



WESTERN CLARION

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THE MAN OF FEAR

The Worker Learns to Fear Starvation in this World and is Taught to Fear Damnation in the Next.

Comrade Editor.—In this particular part of the world at this time of the year, the laborer is nothing but a perpetual motion machine. He revels in motion. He toils and toils from early in the morning till late at night. You can see him on buildings, in elevators, in factories and foundries, in ditches and trenches, the sweat standing on his forehead in beads and making white channels down his grimy face. The foreman stands over him with a watchful eye and when you see the laborer's pick rising and falling you understand the law of gravitation, and that profound law of nature, the rhythm of motion.

When the laborer is not working he lives in fear of want, and when he is working his fears are increased, for he lives in fear of want and fear of his boss. "Please, Mr. Boss, let me live." "No, I can make more profit out of another man. Go and starve."

When the laborer goes to church they try to get him well scared with the fear of hell. Not content with the suffering and endurance of pains in this world, the parson threatens him with pains in a world to come. So altogether the poor wage slave has a glorious time. He is all the time in a state of fear. Truly he is of all men the most miserable.

Instead of listening to the pleasures and pains to be endured in another world, he had better by far work out his own salvation right here, now. He can only do this by becoming a Socialist and voting for his own benefit.

However, there be a good many of us who are not concerned with the fear of hell or the hope of heaven. The Socialist leaves that to the Salvation Army. They have solved the problem. They know all about it. They are thinking cymbals, sounding trumpets, beating drums. The heathen Chinee lets off fireworks to scare the devil away. Make a cheerful noise.

And you wage slaves, keep moving. Work while it is day, for does not Satan always find some mischief for idle hands to do? So let the beads of sweat stand out on your manly brow. Mortify the flesh; do. Let your life be one long endurance of pain. Then probably you will become a winged pauper of the skies. Is there anything more sublime than the idea of a man fluttering around the starry heavens wearing a crown of gold and twanging a harp. By the twang of a string, it sounds heroic.

When I hear it proclaimed abroad I feel like saying, "For God's sake, Lords, convey my respectful regards to your eyes." Good gracious! I hear one say, what has that to do with it? Nothing at all. There is just about as much sense in the one statement as the other.

We had a gallant Irishman on the soap-box the other night. He exhorted us to think of a world to come. He said he was a Christian, but he had no sympathy with British government in Ireland. A glorious combination.

We held open-air meetings at Brandon June 12-19. Comrade Bert Bastable was chairman for one meeting; Comrade Legge chairman of the other. We are bringing out one or two more speakers in Brandon because when Comrade Fulcher is elected for North Winnipeg, Winnipeg's gain will be Brandon's loss.

Comrade Fulcher was the principal speaker at the above meetings. He made two remarkably good speeches. On each occasion he spoke for quite two hours, and when he had finished the crowd hung around reluctant to go away. People in these days seem to have got tired of the hysterical emotionalism of extreme religious fanatics. It is useless to console the wage slave with the joys to come, when his present life is one long misery, and so it is no exaggeration to say that the common people heard Comrade Fulcher gladly. They listened eagerly and swallowed what he said greedily. "We may or we may not be increasing the number of re-

crulls in Brandon, but one thing is certain—Socialism is being discussed all over the place. We are abused frightfully, but I believe every Socialist likes to be where the knocks go and come.

We have a nice state of affairs in Manitoba. One party accuses the other of being like an ostrich with its head buried in a sand pit. Speak to a Liberal about timber limits and he fades away like the stars of the morning. If a Socialist says anything about King George they get white hot with indignation, but these politicians take the oath of fidelity to King George and then rob his empire. Well, that is patriotic. They are honorable men, and Brutus is an honorable man. The political organizations of this country are honey-combed with graft. The charges made by party newspapers against each other may or may not be true, but I do know that the result is a want of confidence in either party. They debauch constituencies, lower the moral tone of the country, and we turn from them in disgust. In this country we have very extravagant ideas in religion and very low practices in politics. In the old country some graft was exposed in connection with Poplar workhouse and the delinquents were sent down for five and seven years' penal servitude. In this country grafters are honorable men.

These honorable men make regulations for Sunday to be kept like a Jewish Sabbath, swear fidelity to the King, and rob his empire. I am not a saint, for which I am truly thankful, but I would have those robbers sent down. But, however, what's the use? It is human nature to lie, to be deceitful, to be crafty, cunning, to be noble and to be honorable. The most delightful combination of all these virtues is to be found in a Puritanical Machiavelli. A Puritanical grafter is a joy forever; his loveliness increases if he would sooner have an ancient Stoic than a mucky Christian. Who has not read of the simplicity of the old Romans?

The Sammites sent a present of gold to the great Roman general, Manlius Curius. The messengers found him on his farm cooking his own dinner, which was a turnip and a roasted chicken of his fire, and he had only a wooden dish to eat it on. He refused the gold, saying, "It was more glorious to have gold but to have power over those who had it." Will somebody please feed our Canadian politicians on mangold wurtzels, forked radishes, roast frogs and boiled turnips?

Yours for Socialism,
CLIFFORD BUTLER.

SEIDELISMUS
He gave the Chicago Socialists some practical advice on how to carry out their campaign:
"It isn't essential," he said, "that the workers be instructed in Socialism. It doesn't make any difference whether the workers understand Socialism or not."
"When you talk to the people about how they ought to vote, talk to them in their own language, not in jargon and slogans. A man may not be able to understand those things, but he will understand the difference between a big piece of sausage and a little one, the difference between small taxes and unreasonably high taxes, and he can easily be shown that the reason there are boulevards in front of the homes of the rich is that the rich furnish graft for the politicians and the politicians in return furnish the boulevards."—Daily Socialist.

WHO PAY THE PIPER—

Comrade Blake has told the Clarion readers of my effort in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta to amend the resolution dealing with the death of the King so as to make it include the 137 miners who were murdered about the same time in Whitehaven mine, Cumberland, England. Let me add that they, the honorable and most honorable members of the Assembly, Liberals, Conservatives, Insurgents and Independents, all in unison, not only openly violated parliamentary procedure, rules of order and established precedents by jumping to their feet and taking a standing vote on the amendment, but immediately they had voted, they became respecters of parliamentary rules, etc., and refused to let me speak, on the grounds that there was no resolution before the Assembly, and while I was insisting that so far as I was concerned the resolution had not yet been dealt with, and that it was my privilege to amend any resolution that came before that Assembly, they rushed in the Lieutenant-Governor and prorogued the Assembly.

One man rushed up to me from the spectators and said to me, "My friends asked me to tell you that in their estimation you are a damn blackguard." The following appeared in several of their papers:

"Severe on O'Brien. High River Times.

When the mouthy Socialist member for Rocky Mountain riding attempted to speak disparagingly of the late King in the Legislature hall at Edmonton, he should have been seized and soundly flogged and cuffed, in fact an application of tar and feathers and cat-o-nine-tails would have been very appropriate."

How the beast Capital through its henchmen will snarl and growl and threaten when one attempts to heard it in its den. And then remember, I was only asking it to extend sympathy to some of its slaves. When we ask for relief they will no doubt enforce some of their threats. So let us not ask but prepare to take.

Some of their papers said if I had made the same remarks before a street crowd not bound by the rules of propriety, I would have been mobbed. Since then I have spoken to large crowds on the street corners of Edmonton, Calgary and several other places, saying all that I said in the Assembly and a great deal more that honorable body would not allow me to say, and I have only been interrupted once. That was in Edmonton. A very large, fine-looking, well-dressed man said: "Young man, you had better be careful; you are liable to be arrested for treason." I replied: "I am aware of that. I know that any effort in the interest of my class is treason to the rule of capital."

The crowd cheered me and said, "Stay with it." They dared the big interrupter who kept walking away to stay and take the box and defend his position. Had the organized street-corner crowd been so fond of mobbing as the capitalist henchmen accuse them of being, it was the big interrupter, not I, that would have been mobbed.

While such as this enables us to show the character of things, yet it is just as it should be. The other honorable members were true to the class interests that they were elected to defend. True to those who furnish the campaign funds for their election. They who pay the piper should call the tune. Whenever the slaves get wise then they will call the tune.

C. M. O'BRIEN.

ONLY ONE SOCIALISM

Of all the "Fifty-seven Varieties" One Only is Entitled to that Name.

Utopian ideas which flourished in bygone days are not yet dead by any means, and reformers are continually trying to strain and distort the principles of Socialism to fit their preconceived notions and prejudices. It is quite common now to write of Socialism with inverted commas. It seems to have become a thing of brands, varieties and grades. They talk of Christian Socialism, Practical Socialism, Industrial Union Socialism and several more of like distinction. Whatever these propositions may be, Socialism it is not. It would be just as absurd to apply the same terms to mathematics.

Socialism stands in no need of qualifying terms, and to use such to destroy its revolutionary intent and render it meaningless. If the conclusions of Socialism were proved unscientific the whole proposition would fall and it were foolish to try and patch it up, reform or amend an unsound doctrine. The need then would be for something entirely different, requiring a distinctive name. It is about time this was realized, and it ought to be obvious to any interested that reforms, no matter by what name called, are part and parcel of the system Socialism seeks to sweep away. How can our proposition, which aims to end the present state of things, be made the vehicle to boost measures whose only purpose, if practical, could be to prolong the miseries of capitalism?

The whole policy of the historical parties of capitalism—Liberal, Conservative, Republican, Democratic and Populist—has been nothing but a program of reforms from the beginning till now, and to promote reforms in the name of Socialism is to attempt to palliate what is declared by the essence of its teaching can not be palliated.

Those who think they can better the condition of the working class under the present system would do themselves and the Socialist movement a favor by allying with the political parties, old or new, that uphold the present system. That is where their reforms will receive due consideration. In fact whether they ally themselves or not, that is just where their schemes will naturally go, for there is the power that alone can make them effective if practical. This will not be because of the alleged betterment of working-class conditions, but because it will enable the rotten old carcass of capitalist production to be preserved a while longer.

How can the condition of the working class be bettered under a system that concedes it a right for the capitalist class to extract a profit from the labor of the workers? The workers

are exploited of all of their produce above the cost of their subsistence, their condition is that of the robbed, and the system under which the robbery takes place is the wage system. How can a condition be bettered still leave in operation the system through which the condition arises? The only thing that can be done is to put an end to the condition, and in the case that means the abolition of the wage system. This is the aim of Socialism, and the control of the political power the means by which it will be brought about. In Canada the Socialist party takes the stand that until that power is in its hands its action can only be as outlined in the latter part of its platform:

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.

RAYNER.

THE RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE

In the Clarion of June 15 I notice that Clifford Butler takes a fall out of Marx on the proposition of the rate of surplus value. Says Butler: "I think Marx errs in making the rate of surplus value depend on time. I think it depends more on motion. It depends on the amount of work done in a given time. This our friend goes on to illustrate by the example of a couple of bricklayers. One of these is assumed to be more skillful than the other, to do more work, and, therefore, to produce more surplus."

Now, the writer does not put us as an economist, but it appears that Butler, like a good many more, gets off his base by the failure to understand the class nature of production.

Political economy is a science of averages and generalities, and the laws of political economy are laws of averages and generalities. In figuring the productivity of the working class we reduce, according to the writer's understanding at least, the thing to a common unit.

This common unit is the average productivity of the average worker under normal circumstances, and is, so to speak, the centre of gravity.

Now there are some workers who are perhaps especially productive (i. e., fast-working), and others who are perhaps particularly slow. But so far as the generalities of political economy are concerned these workers who are on the extremes either way, do not count. They do not, that is to say, affect the law of surplus value, although in their individual cases the said law may be modified, even which, however, is a highly debatable question.

The point is this: The average worker is simply what his name says—an average worker of average productivity. He is neither much more productive nor much less productive than his fellows. And therefore, simply because of this, Marx is perfectly correct in making time the determining factor as regards the amount of surplus produced by the average worker toiling under normal conditions.

Let our friend Butler always remember first and foremost that production is a class matter. Wealth is produced by the working class, not as individuals. Surplus, therefore, is produced the same way. And in studying the thing we must always look at it from the average of productivity. Individual cases and examples are dangerous and misleading.

DESMOND.

WHAT WILL HELP HIM ?

Only That Message Which Will Awaken The Spirit of Revolt Within Him.

Scene:—Small town in Southern Illinois, composed largely of retired farmers with the addition of a floating population of wage slaves.

Advertisement in morning paper:—Wanted, man to work in boiler-house. Apply, So-and-So.

Being in search of a means to scrape together a few dollars, the writer wends his way hither and sees the boss in the boiler house, and is told he is the tenth man after the job, which, of course, is gone to the man who had information from the inside. And what was it? Keeping four fires going. Easy work, eh? Thermometer only 95 degrees in the shade and the price of the slave \$1.50 a day. Only 11 hours a day, and only seven days a week!

Great! And a dear, assinine old lady said in my hearing yesterday: "If the workers would save they would be better off."

My God! The price of fairly decent board \$5 a week, and clothing and extras to come off, and he can save! Also in time he married and rear up citizens for the country, and the glory of Teddy, the anti-race-exterminator. A free American citizen? He can enjoy recreation at nights when he lies on the outside of his bed and chases off the flies from his exhausted body. A pretty picture, indeed, and a true one. Oh, America, well named "The land of the free, but the home of the slave."

And Socialism will destroy the incentive to work. Yet ten men apply in two hours for this degrading position. Their incentive? Fear of starvation. Where shall they turn for relief? To the Socialist party?

Listen. A Socialist agitator spoke on the streets here the other night and appealed to the people to turn down the old parties, as being of no use, to cleanse the People's government of corruption by the trusts, and trust the Socialist party, where men worked for love of a cause, where people were striving to clean up the country and make it possible for people to get a better living. Said he: "Follow the example of Milwaukee where the grafters are being cleared out and conditions being made better for the people."

Will that suffice for our friend in the boiler-house? Is that the message to awaken the spirit of revolt within him? No. Tell him of a revolution going on, that is destined to sweep away the agony and misery of being chained to such jobs as the one he is on.

The Socialist movement here lacks the true working-class spirit of revolt against their masters, and in the writer's opinion is simply a mighty muck rake, uncovering the sores of society in the United States, without revealing the cause.

Show me in your greatest paper, "the little old Appeal," any message of hope to the working class, anything that points out where the root of present-day evils lie. There can be found by the score the sensational exposures of Roosevelt, Diaz, and minor grafters, accounts of junkies in high "society" and splay comments; complaints of the way the paper is persecuted, and so on.

But where is Socialism? Yet this paper is the great light offered to the wage slaves for their guidance.

What do we care about the antics of Roosevelt & Co.? Expose the system; show how we are robbed, and how to stop the robbery. Teach us Revolution—not Reform. Let us have a Socialist party in the States in deeds as in name.

F. S. F.

A TOAST.

A toast, a toast, to those of the host who farm our forward line. A health to them, both women and men.

No rebel will decline. At each lonely post, from coast to coast.

They're doing the best they may; Then fill the cup and drink it day. To our lonely scouts—and the Day.

Where the rebel crowd and the songs are loud— The songs of liberty— It's easy there to do and dare, To combat tyranny; But it takes some sand to play a lone hand.

And that's the hand they play, With no comrades near to bid them cheer, So here's to them—and the Day!

The foe is strong and the fight is long, And the end they may not see; But life grows bright with the joy of the fight.

For they know what the end will be, At each set of the sun they've a victory won— They've played their part in the fray, It may not show, but—we know, we know— And we drink to them—and the Day!

Oh, comrades true, we think of you, Wide-scattered o'er the land; Our hearts go out to the bold and stout Who lone and steadfast stand. Our help we lend, and our greetings send, And we bid you bravely stay, For we're moving up, so fill the cup— Willifrid Gribble.

LOCAL VANCOUVER ATTENTION.

A large attendance required at next business meeting. Special business. FRED. PERRY, Secy.

information wanted.

Will any comrade in Nelson, B. C., Three Forks, Kootenay, send on the address of Mr. J. F. Chapman who lived in Newton Heath, Manchester, Eng., some 7 or 8 years ago. He has a son-in-law named Harrop. A friend from England is anxiously awaiting same. Reply to Moses Baris, care of the Clarion.

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SATURDAY JULY 9th, 1910.

"A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION."

A great deal of to-do is being raised in the States about the recently passed Railroad Regulation Bill, and, unlike most bills over which a fuss is made, it is a measure well worthy of note.

The powers that sway the destinies of railroads have, in the past, made enormous "profits" by "watering the stock." From the capitalist viewpoint the legitimate capitalization of a railroad or any other enterprise is the sum of money it costs to build and equip it and pay running expenses.

Of course, actually, the correct capitalization of an industry is that amount of capital upon which that industry will pay the average rate of profit. But the capitalists, being absolutely ignorant of the economic laws of their own social system, don't know this, and so the railroads are regarded as being very much over-capitalized.

The Railroad Regulation Bill will regulate that. It will remove the shadow of the bar sinister and will legitimize the watered stock in case it should need it.

But why? Well, the great railroad fortunes have been made. All railroads to be "stolen" have been stolen. Their treasures have been plundered of all they will yield. Bond issues have been frayed to a frazzle. Stocks have been watered till they will not absorb another drop. The systems have been linked up and appropriated by the various groups. There is nothing more in sight except dividends, and dividend drawing is far too slow a method of getting richer quick.

Only one thing remains. To sell the roads to the government. And that, we feel confident, is the game the board is being set for. Just imagine the Morgan-Rockefeller-Gould-Belmont-Hill aggregation with railroads to sell and a government to sell them to at the ridiculous capitalization. Can one conceive a more dazzling vision of paradise for "malefactors of great wealth."

So we may expect next to hear of a great popular movement for the government ownership of the railroads. One of these vital national movements that sweep everything before them. And who better qualified to lead such a movement than Teddy the Terror of the Trusts? We shall see.

But the workers, will it benefit them? Not an atom. They will be slaves still and will have to come up with the surplus value as of yore. That their masters will get it as "interest" instead of "dividends" will make not a particle of difference to them. Their wages will be, as formerly, their keep. They will work as long and as hard. If you don't believe us ask the postman.

HOW TO O. I. T.

Pierpont Morgan is rather an exception among multi-millionaires, for he is not a "self made man." Looking at his photo (and it is characteristic of his modesty that his photo is seldom seen), the only thing we perceive that seems to be self-made is a bulbous purple nose, which must have cost a

lot of money, like everything else has. Pierp's father was a self made man which deprived the son of that privilege. However, there is not the least doubt that the son would have made himself had it been necessary or possible. He had no use of the necessary qualifications of industry and thrift as his first business deal of any importance clearly proves, as unembellished in court records and exhibited in the third volume of Myers "History of the Great American Fortunes."

It was during the American Civil War, one of those "times that try men's souls," and Pierpont, though yet in his early twenties, rose nobly to the occasion. Everybody who was anybody was dumping onto the government anything that was unsaleable to even untutored Indians. Consequently the government had considerable junk to sell. Among this was a few thousand Hall "carbines" which had been condemned as entirely useless for any description of manslaughter except suicide. For five thousand of these a gentleman of the name of Eastman, hitherto unknown to fame, and apparently to fortune, tendered a bid of \$3.00 a piece. The thirty government "freed" him up to \$75.00. Thereupon one Stevens, Eastman's backer, wired General Fremont, commanding at St. Louis, that he had five thousand new Hall carbines, in perfect condition—would he take them? Fremont took them, and Mr. Stevens brought the carbines back and had them sent direct from the armory to General Fremont at the front, and charged him \$22.00 apiece for them. New ones, in good condition, would have cost him \$17.00 each.

Unfortunately this enterprising transaction got investigated by a Congressional Committee, or we might have heard no more of it. This committee had the gall to report that "the proposal actually was to sell to the Government at \$22.00 each 5,000 of its own arms, the intention being, if the offer was accepted, to obtain these arms from the Government at \$3.50 each. . . . It is very evident that the very funds with which this purchase was affected were borrowed on the faith of the previous agreement to sell. The government not only sold one day for \$17,486 arms which it had agreed the day before to repurchase for \$109,912—making a loss to the United States of \$92,426—but virtually furnished the money to pay itself the \$17,486 which it received." The Committee further reported that the rifles were so bad that they would shoot off the thumbs of the very soldiers using them. The upshot was the Government refused to pay for them.

But what has all this to do with Morgan? Why, Morgan was "the man higher up," as appeared when he sued the Government for the price of those carbines. The case went before the Claims Commission which finally, as the best way out of the difficulty, awarded Morgan \$13.31 per carbine, which, with the generosity for which he is now famous, he accepted, as part payment. Then Stevens sued the Government for the balance and Judge Peck nobly upholding the sacredness of contract, Stevens got judgment for \$58,175.

All of which goes to prove what the Press and the Pulpit has always been telling us, that under the present beneficent capitalist system there is no lack of opportunity for "getting on." If we have the necessary enterprise and foresight, and that the mere fact of not having any money to start with need prevent none of us from becoming multi-millionaires.

THE TRAGIC AND HUMOROUS SIDE OF CAPITALISM.

Capitalism elevates to high position men whose business is to destroy wealth, and degrades and looks with contempt upon those who create it.

In order to be a useful and respected member of this society, a man must perform no useful toil; he must be a useless parasite (the more useless the more respectable) upon the backs of those who create all of the wealth. Men who have never seen the Highlands of Scotland are dressed in kilts; if anyone else were to dress up in this manner they would be pinched for indecent exposure.

Hats, clothes, etc., are not made for use, but for profit; the more useless and uncomfortable they are the greater becomes the sale of these commodities.

A joke nobody is manufactured by the capitalist class, and they feel much honored when they confer knight hood upon themselves, through a number of tin and three banks.

Women are flattered and pampered to such an extent that it has become second nature to them, that if they want anything, they are forced to ask for something they don't want, in order to get it. They never become of age unless by accident, and they are placed in the class of idiots and minors in common bourgeois law.

Workmen and employers are classed as servants and masters by law, and at the same time other laws forbid slavery.

Some clever fellow sells a capitalist a "gold brick" and gets put in jail for it, and on the other hand merchants do the same thing in a different way and receive "honor and respect" for so doing.

J. D.

BUSINESS MISSIONARIES.

According to Rev. Martin S. Elbridge, of Philadelphia and Tokio, writing in the Washington Herald, the presence of missionaries in foreign lands means the opening of new territories for foreign influence and new markets for foreign goods.

"It is interesting to study the methods by which these results are accomplished," he says, "For instance, one missionary came to Japan twenty-five years ago and went to live in a remote town in the interior. This man and his family could not buy the simplest articles for household use, as no European had ever lived in that section. The people went to see the foreign house and furniture, just as they might crowd into a museum.

"They examined the queer clothes with their curious buttons. They were filled with admiration when they gazed upon the metal wash basin in which the foreign barbarians washed their faces and hands. The first knowledge that came to the missionary that he was a 'drummer in disguise' was when a delegation of prominent citizens waited upon him and requested him to send to one of the open ports and buy them some metal basins.

"Nothing followed the demand for underclothing with buttons, which is one feature of Occidental dress quite generally adopted now even in rural Japan. The handiness of a pocket-knife finally struck the Japanese, so that the missionary imported a supply of them. Within two years there was such a demand for foreign goods that he persuaded a Japanese merchant to open a foreign store. A stock was purchased at one of the ports and the store was opened. From that little beginning grew up one of the great trading companies of inland Japan, handling many thousands of dollars worth of goods every year.

"Not all of this trade now goes abroad, for the company has a number of factories, one of which makes metal wash basins, and such utensils, and the other makes and knits cotton underwear."—The World.

Sure, but if the Clarion had said it we would be "knocking Christianity again."

MORE LABOR REQUIRED FOR "OUR" FARMERS.

Okanagan Valley fruit farm operators are out with their annual wail of "suffering from a labor famine." These employers are not unlike other employers. They hire men only when they need them—about four to six months a year. The four-legged stock is kept and provided for the year round, but the human variety is turned loose in the fall to join the unemployed. And the remuneration, when employed, wouldn't attract a patriotic Hindu. It is so rank that even the Vancouver Daily Province says that the "labor famine" is "the result of not paying higher wages." These are the sort of employers the Salvation Army is recruiting wage slaves for.

DISCUSSION OR DEBATE.

This friendly discussion of Political and Industrial Action is developing rapidly into a debate, if it has not already developed. By the way, A. P. D. refers to an article of mine in a recent issue of the Clarion, saying, "My winds up, etc." might say my dear friend that it should be "she winds up."

However, to get to the point. First of all we must keep in mind that the sole and only function of the State today is to protect the Capitalist class in their ownership of the means of life. This is evident when any "important legislation" is in progress; nothing but a struggle between the two classes for a little, or a whole lot more, than they have already got. Which way does the legislation go? In the favor of the capitalist class, you may be sure of that.

Admitted that the government is the expression of the most powerful economic class, it does not necessarily follow that the next order of society must have classes. The very fact that there has been a most powerful economic class has caused the workers' enslavement, and, as Socialists, our object is to abolish classes. How has the power of each and every most powerful economic class been based, on their ability to skin the workers. The greater their ability, or rather, the greater their opportunity, owing to more perfected machinery, the more powerful the economic class becomes. It seems to me that the very fact that the most powerful economic class must be an exploiting class refutes the argument.

As to the proper organization of the workers: the capitalist system is rapidly doing that. It is organizing them to perform the most amount of labor with the least possible expenditure of energy, and in such a way that waste is largely being eliminated. It is organizing them to each take their part in the great machine. What organization other than that is possible for the worker on the economic field, with the exception of craft unions? Their interests are not identical there. The man with a job has not the same economic interest as the man without. Imagine a man out of

work coming out on strike. Imagine a man on the brink of starvation refusing a so-called "scab's" job. Then there is the factor of female and child labor, which is cheaper. Every man is against every other man on the economic field, where the struggle for existence reigns supreme. The man with the labor power to offer for sale has not the same interest as the unskilled laborer, for with the improvement of machinery, the unskilled may very shortly take his place. Develop all the unskilled laborers into mechanics, and where would the mechanics be? It is to their interest to keep the unskilled man down where he is. A large per cent of these have learned to subsist on a great deal less than the average mechanic, and with his loan of the mechanically (so-called) job, with sufficiently developed machinery to do away with the necessity of a great amount of skill, wages must fall, and with them the general standard of living. Then too, the English and American races have not an identical economic interest with the Hindu, the Chinese, and other races with an exceedingly low standard of living, and surely a national movement cannot eliminate an international evil. It seems to me that binding these conflicting interests together on the field where they conflict merely transfers the friction from the outside to the inside, and you know the old saying, though biblical, applicable, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

A. F. D. suggests that a suitable remedy would be to control our labor power. Granted. In the meantime we have to live, and in order to live we have to work. So long as the capitalist class owns and controls the machines, etc., which we have to use, how can we control our labor power? We have to go, but our labor power is good Mr. Foreman will you rent a job for a while, and as the foreman's position depends on his ability to make a profit, he cannot afford to employ anyone who will not assist in the profit making.

If unpaid labor power is the basis of all economic power, what more simple than eliminate unpaid labor power by owning the means of production, and controlling our labor power. How can we do this while the whole forces of the state is in the hands of the Capitalist class? So many Industrial Unionists base their arguments on the fallacy that political action ends with casting a ballot. The ballot is nothing but a barometer anyway, and it is about time that it registered "change." The class struggle is a political action in itself, and entered into only by such of those wage slaves who realize the necessity for controlling the State. It is a struggle between the two classes for the power of government, not merely a struggle to express an opinion. The powers of government do not consist merely of representatives in the different Houses, they are composed of the army, the navy, the police force, the law courts and all the rest of the paraphernalia that protects the capitalist ownership. Without this force, and with a class conscious working class, do you think that the handful of capitalists could or would dare protest.

Yes, you have control of your vote. If it appears to you that a certain capitalist politician is a nice man with a good character or long whiskers, you can vote for him. He says he stands in the interests of the working class, is that your much talked of organization, the liberty to endorse a capitalist politician. If by vote, why in other ways? No capitalist politician works for the emancipation of the working class. As a capitalist politician he would lose his job.

Our industrial friends evidently have queer ideas of the political actionists as they call them. We do not want to "finally capture the powers of government" and then suddenly turn everything topsy turvy and start organizing at that late hour. When we want the Education of the working class. Class conscious socialists. We are organizing right along. As to organization of industries, as we have said time and time again, the Capitalists are doing that, all we have to do is to quit handing over the dividends. Why should any wheels stop, providing we have the power behind us, and they know it, to enforce the change if necessary. And with a class conscious movement, we have the power behind our votes (the political expression merely of our might). This new form of government is growing out of the old, just as other new forms have grown out of previous ones. With the

rapid lowering of the standard of living the working class; with the improving machinery, turning more men out of work every day; with the speeding up and the waste of human life, is it not natural that the workers will continue to grow more and more discontented?

A discontented man does not sit down and let you wipe your boots on him. As his discontent and intelligence increases, and he turns to a revolutionary party, palliatives will be thrown out as sop. Why should we fight for reforms? As soon as he sees that he can better himself by fighting for his emancipation, he will take advantage of every opportunity to further his cause. Yes, it is growing; We do not expect to wake up to-morrow morning and find the co-operative commonwealth has been established. We are growing, we are educating, we are organizing.

Another thing, we do not want to influence votes. What good would that do? Put our representatives in office? We do not want him in office unless every man who helped to put him there understands his true position, and is willing to back up his expression with his force. We don't want to influence the hypocrites. We want it to be a true expression of the feeling. We have nothing to offer except THE

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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. G. McKenzie, Sec., Box 836, Vancouver, B. C.

DOMINION EXECUTIVE.

Meeting held July 4th, 1910. Present Comrades Mengel (chairman), Morgan, Kingsley, Peterson, Stebbings, and the secretary.

Minutes of previous meeting affirmed. Charter granted Local at Steelton, Ont.

Correspondence dealt with from Maritime, Manitoba and Alberta executives, Winnipeg Central Committee, Local Horse Shoe, Alta, Vancouver No. 1. Organizers Fillmore, Gribble, O'Brien and Desmond. Comrades Bliss, Berlin, Ont., and Wayman, Montreal, Chas. Kerr & Co., Chicago, and the Int. Sec. Bureau, Brussels.

Warrants authorized for Clarion June Card, \$1.00. June Deficit, \$193.75. W. Gribble, Organizing, \$50.00. Secretary's June Salary, \$15.00. Expressage \$4.00. Printing Pamphlets, etc., \$78.50.

Vancouver Ukrainian Locals request that Com. O'Brien be delegated to the Ukrainian Convention with full power to act on behalf of the Committee concerned in.

RECEIPTS.

Table of receipts including Local Sault Ste Marie Supplies, Local Ft. William (Finnish) Supplies, Local Cobalt Stamps, etc.

Total \$478.41

B. C. PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE.

Meeting held July 4th, 1910. Minutes of previous meeting affirmed.

Correspondence dealt with from Locals Michel, Fernie, Nelson, Rossland, Phoenix, New Westminster, Port Moody, Ladysmith (English and Finnish branches), and Prince Rupert and from Com. John Staples.

RECEIPTS.

Table of receipts including Local Port Moody Stamps, Local Phoenix Stamps, etc.

Total \$330.00

Warrants authorized for Clarion June Card, \$1.00. Postage, \$5.00. Secretary's June Salary, \$15.00.

CLARION FINANCIAL STATEMENT JUNE, 1910.

Expenditures:—Printing 5 issues, \$234.00. Mailing, 17.65. Boy, 5.00. Manitoba extras, 62.50. Extra postage, 25.80.

Total \$365.95

Receipts:—Subs., \$145.70. Advs. and Cards, 26.50. Deficit, 193.75.

Total \$299.05

Less June Deficit, 193.75

Balance July 1, \$98.30

Accounts Outstanding, \$315.50

MANITOBA CAMPAIGN FUND.

Dear Comrade,—The following amounts have been collected and forwarded to W. H. Stebbings, Winnipeg, for the Manitoba Campaign Fund:

Table of Manitoba Campaign Fund receipts including Receipt No. 23, 24, 25, etc.

Total 5.75

J. H. BURROUGHS, Sec. Ladysmith Local No. 10 S.P.C. RESOLUTION

VANCOUVER UKRAINIAN RESOLUTION.

To all Ukrainian Socialist Locals in Canada:

We, the Ukrainian Socialist Local Borotba of Vancouver assembled at our regular business meeting on June 16, taking into consideration the Ukrainian Socialist Convention called by Com. Stechshin in Robotchij Narod. No. 14 adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas the Ukrainian Socialist Locals for the past period for their first annual Socialist Convention held in Winnipeg last November are re-organized into 'Ukrainian Social-Democracy Federation' and a few new formed locals lately joined that body;

"Whereas, from the very beginning of the withdrawal of the Ukrainian Socialists from the Socialist Party of Canada the Dominion Executive Committee of S. P. of C. has not received any official notification whatever nor were the Ukrainian Socialist Locals themselves duly enlightened by the new formed Ukrainian Social Democracy Federation withdrawn from the S. P. of C.;

Therefore we, the undersigned, Vancouver Ukrainian Socialist Local after discussion considered that the work in the Socialist Movement and the class struggle of Labor vs. Capitalism in Canada can only succeed in winning when all slave workers of different nationalities will be united and formed into one Socialist Party which is formed on the revolutionary basis and stands for transformation of the Capitalism into collective ownership; and furthermore, taking into consideration that when we, by forming a new organization, will create another Socialist group separated from Canadian S. P., that is to say, we will be divided on sectarianism which will not enable us to act on the political field as one body which will be the result?

Why, the Capitalists will smash us to pieces as they done in past and whip us with the very same whip which we, owing to lack of our Intelligence, are handing over to them.

Therefore be it resolved that, "The present Ukrainian Socialist Locals shall take this important matter into consideration at their nearest regular business meeting and instruct delegates how to deal with it at the convention.

And furthermore, we move that the present secretary of U. S. D. F. Com. Stechshin, who is taking charge of the calling convention shall communicate with the Dominion Ex. Com. of S. P. of C. and ask this Committee officially to send one of their delegates to the Ukrainian Socialist convention which probably will take place in Edmonton next August and that the same delegate will be duly authorized by the S. P. of C. to have full power to represent the party in whole.

If the Dom. Ex. Com. will agree with us we choose for a delegate Comrade O'Brien, M. P. of Alberta.

Be it further resolved that the copies of the resolution will be forwarded to all present Socialist Locals and Locals and Locals affiliated with Ukrainian Social-Democratic Socialist press Western Clarion and Robotchij Narod."

Ukrainian Socialist Local "Borotba" Vancouver, June 16, 1910. S. Baranofsky, chairman. T. W. Kocinski, rec. secy.

DEDICATED TO THE CHAIR-WARMERS

Socialism, like soap, has many brands, and like the Catholic church in the realms of religion, which claims the patent rights granted by the Almighty, of being the only true church, so likewise does the Socialism of every country, lay claim to be the one, and only one, that presents Marxian economics in their purity.

To the ordinary man, the word "Socialism" presents in the abstract many weird, strange and fanciful visions, illogical premises and still more illogical conclusions, derived, as he thinks from the workings of a disordered imagination. Although it is true we get our knowledge through smoggy glasses from the dominant class in every society, and that their teachings are in harmony with their material interests, we are forced to admit the fact that the great majority of those nonsensical ideas pertaining to Socialism are due partly to the Utopian Socialist movement of the last century, whose only stock in trade was sentimentalism, and partly to the inaccuracies indulged in by new converts, whose zeal for the new ideas prompts denial of truth, and affirmation of falsehood; for, like the newly engaged child who sees visions of kisses instead of diapers, he refuses the gift of fact, for one or fancy.

If Carl Marx rejuvenated Socialism from the ashes of utopian idealism and distinguished it from the latter by

calling it "modern scientific Socialism," then we should be criticized from that scientific standpoint, of things that have been and are becoming, instead of the standpoint of fantastic dreams, in which is pictured a beautiful state of society where brotherhood and love cover the relations of man to man; where strife is eliminated, and the lamb lies on the outside instead of the inside of the lion.

These fanciful and irresistibly funny pictures of a new science, are nevertheless all the ideas that most people have of Socialism, and instead of it being unnecessary in this supposedly enlightened age to correct these fallacies, which appear so ridiculous to us, yet we have still to meet the same old objections, such as "divide up," etc.

The 57 varieties of Socialism which cause so much confusion to the working class, and no little satisfaction to our opponents, are the result of the apathy manifested by some parties who think it unnecessary to study Marx for their knowledge of the subject of Socialism, but maintain that easy lessons by Untermyer and Simonetti are more to the point and better propaganda than the ambiguous Marx.

The result of such propaganda needs no comment from me. The United States affords a living example of Socialist slop. Are we on the same road? If we are not, it is more by good luck than good management. What interest is manifested by the party as a whole in the Clarion? With the exception of about 1 per cent, they apparently don't care whether the circulation is increasing, or the reverse. How many are taking a small bundle to distribute systematically every week? Not one in a hundred. Like the Amazon load which opens its mouth for the flies to drop in, they wait for the system to effect its own cure, and wonder why the dope-floofs of the working class don't understand their position. Let's wait for the Revolution to come. Sit in your Locals every night and let everybody yell "bourgeois" at any idea that is put forth, but for goodness sake don't give your neighbor a paper. Don't help to take up a collection. Don't do anything that will lower your standing in the community.

My advice is, look to the busy bee for a moral. Fall on the drones and sting them to death. Abuse them, ridicule them, any dam thing that will make them do something or get out of the party. Strength as far as numbers are concerned isn't our goal. Better to have one worker than 20 ornaments. Go at 'em.

W. H. S.

LIKE THE PSALMS OF DAVID,

To "J. H."

I quite fall to see where the "excellent argument against industrial unionism as a means of emancipation" comes in.

"The object of seizing political power at the expense of surplus value, (I can't grasp the meaning of the last six words), when they had the all-potent industrial or economic power." (Glave you recognize the difference between political and industrial power) was that the "captains of industry" disapproved, on the necessity arising for finding a foreign market for their surplus product, that, (Clarion 581), "it is absolutely necessary for the industrially dominant class to be politically dominant for the effective and efficient manipulation of the industries to their profit."

The "captains of industry" found themselves hampered in the manipulation of their industries at home, and in their relations with foreign powers, by the adverse legislation of the old aristocracy, the land-owners. They required the State for the more effective exploitation of the workers. They had no intention of abolishing it, as the Socialists have. Class-rule was still to be perpetuated. The fight for control was between the two wings, Conservative and Liberal, of that wild old bird, Capitalism.

When the Industrial Unionists have built up a sufficiently strong organization to seize the industrial control, and thus make themselves predominant on the industrial field, they will have no need of the State, the political power of coercion, there being no class lower than themselves to exploit. The State will thus automatically pass out of existence, being obsolete. The era of exploitation, and its requisite weapons, will thus cease; to be replaced by an era of collective ownership of the means of wealth production. This is the difference between the various class revolutions, or the replacement of one privileged class by another, which have already taken place; and the Socialist revolution, or the total elimination of class rule. To reiterate: Socialist political action is destructive; the movement on the industrial field is constructive.

The workers can only establish collective ownership when they are predominant on the industrial field. The aim of the Socialist political party can only be to aid them in this accomplishment, by a guerrilla war fare against the "policing" power.

You are not very consistent, "J. H." You take me to task for saying the capitalist class gave the workers short-

er hours and a fair wage; and then a few lines further on you say they "never did—until they were forced to give them during the fight for political control." I think it is generally acknowledged that neither wing of the capitalist class, Liberal or Conservative, will give the workers any "sops" until "they are forced to," either through fear of losing control to the other party; or of a general upheaval. The industrial capitalists obtained political control by promising the workers various reforms; which proceeded to daily with their habitual manner, until forced to partly fulfill, which they did in their usual elusive and evasive manner. All of which Marx dealt with, in "Capital," in his usual comprehensive manner.

In regard to, "as wages rise, so also does the cost of living." In the original article I had after this, "or rather, wages follow somewhat tardily behind." These are the exact words, to the best of my memory. I guess the P. D. was to blame for their omission. It is an acknowledged tendency of modern Capitalism to lower the "standard of living" of the workers. Cheap labor is its desideratum. If, by means of a strike, the workers should gain an increase in wages, the price of the means of subsistence in that locality at once recite "Excelsior"; and although wages may drop during a "depression," the price of the means of subsistence seldom follows, if at all, and certainly never in the same ratio. "We must lower our standard of living," we are told. I don't think any worker will deny that the purchasing power of a dollar in British Columbia today is only half what it was several years back. There are at least two methods of lowering the "standard of living." The real wage can be lowered, the price of other commodities remaining the same; or, the price of other commodities can be raised. While the workers will howl at the former method, the latter method is less comprehensive to them; and can be blamed on the farmer.

However, this latter is outside the present discussion.

To Moses Baritz.

I think you had better read, or re-read, the constitutions and platforms of the G. G. T. and of the I. W. W., before you say they are anarchists, "and repudiate political action absolutely." As an organization they are attached to no political party; individually they may, and do. Quite recently the French Syndicalist held a conference with the French Socialist political party on a matter of parliamentary policy, recognizing in them a working-class party. This you will better understand on investigation.

You seemed to be tickled about what "Gourock" and his faction would do inside a factory "holding the means of production," against a battery of artillery outside. Your ideas are too local. Socialism couldn't be established in one factory! But suppose we held all the factories! An army crawls on its belly. How long would your army last without supplies?

Your search-light is rather weak. Whether or not Marx maintained that the workers must first capture the State, the political control, does not alter the fact, Marx was not infallible, like the Pope.

I wonder can you see it this way, by means of the relation between "Cause" and "Effect." Very few will contradict the statement that specific political conditions are the result of specific industrial conditions. Politics are the reflex. Industrial conditions are the substance; politics, the shadow. Industrial conditions are the "Cause"; politics the "Effect." This is in accordance with the materialist conception of history; and in direct opposition to the capitalist conception, which maintains that the Dolly sends a great man now and then to yank humanity up a notch. The State, to them, is the realization of the ethical ideal, and determines industrial conditions. They think legislation can change industrial conditions. This is the capitalist mire that the "pure and simple" political actionists are floundering in. They have thrown overboard the materialist conception, one of Socialism's strongholds and adopted the idealist conception.

Politics can not alter industrial conditions. The shadow cannot change the substance. The "Effect" cannot alter the "Cause." It is useless to think of changing industrial relations by means of legislation. It has not happened so far; and if it did, it would be a miracle, something which I am very curious to see. But miracles only happened in a narrow time, among the ignorant, superstitious peasantry, along the shores of Lake Galilee.

GOUROCK.

IN REPLY TO BARITZ.

Western Clarion:

I haven't written a line to the "Clarion" since I abjured the up-in-the-air program of the so-called Socialist Party of the States. Moses Baritz's "arguments" against industrial unionism which appear in your last issue should stir up a fine discussion. Baritz writes:

"How anarchists are going to introduce Socialism (which can only be accomplished by the control of the political machinery first), is a question 'Gourock' must answer."

And how "the control of the political machinery first" can be got (and what the working class would want with such machinery, even if it could be got "first") without the working class is supreme economically through their organized power to produce power can precede the conscious power of the almighty arm of organized labor in the shops and mines and everywhere, is a question that all the Baritzes in the "S. P. G. B." must answer, but will never answer while they are on this planet.

He goes on:

"It is the political power the workers must go after first; when they have got that, well, 'Gourock,' you will have a chance to suggest industrial organization if you like."

Baritz insists that the workers must get the cart before the mule. The master class does not control the industries merely because of the votes of crazy workmen; the master classes controlled the state before the workers had votes. Political power in the hands of the present ruling class is but a reflex of their economic power—their power of ownership of the industries. It does not follow that because the state is used by the capitalist class against the workers, that the workers must go plump putty and think that they should fling the industrial union to the wind and go after the state; nor that political power can be got by flinging bits of paper into a tin box. If your enemy is armed with a knife, it is not at all times advisable to try to get that knife from him. Why not hit him with an axe?

Here's another gem:

"The 'industrial union' is a futile effort and a waste of time. Capitalism is bound to collapse, and, at the moment when it collapses production must stop."

Baritz wrote the last passage after quoting a passage from Marx. Beware of the man who says that because capitalism is sure to collapse, socialism is sure to come next; nor does it follow that if you club and starve the workers they will revolt in the correct and most effective way. Certainly they will struggle, a sewer will fight for its young. But the force that moves the workers on is a blind force that is making for socialism no more surely than it is making for another feudalism, but both are possible.

The second half of the last quotation from Baritz proves nothing for his side. Who does he mean by mankind?

Capitalism has partly collapsed several times and, although "production must go on," it did not wholly go on. And which part of mankind did he starve? Baritz writes:

"As to what is going to institute of organize the Socialist system of society, I am under no delusion whatsoever. Socialists alone can accomplish that. There the chief necessity must be the organization for socialism, and as the working class must first obtain political supremacy (vide Marx and Engels), it means that political action is the main road upon which we must tread to attain it."

Baritz swears by Marx and Engels with all the solemnity of a geysir who never clearly knew what they really stood for. In taking this stand against ballot lunacy I am not against political action, for the ballot-box, the candidate, and all the rest of the nonsense that necessarily connects itself with political action, are but incidental action. The slaves of feudalism could not use political action; but five centuries of civilized methods renders it both possible and necessary for the slaves of capitalism. The right of suffrage is a feather torn from the cap of the feudal lord by the bleeding fingers of serfs and small business men. Moonshine and rot is the program that says: "political machinery first," and "the industrial union is a futile effort and a waste of time."

Capitalism is a foul institution, yet it is necessary our goal than feudalism. The right of suffrage is one of the big advances of capitalism; it is the valuable fruit of the struggle of our



Here and Now By Spec.

A life and drum band is just by. It is at the head of a column of Boy Scouts and is playing "Call the Night is Coming." A most appropriate selection as that organ is designed to some time see the do.

The unit of industrial activity today's work. What is a day's work? A period of time in which a being has forgone the pleasure of a portion of a life torn enjoyment of nature's abundance given over to its own impoverishment that the surfeit of another, in addition to a day's work is not an exercise. It is an unnecessary of physical resource, a span of light not given to society but from it.

To exact work is to announce selves as unfit to survive in the gle to live. Fortunately the ten of mankind is ever away from. Our masters will force us to a ration in their efforts to keep us at. And, while their sole fear from revolution is that they may have to work themselves, it is from that the idea of the nobility of proceeds. The absurdity of their in this regard will prove no least factor in the accomplishment their downfall.

Brandon is about to assume a duty hue, Manitoba Executive of fifty subs, for that Burg which Legge places.

Local Vancouver orders 6000 O. Brains' dusters.

Nobody earns the wampum week. Desmond corrala five, however, which is pretty fair this warm weather.

Is there a high cost of living problem? There is. There always has been, at least, as long as the oldest inhabitant can recall. Living has never been low enough for the working-class to reach. The only way to solve the problem is to own the earth and exchange High Cost for High Life.

Dr. Currie, Vancouver, renews leads a lamb to the slaughter.

Com. Rudd, Toronto, likes the tallest but wants to see him buried; he sends for "two Coffin Nails."

A year's sub. and two dollars the Maintenance fund is the shove given the revolutionary chariot by E. Huber, Vancouver.

And the following crimson rays gleam through the gloom: The un-parlotted Irishman, Revelstoke, B. C. Chas. Lee, Nicola Valley, B. C., I. A. Austin, Nelson, B. C., J. G. Morgan, Vancouver, J. C. Burgess, Calgary, J. S. Armstrong, Vancouver.

follows of bygone days. Therefore political action is necessary and deserving of our support; it is the vehicle through which we will carry our message to the workers. Without political action we get our demands, that is, we will get them when we back them up with—with what?—with the industrial union. That is the only power the workers will ever have.

I'll be done, Mac, in a few more lines. Baritz writes: "The present method of production is itself developing and producing the industrial organization which will 'take hold' of the means of production."

If Baritz were asked to explain what he means by that state phrase, he would have a hard job. Some politicians claim that industrial unionism is here now, that the workers are and have got to organize under capitalism because of the very nature of capitalist production. There is no in between about it. The workers are organized fit to take and hold the industries, or the workers are not so organized. Which is right?

The fact is that the organization that we see today is a conglomeration of anarchistic units which, like the eggs in a pear wheel, obey that blind force which we have had occasion to refer to somewhere else as "the force." It is an organization bent on producing larger profits for the master class, not for producing wealth for the useful members of a free society. There must be a mobilization of the fighters in the different industries. Today they know not where they are at and cannot move effectively for their own interests. The workers are kept divided by the fakirs who favor high dues and high initiation fees for the fat salaries of the A. F. of Hell leaders. The A. F. of Hell does not and cannot organize the whole of the workers because all can't have a job under capitalism, and jobless slaves cannot pay the high dues. A revolutionary organization overcomes that. The so-called Socialist party's blind-as-a-bat posture towards the economic arm of the class war is nothing short of downright scabbery and treason to the working class. And that's no lie!

E. J. HIGGINS.

Local Vancouver S. P. of C. ANNUAL PICNIC BOWEN ISLAND Sunday, July 17th, 1910. Leaving Evans, Coleman & Evans wharf at 10 a.m. Tickets, \$1 each, can be obtained from Fred Perry, 534 Pender St. W., W. Alexander, Labor Hall, Cordova St.; or any member of the Party at Headquarters. Children 50c. S.S. "Britannia"

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

By Professor G. D. Herron.

I have been asked by the New Age to write about Theodore Roosevelt. It is difficult to write of so dominant and definite a personality without in some measure using language that fits the subject. In both word and deed is Mr. Roosevelt himself so terribly personal that it is impossible to write about him in an impersonal way. To speak of him in any terms that at all characterize him is to lay oneself open to the charge of personal feeling. I can tell you I do feel deeply about Mr. Roosevelt but it is because I believe him to be the most malign and menacing personal force in the political world of today. He is the embodiment of man's return to the brute—the living announcement that man will again seek the bonds of an imposing savagery. He is a sign, and one of the makers, of universal decay. He is the glorification of what is rotten and reactionary in our civilization. To speak calmly of one whose life and achievements are a threat and an insult to the highest spirit of mankind, this is not easy for anyone who cares about mankind, or carries within himself the heart-ache of the generations. About other men one may write judicially, and leave something for inference. But one can only truly write about Mr. Roosevelt by telling the truth about him; and that means the use of plain and terrible words. That is the tragedy and terror of having to speak of him at all.

Quite recently I have been criticised for saying that Theodore Roosevelt is the most degrading influence in our American public life and history. I said this because it was true. It is what many thoughtful Americans know; it is what no one with a reputation to lose will say. We are all afraid of him; we are afraid of him just as we are afraid of the plotted revenge of the hideous from behind, of the knife in the back, of the thief in the dark. No one knows what this man will do if one enters the lists against him; but whatever he does, it will be to avoid the question at issue, and to come at you unawares; to seize an advantage that only the dishonorable and shameless accept. Whatever he does, he will never fight you fair; he will never strike a blow that is not foul. In some respects, Mr. Roosevelt has the field quite to himself; the majority of men have still some rudimentary feelings about the truth; and if not this, then an ordinary sense of humor, as well as the lack of opportunity, saves them from any foolish attempt at competing with Mr. Roosevelt in the art of clothing flagrant falsehood with the garments of moral pomp. It is notorious, too, that no man will now contend with Mr. Roosevelt because no man will so demean himself as to fight upon Mr. Roosevelt's terms. It is also notorious that Mr. Roosevelt will avail himself of this fact, as he did in his controversy with Mr. Edward H. Harriman; as he did in his amazing and disgraceful articles against Socialism; as he did when he condemned, for the sake of his own popularity with a capitalist press, the two labor leaders Meyer and Haywood, while these men were still on trial for their lives. He knows that his most bitter opponent will observe some of the decencies of combat. Observing none of these himself, he has all the choice of weapons; and he chooses without reference to the weapons of his opponent. Indeed, no white man would be found with the controversial weapons of Theodore Roosevelt upon his person. Mr. Roosevelt's opportunity for investing the most stupefying personal revenges with the air of a champion of the public good.

But it is not against a mere individual that I protest. I object to Mr. Roosevelt from the fact that he voices and invarnates the fundamental social immorality, the doctrine that might makes right—that no righteousness is worth having except that which is enforced by brute words, or brute laws, or brute fists, or brute armies. Mr. Roosevelt stands for a life that belongs to the lower barbarian and to the jungle. He has set before the youth of the nation the glory of the beast instead of the glory of the soul. The nation has been hypnotized and saturated with his horrible ideals, as well as by his possessive and intimidatory personality. Of course, the nation is liable to blame, for in this respect its own decadence, for the heroes of warship, and the ideals we cherish, are the revelations of ourselves. Yet it is this one man, more than all others, who has awakened the instinct to kill and to conquer, and all the sleeping savagery of the people. It is he who has put the blood-cup to the lips of the nation, and who bids the nation drink. And one of the strongest ironies that ever issued from academic ignorance, and what will prove to be one of the historic stupidities, is the endowment of this naked militarist with the Nobel Peace Prize; and this because, in the interests of the great bankers and of his own military policy, he was instrumental in depriving Japan of the full fruits of her victory. Theodore Roosevelt leads a recession in the life of the world. He betokens the enfeeblement of mankind, its lack of a living faith. He is the only

star of the New Dark Ages, where in the faithless soul of man will seek forgetfulness and excitement in military murder and political bestiality. It is true that Mr. Roosevelt has intelligence; but he is essentially a weakling, an anthropological problem, a case for the pathologist. His psychology is that of the savage at one time, and of the hyrcanian at another. Intelligently, he is an atavism, the recrudescence of an antique type; he belongs with the rulers of the Roman decadence, or with the lesser Oriental despots.

And Mr. Roosevelt is the last man whose name should be spoken of in connection with democracy. He does not believe in democracy at all; nor in freedom at all. He is no more of a democrat than Genghis Khan or Louis XI. He likes liberty less, by far, than did Charles I. Only these are big names to put beside the name of a man so morally small, so ignorant of the highest excellence, so ruthlessly inconsiderate of his fellows, as Theodore Roosevelt.

But supposing Mr. Roosevelt were one of the soul's gentlemen, supposing he politically meant to do social good, it is by methods that belong to the darkest phases of human history—the methods of the tyrant who believes his own will to be the only righteousness, and all opposition to that will to be one of unrighteousness; and who proceeds to stamp its opposers with what he means to be an indelible infamy, or to kill if he can. As the best example of this sort, Cromwell tyrannized over a nation, and over the souls of men, for their own salvation and for the glory of God. And this is the method by which every tyranny or tyrant seeks justification. It is the only method Mr. Roosevelt care for or believes in.

Yet no man ever ruled other men for their own good; no man was ever rightly the master of the minds or bodies of his brothers; no man ever ruled other men for anything except for their own undoing, and for his own brutalization. The possession of power over others is inherently destructive—both to the possessor of the power and to those over whom it is exercised. And the great man of the past, in distinction from the great man of the past, is he who will seek to gain power in the peoples, and not to gain power over them. The great man of the future is he who will refuse to be great at all, in the historic sense; he is the man who will literally lose himself, who will altogether diffuse himself, in the life of humanity. All that any man can do for a people, all that any man can do for another man, is to set the man or the people free. Our work, whenever or wheresoever we would do good, is to open to men the gates of life—to lift up the heavenly doors of opportunity.

This applies to society as well as to the individual man. If the collective man will release the individual man and let him go, then the individual will at last give himself gloriously, in the fullness of his strength, unto the society that sets the gates and the highways of opportunity before him. Give men opportunity, and opportunity will give you men; for opportunity is God, and freedom to embrace opportunity is the glory of God.

dom—freedom of labor, freedom spiritual, freedom social. Notwithstanding his bluster about the trusts, and his determination to control to some extent the course of industrial operation it is in the interest of Absolutism, and against Socialism, that he has worked. Intelligent Capitalism knows that Roosevelt can be trusted, as no other man can be trusted, to see it through. It is, therefore, to Roosevelt that Capitalism will turn to conquer its new world for it; to Roosevelt that Capitalism will turn to finally crush the resistance of labor. It is to Roosevelt that all the vested interests of the present civilization will turn in the time of their danger or dissolution. The Caesars arose as the necessary chief of police of the Roman propped or plundering class. So will Roosevelt and his successors arise; they will arise to police the world in the interests of its possessors.

There could be only one alternative to Roosevelt in the dreadful years that are coming to America; a thoroughly organized Socialist movement of the highest order; a Socialist movement that would be profoundly revolutionary, resolutely reaching to the roots of things, refusing any longer to thicker or compromise with the present evil world; yet a Socialist movement with its Pattern in the Mount—a Socialist movement led by the glowing vision and charged with the highest idealism as to ultimate freedoms and values. It is for such a revolution the whole world waits: a revolution that shall be a synthesis of the life of man; a revolution wherein men shall mightily and decisively make their own world; a revolution that shall make all material facts and forces to be the medium and music of the free human spirit; a revolution that shall make the world's civilization an invitation to the soul of every man to express itself and rejoice. Yet there is no such Socialist movement in the world now, and the last place to look for its coming is in America. Nowhere else has Individualism borne such deadly fruit; nowhere else is there such intellectual and moral servility; nowhere else is there such actual ignorance of the new world that is besetting the old. We have never had a Republic in anything but name. We have always and only had the administration of society in the interests of the dominant financial bureaucracy. And it is well known, now, that our whole system of government has long since broken down. America is practically being governed without law. There is absolutely no constitutional method of social reform. There will be a long time of darkness and suffering, of hypocrisy and compromise, and of depthless disaster, before there will be any real social awakening in America, or any effective spiritual fund upon which to draw for a revolution. It is for this reason Mr. Roosevelt will become the nation's psychological necessity. There is nothing for it but the strong man—the man who will govern us without law. Mr. Roosevelt knows this; and he has known it for many years; and all his life he has been getting ready for it. And not only in America, perhaps Great Britain as well, will turn to Roosevelt as the only force relentless and purposeful enough to carry it through the beginnings of the New Dark Ages. And, as I have already said, it is when the world is enfeebled and faithless that it turns to the strong man.

Upon such a crisis the nations are turning now. We are approaching one of those times when the world returns to brute force, when civilization is resolved back into its primal elements; when the tyrant seems to be the only savior. And Mr. Roosevelt is the man for this approaching time. And this approaching time is working out the day and the hour of the fulfillment of Mr. Roosevelt's ambitions.

So I make my prophecy: Roosevelt will return to America, and he will rule it. He carries the nation in the hollow of his hand. He will be elected President. There will be war with Japan for the market of China. There will be glutted markets, underconsumption of economic goods, universal unemployment, and the semblance of government. Roosevelt will seem the only salvation from Anarchy. When he returns to Washington he will return to stay as he means to stay. He is by nature a man utterly lawless, and the nation is now practically lawless. He has been all his life getting ready for this one goal, and the decadent nation is rapidly preparing the goal for him. The monthly magazine-reformers and Mr. Pierpont Morgan are alike turning to Mr. Roosevelt as the nation's hope. All things are preparing his way. The times and he are joining themselves together perfectly. Theodore Roosevelt has had his dawn; he will now have his day; and it will be one of the harshest and bitterest days in the still-continuing pilgrimage of mankind through the wilderness. Now, having made my prophecy, let me be judged by it ten years hence—

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not now. And ever, while I live, shall I pray that my prophecy may prove false. For the sake of men, and for the joy of my soul, may it be that this world of the future may not come true. Rather let it be that some sudden awakening as to what is really true and good and beautiful, some sudden precipitation of the yet unevolved spirit of man, may deliver us from the engulfing misery of the New Dark Ages which the coming of Roosevelt betokens.—The New Age.

THE DELUSIONS OF DESMOND

Comrade,—"The write-up by Comrade Desmond on 'The Delusions of the Homesteader,' cannot be passed without a comment. I must say that his 'sizing up the agriculturalist' is not quite up to the mark. If he had explained how the agriculturalist was exploited he could have made some good reading. So I am going to criticize.

He says: "One of the hardest things to get them to understand is modern social production. I have yet to meet the farmer or his son who is fairly intelligent (though poorly educated) who does not see that production of today is social. He knows well that he can get along much better working in co-operation with his neighbors, as is seen by the way he lends his implements and horses to a neighbor, who pays back by helping him at some other part of their year's work; and under a larger scale take, for instance, Grain Growers Grain Company, Grain Growers' Association, co-operative owned elevators in different parts and co-operative owned threshing outfits. The trouble has been and is that they are afraid that somebody is going to make a pull out of them if they go in companies and associations.

It is true that the rural worker is only a cog in the world's work, but they know that the world cannot get along without them, but they do not know that without the railroad, steamships and other means necessary for transportation and distribution, they would soon be all up.

The farmer lives an isolated life, it is true. Now, how does he put in the time when the day's work is over? He may only have an hour, to the industrial worker's three or four, but he uses it in reading and studying, also in talking the question over with his neighbors when they do meet, understanding what he is talking about. Now compare this with the industrial worker who spends his spare time on the street corner and at the bar, chewing the rag, which any sane man will agree is not very educational.

As to the idea that the tin-pot merchant makes many hundred per cent. so the farmer sends to Eaton, Desmond is again off the track. The tin-pot merchant gets at the same price he lies in the fact that the farmer believes the tin-pot merchant should give him the price which he has to send to Eaton's, and does not take into account the loss by trade. Farm produce is the local merchant's bugbear. For the grease that some call butter I should hate to feed a dog with.

From the town men's point of view the homesteader's lot is a hard one. Of course, a homestead is no use without the tools to cultivate it, nor a town lot either. How does he get these tools? Perhaps by buying them at an auction sale, while he is trying to save a dollar working out. The idea that he raises money on a homestead to start with; if Desmond can find me a loan company that will loan money on a bare spot of prairie of which I only hold a \$10 receipt, he will do more than any other man has done; not to mention the Homesteader Act.

The start-low man with a yoke of oxen and second-hand plow, wagon and axe, generally makes good (even in this world of legalized robbery), for he generally works with his neighbors in doing such work as cannot be performed, or with difficulty alone. And don't forget it, they generally have a good time as well. For sociability give me the country; to the deuce with the town.

The last of the article was fairly good; for once the reading farmer gets a new idea he is after it, and, if satisfactory, stays with it.

Yours for the New Era,
J. A. WRIGHT.
Dauphin, Man.

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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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Platform and application blank per 100......25
Ditto in Finnish, per 100......50
Ditto in Ukrainian, per 100......50
Constitutions, each......20
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