the formation of society has occurred, but has been brought about by the material factors, by changes in the way society gets its living. Then the question resolves itself into one as to whether it will come

by the gradual process of evolution, step by step, or the more rapid form of change, namely, revolution.

First I will state that I believe that evolution must precede revolution. That before revolution can take place it must have the John the Baptist of revolution go and make preparations for its coming. To-day man is divided into classes, not because they are physically of different construction like the queen bee, the drone and the working bee, but because they have different ideas of justice. The idea of justice is an abstraction anyhow. The idea of justice is formulated from material interests, and men to-day have different material interests which itself means different kinds of ideas of justice. Man (and taking the whole of it) is divided into classes, through different portions of society having different interests. These interests have a foundation in the way in which the owner gets his living. If a man lives by employing and robbing labor, his interests will be to maintain the present system of production. If he is one of the employed and robbed or one of the unemployed which is worse, his interest is to overthrow this present form of society. So we see that society is inevitably divided into classes, one class living off another class, the capitalist class living off and heaping up the products of the working class. Therefore we have an antagonism of interests which must express itself in a class struggle in society.

Since the beginning of history the class struggle has been one of the mightiest factors. The change from feudalism to capitalism was not brought about because of any moral feeling that feudalism was wrong and capitalism was right, but simply because evolution has brought us to a period of change, and we had to change, we couldn't help doing it. Free will had nothing to do with it and the same with the abolition of slavery. I mean chattel slavery, for although we work for wages, we are still slaves, the 20th century kind of slave, the worst kind of slave, one who goes looking for his master.

Now let us look at society from an evolutionary viewpoint, take feudalism for instance. The landlord class ruled because they owned the essential factor in production, the land, but evolution proceeded in the way in which society got its living, and by the development of the machine brought a new factor into prominence in the production of goods. This gave the new class, the merchant class, the power with which to overthrow the landlords, which they did, in spite of the desperate efforts the landlords made to retain their power. Then we had a different class of rulers, the capitalist class, who started in a small way and have developed into magnates.

At the time of the change from feudalism to capitalism, the tool was small. It was owned by him who used it, he also owned the product, but the tool has developed into the mighty machine too big for the individual to own and use. We have had individual use and individual ownership of the product, now we have social production but not social ownership but capitalist class ownership, a contradiction in itself, which is the cause of the poverty and misery of the working class to-day.

Evolution in economics pursues its course in spite of the ruling class, they or no one else can control it. It puts the power of domination into the hands of a new class, but the ruling class attempt to hang on to their power, and aided by the possession of the powers that be, may hold on for a time, but evolution gives more and more power to the subjugated class until it finally arises and overthrows the ruling class. Though the ruling class may control the political power, and this for the time being gives them the advantage, they cannot control the development of their own system of production, which itself develops new class interests and makes a revolution inevitable.

Space is getting filled, but if you follow my arguments you will see that before a social revolution can take place the under dog must capture political power, evolution in industry must go on anyway, what is needed is a corresponding political revolution. With-out that revolution the class that rules politics will use that power to dominate industry. Therefore the workers to dominate industry must take as the first step the capture of the political powers. Evolution has brought about an industrial revolution, we need no step by step.

No, Rome wasn't built in a day, policy or platform, Rome has been in the process of being built every day we have been sweating. Rome (industrial evolution) is built, all we need is to own it, we've built it. To do that needs principally to dispel the ignorance of the workers, which is about the biggest barrier that stands between us and our freedom. The sooner we do it the better for ourselves and we can only do it by making them class-conscious, the whole thing, the world for the worker Socialist.

So long as the capitalist class are in power, so long can they be depended upon to legislate in their own interests. Their class interests and greed will not let them go far wrong, we

can safely leave it to their instinct to see that they do not hand out "palliatives" that really do palliate, their instinct is sufficient they do not need to have a knowledge of economic laws. The time is ripe for a change, for a revolution, it can only come by the action of the workers themselves wanting what they want, because they want it and not by any hire purchase system of freedom.

J. STEWART.

WHAT DO YOU WANT?

Comrades and Fellow Workers— Another election will soon take place for the Manitoba provincial parliament, somewhere about July, as far as known, and the workers will have the opportunity of continuing the farce of electing their masters to power, as, whether it is Grib or Tory that is elected, they stand for the continuance of the present system—robbery of the workers.

Now, fellow workers, are you satisfied with the conditions as they are at the present time, or do you want a change? Do you want the load lightened, you weary ones? Weary of ever chasing after jobs and hard work, and being robbed continually. I know you are and you will have an opportunity of registering a kick by voting for a Socialist.

"What? Vote for a gang of bomb-throwers, undesirable citizens, immoral beings, disturbers of the peace," etc., I hear some wage-pug say, who hears some of the bouquets thrown out by our present system's upholders. Yes, fellow workers, you are wondering why it is you work hard from one year's end to the other and are a year's better off than when you started, while the other fellow (the capitalist) keeps on flourishing. The Socialists can show you a way out, and that is by you going to the polls when election day comes round and marking that powerful weapon, the ballot, for the Socialist candidate, who stands for the collective ownership of the means of production and all public utilities, I do not blame the capitalist; it's you I blame for the present rotten conditions so far as the workers are concerned, and I implore you to study this question of Socialism, read the literature, and then when you are convinced of your position in society, go to the polls and register a kick against this damnable system.

In Winnipeg the reds are putting in some good work, and so a few of our "labor friends" have put a sprag in the Socialist wheel here by forming a labor party composed of job-hunters, soreheads and a few so-called aristocrats of labor, but I expect they will get squashed at the forthcoming election. What has the Labor party in Britain, for instance, ever done for the people in general over there? Nothing, practically speaking, and no reformist party was ever any good.

The only real working class party is the Socialist party, which stands for the abolition of the wage system and the ushering in of the co-operative commonwealth and the full product of their labor to every worker, physical or mental, and that result can only be obtained by the workers finding out what Socialism really means first, and electing Socialists, and the much-looked-for reforms will come fast enough, but not before then.

J. S.

STEELETON, ONT.

Dear Sir:— Would you please send me an application form for a charter. We had a visit from Comrade Gribble who left behind him a great impression, not only on us Socialists, but the town in general. I think we have here the raw material with which to build up as good a local as stands in the Dominion to-day.

GEORGE WAPLES.

MAN:

As He Imagines Himself, and As He Is. Wonderful indeed is the muddled mentality of the human race! No claim is too extravagant for man to make, no slavery too abject for him to bear.

Consider man in the moments of his mental exaltation. He is the "lord of creation." He is the master of the universe. He is the boss of all. For him were all things made. The sun "for a light by day" and "the moon for a light by night." The stars also. The law of gravitation was brought into existence expressly for him—that his five feet or so of salt and water and a few other things, might be kept right side up upon "his" earth. Comets are sent for his pleasure—that he might talk about them and speculate upon the relative intensity of their tails.

Truly when we begin to exalt ourselves, we go mad. We set ourselves above all. Nothing is too great for us. We are not satisfied with the earth. We must, forsooth, claim the universe and even ourselves—in imagination—as overlords of it.

The ancients were wiser. They had a truer sense of the magnitude of things—a finer sense of perception. They defied their sun and made a goddess of the moon, and they bowed before the stars. They realized, instinctively, their own smallness and

the weakness of the whole. Their own weakness and the strength of the mysterious forces surrounding them. They were wiser in their ignorance than we in our knowledge.

And now the contrast. We have seen man the master, as he imagines himself. Look at him now as he is—man the slave. Behold him! He is hungry and he desires to eat. Of food there is enough, but he cannot get it. He cannot obtain access to the food supply. The machines of production and the natural resources upon which he depends are not his. But life is sweet. He desires to live. And so he seeks diligently for a master. He interviews the underlings of the owners of the machines of production, and he asks them to work to live. He is humble in manner and expression. He goes hat in hand. He cringes. And before what? Before some great power, some mighty force, some superior being or beings? Nay, before his own kind. Before things built as he is built. Before other men.

Such is man. He is a joke, a farce, a comedy. He is the boss of the universe who is not even master of his own bread. He is the superior being who toils ten hours for a dollar seventy-five. He is, in his mind, the overlord of all—in actuality, an economic slave. Truly "it is to laugh."

DESMOND.

THOU ART IN TRUTH A TICK

Comrade Editor,— I read Alf. Buden's article in No. 550 and of course I read the stouderous statements made by Storekeeper Tick about Comrade Wilfrid Gribble. I would like to have a few rounds with Tick with or without the gloves; on second thoughts I would kick him or spit on him. Tick, why didn't you say that to Gribble's face and damn the consequences? It was because you are a coward.

Let it be known to you, Tick, that we in Brandon have a kindness for Gribble. We consider him a man among men. No, he didn't flatter us or stroke us down. He was real and sincere with ferocious sincerity and we liked it. He isn't like those canting puritanical humbugs. The only time they are sincere is when they are doing others.

Tick, Gribble and Socialism are identical. Before I heard Gribble, Socialism was an abstract idea in books. After I heard him speak, Socialism became a living reality and I rejoice in his ferocity. "Axioms are not axioms," said the poet Keats, "ill they are written on our pulses." Just think that over, Tick.

Gribble's ferocity, which in your vile way you are pleased to term insanity, is caused by the sufferings of his class. Aye, and of his own flesh and blood who have suffered and died under the tyranny of this damnable system called Capitalism, which you uphold. Mr. Tick, and which we Socialists are out to destroy. We propose to do it by educating the workers and getting them to vote for the Socialist candidate. Nothing murderous or insane about our method, Tick. When they repeated the corn law in England, Bright and Cobden were in the band, Bright and Queen Victoria said John Bright was a dangerous agitator.

Your capitalism is red with blood, not only of men but of women and little children. Or are fighting for political freedom. When Oliver Cromwell and his friends were fighting for religious freedom in another way, they went into action at Winceby field singing psalms. We get our inspiration from the "Red Flag." Tick, the Red Flag makes the bull capitalist puke the ground. We flaunt it in its face, and Socialism is the matador that will thrust its sword right into the heart of the brute.

I tell you where I want Gribble, Mr. Tick. I want him in one of the Canadian legislatures and I want him to talk to one of those distinguished assemblies just in the same way as he talked to you, Mr. Tick. (And, Wilfrid, let you eyes blaze for wrathful fire and roast 'em.)

Being a Puritanical capitalist perhaps you read your Bible, Tick. Turn to Acts, 26th chapter, Paul. "Festus said unto Paul, 'Paul, thou art beside thyself; much learning hath made you mad.'" You and Festus are in the same class, Tick. Judge ye which is esteemed the greatest, Paul or Festus, Tick & Co. Paul's reply is full of dignity: "I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness," and farther he says, "this thing was not done in a corner," and so it is with Socialism; we are giving it all the publicity we can. One of these days capitalism will topple over. I hope you get buried in the rules, Tick.

We have all the twelve apostles in our ranks. We have Peter Peters and surely Johns. Now and again we have a Jesus that is common to every cause. We are fishers of men, Tick. We fish for voters. So all your insinuations about a mutter and amatter fall to the ground. I am glad you heard Gribble, Tick. If he didn't cut off your ear, he might have cut out your tongue. So long.

Yours for Socialism,

CLIFFORD BUTLER.

Here and Now

By "Smith."

"Hard times" such as most of us wage-plugs are well acquainted with; are one of the best proofs of the utter untenability of the present system of production. There is no reason why there should be hard times, because there is more wealth, more machinery to produce more wealth, and more men willing to engage in production than at any other time in history. Socialism is the only logical way out of it. Read up on Socialism. Study its program and its literature. It will fully explain the cause and the cure of hard times, will outline for you a more economic, a more sane system of wealth production in which hard times has no part.

From North Battleford, Sask., E. J. Thompson sends in two yearlies. The population of that rising burg will soon be on our mailing list in toto.

Arthur Taylor has been busy in Toronto. Two more brings his total up a bit further.

Capitalists and their henchmen favor the continuance of the existing order. And why in thunder shouldn't they? They are wise enough to know a good thing. It enables them to sit upon the backs of the workers, which is no doubt more pleasant than digging coal or shifting hard pan. The capitalist is not to blame. Who is, then?

J. E. Mickelsen, in renewing, encloses another to keep it company. A coal pit is being sunk in Bayville, Alta., where he hangs from, and he thinks the minor will yet be called upon to overturn the system in that part of the world.

C. Rosoman, Mara, B. C., is responsible for two more plugs straying from the straight and narrow path.

Watts of Winnipeg has got 'em all skinned. Another ten a week over and above his own fifty and a sub, for a "voice" straying in the capitalist wilderness. Watts wants 200 a week. If any of you have a dollar you have no use for, send it here and it will get him 10 a week for ten weeks.

Twenty-five a week for two months for McMahon Smith, Brooklyn, N. Y., is getting the dope now if ever, Smith rather likes the following passage: "The workers outnumber the capitalists many to one. They are robbed at the point of production. Their condition will ever become worse and worse, until they get sense enough and courage enough to throw the parasites off their backs."

L. R. McInnes, Sandton, two renewals and an introduction to working class economies.

The majority of the workers do not like the Socialists. These calamity howlers are going to destroy the home, to pollute the morals of our women-folk by abolishing the marriage tie, they are going to put an end for all time to incentive in the individual; they will take away our masters, and worst of all, they have told God to get out. So much for the workers, but the capitalists don't, like the Socialists either. The Socialists are going to take away their property. The worker is anti-Socialist because of his ignorance; the capitalist because of his knowledge. The worker is mistaken; the capitalist is right. The capitalist class owns the means of production. But in taking this from them, we are only appropriating what they have stolen from the workers, and which, in our opinion, they have no right to. Our opinion will be the right one when we have power to enforce it. A. Gildemeister, North Battleford, Sask., puts two more on a solid footing to help them up on the high road to more knowledge.

Singles—J. Coxon, Winnipeg; J. Stewart, Toronto; J. Godin, Cranbrook; A. J. Arnison, H. Hitts, R. Thomas, Victoria; L. Wilkie, Windsor, Ont.; W. Koelling, Hilerest, Alta.; Roscoe Fillmore, W. A. Pickard, Phoenix, B. C.; T. H. Dunne, Arrowhead, B. C.; C. F. Orchard, Kamloops, B. C.; "Taque," Vernon, B. C.; Mrs. Watkins, J. Shields, Joe Gibson, Vancouver.

OVER 65 YEARS' EXPERIENCE

Scientific American
A. H. B. & Co., 301 Broadway, New York

Any one sending a sketch and a description of an invention or a new machine to the Scientific American Patent Office, 301 Broadway, New York, will receive a free estimate of the value of the invention. The Scientific American Patent Office is the only one in the world that has a direct connection with the U. S. Patent Office, and is the only one that has a direct connection with the British Patent Office.

FORGING TO THE FORE

The air is filled with a multitude of sounds, more or less contradictory and discordant, but all having the same social quacks are to be found extolling their wares with strident voices and offering their nostrums for sale in the name of labor and with its welfare as their professed aim.

All this movement, confused as it is, is undoubtedly promising. It proves that the worker is beginning to assert himself; is arising from the slumber of apathy and reaction that in a dim, instinctive way he sees prospects of better things ahead of him, without knowing how they are to be obtained.

The Liberal or Tory politician who calls himself the friend of the workman, who in his mendacious promises and assertions puts Lucifer himself to the blush, does not lie wantonly or unnecessarily. Even a statesman would hesitate to sell his soul for nought.

It is indisputable that modern poverty is artificial. It is neither the result of Divine anger nor of the rigidity of nature. It is the product of the capitalist ownership of the means of production by which men are prevented from earning their living unless the proprietary class can make profit from their labor.

The Socialist party claims that when the means of production are the property of the working class poverty will disappear from the ranks of the toilers.

What are the means of production and who owns them now? The means of wealth production are the things whereby we produce the foodstuffs and the things we exist upon.

The means of production today are capital because they are used for the purpose of making a profit. They are the property of a class that is an economic group known as the capitalist class.

A change is imminent. The concentration of wealth goes on apace, the unemployed increase in proportion, panics come more and more frequently and cover a wider area every time they strike us, and everywhere we see signs that the present system must be changed and the one choice we have is to oppose what must be, or help it along.

Today production is social and distribution individual. Production is co-operative and no man can claim that he produces a single article, for he has only carried out one operation of a whole series necessary to the final product.

A person ignorant of the ways of the world may speak of the rights and wrongs of this matter, but who is right and what is wrong? The mighty are always right, for it is their might that puts them right.

and until the workers are mighty enough to assert their right to the means of wealth production it will be wrong in the minds of most people for the workers to take possession of them.

You might hold the opinion that what is, the workers always had and always will have; but that is a mistake. There was a time in the far distant past when men were free and remnants are around us of primitive peoples who had no capitalists and wage-slaves.

The wage-slave of today believes that he is paid for his labor, but he only remains in the same position as the chattel slave economically, because he is only paid for his labor-power; that is, he only receives money enough for his services to enable him to buy sufficient food, clothing and shelter to keep him in working condition, sometimes not that. But he believes he is free, and he is. Free to starve or slave. He has one little advantage over the chattel slave. He can choose his master when he is fortunate enough to find one. He sells himself. The chattel slave was saved the trouble of bargaining.

You will see from the above that the only question is one of ownership; that the emancipation of the worker is achieved when he is in possession of the things that are necessary to his existence. The Socialist party has that and that only as its object. The Socialist party is the party of the working class and it is fighting for freedom, for economic liberty. The capitalist class, on the other hand, is determined to keep the workers in bondage. How is it that you never hear the parson, the lawyer and the Liberal and Tory politician tell the worker that he is enslaved? How is it that they always speak of the dignity of labor and how they love the rugged brows and horny hands of toil? How is it that when a mine disaster happens through the greed of the owners of the mine, it is the will of God and we must cheerfully bow to it in the opinion of the righteous? How is it that all the intellect that the capitalist class can buy is obtained to soothe the worker with his capitalist class buys the labor-power those who will incite what they desire shall be the thoughts of the working class.

The time has now come when the worker is forced to think and act for himself. It is not that he wants to— he has to—and the Socialist believes he will do. The instruments of production are so stupendous that they produce wealth in such gigantic quantities that the markets are blocked and things are awry for a while. The worker starves because he has produced too much food. He goes ragged because he has made too many clothes and many wonderful things happen that surpasseth all understanding. The worker cannot buy back the goods he has produced because he has not received wages enough to do so. No body will employ a slave unless he can make a profit out of him and therefore it is impossible for the working class to buy back the goods they produce. It is also a fact that the capitalist class cannot consume the surplus. There is too much of it. Each nation engaged in this business of plunder tries to obtain foreign markets in order to get rid of the surplus product that its own workers are too poor to buy, but there are so many in the game now that the foreign markets are about exhausted and capitalism has reached a dead end. It can go no further.

A change is imminent. The concentration of wealth goes on apace, the unemployed increase in proportion, panics come more and more frequently and cover a wider area every time they strike us, and everywhere we see signs that the present system must be changed and the one choice we have is to oppose what must be, or help it along.

Today production is social and distribution individual. Production is co-operative and no man can claim that he produces a single article, for he has only carried out one operation of a whole series necessary to the final product. But in the sphere of distribution, where the capitalists are a solid class against the workers as regards the ownership of the wealth produced by the working class, they, the capitalists, are antagonistic to one another in their endeavor to get the larger share of the markets. Fourier pointed out at the beginning of last century that this competition could only end in monopoly, and we see con-

centration and trustification going on in every branch of industry, more notably in the United States, the most advanced of capitalist countries.

The present system contains within itself the germs of its own destruction. The anomaly of starvation in the midst of plenty, a distinctive feature of capitalist society, becomes more and more apparent to the workers, and the capitalists, overpowered themselves by the very forces they have perfected but are no longer able to control, suffocated by the enormous mass of wealth they can no longer consume, and faced by the increasing army of the unemployed, will be compelled to give way to the economic and human forces around them.

Production and distribution are becoming more and more out of harmony and it is a psychological as well as a biological fact that an organism living out of touch with its surroundings must readapt itself in order to continue in existence. To bring about this readaptation it is necessary to make ownership and distribution harmonize with production, that is, make them social. This can only be done by the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership of the means and instruments of producing and distributing wealth by and in the interests of the whole community.

In all human actions material interests rule and therefore the dominant class can only be concerned in upholding wage-slavery and increasing their power over the workers. The working class, on the other hand, are driven by their material interests to struggle for the possession of the means of living.

To the working class history has committed the mission of transforming society from capitalism to Socialism. A glance over past history shows that every class that emancipated itself had to commence by the capture of the political machinery, that is the power of government. It is therefore necessary for the workers to organize a political party having for its object the capture of the political power. The political party of the workers can only be a Socialist party, because Socialism alone is based on the facts of working-class existence. Socialism alone can free the worker from the profit of a master; Socialism alone will strip him of his mercenary character and allow him to become a full social being. Then, with the removal of the many artificial restrictions to production, those producing wealth owning and controlling it for their own well-being, will be interested in the future development of the productive powers, for every conquest in the domain of science, every fresh extension of the dominion of man over nature will be hailed by all as a means of shortening the time necessary for the production of our material requirements and increasing the leisure essential to the adequate development of our physical and mental faculties.

LESTOR.

WHO PAYS THE TAXES.

How many times in the course of discussion we hear the above query from Socialists, so-called, and their somewhat punctured intellectual opponents. Wherever we go the misconception permeates the fogged brains of the unwary, to the idea or belief, that the worker pays for everything, besides paying the taxes. As one of my opponents remarked recently, "Is it not a fact that the workers produce everything in society to-day? I simply answered "yes," but that does not imply that they pay the taxes. Let us allow those thinking lobes of ours a few brief moments to try and clear away the remnants of this vexed problem.

To begin with, it is agreed on all sides that the workers are the only class that produce anything, including the wealth that is paid over in the form of taxes, and we are all agreed that the workers only receive a portion of what they produce. But our opponents fail to realize that the amount the workers receive in wages is governed as a class, by their standard of living, in other words, the cost of production, enough to reproduce the amount of energy, or working power that they use up from day to day. You cannot tax labor power while the worker possesses it, in fact it is non-existent until embodied in an article. It is potential and not actual. It has a possible value, but not a real value; it must be used or perish. It is quite evident, then, that it is not labor power. And when the results of labor power are created they are not in the hands of the workers, but in the hands of the masters. It is real value then, and not until then.

The workers, as a class, possess nothing. They started back in the dark ages of the distant past with the inheritance of the earth, real value they had none. After all these ages of invention and perfection of machines they emerge in the twentieth century with nothing and the plutes pile on fuel, leading them to believe they pay the taxes. Taxes are that part of surplus value that the master pays for hirelings or henchmen. Some of these compose our intellectual, glib-tongued politicians. Then we have the Judges and their funkeys, and the hired as-

ss-ins wearing the uniforms, and police with their batons. All these are the receivers of taxes, and it can be readily seen that their mission is to keep the working asses in subjection, to enforce law and order from the masters point of view. The masters say they are to protect us. Protect who and what? Only the plutes have anything to protect. It is self-evident the workers have not.

Again I say taxes are paid out of unpaid labor, our opponents again chime in, well, then, the workers pay them. I say no, when the worker makes a deal with the master to sell him so many hours per day, or week, as the case may be, he states his "price," that is, the actual value of his labor power, and he usually gets his standard, or less, according to scarcity or quantity of men upon the market. When he has finished his week or month's work, he is paid for it. What the master does with the product is no concern of his at all, the deal ends there. The master might sell it for more than it cost, or less. If he sells for more, the worker could not say I've sold it for more than it cost, the master would think he was a fool. For example: A, buys an article for \$1 from B, and sells it for \$5 and with the \$4 profit A buys a pair of boots, surely B would not have the audacity to iterate that he had paid for those boots the same thing applies to the workers as the deal between A and B would when it received \$1. The deal between the sellers of labor power and the buyers of labor power ended when the worker received his wages. It still might be urged that the workers pay taxes in the form of rent. Again I say no, and upon this point I speak of the renters or workers as a class. It appears in the form of rent as though they did pay, but they don't. It is necessary to equip the working mule with physical energy, that he shall have food, clothing and shelter. I shall merely dwell now upon the latter. The capitalist class are divided into two warring factions, the industrial capitalists and the landlord capitalists, the former endeavoring at all times to swallow up the latter, while the latter are struggling to maintain their positions. Nevertheless, they have sufficient hold upon society as yet to demand their share of the plunder, and this is exactly how it takes place. When the worker receives his pay envelope it contains sufficient to maintain the average standard of living and enough to convey from the industrial capitalist to the landlord capitalist "his" toll, the worker being merely used as a medium between the two. In some parts, where the industrial capitalists own the houses, for instance, Port Sunlight, and a number of others, the wages are reduced the amount necessary to pay rent. Of course, if the wage worker is fortunate enough to own his house, why he pays the taxes but still should the majority ever be so foolish as to own their homes, their wages would go down the price of rent, in which case they would be no better off. By owning your own home you get ahead of the game, but you make usually a more servile slave than your non-possessing brother who can move around while you are forced to remain in the same place.

F. WATKINSON.

Toronto.

WHAT ABOUT IT?

Fellow Proletarians: You keep hearing of these terrible explosions in the coal mines of the world in which thousands of your fellow workers lives are being snuffed out in the twinkling of an eye. Who is going to be the next? What is the reason for it? Can they be avoided, and what are you going to do about it? So long as the capitalist system is with us there will be slaughter after slaughter of the workers.

Now, let us see where we stand in regard to these explosions. In the first place profits are the first consideration. Profit must be made before any attempt at all is made to secure the lives of the workers. Now who makes the laws in regard to the working of coal mines? Do the coal miners? You know that they don't. Then who does? Why the capitalist class of course. And the capitalist class are out for profits are they not? Now listen. The coal mines of the world can be made so secure that accidents can be reduced to a very small percentage of the men employed. If you coal miners run the mines would you keep the air courses so narrow and low that the air could not clear the gases? Would you work in a place that was dangerous when you could refuse, and demand work where it was safe? Would you work in a mine where the workings were so extensive that the air could not be driven to its furthest limits? Or would you close the mine and sink another where you could work with safety?

Fellow workers, the Socialist Party of the World is out to abolish the capitalist system of production, based on profits for the masters and wages for slaves, and to substitute in its place production for use. Then, and not till then will the workers lives be their own.

JAMES JACKSON.

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 degradation.

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

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

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

- 1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into the collective property of the working class.
2. The democratic organization and management of industry by the workers.
3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

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

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

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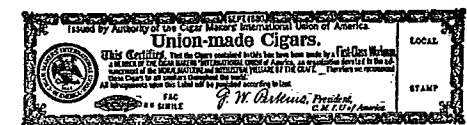
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